

# THE MILITANT

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## Reuther Threatens The Opposition

By Bert Cochran

-- See Page 2 --

## New Police-State Bills Pushed by Witch-Hunters

Two new police-state and thought-control bills were introduced into Congress last week intended to intensify the government's witch-hunt against all who oppose the bi-partisan imperialist war program.

Senator Mundt of South Dakota and Representative Nixon of California have offered a "revised" version of their bill before the last Congress that created such a storm of protest it was pigeon-holed in the Senate after being passed by the House. Michigan's Senator Ferguson, a mouthpiece of the auto corporations, has introduced his own bill along similar lines, but differing in minor details. Both bills are of Republican authorship, but the N. Y. Times reports, support for these bills "probably will be broadened soon to take in Democratic co-sponsorship."

Both bills would establish the principle of second-class political parties and second-class citizenship by requiring special conditions for the legal functioning of the Communist Party and "communist front" organizations and the activities of their members.

Each bill requires the registration of "Communist" organizations. The Communist Party would be compelled to list its members with the Attorney General and "front" organizations to list the names of their officers. Any written or printed matter from alleged "communist" organizations would be required to carry a label stating its "communist source."

Both bills would make it a felony, punishable by a \$10,000 fine and ten years imprisonment, for anyone in concert with others to "knowingly" commit "an act which would substantially contribute" to the establishment of a "totalitarian dictatorship" in this country. The bills falsely equate communism with "totalitarianism." They do not mention the military and fascist forms of capitalist dictatorship.

Members of the Communist Party would be barred from any federal appointive post, and could run for elective office only on a

clearly designated "Communist" ticket.

In one respect, however, the Mundt-Nixon bill pays greater lip-service to civil rights than the Truman administration does in its "loyalty" purge of government workers and public blacklist of "subversive" organizations issued by Attorney General Clark.

Under the present version of the Mundt-Nixon bill no organization could be stigmatized as "subversive" until after a public hearing with the opportunity of cross-examination of witnesses. Any "subversive" findings of the Attorney General could be appealed to the courts. At present, government workers are fired without charges or hearing on unrevealed "evidence" and on mere suspicion of membership or "association" with "subversive" organizations. Organizations are listed as "subversive" by Clark without even the right of a hearing or the opportunity of defense.

Once the principle of compulsory "public disclosure" of the members of any political organization and the registration of any organization is legalized it would be but one step to similar discriminatory regulation of unions or any other organizations the government chooses to label "subversive."

### MANY STATES AS WELL

Numerous state legislatures are acting on similar anti-democratic bills. The New York State legislature, for instance, is rushing through not less than five major thought-control bills. One, the Scanlon bill, would bar the Communist Party and "kindred organizations" from the state ballot. Others would bar "communists" from all schools and colleges and from holding any public job. The Illinois State Legislature is considering a bill to make membership in the Communist Party a felony.

## JURY SELECTED IN TRIAL OF 11 STALINIST LEADERS

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, March 16 — The verdict in the thought-control trial of the Stalinists will be rendered by a jury of four housewives, two women clerks, an unemployed clerk, a theatrical writer-producer, a salesman dealing in real estate and fur coats, an unemployed industrial engineer, a telephone wireman and a retired beer salesman.

The real estate salesman and two of the housewives are Negroes, one of whom is jury foreman by virtue of having been the first juror chosen. Both Negro housewives work part time. One is a dressmaker; her husband leads his own six-piece orchestra. The other is a beauty operator whose husband is a taxi driver.

The husbands of the two white housewives are salesmen in the wholesale clothing and woolen goods fields.

The only union member on the jury is the telephone wireman who belongs to the Communications Workers of America, an independent union.

Jury is the telephone wireman who belongs to the Communications Workers of America, an independent union.

In choosing the jury, the prosecutor removed by peremptory challenge an unemployed veteran; a member of a Stalinist-led union; and the wives of a woolen salesman and a taxi driver.

The defendants challenged three members of the American Legion; two retired employees of an insurance company which Jim-Crows Negroes in its housing projects; a member of the fascist Tool Owners Union; a former subordinate of Gen. Robert Eichelberger who is identified with the reactionary Common Cause, Inc.; and the wife of a postal examiner.

Also challenged by the defense were an insurance executive who is seeking a job with the Veterans Administration; a retired corporation executive; the wife of a prospective grand juror; a retired stock broker and former naval intelligence man; a juror who had read Out of the Night by Jan Valtin; the wife of a big real estate operator; and a public utility serviceman belonging to an anti-Stalinist AFL union.

The judge dismissed for bias a member of the American Legion; a friend of the defendant Benjamin Davis, Jr.; a member of the Catholic Holy Name Society; a friend of two of the indicting grand jurors; the father of a New York cop; and a juror who proclaimed "absolute contempt" for the Stalinists.

The composition of the trial jury indicates that the challenge of the jury system led to some

(Continued on page 3)

# Truman Democrats in Retreat All Along Line on 'Fair Deal'

## Novack Stricken With Influenza on Tour in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, March 15 —

After two days of strenuous activity here, George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was stricken with influenza and is confined to his hotel room under doctor's care. His sudden illness forced cancellation of two full days of scheduled meetings on the case of the victimized veteran, James Kutcher.

Novack arrived here last Saturday, after conferring with AFL and CIO leaders in Canton on the case. Sunday he spoke over Station WRSR on the leading radio program in this area, the official AFL weekly broadcast run by A. I. Davey, editor of the AFL Cleveland Citizen and vice-president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

After Novack had given the facts on the Kutcher case, Davey said, "It seems to me that while the Kutcher case is important because it involves righting a wrong done to one man, the truly important fact is that once any people permit this sort of thing to become a common practice — or even let it set a precedent — we are fooling with dynamite that might eventually operate against any man or woman, no matter what their belief."

Sunday afternoon Novack addressed a lively meeting of a Hashomer Hatzair branch.

### PUBLIC MEETING

In the evening he spoke at a public KCRC meeting in the Hotel Hollenden. Hershel Holland, president of the Cleveland Lawyers Guild, chaired the meeting. Other speakers were Anthony J. Piro, vice-president of UAW Local 337; Walter Davis, associate editor of the Cleveland Citizen, and Sam Pollock, international representative of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers. A collection of \$44 was taken.

Monday Novack spoke to a political science group at Fenn College, where the dean, Dr. Jenks, and other faculty members are members of the KCRC. He received invitations to address additional student groups.

Unfortunately, his further activities were curtailed by his illness, which prevented him from appearing before the Lawyers Guild and student groups at Fenn, Western Reserve and City Colleges.

(See Page 4 for other reports on the Novack tour.)

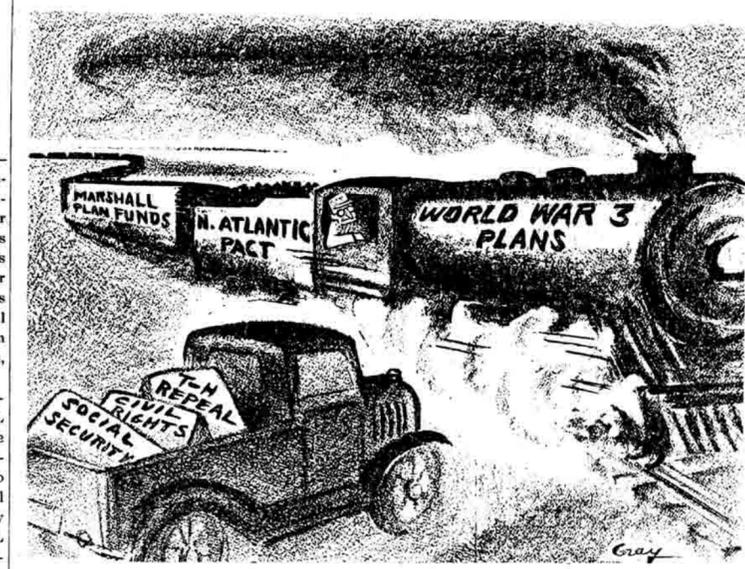
## Senate Filibuster Debate Was A Sham Battle

By Albert Parker

The Southern Democrats have won a clear-cut victory in the Senate debate over the filibuster, placing themselves in an even stronger position than before to prevent a vote on civil rights legislation. For this they can thank not only the majority of the Republican Party, who voted with them, but also the Truman Democrats who put on a show of "opposition" to the filibuster.

Previously, a two-thirds vote of the Senators present was required to close debate and permit a vote on a bill. But this closure rule was interpreted to apply only to a vote on a bill, and not to a "motion" to take up a bill.

Under the so-called "compromise" being considered as we go to press, closure will apply on any issue—"motion" or bill. But now it would be made operative only by two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, and would not apply under any conditions to de-



## Stalin's Crimes Bared at Paris Kravchenko Trial

The most important and authentic testimony thus far presented in the sensational Paris libel suit of Victor Kravchenko, author of "I Chose Freedom" against the Stalinist literary periodical, "Letres Francaises," was offered by Margaret Neumann, daughter of the German philosopher, Martin Buber, and widow of Heinz Neumann.

In the years prior to Hitler's rise to power, Heinz Neumann, along with Thaelmann and Remmele, composed the top triumvirate of the German Communist Party. In the middle Twenties he also served as one of the central figures of the Communist International, being entrusted with carrying out official policy on several occasions, among them in the course of the 1925-27 Chinese events.

After Hitler's rise to power, Neumann and his wife fled to the USSR, only to be caught up there in the GPU dragnet. Together with hundreds of more or less prominent Communist refugees from the Gestapo, they fell victims of the giant purges during the Moscow frame-up trials of 1936-38. This purge of foreign anti-fascists on Soviet soil on such palpably false charges as "Hitlerite agents and collaborators" was publicized at the time by the world Trotskyist press as another striking proof of the trumped-up nature of all these trials and purges.

Margaret Neumann offered an insight into the real reasons for Neumann's downfall. It appears that even prior to 1933, Stalin had personally informed him that a Hitlerite Germany would serve the interests of the Soviet Union, Hitler's friendship being assured because of Germany's conflict with its Western imperialist rivals. Neumann apparently disagreed in private with such an orientation. He, like many others, was, therefore, hardly convenient for the projected sealing of the treacherous alliance with Hitler.

Neumann's fate remains unknown. He was among the many who simply "disappeared" in the Soviet Union. His wife Margaret was meted out a seven-year sentence in one of Stalin's slave labor-camps. In the heyday of the Stalin-Hitler pact, she was handed over to the Gestapo with more than a score of other German, Austrian and Hungarian Communists (including several Jews).

### STALIN'S CAMPS

This gesture was only one among many other tokens of Nazi-Kremlin amity, which as Molotov then boasted had indeed been "sealed in blood." Here we have the latest evidence of just who in the USSR was really guilty of serving as Hitler's agents and intimate collaborators. Not the countless victims of the Kremlin,

but Stalin and all his Vishinskys, all his judges and retainers!

Neumann's widow did not find much to choose between the Gestapo and the GPU hell-holes. Her testimony, based on years of personal experience, was far more objective than the kind of material now being worked up in such volume for the yellow press all over the world. That is what makes it all the more annihilating and unanswerable.

She denied the wide-spread employment in Stalin's camps of brute terror, such as the Nazis used. (This is reserved by the GPU for more "important" cases and practiced in strictest secrecy.) The GPU prefers such "psychologic" threats as life imprisonment and the like. Starvation rations and arduous labor drained the prisoners. "There was no conversation among prisoners," she testified, "and no energy for it. Our Russian guards were decent men and not sadists, but they faithfully fulfilled the requirements of the inhuman system."

The Stalinist defense attorney at the Kravchenko trial in Paris tried to discredit this testimony on the ground that the credibility of any German was ruled out in advance. This chauvinism is only a mild sample of the vile practices and epithets by means of which the GPU and its cohorts have been trying to answer

(Continued on page 3)

## Not a Single Pledge Fulfilled In Eleven Weeks of Session

By Art Preis

After eleven weeks in continuous session, the Democratic-controlled Congress has not passed a single one of the "Fair Deal" reforms promised by

Truman and his party before elections. Instead, the Truman Democrats are yielding all down the line to the open reactionaries, labor-haters and Negro-baiters.

The failure of the Truman machine to put up a real fight has led once more to the triumph of a Southern Democratic filibuster in the Senate. With the Truman forces offering only feeble and token resistance, the Taft-Hartley elements and right-wing Democrats are pressing their attack with ever-greater boldness, arrogance and ferocity.

Not only have the promised social improvements been blocked, but there is real danger that in some fields even worse bills than those passed by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress will be enacted.

This threat has given the Truman Democrats the pretext for abandoning the civil rights program, the immediate issue behind the filibuster, and for watering-down their pledged reforms. The "Fair Deal"—a frail craft even for calm waters—has met its first squall and is already leaking at every seam.

Truman and his supporters, including most of the top union leaders and liberals, will now try to foist the whole responsibility for Congressional stalling onto his Southern contingent and the Republicans. But from the start he had no intention of pressing the fight to the point where it might crack the recent alliance of the Northern and Southern wings of his party. For the sake of this unholy alliance of the big city bosses and poll-tax "white supremacists," Truman is

prepared—after the usual for-the-record gestures—to give ground on his whole "Fair Deal" program.

The successful Southern filibuster has already put the knife to any effective civil rights bills to safeguard the rights of the Negro people. It was Truman's promise to press these measures that led to the Southern "states rights" walkout at the Democratic national convention last July and helped secure widespread Negro and labor support for Truman's election. But he has kept virtually mum on the question since the elections and it was an open secret, even before the filibuster, that the Truman Democrats were talking "compromise." Now they are tossing the whole issue out of the window. Other key "Fair Deal" promises are facing similar disposal.

### RENT CONTROLS GOING

At the very first test, administration supporters in the House, under fire from spokesmen of the real estate interests, disemboweled their own rent control bill. As it came out of committee, the bill proposed to extend controls for only 15 months instead of the promised two years. Democratic leaders then cut more of the guts out of it by supporting an amendment permitting the boosting of individual rents to guarantee landlords a "reasonable return" on the "reasonable value" of their property. This would open a hole in rent ceilings big enough to drive a truck through. It is even worse than the bill passed by the

(Continued on page 3)

## BUFFALO 'NEWS' SMEARS UNION GROUPS AND SWP

BUFFALO, March 14 — The rabidly reactionary Buffalo Evening News last January opened a virulent red-baiting campaign against a broad section of trade union militants and the

Socialist Workers Party. This campaign has continued with increased intensity and was climaxed last week with a series of articles calculated to influence the current union elections of Bell Aircraft Local 501, UAW-CIO.

The press attack has its origin in the collusion between the local industrial magnates and the publishers of the News. This is made obvious by the nature of the information contained in News articles about leading militants,

which could only have been supplied by the personnel managers of plants where these militants work.

Another noteworthy feature of this red-baiting campaign is the active collaboration of a whole array of vicious anti-union elements and ACTU right-wingers who supplied information to the News regarding the internal struggles in various local unions in this area.

The "News" has conducted for years the foulest red-baiting attacks against the Stalinists as well as radical and liberal groups in general. The growing influence of the Socialist Workers Party in the Buffalo labor movement and the increasing interest of local militants in the party's fighting program have occasioned the recent attacks. The "News" articles pursue the calculated purpose of smearing and discrediting the party.

### SMEAR EXPERT

Each of these articles invariably mentions that the SWP is listed by Attorney General Tom Clark as a "subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Then they list the names and addresses of people, especially union members, who are alleged to have attended public meetings of the party. They then seek to tie the individuals mentioned to membership in the party or label them as "fellow-travelers." The articles in general are of the same type as those of the poison-pen artists, Westbrook Pegler and Victor Riesel.

Fred Turner, the News "red independent political action,

(Continued on Page 2)

### Next Week:

On Mar. 30, James Kutcher's hearing before the Loyalty Review Board begins. Next week in The Militant Theodore Kovalevsky reviews the shocking facts in the case of the legless veteran, fired because he disagrees with the political views of the Truman Administration.

E. Banks, a reader of The Militant, and staff member J. Meyer discuss the role of the liberals in the Negro struggle. A thought-provoking debate!

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# New Introduction to Cannon Trial Pamphlet

By Farrell Dobbs

Socialism On Trial is the verbatim testimony of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in the 1941 Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists under the thought-control Smith Act. The salient facts about the trial and conviction are related in Joseph Hansen's introduction to the second edition which is reprinted in this volume.

Dealing with the whole range of Marxism, Comrade Cannon's testimony in that famous trial has become recognized as the simplest and best introduction to an understanding of the major questions of revolutionary socialist program and tactics. It is the most popular pamphlet ever published by our movement. Two large editions of Socialism On Trial have already been exhausted.

The re-publication of this testimony in the Minneapolis trial is given added timeliness by the coincidence that, as this third edition goes to press, 11 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party are on trial in a federal court in New York City. This new prosecution is a striking confirmation of Comrade Cannon's prediction, in the Minneapolis court, that the assault on civil liberties which began with the prosecution of the Trotskyists would be later directed against other organizations.

### STALINISTS ON TRIAL

The Stalinists supported the government in its prosecution of the 18 Trotskyists and applauded their conviction and imprisonment. But this treacherous conduct did not save them when their own time came. It did not even save them from the truly ironical circumstance that the indictment brought against them alleges violation of the Smith Act—the very same law under which the Trotskyists were tried and convicted in Minneapolis.

The real aim of the capitalist government in these thought-control prosecutions is to outlaw Marxism. It is therefore extremely important to know exactly what true Marxism is. But that knowledge cannot be gained from the Stalinists who have twisted, distorted, perverted and betrayed the Marxist program in so many ways. Marxism has a

right to be defended by its genuine exponents.

Under these circumstances, publication of this third edition of Socialism On Trial serves an especially vital need. In it will be found a true explanation of Marxism, set forth in clear and simple terms.

### IMPERIALIST WAR AIMS

I wish to call attention particularly to the remarks about war and democracy. On pages 39 to 43 will be found Comrade Cannon's answers on these vital questions during direct examination by defense counsel. He explains that imperialist wars to capture new markets, sources of raw materials and fields of investment are inevitable so long as capitalism continues in existence. The Socialist Workers Party is unalterably opposed to any and all imperialist wars.

"It is absolutely true that Hitler wants to dominate the world," Comrade Cannon said. "but we think it is equally true that the ruling group of American capitalists has the same idea, and we are not in favor of either of them. "We do not think that Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. We think they would only use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of fascism they can possibly get."

These significant words were spoken seven years ago, on the eve of the formal entry of the United States government into the second world war. (The 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Trial were sentenced to prison on December 8, 1941, at the same hour war was being declared by Congress.) These words gave an accurate forecast of the present campaign to crush civil rights in this country in preparation for a new war to conquer the world.

### ATTACKS ON LABOR

The special prosecutor, who was later rewarded with a federal judgeship, sought on cross-examination to refute these predictions. The resulting clash brought a more precise spelling out of the war aims of American imperialism and the terrible consequences to the working people.



Top CIO leaders meet with Truman to applaud his threat that he may stomp the nation for his legislative program if Congress doesn't enact it soon. The CIO leaders haven't said anything about really arousing the people themselves to make Congress (and Truman) live up to their promises. Shortly after this meeting, Truman went to Florida for another long vacation. Left to right: Jack Kroll, John Green, George Baldanzi, L. S. Buckmaster, Joseph Curran, David McDonald, Walter Reuther, Arthur J. Goldberg and Frank Rosenblum.

Listen to these quotations from page 80, for example.

"Once they have deprived the workers of the right to strike on so-called patriotic pretenses," Comrade Cannon predicted, "then the capitalists will begin squeezing down wages and refusing concessions." Truer words were never spoken, as every worker knows today after the wartime wage freeze in the face of a steeply-rising cost of living.

"The next thing that will probably appear on the horizon," he continued, "is attempts of these Sixty Families and their supporters to stop the popularizing of ideas inimical to the capitalists, and to check by legislation the organization of the workers."

When that prediction was made back in 1941 the capitalists were grinding out propaganda about a holy war to defend the "four freedoms." Comrade Cannon's warning was like a cry in the wilderness. Yet all he failed to give was the name the federal anti-labor law would bear—the Taft-Hartley Act.

His prediction of further attacks on freedom of thought has been confirmed many times over. The Truman administration has issued a Hitler-like decree blacklisting organizations alleged to be "subversive." The demand of the Socialist Workers Party and other

stigmatized organizations for a full public hearing on all charges has been disregarded by the Department of Justice. James Katcher, a legless war veteran, has been fired from his clerk's job in a Veterans Administration field office as a result of that blacklist. An ominous thought-control purge of teachers has started at the University of Washington. Civil rights are under attack on many fronts, including the present witch-hunt trial of the Stalinists.

"All this sixty to one hundred billions of dollars that they are appropriating for the wasteful expenses of war has got to be paid for by somebody," Comrade Cannon said, "and they will try to make the masses and the poor farmers pay it." All that need be added here are the latest figures on the staggering amounts appropriated for war. The national debt stands at the fantastic sum of \$260 billion, and additional billions of the national wealth are still being poured into the maw of the war machine. The rich are coining unprecedented profits from war production, while the workers and working farmers pay the piper through high taxes and robber prices.

"Demands will grow in this country, among people who want freedom and a right to live, for some way out of this madhouse

of war and unemployment and growing fascism," he concluded.

### POSTWAR DEMONSTRATIONS

The vast post-war strike wave was a preliminary confirmation of his prediction that the masses would rise in struggle against the capitalist assault on their standard of living. The defeat of the Republicans in the 1948 elections—unexpected by all the political experts and prognosticators—was due in large measure to a political uprising of the workers against the Taft-Hartley Act. Their support of Truman as the "lesser evil" by no means signified a vote of confidence in his administration. These two post-war demonstrations, one on the economic field and the other on the political, already represent downpayments on Comrade Cannon's prediction of a mighty upsurge of "the people who want freedom and a right to live."

These remarkable 1941 forecasts of coming events bear eloquent testimony to the validity of the true Marxist method and program that is explained by Comrade Cannon. I commend his testimony to the careful attention of the reader.

The above is the introduction written for the third edition of Socialism On Trial, issued by Pioneer Publishers.

# Stalin's Crimes Bared at Paris Kravchenko Trial

(Continued from page 1)

charges for which they have no answers.

The importance of this trial to the Kremlin is amply demonstrated not only by the extremes of slander and abuse to which they have resorted in their French press and in the court-room, but also by the scope to which they have mobilized all their auxiliary forces. Every "notable" who could be gulled or forced to toe the mark has been brought to the fore. Among those who paraded to their own discredit as witnesses for the defense were: The Dean of Canterbury, Konni Zilliacus, Pierre Cot, Jean Cassou, and such notorious GPU hacks as the American writer Albert Kahn.

### EVIDENCE VERIFIED

The Kravchenko trial has been in part transformed into the public trial of the Stalin regime itself. Except for details, however, the gist of the central evidence is not new. Years ago Trotsky

and his co-thinkers from the USSR—like Ignace Reiss and Tarov—exposed the bestial Stalinist regime. Before the Dewey Commission of Investigation into the Moscow Trials, Trotsky refuted all the charges against himself and his son and corroborated with countless documents and eyewitness testimony his countercharges against Stalinism and its crimes.

Long before Kravchenko's "revelations" men like Dr. Ciliga and Victor Serge, and later such ex-Stalinist dignitaries as Krivitsky and Barmine, spoke out to tell much of the truth that is now once again coming to public attention in Paris.

Kravchenko is hardly the proper man to indict the Kremlin. His own hands are far from clean and he himself acts as purveyor of one of the biggest lies of our generation, namely, that Communism and Stalinism are one and the same—a lie, incidentally, which helps rather than harms

Stalinism. The use to which the war-mongering American imperialists and their Western allies are seeking to put this trial is likewise self-evident.

Nonetheless, one of the outstanding features of this trial, and in particular of Margaret Neumann's testimony, is that it throws the spotlight on some of the abominations of Stalinism. It is the truth, and the cause of revolutionary socialism can only benefit by its becoming widely known.

The French press, especially the Stalinist Humanite, have seized upon some remarks of Mrs. Neumann in order to try to connect her and her husband directly with the Trotskyist movement. To these unfounded contentions the International Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued a public disclaimer and requested that its representative be granted time in court to clarify this aspect. This request was not granted on the pretext of "lack of time."

# BUFFALO 'NEWS' SMEARS THE SWP

(Continued from Page 1)

expert," does the same dirty job on the local labor movement which Pegler and Riesel do on a nationwide scale. The decline of the Stalinists in this area and the growing influence of the Trotskyists made it inevitable that he would turn his venomous pen against the SWP and the anti-Stalinist militants on the Niagara Frontier.

The January campaign of the News had as its objective, besides smearing the SWP, to disrupt the newly-formed caucus of militant trade unionists, called the UE Solidarity Group, of Local 1581 UE-CIO (Cheektowaga Plant of the Westinghouse Corporation).

This caucus was organized several months ago by a number of progressive unionists against the right-wing administration of Local 1581. The caucus immediately gained wide popularity among the Westinghouse workers. The administration failed miserably in its attempts to impede the progress of the Solidarity Caucus by framing one of its leading militants, former local president George Gould, on a trumped up charge of salary overpayment; this failure only increased the prestige of the caucus.

### INTERVENES IN UE

It was at this point that the "News" intervened against the Solidarity Caucus and several of its outstanding militants. In an article entitled "Westinghouse Labor Relations Imperiled by Trotskyists," Fred Turner stooped to his lowest form of character assassination in order to aid the Westinghouse Corporation and stem the rising tide of sentiment for the Solidarity Caucus. Utilizing a couple of isolated, sporadic sectional stoppages which started spontaneously among a small group of workers, Turner magnified these into a "peril to the Westinghouse Labor Relations."

This in itself would hardly have engaged the attention of the Westinghouse workers were it not for the slimy barrage of re baiting and finger-pointing at outstanding militants in the caucus who allegedly "attended Trotskyist meetings held at 629 Main Street where a compact little clique" presumably decides policy for the Westinghouse local.

Militant workers can easily see through Turner's real purpose of aiding the company and soliciting support for the present local administration. In a dead giveaway paragraph, Turner says that last year's victory for the right wing "brought a prolonged era of industrial peace" which is now being imperiled. He then goes on to shower praise on the do-nothing administration for replacing "agitation" with "amicable bargaining between management and the union." Actually, this "amicable relationship has resulted in a most arrogant attitude on the part of the Corporation.

The union-conscious workers at Westinghouse know that the only constructive and beneficial action taken by the union since the administration took office was initiated by leading members of the Solidarity Caucus. This was the reclassification program which compelled the company to grant almost a quarter of a million dollars to the workers of the Cheektowaga plant—the only plant in the entire 52-plant national Westinghouse setup which won such

a reclassification program. No amount of red-baiting and slander can obliterate this achievement by the leaders of the Solidarity Caucus.

### SWP MAIN TARGET

The role of the Buffalo Evening News as an outspoken anti-labor house organ of the Buffalo industrial magnates is becoming more obvious as it injects itself into the internal affairs of every union and seeks to discredit the militant elements. The Buffalo SWP has become the particular target of the News not only because of its increasing influence but also because of the party's aggressive public activities in the city.

The SWP was the only labor organization which put up a consistent fight against the Erie County 1% sales tax and initiated a referendum to enable the people to vote on the question. This campaign aroused wide-spread interest. Even the News' radio station had to grant free radio time to the chairman of the SWP to participate in a radio discussion of this issue. The party has also fought for municipal ownership of Buffalo's transit system (the IRC) and exposed some of its swindles. To this day it is a legal party to any public hearings which the transit commission may be compelled to conduct.

Of special interest to the labor and radical public is the role of the Socialist Party of Erie County and its allies, the Shachtmanites

of the Workers Party, in the present offensive unleashed by the bosses and the News. The role of these organizations as allies and abettors in the hounding and baiting of militant unionists in general, and the SWP in particular, will be described in the next article.

## April FI Features Study on Democracy

The April issue of the Fourth International, soon off the press will feature a timely study of the class and historical significance of democracy in an article by Ernest Germain, entitled "Marxism and Democracy."

Germain penetrates beyond the imperialist demagoguery and the Stalinist half-truths in the international controversy over the meaning and application of the political form of democracy.

He traces "democracy" from its origins at the dawn of capitalism to its present abuse both under imperialism and in the so-called "New Democracies" dominated by Stalin. He revives again the genuine concept of workers' democracy as taught by the great Marxist leaders.

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## Labor Union Trends

# Reuther Threatens the Opposition

By Bert Cochran

All the locals of the CIO auto union are now busy holding their annual elections for officers and committeemen. And President Walter Reuther — like the alert politician that he is — has rallied his full-time staff to perpetuate the ruling machine in office. Shoals of organizers are wandering in and out of some of the best organized locals in Michigan to buck up their local supporters, help them out with literature and in every other way to do a job on the opposition.

Workers report that at no time in the past year have the organizers exhibited such unflinching energy as on this assignment and in no negotiations with corporation executives have they displayed the cold ferocity with which they are now treating the opposition brothers in their own union.

In the last few weeks, Reuther decided that even this was not enough, that the situation called for his personal intervention. Not that his administration is in any actual danger of being toppled. But the opposition forces have been making some headway in a number of key spots, and Reuther considered that a pretty dangerous development — for him.

If Reuther is half the progressive and democrat that he and his supporters claim he is; if his administration is half as good as his apologists say it is—the job of defending his stewardship would seem to be a singularly easy one.

It would be sufficient to call the roll of his accomplishments over the past period to silence all hecklers and confound the critics.

### THEY CAN'T EAT IT

But apparently the situation is not as glowing as it would appear from the unctuous writings in the Luce publications and the liberal press. The auto workers cannot work up the same laudatory for their "labor statesman" as the glib journalists. Possibly the reintroduction of speedup in the automobile industry has something to do with it. Possibly the growing arrogance of management in the plants has something to do with it. As for the shining achievements—they are difficult to find.

Reuther, who enjoys a monopoly of the union leadership, unquestionably runs rings around the previous UAW officers in pyrotechnics and swashbuckling rhetoric. But can the auto workers eat that?

These circumstances probably go a long way toward explaining the type of election campaign Reuther is conducting against his opponents. Alas, confronted with an opposition on home grounds, our hero reveals himself as a god with feet of clay. Here are no "Reuther plans," no talk about the superior virtues of democracy. Like any run-of-the-mill AFL-Style, any undoubtable "democrat" simply threatens his opponent with disciplinary action if they don't shut up.

### SPEECH IN FLINT

Fresh from his triumph of breaking a strike of Chevrolet crankshaft workers who were resisting the raising of production standards — speedup to you — Reuther came up to Flint to address a meeting of 500 Chevrolet and Buick members at the National Guard Armory, reported with great fanfare in the Flint Journal. Since he couldn't point to any outstanding successes during his tenure of office, and since apparently in his own heart, he doesn't anticipate any signal achievements ahead, he decided to browbeat his opponents. Moves were afoot, he warned, to outlaw opposition—in other words, to wipe out democracy, the very thing that made the UAW the great union that it is.

Many people, he informed the audience, asked him to take action against those who put out "scurrilous" leaflets in elections, that moreover these leaflets—crime of

crimes—were "contrary to International UAW policy."

"Reuther lashed out against leftist elements," reports the Flint Journal of Feb. 21. "He warned that such elements would ruin labor and hinted that some action against them might be taken at the next UAW convention."

Reuther quickly added—protecting his flanks—that he was personally opposed to any restrictions, but that something would have to be done.

Reuther's assurance is not very reassuring. Everybody over the age of ten knows that no action will be proposed to outlaw the opposition unless Reuther personally gives the word. Everybody over the age of five knows that this threat hurled at the Flint militants was an attempt to pave the ground for bureaucratic suppressions and to intimidate all critics into silence.

But then what happens to the democracy of the UAW? Union democracy, without the rights of opposition groups to exist, to propagate and fight for their special points of view, is like a knife without a blade.

### OPPOSITION'S "CRIMES"

What are these high crimes and misdemeanors of which Reuther's Flint opponents are guilty? Issuing "scurrilous leaflets"? Let us see. I have just received the hand bills issued by both sides in the election contest. An examination of the literature in question reveals no scurrilous or even personal attacks. The opposition simply claimed that Reuther tied up the GM contract for two years, that therefore the union could not bargain with the General Motors Corporation for pensions and wages in 1949, and that unless a program of industrial-wide bargaining were adopted, Reuther's pension program, so far as the GM workers were concerned, was a fraud.

It is not in order, in this connection, to even discuss the merits of the opposition's claims and program as against Reuther's. Who, though, can question the democratic right of a union group to offer such a proposal and distribute handbills for it in the course of an election campaign? International Union policy? Undoubtedly a union leadership has the right to enforce convention and international executive board decisions, and institute proceedings against violators. But

if UAW members or local officers can only talk FOR these decisions and do not have the right to criticize and offer contrary proposals, wherein does that differ from Hitler's philosophy of the "leadership principle"?

### HIS OWN RECORD

The Auto Union Builder, publication of the opposition group, correctly comments that Reuther, when he was in a minority, repeatedly made use of this same democracy which he now seeks to destroy. The paper states: "Walter P. Reuther, even as a member of the International board, often violently criticized the policies of the then UAW president, R. J. Thomas, and the board majority. Emil Mazey, our present Secretary-Treasurer, fought on many different occasions for a labor party, when it was the policy of the board to support Democratic candidates. No one dreamed, in those years, of threatening Reuther, Mazey or others with disciplinary action, because they voiced opinions contrary to 'International UAW policy.'"

The recent UAW Education Conference in Milwaukee listened to a remarkable address by Professor Robert Lynd which has been widely commented upon in the labor and liberal press. Here is a section of this speech that I have not seen mentioned anywhere before. I am quoting from the report printed in the Briggs Local 212 paper in its February issue:

"Lynd advised labor educators to read Michels' book [Political Parties by Robert Michels] on the growth of bureaucracy in the labor movement. He urged workers in the union to be vigilant of their democratic rights lest they lose them." We recommend these words to all UAW members.

### IT BEGINS AT HOME

When the Stalinist leadership of the CIO electrical union, at the 1947 Boston convention, outlawed the Carey-Block opposition, Reuther's soul-mates in the UE excoriated the Stalinists for their anti-democratic action and proclaimed their resolve to continue the fight. If democracy is good for the UE, it is equally good for the UAW. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Reuther has been widely advertised as a great democrat burning with righteous zeal to bring the blessings of democracy to the suffering masses of human-

# THE MILITANT ARMY

## Our Thanks for Help in Fire Emergency

Financial contributions are still coming in to help repair the damage caused by the fire in our office some weeks ago. San Francisco sent in \$28.82, of which \$19.82 "was raised at a house party."

Chicago North Side Branch mailed \$15 and pledged \$8.70 more. Los Angeles contributed \$5. M.W.S. of Empire, Ore., sent \$10 for the "fire loss" and at the same time renewed his subscription. H. L. of Newark gave \$2.

We again thank all our friends who rallied to help The Militant in the emergency caused by the fire.

"The Mar. 7 issue is first class!" writes H. S. of Minneapolis. "It's an example, now, of what we want. Who will not be attracted to and inspired by this lively, to-the-point working-class presentation of news? As a member of the United Electrical Workers Union, I was particularly pleased with Bert Cochran's article, 'The Struggle for Control of the UE.'" Minneapolis ordered 25 extra copies of the Mar. 14 issue.

St. Paul also sent for 25 extra copies of that issue. W. N. reports the results four comrades obtained on call-backs: "We sold two copies of Fourth International; two copies of James P. Cannon's pamphlet, 'The Coming American Revolution' and one copy of 'American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism' by the same author. In addition we got promises of five or six more Militant renewals when payday comes. We ran into the problems of unemployment (for there are layoffs here as everywhere else) and lack of money generally. One of our new comrades went out this morning and hid very well."

Chicago asked for 50 extra copies of the Mar. 14 issue for dis-

tribution at a Stalinist meeting. "I am very glad that Kovalevsky is writing for The Militant again," says Joy C. "I think his column is really one of the best. By the way I think it is an excellent idea to announce future issues and their contents in advance as you have been doing."

Milwaukee is working out plans on Militant circulation, according to G. H. "We have noted the change and improvement in recent issues. The issue of Feb. 21 in particular with the articles on Greece and the UAW was liked very much. We like the way our theoretical position is put forward in articles on current events and criticisms of our political opponents in the unions."

When Sidney Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, entered class Mar. 14, he met with what was apparently an unpleasant surprise. Twenty-two of his students had bought copies of The Militant containing George Breitman's article, "Sidney Hook—Then and Now." This dissection of Hook's current support of the witch-hunt in the colleges made instructive reading. I. G., who brought the article to the attention of Hook's students, reports that the irritated professor wound up his lecture on philosophy with some remarks on Trotskyism and morality that were considerably more pungent than his usual philosophical approach to such questions.

Whitey, a sea-going comrade, dropped in to tell us that it was his friend, L., who put a note in the bottle after the last drop was gone and dropped it over the side coming out of Seattle. The note, as we reported the other week, promised the lucky finder a free subscription to The Militant. E.V.S. of Palo Alto, Calif., found it while fishing in the surf thirty miles south of Golden Gate and sent it in.

Paying the \$2 for the sub his friend had promised, Whitey said: "When he ships out again, I'll see he gets a case of bottles to take, along this time . . . empty ones."

# THERE IS A DEFENSE AGAINST THE BOMB!

The capitalist propagandist say there is no military defense against the atom bomb. They picture America's cities leveled to radioactive ruins in the war now being prepared.

But what about political defense? Socialism can save mankind from the horrors of a new slaughter. By rooting out the economic causes of war, socialism can end imperialist wars forever and guarantee a world of peace.

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Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

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TROTSKY

"There is no epoch in human history so saturated with antagonisms as ours. Under a too high tension of class and international animosities, the 'fuses' of democracy 'blow out.' Hence the short circuits of dictatorship. Naturally the weakest 'interrupters' are the first to give way. But the force of internal and world controversies does not weaken it grows. It is doubtful if it is destined to calm down, given that the process has so far taken hold of the periphery of the capitalist world. Gout begins in the little finger of a hand or in the big toe, but once on the way it goes right to the heart."

Leon Trotsky, Article in New Republic, 1929



LENIN

## The Demand of the Miners

1,015 killed and 54,100 injured in a single year. No, these are not figures of military casualties. They are the "normal" casualty statistics of America's coal mines in 1948. They are the toll of men blasted, burned, gassed, crushed and dismembered down in the dark bowels of the earth while digging coal for the greater profit of the mine owners. 55,115 killed and injured — that is the price in life and limb paid by the coal miners because of the greed of the operators and the indifference of the capitalist government.

Who has more right to say how the mines shall be run than those who every year pay such a price? Who knows better the conditions of labor and the needs of the mine workers than the miners themselves? Are they asking too much, then, when they demand that their voice be heeded in the naming of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Mines? That is the immediate issue in the two-week memorial "holiday" of the 425,000 soft and hard coal miners east of the Mississippi, called by the United Mine Workers. This "period of inaction," said John L. Lewis, "will emphasize the mine workers' opposition" to Dr. James M. Boyd, Truman's nominee for head of the Bureau of Mines. The miners had nothing to say about this nomination; they were not even consulted.

Yet, the fact that the United Mine Workers dared to call a stoppage to insist on a voice in the selection of a mine bureau director has the capitalist politicians foaming at the mouth. They are "outraged" that the men

who dig the coal at daily risk of their lives should try to "dictate" the choice of the head of the government's mine agency. One day after the stoppage began, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee demonstratively approved Boyd's nomination — which had been before them for a year.

If there is any criticism to be made of the miners, it is that their demands are too modest. They are a thousand per cent justified, of course, in demanding a decisive voice in the naming of the mine bureau head. But if they win this, it doesn't begin to solve their fundamental problems.

No industry reflects the parasitism and social irresponsibility of the present-day capitalists more than coal mining. The absentee owners contribute literally nothing to the operation of the industry. Their notorious greed is insatiable. They have reduced the industry to chaos, so that a high percentage of the miners are now working only two or three days.

The only ones who can stabilize the coal industry, ensure adequate safety and health conditions, and regularize employment are the miners themselves. They are the only ones qualified to run and manage the mines. The big task for them, while battling for every immediate gain and concession, is to fight for the ousting of the parasitic mine owners by government expropriation and nationalization of the mines and their regulation and operation under the control of the organized miners.

## Stalinists Smear Their Defenders

At the government's thought-control trial of 11 Communist Party leaders, the defense lawyers gave the judge a list of questions to be asked prospective jurors. Did they have any connection with the NAM, American Legion, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Liberal Party, ADA, etc.? Had they read anything by Gitlow, Kravchenko, Martin Dies, etc.? Did they know Louis Budenz, Sidney Hook, Michael Quill, etc.? As the judge read off this last question, a Stalinist lawyer passed up a note. It read: "Do you know Farrell Dobbs?"

Farrell Dobbs, as *Militant* readers know, is national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. He is reporting the frame-up trial for this paper. The SWP is the only anti-Stalinist organization which is taking a principled stand in opposition to the prosecution of the Stalinists and has called on the Communist Party for a united front to fight the Smith "Gag" Act under which the Stalinists are being tried.

What could be the purpose then of the Stalinists on trial going to such lengths as to slanderously lump the representative of the only group that has come to their defense with organizations and individuals who aid the witch-hunt in one way or another?

The Stalinists are more concerned with smearing the SWP and Trotskyism than in a principled defense of civil rights. This is a continuation of their conduct during the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial, when 18 SWP leaders, including Dobbs, were convicted under the Smith Act on charges similar to those the Stalinists now face. Then, the Communist Party hailed the prosecution.

What do the Stalinists fear? They are afraid of the SWP because it exposes the fact that the Stalinists are not genuine communists, that they caricature and betray genuine Marxism and Leninism. They are afraid because the Trotskyists are coming to be recognized as the true continuators of the program of Marxism — as well as consistent defenders of civil liberties, not excluding the civil rights of Stalinists.

The Stalinists, for their part, are continuing in their own traditions — above all, the tradition of the infamous Moscow frame-up trials when they linked the real revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists, with the Hitlerites. Now, as then, the Stalinists employ the method of the amalgam — the attempt to discredit the best fighters for labor by lumping them with the worst enemies of the workers.

# Truth About Trenton Frameup

By Bill Smith

TRENTON, N. J. — An unmatched tale of police brutality, stony justice and race hatred surrounds six men who sit today awaiting death in a dreary Trenton cell.

They have no hope, these men. Because they are Negroes.

They are charged with a murder they could not, from the evidence, have committed. They were indicted by a Trenton press, which rendered its verdict the day the men were arrested. They were convicted by an all-white jury on the basis of confessions some never remember having seen before.

### DETAILS OF THE CRIME

William Horner, a 72-year old furniture dealer, was killed the morning of Jan. 27, 1948, in his shop, 213 Broad St. The murder weapon, police said, was a bottle wrapped in a stocking. He was beaten to death in the presence of his common-law wife, Elizabeth McGuire, who was herself badly beaten.

The murderers rushed into the street and into a parked car, in which they escaped. Seconds later Elizabeth McGuire staggered, bleeding, to the door. She and her husband were rushed to the hospital.

Among the people who saw Miss McGuire come to the door were a cigar salesman, Frank Eldracher, and a woman, Virginia Barclay, who was looking through a window across the street. Both had seen the murderers; both agreed there were only two, and that both were "white or light."

Miss McGuire, questioned by police when she regained consciousness, could describe her assailants only as being "slant-eyed."

The murder made the headlines, and Trenton's hard-pressed police department received "shoot to kill" orders from the commissioner, with a directive to "find the murderers."

### MAN HUNT

This is the way they found them:

A man, George English, walked out of jail the day after the murder, and couldn't find his car. He notified police, who found that the

## Three Trenton Victims



Shown above are three of the six Negroes who face the electric chair in Trenton, N. J., for a crime they could not possibly have committed. Left to right are James Thorpe, one-armed youth who was with his father at the time of the crime; McKinley Forrest, whose employer swore he was working in a slaughterhouse; and Horace Wilson, who witnesses proved was also at his place of work.

car was being driven by English's son, Collis.

The brilliant police remembered suddenly that Horner had been killed by men who fled to their car. So the masterminds put two and two together.

What had Collis English been doing with the car the previous day? Well, during one part of the day he went riding with a friend, Ralph Cooper. Police were elated. Two men in a car. This fit the murderers perfectly. They held English, and went to look for Cooper, whom they found in the home of a friend, Horace Wilson. So they arrested both Cooper and Wilson.

Meanwhile, English's mother was worried about her son. He was in jail, she knew, but she did not know what for. So she called in a friend, McKinley Forrest, and

asked him to go to the jail to see what was wrong. Forrest called at the jail—and was immediately thrown behind bars.

The next day, police, continuing their roundup, added a man named James Thorpe to the list. It was a few days later that they picked up John McKenzie — apparently just because he was a nephew of Forrest, and resided at the same address.

The two witnesses, Frank Eldracher and Virginia Barclay, were brought in to have a look at the suspects. Both stated these were not the men they saw rush from the house; and both repeated that there had been only two.

### WITNESSES FOR ALL

Undaunted, police asked the six men for alibis—which all had.

Collis English was helping his mother with the wash at the time

the murder occurred. Mrs. English testified to that, as did a next-door neighbor.

Ralph Cooper was visiting a girl friend. The girl friend testified to that, as did a postman who sought to deliver a special-delivery package.

James Thorpe, who is one-armed, was helping his father repair a car. The father swore to this on the witness stand, and so did no less than three neighbors who passed the parked car.

McKinley Forrest was working at a slaughter house, and his employers testified as to his whereabouts at the time of the crime. Horace Wilson was working. His foreman, a company official and several employees testified that they saw him.

John McKenzie was working at a chicken house. Six persons testified to his whereabouts.

At about this point, another element entered the case. It was discovered that a roofer, Jerry Griswald, who had lived at the Horner establishment for some time, had disappeared about the time of the murder. Bloodstains were found on his cot. And to this day he has not been apprehended by police.

So the story seemed complete. Witnesses had agreed that two men killed William Horner, and the police had arrested six. Witnesses had agreed that the two men were either white or light-skinned Negroes, and these men were dark-skinned. Police had charged that robbery was the motive—yet more than \$1500 was found in Horner's pockets, and no money was taken from his cash-register. A logical suspect was at large, and blood had been found on his cot. And, to top it off, every one of the six men had a perfect alibi.

### CONFESSIONS EXTORTED

But police wanted a conviction, and at the trial came up with trump cards—confessions! Somehow, police had obtained admissions of guilt from every one of the men, except Wilson, who steadfastly refused to sign.

The true story of these confessions may never be known. Three of the men admit they allowed police to give them "injections"

## Jury Selected in Stalinist Trial

(Continued from page 1)

changes in selecting the panel from which the jury was drawn. Next step is the selection of four alternate jurors to replace any regular juror who might become ill.

### FIRST SMITH ACT TRIAL

As the time approaches for the government to present its case against the Stalinists, it is instructive to review the evidence used in 1941 against the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) in the first thought-control prosecution under the Smith Act.

The 18 Trotskyists were imprisoned because the SWP seeks to convince a majority of the people that capitalism must be abolished and a socialist society created before mankind can have peace, freedom and security. On trial with the 18 were the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

"This party [the SWP] is like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky," the prosecutor told the jury. "Lenin and Trotsky based their philosophy on the Marxist philosophy. Not only are these de-

fendants Trotskyists, but their basic belief is based on Marx, so they are Marxists."

Included in the government's evidence were the 100-year-old Communist Manifesto written by Marx and Engels, State and Revolution by Lenin, and Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution.

Attempts by the SWP to obtain asylum in this country for Leon Trotsky and our tragically unsuccessful efforts to prevent his assassination by Stalin's hired killers were likewise part of the evidence against the 18.

### THE ACCUSATIONS

Attacking the SWP's opposition to imperialist war, the prosecutor denounced our proposal that the question of war or peace be decided by a vote of the people.

He accused the SWP of "fomenting strikes for unreasonable demands in times of national emergency" and of "urging reliance on mass action rather than arbitration." The prosecutor showed the jury an SWP banquet program and solemnly read from it the words of the famous union

song "Solidarity Forever."

The SWP predicts that, when a majority becomes convinced of the burning need to abolish capitalism and create a socialist society, the capitalist minority will seek by force and violence to defeat the will of the majority.

The prosecutor tried to twist that prediction into evidence that the SWP advocates the violent overthrow of the capitalist government by a minority. He claimed to have proof of his fantastic charge.

Some time before the 1941 trial, a gang of fascist hoodlums, called the Silver Shirts, became active in Minneapolis and hurled threats at the union movement. SWP members holding office in the General Drivers Union Local 544 helped organize a Union Defense Guard to protect the union hall against the Silver Shirts.

### RESULT OF TRIAL

The prosecutor described to the jury this act of self-defense carried out by a few dozen union members and branded it—"a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

Many other wild assertions were made by the government, but it could prove only that the Socialist Workers Party advocates the abolition of the capitalist system and the creation of a socialist society and that the SWP is striving to win a majority in support of its program. These facts were frankly stated by the defendants at the beginning of the trial.

In his final argument to the jury, the prosecutor wrapped himself in the flag and called for a conviction in the name of the sanctity of family, home, church, school and nation.

The jury of four small businessmen, two farmers, two clerks, a banker, salesman, newspaper publisher and housewife voted to convict.

This crude thought-control prosecution, of the Trotskyists was supported by the treacherous Stalinists. They spread the lie that the Trotskyists were "agents of Hitler" who had been imprisoned for "treason." Today the Stalinists are victims of the same Smith Act.

Despite our irreconcilable political opposition to the Stalinists, the Trotskyists defend them against the present thought-control prosecution because the democratic rights of the whole labor movement are at stake.

## Trumanites Retreat All Along Line on 'Fair Deal'

(Continued from page 1)

80th Congress which limited rent increases to a voluntary 15%.

In order to line up enough Democratic votes for continuing rent controls at all, the administration promised to decontrol rents in more than a hundred areas and a "list of these areas which might be decontrolled was circulated privately among House members." (Associated Press, Mar. 11.)

The House went this one better on Mar. 15 by voting 227 to 188 for a clause in the rent control bill giving state and local governments the power, by simple resolution, to decontrol all rents in their own political subdivisions. This, in effect, completely decontrols federal rent control.

### TO RETAIN MOST OF T-H

From the opening of Congress, Truman has been hedging on the promise of unconditional Taft-Hartley repeal, which he used as his chief inducement to win labor votes. He has opened the way for restoration of much of the Taft-Hartley Act under a different label by tying repeal of this act to simultaneous adoption of an amended Wagner Act. These amendments include curbs on various types of strikes, a "cooling off" period and government machinery for intervention in "national emergency" strikes. Al-

though the union leaders pretend that Truman's bill eliminates the use of strikebreaking injunctions, Truman himself has publicly approved their use and has claimed for himself "inherent powers" to invoke injunctions without any law.

For weeks Taft-Hartley repeal has been stalled in Congressional committee hearings and the Truman Democrats have made no attempt to speed up action. They are obviously intent on keeping the Taft-Hartley law in force for possible use against the miners or other workers in major industries who might go on strike for wage boosts this spring. When the new labor bill does go before Congress as a whole, it will then be loaded down with union-busting amendments. Will the Truman Democrats show any more fight on these Taft-Hartley amendments than they have on the civil rights filibuster?

### HOUSING BETRAYAL

After all this talk about what he was going to do for housing, the specific proposal Truman made to Congress has evoked openly-voiced dismay from housing experts. His proposal for 1,050,000 new government-financed, housing units in seven years would not even make up for the normal loss of housing

due to fire and deterioration. Even this proposal has been "compromised" in the bill now pending before Congress, which whittles the program down to 850,000 units in six years.

The Truman-sponsored 75-cent minimum wage bill is being similarly whittled down. A Democratic-controlled House committee has already performed a major surgical operation. Despite the Democratic promise to extend coverage of the bill, the committee revised the bill to exclude millions of agricultural and other low-paid workers from minimum wage law protection.

Truman's promise to broaden social security and increase the amount of benefits has given way to "states rights" measures which will turn over federal funds to reactionary state governments to administer and distribute. These measures are to be financed in large part by soaking all the workers with additional pay-roll taxes. And the record of the 81st Congress to date, as well as the feeble showing of the Truman Democrats, indicates that even the inadequate measures advocated by Truman will be trimmed on the Congressional chopping block.

But while the Truman Democrats are in ignominious retreat on their promises to the workers and Negro people, the Truman

administration is advancing with blitzkrieg speed toward its real objective—militarization of the country, war alliance of all the capitalist countries under U.S. domination and suppression of all domestic opposition to war preparations.

The Truman administration has contemptuously ignored any Congressional voice of opposition to the North Atlantic Pact, which has been secretly drafted and is being set into motion even before the Senate has received a copy of the actual text. When it was pointed out that this greatest military alliance in history, which commits this country in advance to go to war in the event of "attack" on any signatory, is inoperable without the approval of the Senate, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hastened to give it an O.K. to keep up appearances.

Truman is showing no timidity about pushing his monumental armaments budget and his program for militarizing Western Europe. We can be certain that he and his Congressional supporters will ruthlessly brush aside any opposition that might arise to impede speedy passage of all military and war measures. Indeed, administration spokesmen are already pleading the "pressing nature" of the war program as an alibi for yielding quickly to

their Congressional opponents on social reform measures.

It is taking even less time than we predicted originally to expose the contradictions of Truman's program for both "guns AND butter." Now it is becoming frightfully clear that it is "guns OR butter." Truman's demagogic vote-catching promises of social reform are being swallowed up by the voracious war program.

To push this program through, whatever the cost to the people, the Truman administration is determined to stifle all opposition. Truman is remorselessly intensifying the witch-hunt purge of all government workers suspected of having the slightest difference of opinion with the administration. With the Truman administration giving the lead, Congress is readying a whole series of witch-hunt and thought-control laws against "communists" or anybody else who dares to oppose American imperialism's headlong drive to war.

The immediate need is for the full-scale mobilization, on a nation-wide basis, of organized labor and its allies for a mighty counter-offensive against the reactionary onslaught of Congress. A United Congress of Labor, with rank and file representation from every union, should be convened immediately in Washington, on

the very doorstep of Congress, to plan and lead the fight.

The American workers in the next period are going to learn that the politics of the "lesser evil"—of supporting one capitalist party and candidate against another capitalist party and candidate—will not solve a single one of their major problems. The contradictions of American capitalism—leading either to another depression or atomic destruction in another war—shape the course of both parties of Big Business, Democratic and Republican. Only a party dedicated to the interests of the working class—the overwhelming majority of the people—can solve the problems of the working class.

The record of Truman and Congress in the past eleven weeks brings forward with renewed force the need for labor to build its own party and advance its own program. There is no other way out of labor's political blind alley. The demonstration of labor's strength in the last elections shows what a mighty independent political power the workers could wield through their own party. The rank and file of labor must now throw off the shackles of capitalist politics by which the union officialdom has so far been able to keep that power bound and helpless.

to calm their hearts! Two admit they signed only to escape the terror of a third degree.

These were strange confessions... containing odd contradictions, and peculiar phraseologies.

At the trial the six denied the validity of these confessions. They told the jury how they had been extracted.

Police denied they had used force.

The prosecuting attorney asked the jury a simple question: "Which do you believe, these six men, or the entire Police Department, charged with the protection of your welfare?"

The jury gave its answer in its verdict, following a 55-day trial. It decided: "Guilty!"

Today the "Trenton Six" languish in the death house, awaiting action on their appeal.

For their life or death now depends on the amount of mass protest that can be aroused to prevent this legal lynching.

## 26 Post Office Employees File Suit Against Purge

Twenty-six Post Office employees, organized in the Federal Employees Defense Committee, have filed suit in the U.S. District Court in Washington, challenging the constitutionality of Truman's "loyalty" purge. Their lawyer is O. John Rogge.

This suit is similar in some respects to the fight which is being waged in the Kutch case, and as a legal challenge of the purge it is fully worthy of support. It also has some important differences from the Kutch case.

For one thing, as Rogge told reporters, the present suit is confined to the Post Office Department, which he charged has "the worst record" in the government. The Kutch case although it involves only one person, is being used to test the attack on government employees in all departments.

Furthermore, the issue in the Kutch case has been posed more clearly. Most of the 26 deny membership in organizations listed by Attorney General Clark as "subversive" or refuse on constitutional grounds to answer questions about such membership.

Kutch, on the other hand, does not deny membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The facts in his case are simple and beyond dispute. This will make it more difficult for the courts to evade decision on the civil rights issue. There naturally is no conflict between the two cases. A victory in either one would substantially advance the cause of civil rights.

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# Four of the Unemployed

By Theodore Kovalesky

"Haven't you got anything at all?" he asks, holding his check almost unwillingly without folding it or putting it in his pocket. He's young, under thirty, and wears a fatigue jacket with worn fringe along the cuffs.

"I can send you to a department store pushing stock for 75c an hour," the clerk tells him. "Hell, I got a wife and two kids, and I'm still paying off on some of the furniture..."

"I'd like to help you, son," the clerk says (once in a while there's a clerk like that). "My boy was in the service, but there ain't anything. Maybe next week..."

"Yeah... OK." He turns, goes out, still holding the check. He thinks of the war bonds he bought, of the promises he heard, sixty million jobs! Induction, basic training, the Southern Pacific, invasions, Japan; then home, Jerry (short for Geraldine), Jimmy and the new baby. In the Army he made a little playing poker, but it seemed there were always debts once he got home. He wanted to work, even if it was hard; he could take it. He wanted security, wanted to work and raise his kids better than he had been raised. He smiled bitterly: now he was raising them on unemployment insurance!

The old man placed his check carefully in his shabby billfold and hurried out of the building. Outside the door he turned to the right, faltered, stopped. He looked up the street, then turned and started back in the opposite direction. He had thought to go home with his check, but now he didn't know. He didn't know where else to go either. The State Employment Service didn't have any job for him, but maybe if he looked he could find something. Only, where? Who wanted an old man?

Just a little while ago everything was so different. On Fridays he used to cash his check with the boys from the shop and have a little beer. And in the evenings he'd go to the show almost any time he felt like it.

But now, would he ever again be his own master? When you're laid off at the age of sixty-three, where will you ever find another job, especially when jobs are getting scarce?

He stood at the next street corner a long time deciding which way to go.

The kid was impatient waiting in line. He smoked cigarettes, whistled snatches of popular songs in a low hissing whisper, and stared idly at the office girls.

Finally he got his check and left, whistling out loud. He wasn't thinking much of getting another job. Hell, he just wanted some fun. He'd be in the Army soon enough.

It was a wonderful party. Wonderful food, wonderful drinks, wonderful people, and all of them having a wonderful time. Dexter P. Ramsey II felt happy and contented in the salon of his yacht. Gradually he woke from his sweet, Bourbon-tinted daydreams and heard Liz talking to him in a light, bantering tone. "Don't you know you're an awful parasite, Dex, darling?" she was saying. "Not a stroke of honest toil in your entire wasted life! Aren't you afraid of what will happen to you if there's a revolution?"

Dexter P. Ramsey II laughed easily. "Liz, darling, you know father wouldn't allow a revolution to happen. But even if it did, I'd be all right." (He rolled his r's, mimicking a politician.) "I'm one of the grreat army of the unemployed." They all laughed. Dex had a wonderful sense of humor.

# Meat in the Diet

By Grace Carlson

Despite the conviction of George Bernard Shaw and thousands of other food faddists that a vegetarian diet promotes health and prolongs life, there is no scientific proof of this position. Rather, the scientific evidence is on the side of the meat eaters.

In the first place, it is necessary to define a vegetarian diet. Many so-called vegetarians eat eggs and milk as well as fruit, vegetables and nuts. Others include breads and pastries made with animal fats. Both of these deviations remove their dietary supporters from the strictly-vegetarian lists.

Experiments with 100% vegetarian diets have shown that they do not supply all of the essential nutritional elements. Because of the possibility of maintaining strict laboratory controls over their subjects, most nutrition experts have carried on their experiments with white rats. Most thorough and careful of these experiments on meat versus vegetarian diets was performed at the University of Chicago last year by Drs. Anton Carlson and F. Hoelzel.

(In addition to his distinguished record as part president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and as a leading physiologist for over three decades, 74-year old Dr. Anton Carlson has joined with the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in opposing the government

program of "thought control.")

Drs. Carlson and Hoelzel performed two experiments on the diets of white rats. In the first experiment, the rats, which received the omnivorous diet (including meat) reached weights 30 to 35% higher than their parents. But the rats placed on a strictly vegetarian diet weighed less than did their parents.

In the second experiment, the rats were of more uniform heredity. Carlson and Hoelzel found that these animals simply could not live on the vegetarian diet. Accordingly, seven of the original thirteen vegetarians were transferred to the omnivorous diet before they were 200 days old and the remaining six to the omnivorous diet before they were 345 days old. Before they were transferred to the omnivorous diet, the vegetarians weighed considerably less than the rats receiving meat diets.

Carlson and Hoelzel attribute the increased rate of growth on an omnivorous diet to the high content of animal protein and fat and the low amount of roughage in this diet as compared with the vegetarian diet.

And now that we know for sure that meat is an essential in the diet, the only problem left for the experimenters to work on is to discover how workers can introduce enough meat into their diets at today's high prices!

# Dubinsky's Radio Station

By Ruth Johnson

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has bought an FM radio station in New York. At first glance that looks like a great advance for labor. Everybody knows that the air waves, like the columns of the daily press, are flooded with capitalist propaganda. It's high time for the workers of the United States to set up their own broadcasting stations, and newspapers too, and send the voice of labor ringing through the country.

But they'll be lucky to get a word in edgewise over the ILGWU mikes. The station's going to be run on the principles that have made the AFL and its garment chief, David Dubinsky, so acceptable to the bosses.

According to the union officials, the station, to be known as WFDR, will be "a community service radio station, not primarily a labor station." The programs will be divided something like this: 63% of the time for music, 13% for news, 12% for education, 10% for civics, and 2% for religion.

Nobody will object to the musical part... though we doubt that we'll get many of the famous labor songs like Solidarity, or the stirring ballads of Joe Hill. We certainly won't hear *Ple in the Sky* under the 2% of the time apportioned for religion. All the same, if the rest of

the program went to the workers we'd give three loud cheers.

But we have it straight from station director Morris Novik, former adviser to LaGuardia, that labor needn't expect much. He says, with Dubinsky's okay, that "a radio station should not be used... as an instrument to present one point of view or one specific interest as against the interests of other groups in the community." So "equal time will be available to all sides if a strike or other controversy is at issue."

What could be fairer? Garment workers' dues to the tune of \$150,000 bought the station. For at least two years, they will have to subsidize it with another \$50,000 annually. In return, when they're on the picket line, they will have the great advantage of being able to hear the bosses' back-to-work propaganda on their own radio station. And they'll be able to hear him for just as much time as they get to tell their own demands!

Gone are the days when they had to depend on the capitalist stations for attacks on labor. Without a flick of the switch, they can hear all the filth and lies at their own expense.

Broadcasts are scheduled to start about April 1. We can't think of a day more appropriate for the bureaucrats' cynical joke on the ILGWU ranks.

# THE HOUSING CRISIS AND THE UNUSED PLANTS

By M. Alvin

UAW President Walter Reuther, in his capacity as Chairman of CIO National Housing Committee, has submitted to Truman a plan to provide 20 million homes in the next 10 years. The plan has been widely publicized in the CIO press and to some extent in the capitalist papers.

Reuther's plan calls for utilizing the unused aircraft and shipbuilding factories and machinery built by the government during the war to construct pre-fabricated homes on a mass production scale. His plan suggests that the project be financed by cutting down expenditures on aircraft which very quickly become obsolete and using the money for homes instead.

The plan points out correctly that the privately-owned construction industry is unable or unwilling to tackle the job: "It is inconceivable that such an industry will ever get around to replacing the 7,500,000 slum dwellings that ought to be torn down, the additional 4,500,000 dwellings that need major repairs, or the 15-million non-farm homes that are more than 35 years old."

It also notes the great disproportion between huge government funds allocated to war purposes

and tiny appropriations for housing: "The blunt figures spell out potential disaster: 75% of total government expenditures will be channeled into payment for war or the threat of war, less than 1% will flow into housing or community development."

## HOMES, NOT BOMBS

A major reason for the housing crisis is the diversion of a giant proportion of America's production facilities, resources and labor power into war preparations. But Reuther himself is an ardent supporter of these war preparations that are devouring the substance of the people and diverting vast funds from useful purposes such as housing. The problem is one not merely of earmarking for housing government expenditures for obsolete war planes, but of halting all war expenditures and using the war funds for new homes and other socially beneficial ends.

In many respects the Reuther plan seems to parallel The Militant's long standing program for a large-scale government financed housing program. Without doubt the unused productive capacity of the government-built war plants could be used to provide low-cost housing and at the same time take up the slack in employment.

A basic weakness in Reuther's plan lies in his proposal to place control over this program in the hands of government agencies such as the Congressional Aviation Policy Board, the President's Air Policy Commission and the National Housing Authority. Reuther would give the Aviation boards authority to stake out their requirements in both the presently operating and unused plants and leave the not-needed facilities to the National Housing Authority to put his program into effect. It is hardly realistic to expect that the government authorities concerned with air force requirements would allocate any substantial facilities to housing needs. Here is where the program advocated by The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party shows its superiority over the Reuther Plan.

The Militant proposes a similar building program. But it advocates that the control over factory facilities, materials, prices and labor be placed in the hands of the workers' organizations, the unions, in order to guarantee the successful carrying out of the project with full protection of the workers' interests. To leave such a plan in the hands of government authorities who, according to Reuther's own testimony, plan

spending 75 times more for war purposes than for housing, is to ensure the failure of the plan in advance.

## ACTION IS NEEDED

The acute need for adequate housing plus the newest developments in our economic life, spreading unemployment, make it mandatory for the unions to press for a realistic program. The Reuther plan has already been attacked by the private builders and the aircraft industry who are interested only in lush profits from luxury homes and fancy airplanes. It is extremely doubtful that the present administration and Congress will support any large-scale building program along the lines of the Reuther plan, unless compelled to do so by genuine mass pressure.

Reuther is adept at getting publicity for some plan or another to solve social problems by technological devices. But whether these plans are good or poor makes actually little difference because he never offers an effective program of action to realize them. What is needed is a national housing conference of all unions to work out a suitable plan and a program of action for achieving it.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII

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# Cardinal Spellman Smashes Strike of Cemetery Workers

## Rubber Workers In Front Line of Wage Rise Fight

AKRON—The United Rubber Workers, CIO, has moved into the front lines of the national "fourth round" wage fight, as a result of the program adopted at its Policy Committee meeting at the end of February. In asking for a flat 25 cents an hour general wage increase, a \$100 a month pension paid for by the companies, and other welfare benefits, the rubber union has taken a more militant stand than any other international union in the CIO.

In this union the wage program has not been shifted into the background to be displaced by a pension demand as the number one issue in coming negotiations.

On the contrary, International Vice-President H. R. Lloyd, at a Mar. 4 rally of officers and stewards of the union, stated that wages are the most important part of the union's program. His position was that talk of falling prices should not sidetrack a demand for more wages and an increased living standard for the rubber workers.

Quoting figures on profits and increased productivity in the industry, Lloyd stated that it is the union's job to get an ever greater share of the national wealth in the hands of workers.

He severely criticized the labor movement for failing to draw up a uniform nation-wide wage program and a cohesive program of action. "That is the way to put up an effective fight," he said.

At the same rally International President L. S. Buckmaster stated that wages are "number one" and also stressed the importance of the pension program.

Following out the mandate of the International Policy Committee, Buckmaster also pledged to wage a fight to spread the six-hour day to the rubber industry nationally.

Pointing to the means by which the program could be realized, Lloyd said, "We must arouse the rank and file of the union and infuse it with a militant fighting spirit. It is up to the leadership to bring back the old revival spirit which sparked our union in its early organizing days. We must prepare to strike if necessary."

The program includes the demand that negotiations be conducted on the "widest possible" basis, that is, an industry-wide scale.

Actual negotiations are not expected to begin until the summer months.

## Wright to Discuss Soviet Russia Today

NEW YORK—John G. Wright, author of many articles on the Soviet Union, will discuss Soviet Russia Today in two lectures on Sun., Mar. 27 and Apr. 3, at 8 P.M., in the SWP hall at 116 University Pl. Among other questions, he will discuss the present strength and stability of the Stalin regime, and the latest shifts among its top bureaucrats.

## "Discouraged and Disgusted"



A delegation of wives of striking Catholic cemetery workers leaving the New York City residence of Cardinal Spellman after pleading in vain with him to cease his strike-breaking and deal with the union. The leader of the delegation said they were "discouraged and disgusted" by the "adamant" attitude of His Eminence. The strike was smashed when the ACTU leaders of the union capitulated to Spellman.

## GROWING SUPPORT FOR KUTCHER COMMITTEES

AKRON, Mar. 10.—An Akron section of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was established here today at a luncheon meeting in the YMCA.

The organization meeting was sponsored by Paul M. Fessenden, executive secretary of the Akron CIO Council and Mrs. Margaret Spears, well-known liberal worker for racial equality and civil rights.

George Novack, national secretary of the KCRC, spoke at the meeting and assisted in the formation of the local committee. Fessenden was elected chairman, and Mrs. Spears secretary.

Members of the committee include leaders of the CIO, AFL, the Negro community, the church and the faculty of Akron University.

Among them are Raymond Brown, Dr. Noble E. Elderklin, Dr. R. J. Rosemurgy, Glenn E. Thoenen, Barney Lesky, Samuel R. Shepard, Ben Works, Karl T. Martin, Frank Smith, Henrietta Geller, David Herrshoff, Chet Smead, Charles Lannin and Mildred Babcock.

YOUNGSTOWN, Mar. 14 — George Novack spent two busy and successful days mobilizing support for James Kutcher here last week.

On Tuesday he discussed the case with several professors at Youngstown College and was invited to address a sociology class, where his talk aroused great interest.

In the evening he presented the facts about Kutcher to the executive committee of the Mahoning County CIO Council, which decided to contact the national CIO before taking formal action on Novack's plea for support.

The next day Novack held interviews with AFL leaders, NAACP spokesmen and clergymen. The local KCRC hopes to place the Kutcher case before the next meeting of the United Labor Congress, AFL.

That night Novack gave the Youngstown Committee a full report of the national KCRC's six months of work on the case. This was followed by a discussion of plans for future work in this area.

MINNEAPOLIS, Mar. 14—The local Kutcher Civil Rights Committee today announced that the

following University of Minnesota professors have joined it:

Frank Oppenheimer, assistant professor of physics; Ralph Nafziger, professor of journalism; J. W. Buchta, chairman of the department of physics; E. W. Ziebarth, chairman of the department of speech; Alburey Castell, chairman of the humanities course and professor of philosophy; Herbert W. Fiegel, professor of philosophy; J. W. Weinberg, assistant professor of physics.

In addition to joining the KCRC, these educators signed a document subscribing to the main line of the important statement issued last week by five famous faculty members at the University of Chicago.

# Myra Weiss' Campaign Arouses Wide Interest

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, March 13 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, is energetically carrying her program to the workers of Los Angeles.

Night after night, she appears before trade union meetings. Invariably she is given an interested, sometimes even an enthusiastic reception. In each instance she drives home the fallacy of workers and minorities electing to office individuals who because of their own capitalist class interests and sympathies inevitably serve the aims of the employers and the oppressors.

In each speech, she makes clear the urgent necessity for the working population to elect its own representatives, prepared to carry through on the political field those measures which will benefit the workers in their need for jobs, for decent wages, for security. Capitalists in office will not be our agents any more than are the capitalists who own the factories, the houses, the hospitals.

On Sunday night, Mar. 20, Comrade Weiss is scheduled to give a nine-minute speech over Station KXN on one of its three "Meet Your Next Mayor" programs.

## WARM RECEPTIONS

This past week she has spoken before the CIO Council's rank-and-file interviewing committee, the AFL Miscellaneous Restaurant Workers local, the AFL Millwrights, the AFL Metal Polishers, and the AFL Conference of Studio Unions.

Audiences have ranged in size from 30 at the Metal Polishers' meeting to approximately 500 at the meeting of the Conference of Studio Unions. The latter group

NEW YORK, March 12 — Francis Cardinal Spellman, with the aid and connivance of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, has broken the eight-week strike of CIO cemetery workers at two Catholic burial grounds here.

The ACTU leaders of United Cemetery Workers Local 293, originally affiliated with the CIO Food, Cannery and Agricultural Workers, capitulated completely to the strikebreaking edicts of the Cardinal, who is the supreme authority of the Catholic hierarchy in America.

Under Spellman's orders, they pushed through a motion to disaffiliate Local 293 from its parent CIO international. They then took the local into the AFL building Service Employees, whose international vice president, David Sullivan had secretly negotiated a deal with Spellman to get the men back to work on the Cardinal's own terms.

Sullivan's statement on the deal shows why the scab-herding Cardinal was willing to recognize him as the collective bargaining agent for the cemetery workers. Sullivan praised the strikebreaking cleric "who has always been a friend of labor" and claimed "this strike would not have resulted if there had been responsible union leadership." To show how "responsible" he would be, Sullivan added: "I have assured the Cardinal that such a strike will never occur under my leadership."

## THE STRIKE'S ISSUES

Yesterday the cemetery workers began returning to the job under a "sweetheart" agreement whose terms most of them didn't even know and which was imposed on them by Sullivan and the ACTU clique. The new contract retains the straight-time 48-hour work week which the men had fought to eliminate. They had demanded a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay and time-and-a-half for Saturdays. The Cardinal graciously granted them his original offer of an 8 1/3% weekly raise for 48 hours work.

It was after the worker's insisted on a legally-standard work week of 40 hours and went on strike that Spellman raised what the strikers called his "red herring" of "communism." Even the ACTU leaders of the local felt constrained to complain about this lying charge.

When the strikers refused to bend the knee to him, Spellman personally led more than a hundred priests and seminary students in scabbing on the strikers. He sought a court injunction to halt picketing and threatened to fire the "ring-leaders" of the strike. He likewise demanded that the workers return as individuals without any union. He boasted

that he was "proud" to be called a strikebreaker and that it was a "thing of honor" to scab against decent workers fighting for their rights against the immensely wealthy Catholic hierarchy.

## "DISGUSTED," SAY WIVES

A meeting of the striking workers, all devout Catholics, had passed a resolution assailing "the union-busting tactics of any employer." A committee of the strikers' wives went to Spellman to plead with him to negotiate in good faith. To these workers' wives, who scrape together dime from their household funds to maintain the hierarchy, the Prince of the Church turned a disdainful shoulder. "They had nothing to offer me, and I had nothing to offer them," His Eminence said afterwards.

The head of the wives' delegation, Mrs. Sigmund Czak, said they were "discouraged and disgusted" because the Cardinal "wants the men to go back to work as individuals, not as union men and he said he would not allow members of the strikers' committee to go back to work because they were ringleaders."

Faced squarely with the issue of defending the workers' interests or bowing to the dictates of their strikebreaking Cardinal, the ACTU leaders submitted abjectly to Spellman.

## ACTU RESPONSIBILITY

The priest-ridden ACTU has split more than one union on the grounds of "communism" and has upheld strikebreaking against allegedly "communist" unions, such as in the Brooklyn Trust Co. strike two years ago. The Cardinal was merely carrying out the same program—only he exposed its real nature by applying it to devout Catholic workers themselves. As in every other strike in which it has interfered, the ACTU first disoriented the strikers and then betrayed them.

There is no question but that millions of Catholic workers who detest strikebreaking are sick at heart at the Catholic hierarchy's demonstrative smashing of the cemetery strike. The Connecticut CIO Council, a right-wing "anti-Communist" body which represents many thousands of Catholic members, on Mar. 11 stated: "We condemn in strongest possible terms the strikebreaking tactics of Francis Cardinal Spellman."

CIO President Philip Murray has said nothing about Spellman's strikebreaking.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

sters, also AFL, have endorsed the head of the Board of Education, Olin E. Darby. The Ironworkers, AFL, meanwhile, have given official endorsement to none of the candidates. They are presenting their members with a record of each. The phrasing of these records implies that the organization favors Mayor Fletcher Bowron for re-election.

What is clear from this is that none of the eight capitalist candidates offers any real hope to the workers and minorities of the city. The workers have looked to their official union leadership for guidance, but they haven't found it.

They are beginning to recognize the futility of voting for just another capitalist candidate, and are looking for a program and a leadership which shows them a way out.

In increasing numbers, therefore, they are listening to Comrade Weiss, the socialist candidate who is fighting for the needs of the workers instead of the profits of the employers.

## READ

Fourth International