

An item in last week's Militant reporting the convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in San Francisco gave us our first inkling of a shameful, scandalous

tale of persecution of a man who? has already suffered his full as unpardonable as the attempt share of persecution at the hands of Mooney and Billings to organof the capitalist government. It ize the street railway workers in concerns Warren K. Billings.

Ten years ago Billings emerged from Folsom prison in California where he together with Tom viously been expelled from the Mooney had been railroaded for Communist Party for assorted life for a crime they did not com- "deviations" and "factionalism." mit. The story of how he and Billings was promptly and cruel-Tom Mooney were framed up for ly, punished for daring to defend the "Preparedness Day" dyna- someone who had differences with miting in 1916 is too well known the Stalinist hacks. to militant American workers to need repetition. They know this case because for twenty years they, and workers of all countries, carried on an unrelenting strug-

gle until the prison doors swung open and Mooney and Billings were again free men. What is not known, except in certain labor circles in San Fran-

cisco, is the ugly sequel to this story. Upon his release from prison, Billings set up a watch-repair shop to make his living at a trade he had learned while behind bars. To obtain customers in the labor movement and particu- of labor solidarity to all victims larly among its more radical elements, Billings, although not a Stalinist, advertised his business

The ad appeared daily for some nine years when Billings committed his second "crime."

Last year a committee was organized to defend Vern Smith. the former editor of the People's World who had been cited for contempt by the Tenney Committee, an Un-American Committee set up by the California legislature. Billings accepted as chairman of the defense committee.

In the eyes of the Stalinists this was an unpardonable act



1916 had been to the San Fran-

cisco traction trust. Vern Smith, you see, had pre-

STALINIST BOYCOTT

The entire Stalinist apparatus was set into motion to "get Billings." The People's World cancelled his ad. Members of the Communist Party were threatened with expulsion if they continued to patronize his shop. The boycott was completely successful. Billings was compelled to close down his shop and move to Burlingame, a small town some

25 miles from San Francisco. Billings paid with his livelihood for his devotion to the principle (Continued on Page 4)

in the People's World, the daily Stalinist paper on the West Coast. The approved daily for some **OPPRESSED, IMPRISONED** 

> Truman, the U.S. State Department, Cardinal Spellthe Vatican-dominated govern-

bassador James Dunn, asking his They are ignoring the direct intercession and emphasizing appeal of the Italian Baptists that Gasbarro's "only crime was Union for intercession on behalf preaching the gospel of Jesus of Giuseppe Gasbarro, 30-year-old Christ." But in "democratic" Italy, acting pastor of the Baptist Atlantic Pact partner of Wash-Church in the town of San Gre- ington, only the Catholic priests

on July 24 while he was conduct- ous functions without government ing church services. "authorization."

at the 50-year-old church for a FASCIST LAW year, was imprisoned on the .Dr. Ronchi said that the arrest charge of conducting religious of Gasbarro was inspired by the charge of conducting rengious services without obtaining gov-ernment "recognition," as pro-vided by a fascist law passed in 1929 after the Vatican signed its concordat with Mussolini. Al-though the new Italian constitu-tion claims to provide freedom of religion. the old fascist law is still religion, the old fascist law is still wanted to perform marriage cerein effect. monies in accordance with civil law. The arrest of Gasbarro, he POLICE INTERFERENCE In the past three months, police said, was based on a new interof the Christian Democratic pretation of the law. (Catholic) government of Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi have which published news of Gas-nuisistration's new arms bill at force when and where he clearly essential to the establishinvaded and broken up a number barro's arrest were the Socialist the hearings before the House pleases." of Pentecostal religious services. Avanti and Il Paese. The Stalin- Foreign Affairs Committee last But the arrest of Gasbarro was ist L'Unità ignored the story bethe first open interference with cause it is trying to avoid further the Baptists, one of the "author- friction with the Catholic Church. ized" Protestant sects in Italy. News of the Gasbarro case was

## Unemployment

At Highest Peak In Seven Years The Census Bureau has

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acknowledged that by the first week in July, the number of jobless had passed the fourmillion mark. The estimated figure of 4,095,000 is the highest since January 1942.

swollen, according to official

admission, by not less than 805,000 since May when there were 3,289.000 million unemployed. Or an increase of almost 25% in the last 60 days.

Dropping the previous pretense that the bulk of increase is due to "entry of young people" into the labor force, Washington now admits that "adult workers accounted for most of the increase in July."

# **SWP** Demands Senate **Reject Clark Nomination**

Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1949

## **Civil Rights Enemy Must Be** SUPREME COURTS **Barred from Supreme Court**

President Truman's nomination of Tom C. Clark to the post of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court was strongly protested by the Socialist Workers Party in a elegram to the Senate Judiciary 9-

**PRICE: FIVE CENTS** 

Committee on Aug. 2. Denouncing the nomination of Clark as "one more blow against civil rights," the SWP called on the U.S. Senate to vote it down. It also asked for open hearings and the opportunity for the SWP to testify against Clark.

If any individual is disqualified and barred by his entire record from sitting on the highest judicial body of the land, it is this oil lawyer from Texas who has for the last four years so grossly abused the powers of J. S. Attorney General.

lustice has been converted into a str kebreaking agency through the use of federal injunctions and multi-million dollar fines against

achievement in this field was his ferocious attack on the 1946 coal strike. Under Clark the Department of Justice has served as the main vehicle for carrying out the "loyalty" purge among more than

Under Clark the Department of ustice has instituted the fascistlike practice of issuing political blacklists, depriving the proscribbe granted a hearing, refusing even to inform them of the grounds on which such action was taken.

in lower courts.

Truman's nomination of Tom Clark for Supreme Court is a reward, in part, for the Attorney General's refusal to take action in the 1946 Kansas City. Missouri, vote-fraud involving the Pendergast machine. The ballots constituting the evidence were stolen from the New Madrid County courthouse 24 hours before Clark was scheduled to testify at a

tion."

such cases.

**Truman Pays For** 

Services Rendered

Senate hearing on his white-

wash of the fraud. He then

announced an FBI "investiga-

mount to a prejudgment in all

Professor Thomas I. Emerson

### A MONSTROUS RECORD

Under Clark the Department of unions. Clark's most notorious

> of Yale, an eminent authority on constitutional law, has correctly peinted out that "the American tradition of civil rights" will be jecpardized whether Clark sits in judgment or disqualifies himself in those cases which he himself two million federal employees.

> prosecuted. Split "five - to - four" decisions, especially in civil liberties cases, have been the rule in recent years. Clark's vote can therefore ed organizations of the right to easily prove decisive. Even if he would disqual fy himself in such cases, every split decision resulting in a "four-to-four" deadlock would uphold convictions gained

Inder Clark the Departme

man and the capitalist press are keeping stony silence about the increasing brutal persecution of Protestants by ment of Italy.

gorio Magna, who was arrested are permitted to conduct religi-

Gasbarro, who has been pastor

267-

More significant is the rate of increase. In the last two months — June and July the number of unemployed has

Warren Billings (right), famous fellow-prisoner of Tom Mooney, is shown above with George Novack. Billings, after suffering decades in prison because of capitalist persecution. is now being persecuted by the Communist Party because of his support of working class solidarity.

**By Farrell Dobbs** 

ber of the Communist Party, but

to the hilt by publishing a slan-

No less incriminating is the

fact that Thackrey committed this

print my reply to Fast.

The Pentecostals are not "authorcontained in a small article from Rome in the July 28 Chicago Triized." Dr. Manfredi Ronchi, executive bune, Other major U. S. newspasecretary of the Union of Baptist pers and press services, which Churches in Italy with about 10,- have been howling so much about 000 members, demanded Gasbor- "freedom of religion" in Eastern ro's release in a telegram to de Europe, have buried this story Gasperi and Interior Minister Ma- about anti-Protestant persecurio Scelba, head of the Italian tion by a Catholic government police. He also wired U. S. Am- financed with American money.

ANTI-STRIKE INJUNCTIONS

The war drums were beaten asking "Congress to abdicate its significant alterations in the agency for propagating red-baitopenly and shamelessly by Secre- responsibility in foreign affairs proposed bill, Acheson harped on irg hysteria and spy scares, for tary of State Dean Acheson and and to give him [Truman] a how "modest" the bill really was. staging thought - control trials,

Success Story

PURGE

The only two papers in Rome who plumped for the Truman ad- States military and economic tains only those items which are of FBI police spies and informers

It goes on to add:

LOYALTY

POLITICAL BLACKLIST

TOJ TPEUS

WITCH-HUNT TRIALS

"The President thus avowedly Acheson, followed by Defense jettisons the last remnant of the Secretary Louis Johnson and the United Nations; he openly pro-Joint Chiefs of Staff, minced no fesses that force and only force words to the effect that the arms can preserve peace. And he pact was aimed openly and exdemands that he, and only he, be did the top brass. clusively at the Soviet Union. chtrusted with its preservation. Acheson and his colleagues This is a far more sweeping devoted the burden of their remarks to stigmatizing the USSR measure than even the bitterest foe of the Administration's foras an "aggressor nation." They eign policy would have dared also expanded at length on predict. It is not an arms pro-"hints" that acts of Soviet military aggression are just around gram to implement the Atlantic te charged with the strategic

the corner, if not already here. "The fear is justified. The President to rule the world." danger is real," Acheson emphasized over and over again, as did the brass hats who followed the arms bill and the sweeping powers it invests in Truman's bim.

week.

Even Roosevelt, after his hands. Stressing that the ad-"quarantine the aggressors" ministration would oppose any speech which gave the signal for

attack the SWP. But when I appear that he is allowing free wrote a point-by-point reply to debate over the disputed issues. open preparations for U.S. entry I don't know whether or not Fast on July 13 and submitted But none of these letters answer into World War II, did not go to Ted O. Thackrey, editor of the it to the Compass, Thackrey the Stalinist lie that Trotskyists the lengths to which the Truman are "allies of fascism" and all of administration is today resorting. To spur this war-urgency I pressed him to explain the them criticize Fast's letter solely hysteria, the Joint Chiefs of I do know that he is not above reason for such political disting the viewpoint that it is doing their dirtiest chores for crimination and denial of the most necessary to defend the civil Staff, immediately after they Such criticism, which does not derous attack by Howard Fast on refused to meet with me and reflect the position of the SWP, of a series of secret talks with

Militant, James Kutcher and alibi that the July 12 Compass assumption of the Stalinist attack the Western European top milimyself and then flatly refusing to had printed a letter by Michael on the SWP and therefore can tary chiefs.

A BLANK CHECK

Acheson did not hesitate to machine has so far failed to apadinit that the new arms bill propriate one extra nickel to prowent far beyond the scope of vide jobs or adequate unemploy-In the very first issue of the the North Atlantic treaty. Imple- ment compensation for the growanother civil rights conference (ompass (May 16), Thackrey menting that pact, Acheson coolly ing army of jobless victims of the stated, "is not the problem with capitalist profit system.

which he deplored the fact that which we are now dealing." It Government statistics, which are doctored to conceal the true safety, etc. was something that would be taken care of "later on." conditions, admit there are now

The super - conservative financial daly, Wall Street Journal, work and another 4 million fied for unemployment compensa-

eek, or less.

and Education First of a Series by ART PREIS - See Page 2 -

ment of a minimum of defense

- the minimum essential to the success of our efforts."

Defense Secretary Johnson solemnly chimed in that what the administration asked for was "the barest minimum essential." So

#### BRANDISH A-BOMB

Gen. Omar Bradley took the occasion to publicly brandish the atom bomb. The U. S and the U. S. alone, he announced, "will Pact. It is an invitation to the bembing. We have repeatedly recognized in this country that the first provity of the joint But Acheson completely slurred defense is our ability to deliver over the unprecedented scope of he atom bomb." A few days later the Atomic Energy Commission supplemented this by reporting

(Continued on page 2)



Under Clark the Department of Justice has failed to lift a finger against the Ku Klux terror and violence visited against the Negro

people For persecution and wholesale leportations of the foreign-born, lark's regime is comparable only to that of the infamous Palmer who conducted the "ant'-radical" raids in the Twenties.

PREJUDGMENT

Hundreds of cases involving alien deportations. "lovalty" ourges like the Kutcher case, the placklist persecutions and numerous other violations of civil rights by the government will andoubtedly come up before the that the Senate repudiate the Supreme Court for final dec sion. Clark's appointment is tanta-| symbol.

ment's war on civil rights, there will be as little protection for the Bill of Rights from that body as there has been in the Department of Justice. The Senate has the power to confirm or reject Truman's nomination of Clark. His confirmation would be a blow to the fight to preserve our precious democratic rights; his rejection would be a black eye to the witch-hunt as a whole. The chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee has indicated that so far as the Senate is concerned, Clark's confirmation will be a cut-and-dried

BAD ENOUGH BEFORE

The Supreme Court was bad

enough before. With the addition

of Clark, who is the most pro-

minent symbol of the govern-

procedure. This cynical endorsement of the assault on civil rights can be stopped only by the mobilization of labor, Negro and liberal forces around the demand witch-hunt by spurning its chief

**Jobless Millions Face Acute Want** While Congress debates the pensation because they did not | The compensation the states national unemployment insurance

testified, demonstratively flew to arming of reactionary govern- work in "covered" occupations or provide the unemployed workers law to provide benefits, ad-Europe to take part in the first ments all over the world, mil- because, under state laws, their is in no instance better than a ministered by the federal govlions of unemployed American unemployment is not considered hunger income, sufficient to pro- erument, of up to 52 weeks for In many states, jobless in- over a brief period. The average would equal 60% of regular The government which can find surance is denied to workers who benefit is about \$20 a week per endless billions to feed the war refuse to accept "suitable" emt worker - equivalent at present without dependents, with addi-

> strike or working in a non-union in 1939, or two-thirds of a WPA 85% of regular earnings. plant. They are refused bennets laborer's "relief wage" in the if they quit "voluntarily," even if depth of the depression. The highest compensation paid

by any state is \$26, while twoconditions such as wage-cuts, fifths of the states pay a max - present "states rights" unemployspeedup, hazards to health and Over 100,000 unemployed at least 4 million totally out of month, of those who have quali-

benefits before finding jobs. No

The only federal assistance to state allows benefits for more the unemployed is in the form of than 26 weeks and only 12 provide unemployment insurance funds for that many weeks. More than \$65 a week. dispensed through the various half the states afford compensastate governments according to tion for only 20 weeks or less. facts about present unemployregulations set up by each in- Within any given state, many ment and the hardships of the dividual state. About one-third of workers, by reason of one restricworkers presented in the current the present unemployed are tion or another, are not allowed issue of the CIO Economic Outdenied any unemployment com- the maximum benefits.

(vide only a minimum subsistence all unemployed. These benefits weekly earnings for a person ployment, such as scabbing, on a price levels to only \$10 a week tional sums for dependents up to NOT THE WAY Such a measure would represent

a vast improvement over the mum of \$20 or less. Picture the ment insurance system. But even average worker's family of four the best program is worthless trying to live today on even \$26 without the program of action to a week! The Department of put it over. On the question of Agriculture says it takes \$17 tr organized action to win decent un-\$18 a week just for the bare employment insurance, the CIO minimum of required food. The paper merely states that "all CIO Bureau of Labor Statistics figures members . . . should indicate to the minimum decency budget at Congress their support" for the CIO proposals. If Congress doesn't These are some of the vita! act, then wait for the next elections. •

Such a namby - pamby policy won't win anything. What is needed is a unified nation-wide look. The Outlook proposes a new program of militant action now.

A FLIMSY ALIBI riece of yellow journalism in the But Bartell's letter had dealt THACKREY'S PROMISE

'COMPASS' EDITOR REFUSES TO PRINT

SWP ANSWER TO HOWARD FAST'S LIES

on June 25. Written ten days beprinted his "Editor's Creed" in fore Fast's letter was printed, it obviously was not and could not "We are becoming a nation which have been intended as a reply to fears debate; which would sup-

Bartell, New York City Organizer have no effect in clarifying the

press opposing views rather than them. . ." This same I called this fact to Thackrey's refute attention and repeated my re- "Creed" ended with the promise July 26, characterized the bill as reduced to 22 hours of work per tion, are now using up their answer to Fast, giving it equal no effort to suppress the voices

By his refusal to print my

criminal character of their posi-

tion, let alone in combatting it.

letter is warranted." Thackrey gave Fast almost half While suppressing the views "would suppress opposing views" a page in the July 11 Compass of the SWP, Thackrey has print- rather than refute them" when (five days before the Bill of ed comments by other readers, in he is helping the Stalinists do a Rights Conference) in which to an obvious attempt to make it slander job on the Trotskyists.

service of the Stalinists on the eve of the Bill of Rights Conference, where the Communist

of the SWP.

them. Thackrey has proved this elementary principles .of free rights of even fascists.

speech and fair play. Thackrey

Party members and fellowtravelers defeated a resolution calling for defense of the civil rights of Trotskyists.

N. Y. Daily Compass, is a mem- declined to print it.

Because of this action by Thack-Fast's slanderous accusations. rey, the Compass was actually made to serve as a publicity instrument to help prevent the Bill quest that the Compass print my by Thackrey that "We shall make of Rights Conference from de-

fending the civil rights of op- prominence. Thackrey's only reply of our opponents. . . ponents of the Communist Party.

RANK DISCRIMINATION

was: "Sorry, but I do not feel

that publication of your July 13 reply to Fast, Thackrey has shown that he too "fears debate" and

Catholic Church

the Socialist Workers Party, The through his secretary sent the fails to challenge the central their opposite numbers among workers and their families are the "fault" of the employers. suffering acute want and misery.

### Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, August 8, 1949

Bucharest radio stated that oil

production, vital for the fuel sup-

ply of the Soviet Union as well

as its Eastern European satellites,

has reached only 68.5% of the

 $\Lambda$  round - up survey by the

authoritative Royal Institute of

# **Cardinal Spellman's Smokescreen** World Events

**Polio Cases on the Increase** 

#### **By Art Preis**

When Cardinal Spellman accused Eleanor Roosevelt of acting from "misinformation, ignorance and prejudice" in her opposition to the use of public funds for religious

schools, he was falsely attributing to her the very sins of which supporting the bill proposed by he himself is guilty.

her with support of the Barden land, which would withhold a Bill for federal aid to public portion of federal educational schools, but his whole argument funds from states whose laws against this bill, whose author restrict the use of public funds he called a "disciple of bigotry," is based on a deliberate misreprescatation of its contents.

He claims the Barden bill would schools. deny to 2,500,000 Catholic parotheir children equal rights and benefits with other sects."

**A FALSE ISSUE** 

Since Spellman claims he "had health services," but makes this studied every phrase of the as a minimum demand at this Barden Bill," he knows he is time.

creating a false issue when he But is Cardinal Spellman really implies that the Barden Bill would so solicitous about the safety and health of Catholic children as he provide federal funds for school lunches, transportation and pretends when he is using this health services for public school issue as a wedge to open the children, but forbid such paypublic treasury to the church? ments for parochial school stu-SAFETY AND HEALTH

dents. The Barden Bill, which is before the House Labor and Education Committee, prohibits the use of its proposed \$300,000,-000 fund for such services by all fought ratification by the states schools.

If there is any just complaint on this score, it is that the Barden tution. The health and welfare of Bill would deny these benefits to Catholic children - and of all the more than 90% of school Catholic students, in order to avoid a clear-cut restriction on the use of public monies for socalled "auxiliary services" in pri- relieved record of opposition to vate church schools.

#### PRESENT STATE LAWS

Moreover, passage of the Barden present status of this particular issue. In 19 states, parochial school students, along with public from school. In six states, they general text books. The federal them to disaffiliate from the free lunches for parochial students as well as public school pupils, breakers led by himself perprogram with federal funds.

tween Church and State," of

John E. Fogarty, Democratic Not only did he wrongly charge | Representative from Rhode Isportion of federal educational for school transportation, textbooks and health programs exclusively to publicly - controlled

Thus, in his June 19 attack on chial school children "health and Barden, Spellman declared: "We safety benefits" which it would must oppose unequivocally any provide public schol children. He bill that fails to guarantee at even demagogically speaks in the least non - religious text - books, name of the American Catholics bus rides and health services" who fought "on blood-soaked for- for parochial as well as public eign fields" and berates Mrs. school children. The "guarantee" Roosevelt for wanting to "deny means obligatory expenditure of public funds for parochial schools. The "at least" means that the

Cardinal wants more than funds for "texbooks, bus rides and

> ing to combat this dread disease. provide federal tax monies to

states which segregate Negro children into separate, inferior schools and deny them equal educational opportunites and The needs of Catholic workers' benefits with white children. The

children were not considered when Cardinal complains about "antithe Catholic hierarchy bitterly Catholic" discrimination, although the Barden Bill does not deny any of the proposed Federal Child Catholic child the right to attend Labor amendment to the Constiany public school. But he has not been moved to make a similar complaint against not only the children — are no concern of the Barden Bill, but even the bills children who attend public schools, Catholic hierarchy when it now which the hierarchy itself supinclucing more than half of all viciously opposes even the mild ports, which would finance a sys-National Health Insurance plan tem of brutal segregation and disadvocated by Truman. Indeed, the crimination against millions of Catholic hierarchy has an un-Negro children.

> **IIIS REAL OBJECTION** every type of socially-progressive

If the issue of "safety and than it was then.

legislation, including federal aid to education, which would provide health" is a straw-man raised by government benefits under public the Cardinal, if he keeps silent Bill would in no way affect the regulation for the workers and about the actual issue of glaring discrimination against Negro their children. And the Catholic workers themchildren, what then is his real selves may well ask, as many of objection to the Barden Bill? It

school children, receive public them undoubtedly do, whether a is the clause in the bill that says funds for transportation to and Prince of the Church who, tried that the federal funds which it to starve out a group of striking provides shall be used only for are supplied by public funds with Catholic cemetery workers, forced "tax-supported grade schools and high schools which are under school lunch bill already provides union of their choice and then public supervision and control." smashed their strike with strike-In his gutter - attack on Mrs. Roosevelt, however, Spellman and several hundred Catholic sonally - whether a Cardinal who tries to convey the false imschools in New York City alone boasted publicly that "I am proud pression that what he is concerned are maintaining such a lunch to be called a strikebreaker" is with is merely a "bottle of milk really concerned with the health to each child," "that all children The U. S. Supreme Court, in of Catholic children or merely should be protected from disease," two historic decisions, has breach- uses their needs as a pretext for eic. He even writes Mrs. Roose-

iectives.

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ISM, by Albert Goldman, 92

ed that "wall of separation be- getting his hands on public funds. velt: "You say you are against religious control of schools which THE BARDEN BILL

discrimination involved in the pose."

attacks on Mrs. Roosevelt and schools.



George P. Voss, epidemic coordinator for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, is shown in New York studying a polio incidence chart for 1949. Up to July 30 there were 8,299 cases this year as compared with 5,793 on that date last year. The government has billions to spend for war, but virtually noth-

# Western Germany and

**By Charles Hanley** 

On Aug. 14 the first elections will be held under the recently adopted constitution of the new federal state of Western Germany. This constitution is a revamped and "improved" edition of the Weimar Constitution of 1919. Capitalism remains in command as it did after World War I, and bourgeois democracy is no better a guarantee against fascism

OVERRULED BY U.S. The reconstruction of German capitalism is one of the main points in Washington's foreign policy: Western Germany is to become a bulwark (and future base for attack) against Soviet Russia. This policy appears as a contradiction to others sponsored by Washington, but capitalist politics is full of such contradictions. While Western Germany is getting Marshall Plan aid, for man factories has not yet stopped ever, there is a fundamental weaken Western German eco- gions, there were no German

nowy. The monetary reform of central authorities at all and U. S. support of the German 1943 was intended to help German | complete administrative anarchy | trusts continues; the much-

were

logical culmination.

ture" and the like.

## O. JOHN ROGGE BACKS TROTSKYISTS' RIGHTS

BROOKLYN, July 28 - O. John Rogge, speaking tonight before the Flatbush club of the Young Progressives of America, came out in defense of civil rights for James Kutcher and the 18 Socialisto-

Workers Party victims of the witch-hunt, and that it has offer-Smith Act. Rogge, a former U. S. ed the Communist Party a united Assistant Attorney General, has front to fight the persecution of have been able to solve the crisis. acted as defense counsel in many, the Stalinist defendants at Foley ecent civil rights cases, includ-| Square — an offer which the CP refuses to even discuss. ng the fight for the Trenton Six. As they always do on such oc-

When Rogge finished, some Stalinists got up to repeat all of casions, the Stalinists by their the usual slanders about the Trot- attacks on the civil rights of the skyists being fascists, scabs, etc. Trotskyists only succeeded in dis-They were answered by other crediting themselves and alienatcalled attention to Farrell Dobbs' hardened Stalinists. challenge to Howard Fast to submit these "charges" to an impar-Rogge correctly spoke up about

tial Commission of Inquiry, and the need to defend the Trotskyist the incriminating silence of the victims of the witch-hunt, al-Stalinists in the fact of this chalthough he weakened his position lenge. by coupling it with arguments It was also pointed out from

the floor that the SWP supports about the need to defend everyall the Stalinist victims of the one, including the fascists. .

## **Buffer Countries** Cry Out Over the **Economic Squeeze**

plan envisaged, in spite of all the The economic situation of the totalitarian pressure: buffer zone countries in Eastern Europe continues to deteriorate to the point of catastrophe. Neither the ruthless purges of the Stalinist machine nor the totalitarian clamp-down on the population The difficulties are so great that the satellite governments themselves are beginning to speak up

publicly about them. From Prague comes a report hat Czechoslovakia's Ministry of Foreign Trade "recommended" to the Kremlin - dominated Council members of the audience who ing support from everybody but for Economic Mutual Assistance that it should "devise some means to paralyze the effects of the Throughout the discussion Marshall Plan by interfering in

Marshall Plan countries." This cryptic and puzzling request, reported by C. L. Sulzberger in the N. Y. Times, can only be understood as a cry of he same correspondent. This document purports to give details of a conference between representatives of the Foreign Trade Ministry and nationalized Czech companies. Among other things, they com-

plain that the U.S., by holding up export of mining and metal- cumstances, are the dislocation of lurgical machinery and equipment, is seriously affecting the output of the mines and fountagonized peasantry. dries. Delivery of machine tools, ball-bearings and electrical equipment from Italy, Sweden and

Switzerland has been slowed down, ready reported as a fact in under pressure from Washington. Rumania. Hunger demonstrations The same holds true for other

vital materials. Particularly interesting is the complaint that lack of lead, previously imported from Yugoslavia, is limiting production in some key plants and threatening exports to | Curtain once more. Kremlin the USSR. As a result, the report is quoted, "mechanization cannot be realized as planned and instead of Eastern Europe, in spite of the of reducing physical effort, even totalitarian regimes, will yet have more must be demanded from their word to say in determining labor if the plan is to be fulfilled." | their own fate, against Western In Rumania, a Cabinet com- imperialism as well as against munique broadcast by the Stalinism.

THE MILITANT ARMY

July Shows Increase In Subscriptions To "The Militant"

G.E.G. of the Pittsburgh area on renewing his subscription wrote us that he believes an investigation of the Roman Catholic penetration of the U.S. State De-Total subscriptions to The Mili- partment would prove "reveal-

that's what it did. The British Laborite Government would have liked some imnationalized; they wished to col-

against German competition. simply wanted to exclude Ger-

state. The German masses do not nurse many illusions about the new fake autonomy of Western Germany; nevertheless, they xample, the dismantling of Ger- prefer a semi-independent Western German federal state to the unions are often obliged, under completely. On the whole, how- previous setup. Under the former direct pressure from the work system of a military government ers, to protest against the Amertendency to strengthen, not to dominating various German re- ican policy of support to former

The Western Powers capitalism cope with inflation, and | paralyzed reconstruction tormented the "man in the

street" in his every-day life. There are two big political portant German industries to be parties in Western Germany; the Social Democrats and the laborate with a board composed Christian Democrats. (The Stalof German union bureaucrats and inists, liberals, and neo-fascists German capitalist representatives | are less important and we leave who would be willing to grant them aside for the moment.) The "reparations" toy Britain and Christian Democrats are the party to safeguard British industries of the bourgeoisie and closely Bankrupt French capitalism (in spite of occasional disputes).

support American imperialism The Social Democratic leaders,

the United States, which is in- would lose their hold on the workterested in rebuilding a German ing class. This explains why they

Western powers.

Indeed, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the

sometimes stand up not only against Soviet policies, but also against measures taken by the

man competition on the world although they are at the service

market, pillage German factories, of the imperialist camp too, have and prevent the reunification of to consider the workers' opinions Germany. But these two weakened and feelings up to a certain point. imperialisms were overruled by If they failed to do so, they

Nazi and to German monopolies.

discussed anti-trust laws and

and

International Affairs in London warned that the economies of Eastern Europe have been threatened seriously by "hasty" land reforms and attempts at industrialization, because of the lack of a material basis to implement these measures. The

By Paul G. Stevens

survey pointed to the fact, for instance, that the Polish Government 'itself announced it was limiting this year's target to the organization of only 200 "cooperative" farms out of a total of 3,400 proposed by the country's economic plan.

Stalinist "planning" in industry and "collectivization" on the land have had to remain a fiction as long as national barriers remain, as long as there is no over-all distress in the light of an alleged plan to utilize the resources of secret document made public by the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries, and - on the other hand - as long as there is no possibility for active commerce with the West. The only results of the Stalinist measures, or rather half-

measures, of "socialization" in Eastern Europe, under the cirthe economy, with consequent super-exploitation of the workers under speed-up plans, and an an-

Peasant revolts and the formation of guerrilla bands are alof workers and unrest in the

factories are likewise reported from time to time. The Western imperialist powers bank on a crack-up there that will permit them to penetrate the Iron policy is undoubtedly helping this objective. But the workers

which Thomas Jefferson spoke, to the extent of ruling as "constitutional" the use by state and local governments of public funds | Barden Bill - discrimination | for transportation of parochial against a group of American school children and for supplying school children approximately as participation" is involved when them non-religious text books. large as the number of parochial tax monies, collected from non-The Supreme Court, however, did school children - about which Catholic and Catholic alike, are not make such use of public funds the Cardinal was silent in his denied to Catholic non - public compulsory. /

But what the Catholic hierarchy Representative Barden. wants is a bill which would make The Barden Bill, as well as the it mandatory that federal funds Senate bill which would permit for Catholic schools he is demandbe spent for "auxiliary services" the states to use federal educa- ing that the more than 90% of in all Catholic schools. That is tional funds for "auxiliary serwhy the Catholic hierarchy is vices" in Catholic schools, would to public schools should be forced



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are paid for by taxpayers' money. There is a very real issue of That is exactly what I, too, op-

#### **ATOM-WAR HYSTERIA STIRRED** At the same time, he raises the **UP AT HOUSE ARMS HEARINGS** charge that "taxation without

(Continued from page 1) successes in the mass production evaded answering questions conof super-bombs.

in passing, Bradley also pro-"he Cardinal doesn't mention war.' mised that the initial manpower that by demanding public funds in the projected war of atomic

annihilation will be supplied from abroad. He promised that 'the families who send their children core of the ground power in being the bi-partisan foreign policy, of will come from Europe, aided

to pay taxes to maintain private by other nations as they can religious schools from which the mobilize. overwhelming majority of chil-The most forthright declaradren are debarred. This is "taxation in support of all-out war ion without participation" with a moves came from Senator McCarengeance.

ran, head of the powerful Senate The Catholic hierarchy is try-Judiciary Committee, who stated ing to destroy the democratic flatly "war [with the Soviet principle of absolute separation Union] is inevitable and the of church and state, to get govsconer we get ready for it, the ernment support for Catholic better off we will be."

schools and to impose Catholic The Democratic senator from control over the public schools. Nevada was only spelling out the As our next article will prove, gist of the arms bill and of the these are the real aims of the testimony" and "pleas" of the Catholic hierarchy. The false Truman administration and its issues raised by Spellman are a militarists. smoke-screen to conceal these ob-

#### JUST A BEGINNING"

n the hope of "conciliating" the Gen. George C. Marshall, growing Congressional opposition to the arms bill. former Secretary of State under But this dispute relates to the whom the current war drive was

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first launched, added his voice in form and not the essence of the favor of immediate passage of matter. A "modified" arms bill soil. The German masses must acceptable to the Vandenbergs be given an opportunity to abolish the arms bill. Agreeing with the administration's claims that its and the Taft would be in essence, arms proposals were "modest," if not in scope, identical with the Street's trustiest allies in Europe. he added that the initial outlays | measure now up for consideration.

dccrees of the occupation authorities have never been enforced seriously and were never meant to be. The dismantling of German plants is of course opposed by the capitalist parties as well as

"just a beginning." He the workers' organizaitons.

'The Social Democratic reprecerning his own estimate of sentatives in the Bonn Parlia-"Russia's attitude on the hot mentary Council from time to

time thus act as transmitters for There is an obvious hesitancy the voice of the German workin Congress among some of the ing class. This assembly is not

hitherto staunchest supporters of altogether useless; it provides a provisional tribune to the Gerwhich the new arms bill is the man masses.

WHAT IS AT STAKE The unprecedented powers de-

The workers of other countries manded by Truman have caused ought to pay attention to the Senator Vandenberg, one of the co-architects of Washington's misery, sorrows, grievances and problems of their German fellow foreign policy, to shy away. workers. At stake is the all-Vandenberg has reportedly proimportant issue of whether Westtested "vehemently to Secretary ern Germany shall become the Acheson that this was the offensive base of imperialism for greatest grant of power ever World War III. or whether Gersought by a President in peacemany shall become a member of time." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 3.) a Socialist Union of European Many other Senators have like-Peoples and her creative genius wise been complaining that the and productive power contribute bill "goes too far," it is "premato the peace and prosperity of a workers' world.

Senatorial hearings on the bill have been postponed until Aug. 8 The imperialist and Stalinist occupiers do their best to prevent the German proletariat from coming to power. A Socialist

Germany cannot be born while occupation troops remain on her German capitalism, one of Wall

> That is why the workers of every country must call for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops - whether American, British, French or Russian.

do so.

ple.'

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tant during July showed an in crease over June. In June the

L. B. Courts of Sharonville, branches of the So-Ohio, a long-time reader of The Militant, considers that both the cialist Workers Republican and Democratic Party chalked up Parties are under "quite an 166 subs; in July obligation to the Catholic hierar-178. This increase is chy" and that is why there is a due to the closer atconcerted drive at present to "use tention a number of the American taxpayer to pay for branches are paying their schools." to the important

Jack G. of Seattle sent in \$2 problem of increaswith the following letter: "I want ing the circulation you to send me your fine workers were of America's leading paper for one year when my socialist weekly.

present subscription runs out. New York's June subscription Please keep up the good work of campaign was still registering letting the workers know what returns in the first part of July. is going on in the world. Here's Detroit's campaign began lifting for socialism all over the world. the score at the end of the month. Only then can the workers realize Los Angeles, Buffalo, Flint, what they have been missing in Scattle, Minneapolis and other this fine world of ours."

branches worked fairly con-A letter from A. G. of Los sistently throughout the month. Angeles was a most eloquent one. The branch scores appear below. we thought. He enclosed \$4 to Literature Agent Shirley Mason renew his combination subscripreports that Ernie K. and Freddy tion to The Militant and Fourth R. are leading in Detroit's sub-International and an additional scription campaign with four \$6 as a contribution to help get points each. Chuck is pressing out these two publications. Thanks them with three points. One a lot, A.G. It's contributions like point is given for each six months this which keep us on the firing subscription obtained for The line. Militant or Fourth International,

the monthly theoretical magazine BRANCH of American Trotskyism. Two New York points is rung up for a year's Detroit sub to either publication. Los Angeles Flint did nicely with 11 subs Buffalo for July on top of 11 for June. Flint "Our campaign was a very Seattle modest one," writes' Literature Minneapolis Agent O. Daniels, because of the Newark small number of comrades and Philadelphia their lack of leisure time. "But St. Paul we have persistently utilized Chicago every available minute in going out for subs and will continue to Milwaukee St. Louis Oakland

Seattle pulled up from one sub in June to 11 in July, which is "not a bad harvest" in the opinion of Literature Agent Marianne Stanley. She reports that the response to the Seattle subgetters "is not at all unfavorable, especially among the Negro peo-SEND FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL The entire issues is devoted to The American Impire. Only 25c.

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Page Three

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## **Debs and His Slanderers** By George Breitman Monday, August 8, 1949

If the Stalinists were wise, they would scrupulously refrain from ever mentioning the name of Eugene V. Debs, whose memory stands as a rebuke to their repeated betrayals of the struggle for socialism.

An equally offensive review of But having no shame, they speak and write about him frequently this biography was the one writand even try to misappropriate ten in the July 17 N. Y. Times by for their own reactionary purpos- Sidney Hook. A Social Democrat, es the incorruptible tradition of whose ideas the capitalist press is always willing to give space the great pioneer socialist. Their latest attempt at such a to these days, Hook has no more theft is occasioned by the publica- in common with the Debs tradition of Ray Ginger's first-rate tion than the Stalinists do - and biography of Debs, The Bending a lot more in common with the Cross, reviewed here last week. Stalinists than either he or they Writing about this book in the are willing to acknowledge. July 7 Daily Worker, David Car- (Both, for example, were supporters of the second imperialist penter concludes: war; and both are opponents of

"A reading of this biography of Debs makes it clear that it is the Communist Party which is carrying forward to an ever highlition of capitalism which was initiated by working-class forces in ism, who saw even then that the out of the schools.) workers could not achieve a de-

cent life until they established socialism in the United States." But a reading of Ginger's biography makes clear just the opal qualities but divorces them

other Latin American countries overthrow popularly-elected governments with American arms, and' institute dic-

from his political contributions, posite of this contention. and he exaggerates Debs' weak-THE CONTRAST ON WAR nesses in order to deny his real After all, what was the one significance in the development thing about Debs that is most of the American socialist movehonored today if it isn't the courment. This is the standard Social ageous stand he took against Democratic approach to Debs -World War I? What is the Debs hail him for his "saintly" chartradition if it isn't a consistent acter but warn rebellious workers

despite persecution, vilification path. and imprisonment? That is just what the Stalinists basely be-DEBS AS LEADER

Debs, he concedes, was a great trayed in World War II. human being, he was a fighter; Lenin, in his Letter to American Workers, hailed Debs for he was endowed with purity of physical courage, and a "great shot than vote for loans for the and simple heart." But, he hastpresent criminal and reactionary ens to add, Debs "lacked certain imperialist war; that he, Debs, qualities necessary for enduring "DERIVATIVE IDEAS" knows of only one holy, and from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war acter," and Ginger is wrong in Debs' ideas is truly something to for the liberation of mankind calling him the "political leader marvel at. Unlike Debs, Hook had from wage slavery!" But the Stalinists, acting in the interests' of a reactionary labor bureaucracy of the kind Lenin

nor modern capitalism."

fighters. If Debs had lived long enough to oppose World War II, the Daily Worker would have been howling for his arrest and applauding his conviction, as they

all militant workers and anti-war

tendencies in the labor and liberal movements - the Stalinists seeker level the struggle for the abo- ing to deny them to the Trotskyists, and Hook taking the "ideological" leadership of the movethe heyday of American capital- ment to drive Stalinist teachers Like many other detractors of Debs who pose as his admirers, Hook damns him with faint praise. He stresses Debs' person-

the fight for civil rights for all

were the theoretical superiors of attack back in the depression Debs. But these people (who liked days when middle class intellecto picture Debs as an ignorant tuals were dabbling with Marxorator) betrayed the most fun- ism. The difference between the damental principles of Marxism, ideas of a Debs and a Hook is while Debs stood firmly by his that the former, despite the hanprinciples and refused to be inti- dicaps imposed by his backmidated or corrupted into aband- ground and the period he lived in, struggle against imperialist war against following in his political oning them. The proof of a poli- "derived" his ideas from the real-

tical leader's theoretical compet- ities of the class struggle and paign of lies and slanders. After ence lies in the actions that flow the needs of the working class, from his theory, and the way that while the latter, despite his to turn them into harmless icons, Debs met the supreme test of war "finesse" in the realm of "theo- canonize them, and surround signifies that from the viewpoint ry," shamelessly adapted himself their names with a certain halo of socialism he was a thousand to the requirements of the ruling for the 'consolation' of the opsaying that he "would rather be intent, intellectual as well as times greater than all the Berg- class. It is for these reasons that pressed classes and with the obers, Hillquits and their modern Debs will be remembered as "an ject of duping them, while at the

Hook's arrogance in sneering forever.

counterparts put together.

WHAT HOOK PRAISES

of American socialism" in his an opportunity to study the full his readers from the path of in this work of adulterating time because he was "never the body of Marxist teachings; un- Debs, it is not surprising that Marxism. They omit, obliterate, brains of the party." Further- like Debs, he had a chance to he concludes his review by sin- and distort the revolutionary side more, "Anyone who sees Amer- acquaint himself with the rise gling out Debs' weakest side for of its teachings, its revolutionary ca's choice — as Debs did — as and degeneration of the first his greatest "praise": "Debs' soul. They push to the foreground one between the complete free- workers' state and to learn of most precious legacy to the Amer- and extol what is, or seems, acdom' of socialism and the 'total' the contributions of Russian Bol- ican people may turn out to be ceptable to the bourgeoisie.' slavery' of capitalism under- shevism, the first movement in his refusal to make a cult of leadstands neither modern socialism history to show how a revolution- ership." Debs' attitude to the du- to Marx and what the Stalinists ary party could be built. Despite ties of revolutionary leadership did to Lenin in this way, both the Here Hook is trying to uphold these advantages, all of Hook's was a negative one, as our article Social Democrats and Stalinists,

the claim that the reformists like ideas are borrowed from the capi- last week indicated. He stood each after their own fashion, are Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit talist ideology that he used to aside from. most of the party's now trying to do to Debs.

# Why the Stalinists Are Afraid did in the case of the 18 Trotsky-ists in the Minneapolis trial of 1941. To Face Commission of Inquiry

factional struggles, and did not even attend conventions where the leadership was elected. The result was that the reformist leaders were able to consolidate greater control of the party, which they then used to ruin it as a revolutionary organization. The history of American socialism might have been different, and the revolutionary movement stronger today, if Debs had acted differently. For Hook, this major mistake of Debs becomes a laudable "refusal to make a cult of leadership." How happy the Hooks, Murrays and Greens as well as the Trumans and Clarks would be if the revolutionary workers would take a similarly abstentionist attitude toward the crucial question of leadership in the labor movement

of his fellow Social Democrats to Debs remind us forcibly of the opening lines of Lenin's great work, State and Revolution:

"What is now happening to Marx's doctrine has, in the course of history, often happened to the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancination. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teaching with the most savage hostility, the most furious hatred, the most ruthless camtheir death, attempts are made enduring influence on mankind" same time emasculating and vulfor centuries after the Hillquits garizing the real essence of their and Hooks have been forgotten revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time, the bourgeoisie

and the opportunists within the Since Hook's aim is to divert labor movement are cooperating

What the Social Democrats did

influence on mankind," his ideas had a "crude and derivative char- at the "derivative" character of

and Debs fought all their lives, not only supported the war loans appropriations and taxes in the second criminal and reactionary imperialist war, but they took the lead in breaking strikes, curbing the Negro struggle and fomenting lynch hysteria against



equality, replaced the bureaucracy with self-government of the toilers, abolished secret diplomacy, strove to render all social relationships completely transparent. Stalinism reestablished the most offensive forms of privileges, imbued inequality with a provocative character, strangled self-activity under police absolutism, transformed administration into a monopoly of the Kremlin oligarchy and regenerated the fetishism of power in forms that absolute monarchy dared not dream of." - Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938.

lands.

sia.

sands of Portugese political and labor

prisoners rotting on his dread prison is-

British, French and Dutch, troops -

all U. S.-equipped - massacre the peo-

ples of Malaya, Indo-China and Indone-

Military cliques in Venezuela, Peru and

tatorships that bar strikes and unions.

foreign arms bill which he expects will

strengthen his dictatorship that keeps a

million Spaniards in prison or under

is support of a program to prop up capi-

talist reaction and to murder strikers, op-

ponents of dictatorship and colonial fight-

These are the first "aggressors" who

will confront the weapons that Truman

might send anywhere under the terms of

Support of the foreign arms program

continuous police surveillance.

ers for independence.

Franco eagerly awaits passage of the

## The First to Face U. S. Arms

What will be done with the arms that 'Truman wants to send to "any nation" or "group" abroad that he sees fit? Here are some of the things already being done by governments financed and armed bythe U.S.

British troops are used as strike-breakers against English dock workers.

French troops shoot down French coal miners and smash their strike.

Italian troops shoot striking Italian peasants and attack industrial strikes. Italian government police break up Protestant religious services and arrest Protestant ministers.

Australian troops are used as strikebreakers against the Australian coal miners.

Belgian troops, led by British officers. disperse workers in the British zone of Germany who demonstrate against the dismantling of plants and loss of jobs.

Greek monarchist troops execute Greek strikers under the death-penalty decree for strikes.

Portugese troops bulwark the regime of Dictator Salazar and guard the thou- his foreign arms bill.

## **Clark and Truman's Supporters**

Truman's appointment of Tom C. Clark to the Supreme Court brings sharply to the fore the role and responsibility of the most prominent labor, liberal and minority organizations.

As everyone knows, their very existence depends on the preservation and extension of civil liberties. Formally all of them have taken cognizance of this, and have expressed themselves as opposed to the current assaults on civil rights.

The AFL at its convention last November went on record against the "loyalty" purge and asked Truman to withdraw the executive order which set this purge in motion. The CIO, which likewise held its convention last November, took similar action. The ADA, a coalition of liberals and prominent labor officials, took the same position at its convention in April of last year. So did the NAACP, the largest Negro mass organization, at its convention last month. It was the leaders of these organizations who threw their political support openly or tacitly behind Truman in the last presidential election. In fact, Truman owes his election to their backing. They, in turn, bear a major part of the respon-

sibility for Truman's policies, in the first instance, in the field of civil rights.

Truman has given them his reply, not alone by his past actions but also by this act of appointing to the Supreme Court a man who is the very embodiment of the "loyalty" purges and the witch-hunts. To crown the insult, Clark happens to be a dyed-in-the-wool representative of the Southern Jim Crow forces and the chief government executor of strikebreaking by injunction.

How serious were the CIO, the AFL, the ADA and the NAACP about their opposition to the "lovalty" purge and their demand on Truman? Were they just talking for the record, giving lip-service to the struggle for civil rights? Or did they really mean what they said?

# LENIN

today! Hook's review and the attitude



It is now squarely up to them to answer this in action. And the urgently indicated action is to vigorously oppose Clark's nomination at the Senate hearings Aug. 9. As we go to press, not a single one of the above-mentioned organizations has yet demanded from the Senate that it reject the nomination of this notorious enemy of the labor, Negro and liberal movements.

Another of Debs' great ser-On July 13 Farrell Dobbs public- opposed entry into war of being | carrying out Roosevelt's order. | Stalinists continue to proclaim vices, perhaps not so well rememly challenged Howard Fast to sub its "enemies," and quote Fast as On June 27 FBI agents raided their own crooked version of the bered today as his anti-war fight mit to an impartial Commission the authority for locking such SWP headquarters in Minneapolis events. but at the time deeply apprecia-

was made against the Trotskyists

of Inquiry the slanderous charges people up. ted by workers in all wings of the against the Socialist Workers labor movement, was his leader-Besides fashioning reactionary Party which Fast had printed in ship and unceasing activity in the reapons for the government, struggle for the preservation of a letter in the July 11 Daily Com-Fast's statement contains a numpass. On July 16 and 17, when civil liberties. Mention any of the ber of implied and explicit falsifamous labor defense cases from other Stalinists repeated these fications. the time he entered the socialist charges at the Bill of Rights

He implies that the govern movement until he died — Moyer Conference, Dobbs again called ment, in addition to accusing the and Haywood, the McNamara for the establishment of such a Trotskyists of "sowing dissen brothers. Tom Mooney, the IWW commission, to be composed of sion" in the armed forces, also and other victims of the wartime leading figures in the labor and proved that this had happened. and postwar raids, Sacco and Vanliberal movements who would in-Actually, the jury totally diszetti, just to recall a few - and vestigate the charges and render regarded this charge and conalways Debs was on the firing a verdict on them. victed the 18 SWP defendants line, giving unsparingly of his To date, neither Howard Fast solely for their advocacy of the

time and resources for their defense.

nor the Daily Worker has menideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and tioned this challenge, let alone Trotsky. He also implies that this charge

Even the anti-war lecture tour answered it. In this and succeed which culminated in the famous ing issues of The Militant, we speech at Canton was entered on will show why.

in wartime. That is the only by Debs with the intention of In 1941 the Smith Act, now be possible meaning which can be challenging the wartime attacks ing used against the Communist attached to his phrase: "atla time on free speech and free press by Party leaders in New York, was when this country was facing the the Wilson administration. It is first used in the Minneapolis full threat of Nazi Germany and to Debs, as much as any other figure, that we are indebted for the Trial, in which 18 SWP leaders fascist Italy," especially when were convicted and sent to jail two sentences later he is talking noble tradition of solidarity in Hundreds of organizations repreabout "any country at war. . . defense of all tendencies in the serting millions of members pro-But it will also be noted that he labor movement, no matter what tested this conviction as an political views are held by the does not give any date. assault on civil liberties and sup workers under the attack of the

VITAL STATISTICS ported the defendants' demand for

Since he is reluctant to use a presidential pardon to restore dates, we will have to supply

them for him. The order for the indictment of the Trotskyists in Minneapolis was handed down by President Roosevelt on June 13,

1941. That was almost six months before the U.S. declared war on Japan and Germany.

It was also nine days before the German invasion of the Soviet

In other words, the indictment those outside of its borders and time when the Communist Party was denouncing Roosevelt as a warmonger and opposing U. S. ceply to Fast, this is an ex- entry into the imperialist war. Nine days later Hitler and Stalin

throw of the government by force out a moment's delay. The SWP tinued to express its opposition to the war throughout its duration.

Meanwhile the Department of ment can accuse all those who Justice and the FBI were busy

and St. Paul and seized the Our emphasis on these points "evidence" they wanted - works of fact does not mean that we of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky telieve civil liberties and free and other publicly-sold SWP speech should operate only in literature. On June 30 a grand eacetime. On the contrary, we jury was convened to study this fight for their full recognition in wartime as well. But the truth evidence."

is that the 18 defendants were not convicted at a time when the On July 15, almost five months before Pearl Harbor, the indict-II. S. was in war, and that while ment was handed down. On Oct. 27 the trial began. The jury the war was on, the government, handed down its verdict on Dec. 1 even though it continued to harass us because of our political The judge set sentence on the opposition to the war, did not defendants on Dec. 8. at almost dare to bring us to court on anthe same minute that Congress other trumped - up charge of was declaring war. 'sowing dissension in the med

EASILY ESTABLISHED

And one reason why the Stal-These facts, which are well mown to the Stalinists, were inists are afraid to face an imconfirmed by Professor Thomas partial Commission of Inquiry is I. Emerson, the eminent legal that the truth about this charge, authority of Yale Law School, in like all their other charges his speech at the Bill of Rights against us, can be so easily Conference last month. But the established.

forces.

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BROOKLYN --- Mandel's Manor. 343 Pennsylvania Ave. off Sutter, imeetings every Thurs. evening at 8. CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488. BOSTON-Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of monh. BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except. Sun.

CHICAGO-166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m. DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT-Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496 Open House Saturday evenings.

PITTSBURGH-1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Norums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist lass 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every churs., 7:30 p.m. LOS ANGELES-Militant Publ. Assn. Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke Room 3 3061.

MILWAUKEE-917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun, through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS-10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

one 7-8780.

SAN FRANCISCO-1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m. SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacific toom 214. LYNN, (Mass.)-Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 1:30-9:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS ---- "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE-Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, book-

store. **TOLEDO** — Monthly open meeting. Fourth Tuesday, 8 p.m., Kapps' Hall, 413 Summit, Room 2.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For infor-mation write P. D. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287. NEW HAVEN-For information tele

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For informa-tion write P.O. Box 554, Worcester, YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

## **Steel Profits and Capitalist Parasitism**

Even those of us who have long been aware of the staggering profits made by the United States Steel Corporation and the basic steel industry generally are astounded by the almost unbelievable profits figures revealed in their latest statements.

In the first six months of this year, U.S. Steel admitted raking in net profits after taxes of \$94,052,265 — an increase of 76% over its record profits in the same period last year.

But even this doesn't tell the whole story. U. S. Steel's report hides another \$35,000,000 of profits under "depreciation reserves" — a bookkeeping trick to make its profits look smaller by 25%. The company paid taxes on this "reserve" - which means that the government regards it as profits.

On the basis of present reduced materials costs and operating at 100% capacity, the steel industry could grant wage increases and pensions amounting to 30 cents an hour to every steel worker and still enjoy annual net profits of \$966,-600,000 as compared to the annual rate of \$797,300,000 based on the 1949 first quarter take.

Since 1939, the output per worker per hour in the steel industry has increased 49.5%, while real wages — that is, wages in terms of actual buying power — have risen just 14.3%. In the same ten years, steel profits in terms of the same buying power have shot up 255.3%.

These figures, based on industry re-

ports themselves, were cited last week before Truman's steel "fact-finding" board by Robert R. Nathan, former government economist, in support of the CIO Steel Workers demands for higher wages, a welfare fund and pensions.

They prove indisputably that the steel industry hasn't a leg to stand on in its arrogant refusal to meet the steelworkers' just demands. In fact, it could meet. these demands, reduce steel prices and still make profits at its high war-time level.

But these facts about steel profits in this period of rising unemployment and they mirror the kind of profits being made by the other monopolized basic industries — have an implication that goes beyond the immediate wage issue, vital as that is.

We can see in these fantastic profits the enormous parisitism, the insatiable greed of the monopoly owners. Each year they squeeze more and more out of the workers. Each year, in spite of the crumbs organized labor wrests from them, these monopolists bite deeper and deeper into the national income.

Why should labor, which creates all, continue to tolerate a system that permits the existence of such parasites? Why should labor, the overwhelming majority of the people, not end this intolerable drain on society by ending the profits system, expropriating the monopoly industries and establishing the planned system of socialism?



class enemy.

CP AND CIVIL RIGHTS

their civil rights. Explaining in What a far, far cry from the the Compass why he and the Stalbehavior of the Stalinists, not inists oppose the SWP's pardon

only in the Soviet Union where campaign, Fast used the follow they have completely destroyed ng argument: workers democracy but here in the "The Trotskyites were accused

United States where they themof sowing dissension among the selves are a persecuted minority. American Armed Forces at a time As I. F. Stone aptly put it, they when this country was facing the 'taint" the struggle for civil rights, including the protection of

their own, by denying such rights to their working class opponents. They have made themselves odious in the eyes of decent working-

men and women everywhere by their savage attacks on James Kutcher, the legless victim of Truman's purge, and by their de-

mands that civil rights move ments reject defense of the Trot- ing. All the government has to changed the CP's line and the skyists or face disruption and do is charge the Stalinists with Stalinists began to demand that calumny by the Stalinists.

In short, there is no more truth to the Stalinist claim that and violence" (as it is doing) rejused to betray the anti-war they are carrying forward the and then it can argue (along struggle in this way and construggle begun by Debs and his Fast's lines) that the prosecufellow pioneers than to their pre- tion "is not a case of civil libertense that they are heirs and ties."

continuators of Marx, Engels and

full threat of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. This, then, is not a case of civil liberties. Any coun-Union. try at war assumes the right to defend itself against its enemies, was ordered by Roosevelt at a

those within its borders." As Dobbs pointed out in his remely dangerous line of reason-

"conspiracy to advocate over- the U.S. get into the war with-

Or, in case of war, the govern-

## "Tighten Our Belts"

### - By Joseph Keller -

Just before disembarking in New York last week from a three-week vacation in England and France, the multi-millionaire Wall Street speculator and "elder statesman" of U. S. imperialism, Bernard Baruch, gave a press interview aboard the luxury super-liner Queen Mary.

"I don't agree with those who say there will be a slump in the country," opined Baruch. But, he genially added: "If we lose some money, we'll just tighten our belts and go ahead as we have before.

If "we" lose "some money" - that is, go into a serious depression - whose belt is going to be tightened? Certainly not Mr. Baruch's. On his millions, he, his children and his children's children would not have to make another dime and they'd still be able to fill their bellies with the finest food and drink every day of their lives.

How quick the plutocrats like Baruch are to speak of "tightening belts" as an answer to depression. Only those who see before them an endless vista of richly-laden tables, who have never missed a meal except from indigestion due to over-eating, whose only problem with belts is to get them big enough, can speak of "tightening belts" with the lightmindedness of a Baruch. How nice it would be for the Baruchs of this world, if unemployed and hungry workers could

**VOLUME XIII** satisfy their craving for food simply by pulling in their belts another notch. How unfortunate that the human body succumbs to starvation before the last possible notch can be reached, or, what is far worse from Baruch's standpoint, that workers might rise up to put an end to the social causes of their misery rather than lie down with-

It is quite true that for the Baruchs a depression means only "losing some money." But for the worker out of a job it means seeing his wife and kids grow pale and weak and sick, seeing them shivering in the cold of winter without proper shivering in the cold of winter without proper clothes, seeing them sit in the rain amid their few poor sticks of furniture after the bailiffs drive them out for non-payment of rent.

How far removed is the capitalist mind from the needs and feelings of the mass of people, how cold and indifferent to human misery. And how useless to appeal to any sense of humanity, to any social consciousness in a ruling class whose spokesmen, like Baruch, can glibly speak of appeasing hunger by "tightening OUR belts."

There ought to bealaw against anyone who tells the hungry and needy to "tighten our belts." They ought to be locked up for the rest of their lives on a diet of one medium-sized potato and a pint of water a day. And in their cell there ought to be.a neon sign, in red, saying: "Keep Pulling!"

## -Socialized Medicine VIII– **Insurance** for the Doctor

- By Grace Carlson

In their frenzied attacks upon the British National Health Service and upon the National Health Insurance Program recently discussed in the United States Congress, the American Medical Association bureaucrats laud voluntary health insurance programs. It was not always so! In 1932, when a national committee on costs of

medical care advocated prepayment plans, group practice and other reforms, the Journal of the AMA insisted that the adoption of these recommendations would lead to "socialism, communism and revolution." When the Blue Cross plan, now so highly praised by the AMA, was being launched in the Thirties by the American Hospital Association, the AMA Journal conducted a furious campaign against it.

Public pressure in favor of better health programs forced the AMA to capitulate in its opposition to voluntary insurance plans. In the main, however, AMA support of such voluntary insurance plans as Blue Cross, Blue Shield, etc., has been given in order to prevent more adequate public health programs from being carried through. But, AMA officials have also come to realize that health insurance is insurance for the doctor as well as for the patient.

Many of the AMA's state societies have established their own prepayment medical plans. These Blue Shield plans now operate in 42 states and cover a total of about 10,000,000 subscribers and their dependents. The Blue Cross hospital insurance organizations now have a total enrollment of about 31,000,000.

Together with those enrolled under commercial insurance prepayment policies or in cooperative insurance groups, some 55,000,000 Americans are now covered by some hospital cost plan and 37,000,000 by some medical or surgical insurance plan. But some 90,000,000 have no medical or hospital coverage at all - and, of those enrolled in medical prepayment plans, only a very small percentage receive full coverage.

As Dr. Richman, director of the St. Louis Labor Health Institute and a long-time advocate of compulsory insurance, has pointed out, none of the insurance plans provides for a complete program of health care for workers and their families. All of these plans have strict limitations - age limits, no provision for cases of chronic illness, time limits on hospital care, etc.

Dr. Richman's words on the inadequacies of the Blue Cross voluntary insurance program deserve special attention now that workers are being bombarded with AMA propaganda about it:

"This fast-growing movement, which bills itself as a non-profit organization has reached the point where it now holds a virtual monopoly over hospital services and facilities. There is little consumer control or labor representation. There are the usual limitations in fine print. Labor unions find out to their sorrow that their members are only half-way protected. . . The Blue Cross like so many plans is insurance, and frequently worthless insurance at that, rather than a plan for service.'

for Mayor

Witch-Hunt Inquisition at AFL Convention in N. Y.

New York SWP Slate

Are you or have you ever been a role. But to carry out their destroy organized labor. But a a Communist? Are you or have political feud with their Stalinist close study of union bureaucrats you ever been a member of any opposition, the AFL leaders emsubversive group advocating over- ployed the methods of the totali- than anything in their minds is throw of the Government? Have tar.ans, including the Stalinists any kind of internal union opyou been called on to sign the themselves.

Through these methods borrowthreatens their control and the non-Communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Law, and ed from the thought-controllersemoluments and privileges have you done so? What is your from Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, thereof. opinion of President Truman's Franco, on down to our homeexecutive order concerning the grown Attorney General Tom loyalty pledge? Does your union Clark — the reactionary New contribute financially or give York AFL leaders sought to moral support to any Communist- insure themselves in advance front organizations? What is against any voice of criticism or They could pass his "examinayour opinion of the trial of the opposition, to intimidate the eleven Communists in New York? delegate and to deny seating to No, these are not the inquisi- those who might have a "seditorial questions hurled at some tious" and 'disloyal" attitude victim before the House Un- toward the top bureaucracy. American Witch - Hunt Commit- Some delegates who ran the tee. They are not taken from third-degree gauntlet safely dared FBI records of an "investigation" to object to the use of the quesof some government worker tion on the Taftt - Hartley Act,

under Truman's "loyalty" purge. cited above, and similar ques-They are a few of the many tions. Federation President Naturally, the American people are apt to look similar questions which the Thomas A. Murray answered that with disfavor on a "patriotism" that rewards so elected delegates to the New "some time in dealing" York State Federation of Labor crafty, under-cover men, sent whether the war wasn't inspired and conducted (AFL) had to answer last week into your organization to do to the satisfaction of a credentials worse than the Taft-Hartley Law, committee, handpicked by the we have to use the law to purge the "patriotism" of the corporations will cost the bureaucratic leaders, before they these people from our unions." questions." Murray didn't say just what could be "cleared" and seated. The immediate intent of this would be "worse" than a law inquisition was to ferret out and drafted by the open-shoppers to eliminate in advance any duly- smash strikes through injuncelected delegate who at any time tions, ban the closed shop and in his life had ever had the undermine union security, subslightest leanings towards the ject the unions to ruinous em-Communist Party or to any other ployer "damage" suits and give organization or cause in which the employers scores of other the Stalinists have ever played deadly weapons to maim, gut and

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1949

NEW YORK, Aug. 4 — The Socialist Workers Party today announced its entry into the municipal election campaign with candidates for the four major offices, running

on a platform that offers the voters of New York a working class alternative to the capitalist which supported O'Dwyer in 1945, political machine that holds the city in its grip.

The four SWP candidates are: Michael Bartell for Mayor. Harry Ring for Controller.

Gladys Barker for President of City Council.

Harold Robbins for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

Michael Bartell fired the openng shot of the SWP campaign n a statement assailing the conditions that exist in the nation's argest and richest city.

"What is the picture in New York today?" he asked. "A half million unemployed walk the sidewalks, and their number is growing. Vast, overcrowded, vermininfested slums are a national scandal and new housing lags far behind the city's needs, while workers vainly look for jobs.

### RAMPANT BIAS

"Discrimination is not only olerated but fostered by the city administration. Negro and Puerto Rican people are Jim Crowed in housing, in jobs, in education. Millions of dollars are extorted from the poor in sales taxes, yet Party is the tail of the Republican the lily-white Stuyvesant Town housing project gets tax-exemptions to the tune of 50 million

dollars. Race-hating, anti-Semitic position that even remotely instructors like Knickerbocker and Davis are protected at City College, while those suspected of liberalism are fired from their

Nor was Murray talking about jobs. FBI and police stoolpigeons, com-"The nation-wide witch-hunt is pany spies, finks, scabs and abetted by O'Dwyer and Tamstrikebreakers when he spoke many. The arch - reactionary about "crafty, undercover agents." Catholic hierarchy reaches out for totalitarian domination over tion" with a perfect score. They welcome such methods - that's hand-picks a college president, it one of the things they try to introduce into unions all the time. And they willingly swear port in 'high places' of city politen times over on a stack of Bibles their loyalty to the capitalcapture the labor movement with ing his landlord. ist government, the State Dethe priest-dominated ACTU. partment, the FBI - and the

like Murray indicates that "worse"

union bureaucrats. Not just the Stalinists, but the for the Negro and Puerto Rican of CIO United Auto Workers real union militants and fighters people is violated. Fascist-minded Local 511, and for five years

"The American Labor Party, is running Vito Marcantonio for Mayor this year. The ALP is not a genuine labor party either by virtue of its compositon or its program. As a result of the unprincipled split in that party and the disillusionment of the workers with its activities, only the small segment of trade unions dominated by the Stalinists support it today.

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### MINOR PARTIES

"The ALP is neither based on nor controlled by the trade union movement of New York. Under the influence of the Communist Party, it has been tied to the flimsy kite of the Wallace thirdcapitalist Progressive Party. Its so-called 'independence' from the old capitalist parties would vanish the day a 'deal' was made by Moscow and Washington. Wallace himself publicly proclaims that he is 'against war' today, but will support Wall Street 'if war comes.

"The Liberal Party of Dubinsky and the Social Democrats, supporting Newbold Morris, plays just as treacherous a role in destroying the movement for independent labor political action. Today as in 1945, the Liberal elephant.

"The Socialist Workers Party alone calls for the formation of a genuine independent party of labor, just as we are the only political party which calls for a genuine united front civil rights movement to defend all victims of the witch-hunt."

C

#### TESTED FIGHTERS

The four candidates of the SWP are tested fighters for the working class. Michael Bartell. every sphere of the city's life; it New York City organizer of the SWP, rose to national prominence bans periodicals and books from two years ago as initiator of the the public schools, and with sup- defense committee that won freedom for James Hickman, a Netics, it breaks strikes and tries to gre worker charged with murder-

Harry Ring, candidate for Con-"The right even to life itself troller, is a former shop steward

served as secretary of the Workphysical attacks and outright ers Alliance in Essex County, Gladys Barker, running for President of City Council, is a young factory worker and a leading member of the militant Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants' Association. Harold Robbins, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, is a veteran of World War II, former City Housing Director of the American Veterans Committee, and today an active mem-"This triple threat of capitalber of Local 848, Painters Union ism will be the central issue in District 9 (AFL). our campaign," Bartell said. "The A minimum of 7,500 signatures heart of this rotting system of on nominating petitions is recapitalism is Wall Street, which quired to place the four candidates runs City Hall as its private on the ballot. Last day for filing petitions is Sept. 16. Readers of "In the past 16 years we have The Militant can secure petitions seen changes from Democraticto circulate among their friends Tammany to Republican - Fusion by visiting or writing to: the and back again, from Walker to SWP City Election Committee, 116 University Place, New York 3. La Guardia to O'Dwyer, But

## **The Five Per-Centers**

Notes from the News

Every once in a while the capitalist politicians in Washington, who annually hand out billions in profits to the war industries, decide to throw up a little smokescreen about war corruption and

the corporations raked in an acknowledged 50 billions of war profits in the last world slaughter, that was just the reward for their "patriotism."

MICHAEL BARTELL

HARRY RING **GLADYS BARKER** for Council President for Controller



pronteering

A scandal involving some small-fry war contractor or minor government agent is "investigated." Some Congressional committee makes headlines, some obscure scapegoat is sometimes sent to prison.

The latest of these scandals has coined the phrase, "five per centers." They are individuals who sell their "influence" in government agencies to small business firms to secure government contracts. In the first case reported by the Senate investigating committee, the fee was 5% of the amount of the contract - hence, the term "five per center."

It goes without saying that every grafter and chiseler who could get the fare to Washington during the war tried to get his fingers into the war contracts gravy bowl. With the government pouring out hundreds of billions of dollars, a clever and crooked operator could manage to pick up a few drops.

But the big war profiteers — the ones that dealt not in thousands of dollars but in billions didn't need to pull a lot of tricks. They didn't need to buy "influence." General Motors, Du Pont. Standard Oil, Aluminum Corporation of America, U. S. Steel - they virtually wrote and handed out their own contracts.

All the giant corporations and monopolies had their own hand-picked "dollar - a - year men" running the war production agencies and drawing up the war contracts. Everything - or almost everything - was done strictly "legal." And if

few with so much. Some are even wondering just for the sake of such profitable "rewards." And not a few are speculating about how much American people in the war now in preparation.

That's why the government "makes an example" now and then of some chicken-feed war grafter. It looks like Washington is on its toes to halt war profiteering. We are supposed to be assured by this that in the next war - as Roosevelt promised before the last one - there will be no "war millionaires."

We have no tears to shed for any "five per centers" who are forced to take the rap - although we don't expect that more than a few, if any, will actually wind up behind prison bars. But the big crooks and profiteers are the ones we're after.

We advocate the only program that will end the war profiteering and eliminate the war leeches, big and small, for good. We urge the wage-earners and dirt farmers of America to establish a Workers and Farmers Government that will nationalize all the basic industries, including the war industries, and operate them on a cooperative, non-profit basis under workers control.

This program, we guarantee, will not only end war profiteering; it will end the profit system that breeds war itself.

## Why the Communist Party **Persecutes Warren Billings**

(Continued from Page 1) of the Communist Party even as of capitalist persecution. The great movement which eventually liberated Money and Billings liberated Mooney and Billings of the truman administration. codes." When we consider that was founded upon this principle. Enduring infamy would have been the reward for anyone who dared sit in judgment over the political soners as the price of supporting sons on the Communist Party convictions of these class war pri-

This principle was as much a for which he had already paid of livelihood. with his liberty. He asked one

their defense.

question only: was the person in- to publicly lie about Billings as volved a victim of capitalist jus- they have lied about Kutcher Smith, and all others persecuted have meted to Billings. since his release from Folsom

ever, adherence to this principle prosecution of the Trotskyists, Socialist Workers Party. is a crime. Our readers already thus helping to establish the antiknow how the Stalinists sabotage labor Smith Act as a legal prece- July 28, Mr. Kern wrote: the defense of James Kutcher, dent against all political minor-Even while they are victimized every militant in the labor move- cism. by Clark's witch-hunt, the Stalin- ment, to every fighter for human "The President's Loyalty Or- the Kutcher case as well as to ists continue a witch-hunt of their rights in every corner of the der, as I see it, deprives the em- almost all the other cases brought

Billings was a target of this soon forget your bottomless ig- amination, the right to make a Loyalty Order." Stalinist witch-hunt. He was nominy. And we will see that defense, or even the right in some In regard to the Minneapolis against any victim of the Smith charged with aiding an opponent they do not forget it!

police subject them to sadistic with against the Taft-Hartley Act. the sincere defenders of civil murder without fear of punish- N. J. rights and trade union democracy - these are the ones who ment."

#### would be "flunked" by such "test THREE BIG ISSUES

No genuine opponent of the The New York picture is part Taft - Hartley Act would uphold and parcel of the national probhe Taft-Hartley oaths or insist lerns, Bartell explained. Here, as that union leaders take them. No everywhere, the three big issues genuine defender of civil liberties facing the people are the threat would uphold Truman's "loyalty" of another depression, a total purge. Yet any delegate at the blackout of democratic rights, New York AFL convention who and another world war.

didn't indicate by his answers to the credentials committee questions that he supported the Taft-Hartley oath, the government 'loyalty" purge and political placklist, the frame-up trials of olitical dissidents, etc., faced property. lisharment from the convention. Commenting on the convention, the Aug. 3 N. Y. Times said: "In many respects the questions asked by the credentials committee went

nothing really changes except the label. The monopolists, profits hogs, speculators, rent gougers hearing in the same manner as such "codes" are products of the and Park Avenue parasites have convictions are made by govern- most anti-labor reactionary element loyalty boards. His "crime" ments, we can see to what antidemocratic depths the N. Y. AFL strikes, and oppress the minorities without hindrance. leaders sank at their convention.

"Big Business, united behind is loss of his livelihood in San are the most dangerous of the the Democrats and Republicans, Francisco even as Kutcher and "crafty, undercover agents" of has had its own way because the part of Billing's bone and fibre as the other government employees capitalist reaction inside the union New York workers are still politically unorganized.

## **KERN SUPPORTS JIM KUTCHER**

NEW YORK - Paul J. Kern, | against him. It also indicts him | were convicted under the Smith Act, the Trotskyist James Kutch- implicit in their unspeakable vil- liberal lawyer and chairman of for associations which are not Act, Mr. Kern wrote: "I think I er, the "dissident" Stalinist Vern lainy and in the punishment they the recent Bill of Rights Confer- even named in the charges or re- made my view clear that I agree ence, has taken a strong stand vealed to the employee at his precisely with the term of Mr. Hang your heads in shame, you in defense of James Kutcher, leg- trial. It is about as total a throw- Henry Wallace's letter to you. . . unregenerate scoundrels! It was less veteran purged from the VA back to the Star Chamber as any-For the Stalinist leaders, how- not enough that you aided in the because of his membership in the thing in American history. "No one but an ignorant man

"On the Kutcher case, I regard of American political freedom, violence or intimidation but solely how they hailed the conviction of ities, including yourselves. It was it as an outrage that the Presi- could have promulgated such an by reason of their expression of the 18 Trotskyists in Minneapolis, not enough that you have denied dent's Loyalty Order should be indecent doctrine. It exalts rumor political views and opinions." and how they wrecked the Bill of support to James Kutcher and applied, as it is, to deprive pub- and hearsay to the level of evi- Wallace also said: "I fully sup-Rights Conference as an organiz- thus given objective support to lic employees of their right to dence and employs private spy- port the restoration of their civil ing center for the struggle for the government purge. You had express political opinions. ing and personal gossip as a cridemocratic rights rather than see to single out for chastisement a Thought control of the public ser- terion for the selection and reit endorse a pardon for the 18. man who has endeared himself to vice is the first step toward Fas- tention of public employees. "These observations apply to

world. The working class will not ployee of the right of cross ex- under the President's so-called instances to know the charges Trial, in which 18 Trotskyists Act."

## Fewer Holding Out

Last week the CIO United Steelworkers and the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers both decided to comply with the non-communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. That leaves only the United Electrical and Fur Workers unions in the CIO still refusing to comply.

DOES IT AGAIN - Judge Alexander Holtzoff, who upheld the constitutionality of the government's "loyalty" purge in June when he ruled against an appeal by 26 postal employees, has done it again in rejecting Dorothy Bailey's suit for reinstatement to the job in the U.S. Employment Service from which she was purged as "disloyal" last year. \* \* \*

CLASS DISTINCTIONS - Chronic illness lasts longer and is three times more frequent among low income families than among those with high incomes.

BEN FLETCHER DIES - Ben Fletcher, veteran IWW organizer, died in Brooklyn last month. He joined the IWW 41 years ago at the age of 18 and played a prominent role as organizer and speaker in many of its struggles. In 1917, along with Big Bill Haywood and 99 other IWW members, he was indicted in Chicago on charges of conspiracy to violate the Espionage and Selective Service Acts. Ben got a 10 year term in prison, which was commuted in 1923, and he remained active in the IWW until recently when his heart began to ail. \* \* \*

HIDDEN TAXES - The Tax Foundation reports that it has found 116 hidden federal and state taxes on a man's summer suit. Local taxes were not included.

OBER ACT CHALLENGED - Three Quaker tice? He supported the 18 Min- and the Trotskyists: that Billings women employed by the state of Maryland have neapolis victims of the Smith is a helper to fascists. But this is refused to sign the "loyalty" oaths required by the thought-control Ober Act on the ground that the act is contrary to the Bill of Rights and "objectionable on religious grounds, in that it denies the brotherhood of man." Pending a court prison. test of the act's constitutionality, they will not be dismissed.

MELISH CASE APPEAL - The dismissal of the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish from his post as rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn will be appealed to the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in San Francisco next month. Melish was removed because he would not fire his son and assistant for his "outside activities." The case is also being appealed in the courts.

\* \* \*

QUILL BOOED - Although the New York bus drivers booed President Michael Quill for urging own. acceptance of Mayor O'Dwyer's demand that they return to work on the basis of pre-strike conditions, they voted to go back.

is "guilt by association" with per-"subversive list." His punishment It is union leaders like these who

The Stalinists have not dared

Wallace's letter to Dobbs, dated

Sept. 21, 1948, stated: "It is apnarent that the defendants in the In a letter to Farrell Dobbs on like Mr. Truman, who is utterly Minneapolis case were not conout of touch with the background victed on the basis of any acts of rights to the defendants in this case.

> At the Bill of Rights Conference the Stalinists attacked this view viciously. Kern opposed the Stalinist position and urged the conference "not to discriminate