

THE MILITANT

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AN AFL EDITOR TELLS WHY HE BACKS KUTCHER

— See Page 3 —

N. Y. Conference Peddles Sham 'Peace Program'

By John G. Wright

The Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, which met in New York at the Waldorf-Astoria for three days last week, represented all that still remains of Stalinist "cultural front" organizations. The presence of many non-Stalinist elements served only to underscore the predominance at this gathering of either notorious Kremlin retainers or fellow travelers.

As a component part of the Kremlin's "peace offensive," this conference is designed to fulfill a twofold purpose. It is, on the one hand, a countermove by Moscow to the North Atlantic Pact; and, on the other, it aims to build up pressure for another deal with Washington which Stalin still so ardently desires and hopes for.

The Stalinist propaganda machine is trying to palm it off as a decisive weapon in the struggle for peace. The New York Conference is part of an international build-up for the "World Peace Congress" which is to be staged in Paris around the latter part of April.

The exceptional publicity accorded in the Russian press to this conference and to the forthcoming Paris Congress suffices to show what exceptional importance the Kremlin attaches to this handiwork of its own agents. Pravda's characterization of the New York gathering as of "great significance for creation of a world front for a movement in support of peace," is not a chance remark. It is the keynote struck by the main speakers at the N. Y. Conference, as it will unquestionably be at the Paris conclave.

FOR USE IN USSR

All this is by no means intended exclusively for foreign consumption. The Soviet masses, the most war-weary and war-exhausted in the world today, are genuinely alarmed by the war danger and the clamor for peace is growing ever louder among them. They cannot help but view the conclusion of the North Atlantic Pact as a blow to their hopes and the Kremlin finds itself in dire need to lull their fears. It must demonstrate to them that they are not in danger of complete isolation;

that there are, at least, great forces everywhere mobilizing to come to their assistance.

The current parade of "cultural and scientific" congresses is in no small part intended to fulfill this purpose as well.

It is a striking demonstration of the bankruptcy of Stalinism that today, in the middle of its worldwide "left turn," its master-minds find themselves compelled to resort to the same wretched trickery that marked their sharp turn to the right many years ago.

The Stalinists, possessing the added advantage at the time of

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'ANTI-RED' MOBILIZATION IN NEW YORK FIZZLES

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, March 26 — The threatened mass mobilization of reaction, spearheaded by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, against the Stalinist "International Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" has turned into a fizzle. This was the first attempt here to organize mob action against "communism" since the heyday of the fascist Christian Front back in 1939.

At its height yesterday's demonstration around the block-square swanky Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where the Stalinist conference is being held, numbered less than 250 pickets. I know, because I counted the pickets time and again as I trudged around the Waldorf yesterday afternoon and evening waiting for the "20,000 to 50,000" demonstrators promised by the leaders of the Catholic organizations. At 9:30 P. M. I called it a day, after seeing mostly cops. They were the biggest part of the demonstration.

For three days the capitalist press and radio conducted a fren-

Geo. Novack's Tour Cut Short by Illness

George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, who was stricken with influenza in Cleveland last month during his tour on behalf of the legless veteran, has been compelled to call off the remainder of the tour.

Despite his illness he went on to Chicago, but because he was too weak to continue he has returned to New York to recuperate.

But Look What's Behind You!



Lenin's Views Grossly Perverted at Trial of 11

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, March 30—With the renegade Stalinist Louis F. Budenz still testifying for the government, the thought-control trial of the Stalinists has reached the stage of direct attack on the Marxist classics.

Defogged by his ignorance of the ideas he has put on trial, the prosecutor clumsily questions Budenz, seeking to represent Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine of "force and violence."

Budenz helpfully runs ahead of the prosecutor's questions, palming off his own fantastic versions of Marxism as the "real definition." He has eagerly confessed his past sins as a Stalinist and in the process put the finger on dozens of his former associates in the Communist Party.

The judge has, in effect, qualified Budenz as an "expert" on Marxism by frequently asking him to define Marxist terms. To defend objections, the judge replied, "Who could know better than the man who worked right with them?"

In this setting, the prosecutor, John F. X. McGohey, has set out

with Budenz's eager aid to befoul the name of Lenin. He has read to the jury excerpts from Lenin's book, State and Revolution.

DISTORTING LENIN

This great work, widely recognized as a literary classic, ana-

lyzes human experience down through the centuries in the ceaseless struggle to achieve higher social forms of production and to reorganize the political superstructure of society in harmony with each advance in productive relations. It was written

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Chicago Stalinist Hoodlums Assault Distributors of Civil Rights Leaflet

CHICAGO, March 25 — Even while the Stalinists themselves are under capitalist government attack, they continue to violate the democratic rights of other working class groups. Last Saturday night, the Stalinists assaulted a group of Socialist Workers Party members and friends peacefully distributing leaflets and copies of The Militant at a Communist Party meeting at the Ashland Auditorium, called to protest the trial of the CP leaders in New York.

The SWP leaflet pointed out the dangers to the labor movement in the current witch-hunt, showing the connection between the CP trial, the wartime imprisonment of 18 SWP leaders under the Smith Act, the purge of James Kutcher and the reactionary Broyles Bills now being pushed through the Illinois Legislature. It repeated the SWP's offer to join with the CP in a united defense of all witch-hunt victims.

Many of the people entering the hall took and read the SWP leaflet with interest. The Stalinists then organized a squad of 20 to 25, who emerged from the hall and assaulted the distributors. The latter vigorously defended themselves, but were badly outnumbered and were forced to withdraw.

Issues Plea to All Who Want To Save Democratic Rights

NEW YORK, March 31 — "The encroachment on civil rights in every sphere of American life are one of the most dangerous threats to the American

people today," said James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in a statement issued here this afternoon.

At its recent meetings, the SWP Political Committee has discussed at length the issue of civil rights violations and the need for broadening the fight to defend democratic rights and to aid all victims of the current thought-control persecutions, reported the veteran socialist leader and founder of the American Trotskyist movement.

"It is high time that all principled defenders of civil liberties find a way to get together and work out a coordinated program of struggle to resist every single attack on civil rights," said Comrade Cannon.

He pointed out that the current witch-hunt and violations of civil rights are "spreading like a terrible disease" and cited the continued abominable mistreatment of the Negro people and the rejection by Congress of promised civil rights laws, purges among government employees, the firing of college professors, the persecution of conscientious objectors, the harassment of liberal-minded religious leaders, the attacks on the public school system, the thought-control trials of minority political parties, etc.

THEIR REAL PURPOSE

He warned in particular of the "new crop of laws that are springing up like weeds in every legislature, state and federal, to make it a crime to think differently than the political stooges of Big Business want us to think. These laws are ostensibly aimed at the Communist Party, but their real purpose is to bind and gag anyone who does not conform to Washington's political views."

The SWP Political Committee, said Comrade Cannon, has discussed the question of civil rights in relation to the drive toward another war and the trend toward military dictatorship.

"Our committee sees the attacks on civil rights as a direct outgrowth of the war preparations. This all-sided drive against free speech, free thought and free schools is organically linked to the deliberate preparations for another war to be waged by an American military police-state. The fight for democracy is no abstraction. In its fullest sense, it is really a fight against the war that is in preparation."

It is becoming clearer every day, he stated, that under the



JAMES P. CANNON

guise of attacking Stalinism, the forces of capitalist reaction are seeking to intimidate and silence every expression of free thought in the country. He cited the attacks on Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish and Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam "because they dared to speak up for peace or defend the principle of separation of church and state against the Catholic hierarchy's encroachments on the public schools."

He stressed the attempts to shackle free thought in the schools and colleges, exemplified by the victimization of several professors at the University of Washington and the firing of Tucker Smith, vice-presidential running mate of Norman Thomas, from Olivet College.

MEANS MUST BE FOUND

"We are certain that a large number of progressive-minded people share our views on the growing menace to democratic rights," he said, "but as yet this sentiment has not been mobilized for organized action. One of the chief reasons for this, we feel, is the pernicious role of the Stalinists. Many people are afraid of being taken in by the Stalinists, who are notorious for misusing civil rights issues for their own sinister purposes."

But the means must be found, he said, to bring together the sincere defenders of civil liberties. "There are many earnest individuals and groups, who in their own way and independently from each other, are carrying on the fight. The need is for cooperation and coordination in a broad solid front of action. The SWP urges and would welcome such a development and would give wholehearted support to it."

SWP CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF \$7,500 MILITANT FUND

By James P. Cannon

The well-known disparity between inflated printing costs and the normal revenue of a workers' paper which carries no commercial advertising has once again caught up with

The Militant. Since its first issue more than 20 years ago, The Militant has never "paid its own way" and was never expected to. From the very beginning it has been "subsidized" by the members of the Socialist Workers Party in whose hearts The Militant has always held first place. They have always considered, and still consider their freely-given contributions to this cause as the best of all investments — an investment in the socialist future of mankind for which our glori-

ous paper speaks and fights.

The Militant has been "in trouble" ever since the end of the election campaign which overstrained all sections of our movement with extraordinary expenses. However, by rigorous economy, careful management and cooperation from the party branches in paying up their bills, the paper was kept afloat for the past four months. This was quite an accomplishment in itself; and, what is even more remarkable, the staff was strengthened and the literary and political quality of the paper improved during this difficult period.

The time has now come to back up this achievement and assure the regular appearance of The Militant with no weakening of its editorial standards for the months ahead. The managing committee has asked for a fund of \$7,500; and the National Committee of the SWP, after consultation with the branches, has promised to provide the full amount by May 15.

In making that pledge we know what we are doing and why. We know for sure that the Trotskyist vanguard of the American Revolution, whose members have been educated and inspired by The Militant, will not let The Militant down. For that reason, we view the appeal for a special \$7,500 fund not as a "crisis" but as a routine operation to be undertaken with enthusiasm and carried out on schedule. This conviction enables me to conclude this announcement of the campaign with the confident prediction: The promised fund of \$7,500 will be paid on the line and the regular appearance of The Militant will be assured.

Militant Fund Quotas

Branch	Quota
New York	\$2,000
Los Angeles	600
Buffalo	500
Detroit	500
San Francisco-Oakland	500
Minneapolis	400
Philadelphia	400
Youngstown	300
Chicago	250
Newark	250
Akron	200
Flint	200
St. Paul	200
Boston	150
Cleveland	150
Milwaukee	150
Baltimore	150
Pittsburgh	100
Lynn	50
New Britain	50
Reading	50
St. Louis	50
Seattle	50
Toledo	50
Morgantown	30
Allentown	25
New Haven	25
Rochester	25
Worcester	25
General	120
Total	\$7,500

An Interview with Reverend Melish

By Ruth Johnson

Rev. John Howard Melish, 74 years old, must appear in court on April 1 to hear a judge decide whether he shall keep the position he has filled for 45 years. Will his be another name on the list of victims of the thought-control drive?

"We don't know what the court will decide," he told me on Sunday afternoon. "But we are going to defend free speech."

While his grandchildren played downstairs, we talked in the library of his Brooklyn home. He had just returned from services at the Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, and he was tired. Fatigue showed in a limp as he walked, and the grateful way he sank into an easy chair. But his eyes were alert and his words were determined.

CENTRAL ISSUE

The central issue in the dispute, he said, is the right of the clergy to voice its opinions. "For over 100 years we have had that right in the Episcopal Church. Now De Wolfe [Bishop of the diocese of Long Island] has violated our whole tradition."

On March 2, De Wolfe issued an order ousting Rev. Melish and his son, the associate rector William Howard Melish. It is this order that Rev. Melish is contesting through the courts. The younger Melish's activities in the National Council of Soviet American Friendship were the excuse for the discharges. He was, until

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Persecution of the Conscientious Objectors

By Farrell Dobbs

Were you awakened this morning by the piercing shriek of a whistle and a sudden glare of blinding light in your darkened bedroom? Did a policeman stand over you today at breakfast, lunch and dinner?

Are you speeding a lonely evening behind locked doors and barred windows, yearning to be with your loved ones? As you retire tonight, will the crash of an electric lock in a solid steel door seal you inside a tiny cubicle, like a body consigned to the grave?

Such is the daily life of 34 young conscientious objectors imprisoned for their refusal to register under the peacetime draft. The same fate awaits another 44 CO's already under indictment and at least 70 more non-registrants not yet grabbed by the FBI.

Their average sentence is that pronounced by a Los Angeles

judge, "The life of this [peacetime draft] act is two years. The sentence will, therefore, be two years."

And when they have served that sentence, the draft law will have been extended beyond its present expiration on July 1, 1950. Back to prison they will go, again and again, until they are too old for front-line cannon fodder.

Truman pardoned Boston's notorious Mayor Curley and most of the Pendergast political gang in Kansas City, but such clemency is not for the youth of tender age whose only "crime" is refusal to be an instrument of war.

For them, the alternatives are parole as military medical corpsmen, laborers at starvation wages in some hospital, parachute firefighters in forestry service, guinea pigs for lice remedies—or prison. Many are long denied any parole whatever.

The average age of these youth, branded "felons" by the Truman

administration, is 22. Several are veterans of the last war. Others served previous prison terms for defying the wartime draft. Twelve are married, some with small children. They are mostly religious pacifists of the Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Mennonite and other faiths.

To better understand their beliefs and the government's vicious policy against them, let us step into a Portland, Maine, federal court where two CO's are on trial:

The prosecutor: "These defendants cite Gandhi, and I think that is the key to their behavior. It is an attempt to introduce into the United States the principle and practice of civil disobedience. Such a procedure, if indulged in by any considerable number of people, could only result in the breaking down of law and order."

Defendant Gerald Williams: "I have disobeyed this law because it is my belief that military conscription is clearly a prepara-

tion for war. The violation of the Fugitive Slave Law by New Englanders is, to my mind, an historic parallel.

"If my disobedience of the Selective Service Act has anything in common with the disobedience of men like John Brown and Ralph Waldo Emerson for the Fugitive Slave Law, it is because we both discover that an institution of our time has become aggressive and dangerous, and that the responsibility for eliminating it begins at home."

The judge: "The sentence will be two years."

Now let us enter a St. Paul federal court where a CO is about to be sentenced.

The judge: "I don't want to do this, but as a judge I have no other choice."

The defendant: "If you don't want to do this, your honor, you have the choice of not being a judge."

peacetime draft will be taken to the higher courts through the case of Edgar Norton, a young Quaker. His appeal will be based in part on a 1943 Supreme Court decision holding it a violation of conscience to compel a Jehovah's Witness to salute the flag.

Norton will contend that it is no less a violation of conscience to compel a Quaker, who lives by a creed of non-violence, to register for conscription into an army dedicated to the practice of force and violence.

His appeal will be supported by the Central Committee For Conscientious Objectors, a national organization for the legal defense of CO's, whose executive secretary, Caleb Footé, has headquarters at 2066 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

As the peacetime draft became law last July, 300 leading Protestant ministers issued a manifesto, proclaiming:

"For young men we believe (Continued on page 3)

ACLU Meeting Voices Alarm at Rising Reaction

By Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK — "The witch-hunt launched in Washington is spreading like a cancer throughout the country."

This warning by A. A. Heist of Los Angeles expressed the mounting alarm over the government's thought-control purge among the 300 delegates at the 29th annual conference of the American Civil Liberties Union in this city on Mar. 19.

Investigations into the ideas and beliefs of individuals were opposed by a big majority of the delegates. They demanded abolition of the House Un-American Committee and its carbon copies in the states, such as the Tenney Committee in California and the Canwell Committee in Washington State.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale denounced as "shameful" the firing of James Kutcher, legless war veteran, from his VA clerical job solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Professor Emerson branded the Department of Justice "subversive" list an attempt to license ideas.

A sharp debate occurred over proposals to require disclosure by all organizations of their aims, sources of funds, expenditures and names of their officers — commonly called "full disclosure."

Full disclosure was advocated in the October 1947 report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, of which Morris Ernst, ACLU general counsel, was a member. Legislation requiring such disclosure has been introduced in Congress through the revived Mundt-Nixon bill and the Ferguson bill.

Ernst vigorously upheld full disclosure in the conference debate. He was supported by James L. Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

Disclosure was strongly opposed by Roger Baldwin, ACLU national director, and John F. Finerty, a famous civil liberties lawyer. Another well-known civil liberties defender, Arthur Garfield Hayes, who was absent from the conference, attacked full disclosure as a "dangerous precedent" in The Nation of Jan. 29.

Ernst and Fly argued that all movements should be compelled to disclose their main backers, so the weight given an idea would rest on knowledge of the true author, thus enabling the "little man" to make an intelligent choice of ideas.

They contended no propaganda material should be permitted in the mails without knowing who's back of it. (The Rees bill now before Congress would require the Postmaster-General to prepare a blacklist of organizations whose mail would have to be labeled, "Communist Front Organization.")

Baldwin and Finerty replied that under full disclosure only ideas certified by the FBI would be permitted. The people, who are supposed to be sovereign over the government, would be subjected to censorship by political police.

Don't gag anybody, they demanded. Remove the grievances which lead to criticism of the government.

Fly asked in patronizing tones if the conference was "really" afraid the FBI might pry into everybody's affairs. He was taken aback when many delegates shouted, "Yes!"

ers just because they are Jews. He also cited cases in which Negroes and active unionists have been fired by official purgers who were Negro haters and union-busters.

Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University related the story of a completely non-political medical journal, carrying reports on Soviet medical discoveries, whose circulation in Washington has dropped from 600 to 30 since the purge began.

K. R. Mather of Boston told of attempts in Massachusetts to extend the purge into private industry.

"We must be alert to defend individuals against violations of their rights," Mather said. "In doing so, we must be prepared to withstand plenty of mudslinging."



Guatemalan workers such as these are fighting mad over the union-busting tactics of the United Fruit Co. in their country. When the Guatemalan government refused to break a strike against the company, the U. S. monopoly imposed a blockade on the country's ports. After vast amounts of bananas and coffee were spoiled, the company reportedly settled — on union terms.

Minister Tells 'Militant' Why He Is Under Attack

(Continued from page 1)

March 18, the Council's chairman; he is still a member of its board of directors. The elder Melish was ordered deposed because he refused to oust his son for this "offense."

I commented that apart from his son's rights, his own case held an even more dangerous threat—the practice of declaring "guilt by association," of convicting one person for the actions of a friend or relative.

"Yes, in a sense that is so. But there have always been some people in the diocese who objected to my work," he explained. "I have always been interested in labor, and there are some who have always hated labor."

He spoke proudly of having joined the Central Labor Union back in 1906, when it had 70,000 members in Brooklyn. "I was in it as long as it existed, too. Then, when it dissolved, I became a member of the Central Labor Council of New York. Of course, I have not been very active for the past few years. I am growing a little old."

In the years that he has been its rector, the parish has attracted more and more working class members, including a large percentage of minority peoples. "The Negro people, the Spanish people, all know they are welcome in my church."

HIS OPPONENTS

But these and other signs of friendship for the oppressed have been resented by the wealthier parishioners. Afraid of his popularity, they waited to strike at him through his son. The first open attack came several months ago.

"I gave the invocation at the Wallace meeting at the Stadium. I was for Wallace. I couldn't do much more, but my son made a speech."

That brought an outburst from a prominent Republican, Mrs. Bromley, whose husband has recently been appointed to a New York judgeship. Dr. Melish told me. She made a public statement that "A Republican congregation ought to have a Republican minister."

"But we have the support of the parish," he continued. "I would say that 90% of the members are for us."

His gentle voice became sharper as he explained the connections between his rich opponents. "Bishop De Wolfe," he said, "has become a rubber-stamp for the corporation lawyer Jackson A. Dyckman."

It is Dyckman who, as legal counsel for the bishop, is handling the court charges against the Melishes.

"And I have fought Dyckman for 20 years. He has always opposed everything I stood for. . . I don't suppose that will help our court case," he admitted ruefully, "but we will carry it through to the end."

STATEMENT TO MILITANT

I asked him if he would like to make a statement for the readers of The Militant.

"You can say for me," he replied, "that I believe in all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and by the State of New York, including freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, and freedom from discrimination too."

He reached into his pocket. "Perhaps you would like to see this. It is the text of the sermon I delivered this morning."

It answered the Bishop's charges and with stinging wit lashed the would-be repressors. "We have an uninformed Bishop and an uninformed Stand-

ing Committee. They belong to a free Church and do not know it. . .

"The Bishop says that my assistant associates with atheists and those who deny the Christian doctrine of man. I submit to any fair-minded man that is not a Christ-like statement. It is like condemning the Lord Jesus for associating with publicans and sinners."

"SAME FIGHT"

As I thanked him and rose to leave, the younger Melish joined us. Like his father, he regards their case as part of the broad struggle for civil rights in the United States.

Picking up the Militant I had brought, he observed sympathetically, "You people are up against the same fight, but on a bigger scale, aren't you? I've heard that you are on the 'subversive' list."

I asked if he had heard also of the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

"I remember reading about it," he said. "It's all of a piece, all of these attacks. I believe this country faces many problems that can only be solved if we can all express our thoughts. If we all stand up and fight for free speech, it will focus attention and perhaps help the solutions to jell."

Next Week:

"The New Kensington Frame-up Case" by G. Mason. Three leaders of CIO United Steel Workers Local 302 railroaded to prison. Here are the shocking facts about the collusion between the company and Philip Murray's bureaucratic machine.

Our reports on Cardinal Spellman's strikebreaking burned the Labor Leader, N.Y. official mouthpiece of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Read Art Preis' crushing answer to their attack.

"The Socialist Call Stoops to Slander." Bert Cochran replies in his column to the Norman Thomas breed of moralists on the union elections in Buffalo.

James Kutcher appears before the Loyalty Review Board in New York on March 31. Read the full report in next week's Militant.

SWP Denies That It Picketed at 'Peace Congress'

NEW YORK, March 28—The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party today issued a statement correcting a number of inaccurate newspaper and radio comments concerning the SWP's activities around the "Peace Conference" held here last week-end.

Commentators reported that the SWP had demonstrated outside both the "Peace Conference" and the counter-rally of "Americans for Intellectual Freedom," "expressing opposition to both," etc.

The facts are as follows, the SWP explained: The SWP did not picket or demonstrate against either of these conferences. SWP members appeared before the AIP rally at Freedom House to sell literature, carrying placards to advertise the new edition of the pamphlet, Socialism on Trial by James P. Cannon. This in no way constituted a "picket-line."

The SWP sells its literature at all kinds of meetings, at universities, street corners, etc. A similar sale was conducted at the Madison Square Garden meeting which concluded the "Peace Conference."

"The SWP," the statement added, "did not agree with the sponsors or the program of either conference, since in our opinion the only meaningful fight for peace is the fight for socialism, which alone can end wars by abolishing the capitalist system which breeds them. However, we in no way deny or challenge the right of these groups to hold such fraudulent 'peace' conferences."

Lenin's Teachings Grossly Perverted At Trial of 11

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with specific regard to the turbulent political conditions in Russia in 1917.

McGohey ripped from that 100-page book three paragraphs through which he tried to show Lenin demanded "violent revolution" under any and all circumstances and would settle for nothing less.

When read as part of the whole book, these paragraphs are properly understood as part of Lenin's explanation that throughout history, at times of great social change, the revolutionary majority has always had to defend itself against attempts by the minority ruling class to preserve its power over the people by acts of force and violence.

The prosecutor sought to clinch his distortions of Lenin's writings through testimony by the "expert," Budenz.

"Scientific socialism," Budenz told the jury, "is the theory that society can be altered only by the violently shattering the capitalist state and setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat by force and violence."

"What is a renegade?" McGohey asked. "A renegade," Budenz brazenly replied, "is a person who believes in peaceful social change." Lenin, the unfaltering champion of socialist emancipation, who was the workers' man in every fiber of his being, has been put in the prisoners' dock here at Foley Square. There is nobody to address the jury in his defense.

CULTURAL CONFERENCE PEDDLES STALINIST SHAM "PEACE PROGRAM"

(Continued from page 1)

such world famous names as Barbusse and Romain Rolland, staged their first "peace congress" in 1932, on the eve of Hitler's assumption of power in Germany. This 1932 congress was likewise convened in Paris; it, too, employed the screen of "culture and sciences"; it, too, promised to assure peace.

TROTSKY'S WARNINGS

Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers throughout the world denounced and exposed this sham at the time. They correctly pointed out that the roots of war are imbedded not in the minds of a few prominent individuals or reactionary groups but deep in the structure of capitalism itself. The struggle against war is therefore meaningless unless conducted through the revolutionary mobilization of the mass of the people for the institution of socialism.

"Peace congresses," Trotsky warned at the time, were not only futile and completely impotent, but actually played into the hands of the warmakers by lulling the people with illusions, diverting their energies, demoralizing and disillusioning them in the end. The fate of the 1932 "Peace Congress" proved this to the hilt.

But this did not deter the Stalinists. In 1933 they staged still another "world congress," this time against fascism. It proved just as futile.

But in the Thirties the Kremlin still had the possibility of maneuvering between rival imperialist blocs; there was also the possibility of building large mass movements — the "People's Fronts" — hand in hand with the Social Democrats and sections of the liberal bourgeoisie. It was primarily this that enabled the Kremlin to cover up the fraud and futility of all its "peace" masquerades.

Today, no such possibilities exist. The isolation of the Soviet Union must become more and more pronounced as American imperialism tightens its ring of steel around the Soviet borders. Similarly, the Stalinist parties are thrown back more and more upon their own resources, with "allies" and "friends" becoming scarcer and scarcer. The sham of the Kremlin's "world peace fronts" must therefore become all the more quickly apparent.

SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT

"As a matter of fact, this, too, has been demonstrated at the New York gathering. In the Thirties it was only the Trotskyists who raised their voices in warning. But the lessons of the past are now being drawn by others as well.

At one of the panel sessions at the N. Y. Conference, the popular young novelist, Norman Mailer, had the following to say:

"I had deliberated about coming here and speaking. I don't believe in peace conferences. They don't do any good. So long as there is capitalism, there is going to be war. Until you have a decent, equitable socialism, you can't have peace."

This is the truth, Norman Mail-

er has yet to attain complete political clarity, but his remarks show that he has penetrated to the heart of the question of how to really fight war.

EQUALLY VILE SHAM

Supplementing the sham conference at the Waldorf-Astoria there was just as vile a sham staged at Freedom House by Professor Sidney Hook and his Social Democratic colleagues. For every lie that was promoted in the interests of the Kremlin, the Freedom House spokesmen gave voice to equally vicious lies in the interests of American monopolists and war-mongers.

If any one is disqualified to criticize the "intellectual strait-jacket" of Stalinism it is an individual like Hook, one of the public promoters of thought-control in our colleges, let alone the country as a whole.

If anyone should be exposed as an enemy of truth, it is an individual like Hook who falsely identifies Stalinism with Leninism and the Stalinist regime with the whole of the Soviet Union itself, and who, incidentally, thereby helps strengthen Stalin's hand.

The attacks of such people on Stalinism help promote directly the cause of reaction and the preparations for the next war.

'Anti-Red' Mass Mobilization Against Conference Fizzles

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town to see what all the shouting was about.

When I arrived at the Waldorf at 2:30 in the afternoon, I rushed all around looking for the pickets. All I saw was cops, cops and more cops, and little knots of spectators looking to see what all the cops were there for. Finally, I saw three men wearing Catholic War Veterans caps and carrying a sign, "Communists You Are Not Welcome Here — We Don't Want You — Get Out!" One of the men was yelling raucously, "Join our picket lines! Defend the American way of life!" By the time I left for supper there were a total of 15 pickets "defending the American way of life!"

The "American way of life" they were there to defend against "communism" was driving up to the Waldorf main entrance in limousines so long two cabs had to move out to make space for one of them. I figure a million dollars worth of diamonds and furs fluttered through that entrance in the time I watched.

IN THE EVENING

Early in the evening I returned to see the "20,000 to 50,000 real Americans" whom the heads of the Catholic War Veterans, the United Catholic Organizations for the Freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty and the "Peoples Committee for Freedom of Religion," a phony Catholic front, had said would mass for the opening session of the Stalinist conference that night.

By 8:30 P. M. I counted about 250 marchers on all sides of the Waldorf, two groups of about 75 each circling on each side of the main entrance on Park Avenue, and small rings of about 15 to 20 each at the two sides and rear.

The marchers included the avowed Catholic groups, some Russian religious fanatics displaying the czarist emblem and Christian Fronters. The press had tried to conceal the Catholic inspiration of the demonstration by playing it up as a "united front" of "anti-communists." The Christian Fronters, who flaunted anti-Semitic banners ("What

Kind of Culture is Einstein Defending?"), were forced to remove them. Somebody finally thought to produce a small, crudely-drawn sign, "The Protestants Are Also Being Persecuted." It didn't say whether in Eastern Europe or in Catholic Spain, Portugal and Argentina.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TOO

At 8:30, when the picket lines were starting to dwindle, there appeared sudden reinforcements. A small group with banners joined the phalanx. The banners proclaimed the support of the Social-Democratic Federation. They had come to bolster the forces of the ultra-reactionary authoritarian Catholic action groups in the defense of "freedom" and "culture" against "totalitarian communism."

The banners and slogans shouted by the picketers were crudely anti-communist. Some disclosed the real anti-democratic intent of the demonstration by proclaiming, "No Red School Teachers" and "Outlaw Communism by Law in the United States." Most of them were clear incitations for a "Holy War" against the Soviet Union by American imperialism.

The Catholic War Veterans distributed a leaflet containing the Bill of Rights of the Constitution and the Ten Commandments. This was supposed to show how democratic and 100% American the demonstrators and the Catholic hierarchy are, although the Roman Catholic priest-caste for many centuries has been the most deadly enemy of free thought and enlightenment — and certainly it is the mortal foe of the principle of separation of Church and State, the very first principle of the Bill of Rights.

But the demonstrators had at least one effective propaganda weapon — a weapon given them by Stalinism. They were able to make some capital of the well-known facts about "cultural freedom" in the Soviet Union with the Kremlin's dictation to and purges of scientists, writers, musicians, etc. The banners contained jeers at Shostakovich, the internationally-famous composer who has more than once been the victim of the Kremlin's "musical criticism" but was assigned the role of the Kremlin's chief showpiece and cultural apologist at the Stalinist conference.

SERVES A WARNING

Although the Catholic hierarchy failed this time to arouse the big demonstration against "communism" it had hoped for after weeks of lynch-incitation over the Mindszenty case among New York's more than 2,000,000 Catholics, its attempt serves warning on American workers and defenders of civil liberties that the Catholic Church is making a serious offer of its services in mobilizing storm troopers of capitalist reaction to suppress all who oppose Wall Street's war program against "atheistic Russia." It is of a piece with that other recent action of the hierarchy — Cardinal Spellman's smashing of the Catholic cemetery workers strike — which showed the American capitalists how ready and able the Catholic Church stands to defend the employing class against militant labor.

MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY

Do you want to get a deeper, more profound understanding of the big economic, social and political problems facing America? Read the April issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. An excellent introduction to the powerful science founded by Karl Marx! Take a look at the contents:

● Marxism and Democracy by Ernest Germain

One of the most controversial subjects of our time clarified by an outstanding Marxist thinker. With scientific precision, this contributor to FOURTH INTERNATIONAL analyzes the important question now being hotly debated in the schools of America, among the liberals, union chiefs, high political figures, editors and columnists. Germain traces the rise of democracy from its little-known origins, explains its evolution, shows where democracy stands today and forecasts what the future holds in store for it.

A must for all those anxious to defend democracy in the most effective way.

● "The Talented Tenth" by J. Meyer

Why are the rulers of America suddenly taking an interest in selected representatives of the Negro people? What are the political objectives behind this move? How does it affect the struggle for civil rights? What can the colored people do to solve the crucial problem of leadership now facing them in their battle for full equality? J. Meyer gives the Marxist answer to these questions.

● The Meaning of Hegel by George Plekhanov

Published for the first time in America. Frederick Engels praised this 1891 essay on the great philosopher Hegel in the highest terms. Lenin said that "it is impossible to become a real communist without studying — really studying — all that Plekhanov has written on philosophy, as this is the best of the whole international literature of Marxism." Leon Trotsky wrote: "The great Plekhanov, the true one, belongs entirely and wholly to us. It is our duty to restore to the young generations his spiritual figure in all its stature." Those who have found Hegel's writings hard to crack, will appreciate the aid of this profound essay.

● Starvation Ahead? by A. Gilbert

The prophets of famine say that the world's food supply cannot keep up with population growth. Are they right? A. Gilbert calls attention to some vital facts these prophets overlooked.

● Stalin Switches Slogans by M. Pablo

A withering expose of the latest Kremlin propaganda turn. When Generalissimo Stalin jerked the theoretical rig, Moscow's apologists ended up anywhere but on their feet!

● Destruction of Indian Communal Democracy by William F. Warde

Another illuminating study of the primitive communist life of the Indians and the triumph of aristocracy in early America. If you liked "A Suppressed Chapter in the History of American Capitalism" in the January FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, you'll enjoy this contribution to the Marxist understanding of pioneer America. Facts which you won't find in the capitalist text books!

● The Filibuster: A Decisive Test

The editors assess the ignominious defeat of the Truman Administration by the Southern Bourbons. A revealing analysis of the new political line-ups and the role of the labor bureaucrats in the phony Senate fight.

Send for a sample copy of the April issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Only 25c. Fill out the coupon and mail it today. The address is FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Happy There Is One Paper in America With 'Backbone'

V. L. of Allentown, Pa., wrote us the following encouraging letter last week when he sent in for three extra copies of the Feb. 21 and Mar. 14 issues of The Militant: "I enjoyed reading the article concerning the Jehovah's Witness. I am a lover of democratic principles, freedom of speech, of the press and freedom from want and fear. I am happy to know that there is a newspaper in America that had enough backbone to make known to the public the death of a Jehovah's Witness in Greece when all other papers were practically mum on the subject."

New Haven, Conn., apparently working out plans to increase the circulation of The Militant in that industrial area, increased their bundle order by 15 more copies last week.

Pittsburgh ordered 100 extra Militants to sell on John Mitchell Day. This is the annual holiday celebrated by the coal miners in honor of the militant union president who led the victorious struggle for the 8-hour day in the mines.

San Francisco's Literature Agent, Phyllis B., reports that the comrades here are going to distribute The Militant at selected union meetings in an effort to widen the circle of readers in the Bay area. "So commencing with the receipt of this letter,

please forward us 50 additional copies for a period of ten weeks."

Elaine Millar, Literature Agent of the Los Angeles Southside Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, describes how they are handling the extra copies they are getting during the election campaign: "We sold 14 Militants at the CIO Building March 18. This is a continuation of our regular Friday night distributions. While we were selling Militants outside, Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate for Mayor, was speaking to a Packinghouse Union meeting inside."

New York's score of sales for the week, according to Literature Director Harry Gold, was 45 Militants and 20 copies of Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. These are sales on the campus, street corners and union meetings and do not take into account newsstand sales.

If money is not the sinews of a newspaper like ours, we must say that it certainly helps to lubricate the press. Most of our literature agents understand the importance of prompt, regular payments of bundle orders to keep The Militant rolling smoothly from the time copy hits the editorial desk until it appears in print on newsstands and in subscribers' mail boxes. Many try to make it a habit to send payments in as promptly as bundles are received.

This month we express our appreciation to the following branches whose accounts, the records show, are paid right up to the end of February: Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, Newark, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Louis, Toledo and Worcester.

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Freddie Moore

Star of the Art Hodes Trio and his Blue Note Recording Band

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.

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Monday, April 4, 1949



TROTSKY

"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom.

—Leon Trotsky, Third International After Lenin.



LENIN

"Fair Deal" -- For Rent Sharks

Another "Fair Deal" election pledge by Truman and the Democratic Party -- to strengthen federal rent controls -- has just been filed away under the heading of "Broken Promises."

Under this law, all federal rent controls will end in 15 months, while state and local governments have the option of ending regulation in their own areas any time before then.

Where local and state governments still retain rent regulations, the landlords are nevertheless guaranteed a "fair net operating income."

Thus, instead of improving the living standards of the people, the election of Truman and a Democratic majority to the Con-

gress has already led to another savage blow at living conditions. Rents, which rose an average of 10% in the past 12 months, are now expected to shoot up at an even more alarming rate -- and at a time when unemployment and part-time employment are becoming a serious threat.

Fortunately, Truman can't palm this rent law off on the "Southern bloc," because every voting Democrat in the Senate and 196 Democrats in the House supported this bill that clearly violates the public pledge of Truman and his party.

This "positive decontrol measure" is further proof that Truman and the Democrats cannot and will not fight for the interests of the working people. Only an independent party of labor, built in struggle against the Democratic and Republican parties of Big Business, will battle uncompromisingly to protect the masses against the extortions of the landlords and a government-financed low-rent housing program that will end the housing scarcity that has been such a boon to the rent sharks.

New Issue of a Prophetic Pamphlet

"We do not think that the 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 prophetic words were spoken, on the very eve of U. S. entry into World War II, by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Minneapolis Labor Trial in the fall of 1941. This issue of The Militant is largely devoted to sounding the alarm on the state of civil liberties today in the United States -- a condition of affairs that remarkably confirms the predictions Comrade Cannon made on the witness stand eight years ago.

His full testimony -- an illuminating exposition of Marxian Socialism as it applies to the United States -- is now available in the newly issued third edition of Socialism on Trial, published by Pioneer Publishers.

In this most popular pamphlet ever issued by the American Trotskyist movement, Comrade Cannon not only predicted the trend of civil liberties, but explained in the most lucid fashion the forces at work in our society that have led to the present loyalty purge, thought control trials and witch-hunt laws, as well as the working class program that would combat and abolish them.

Readers of The Militant who have not yet read Socialism on Trial should do so as soon as they can. We know of no finer or more interesting introduction to the emancipating ideas of Marxism.

Persecution of Conscientious Objectors

(Continued from page 1) breaking with war means refusal to enlist in the armed forces; withdrawal from the armed forces for those now in them; refusal to register or render any service under the conscription act.

The girl friends, sisters, mothers, fathers, Christian ministers, and fellow church members of these young men, should, we believe, support them openly.

In the front ranks of this civil disobedience movement against war, stand Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary of the Peacemakers, a militant group of religious pacifists, and Dr. Cecil Hinshaw of William Penn College, a small Quaker school in Oskaloosa, Iowa.

Strong moral support is given the movement by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, another religious-pacifist organization formed during World War I, of which Rev. Muste is also secretary.

Denouncing the Truman administration for jailing CO's, the religious pacifists defy the government to arrest the 300 ministers, 1100 Peacemakers, 100,000 members of the Quaker Society of Friends, and "at least one million" others who have counseled

disobedience to the peacetime draft.

IMPORTANT CASES

But the government has chosen instead to victimize a few individuals, hoping thereby to scare the others into submission. In an interview with Rev. Muste, who has long been active in the labor and civil rights movements and doesn't scare easily, I learned the details of these cases.

Larry Gara, 26-year-old Bluffton (Ohio) College dean of men, has already been convicted on charges of counselling non-registration among students. His case will be appealed to the higher courts.

Dr. Wirt Warren of Wichita, Kansas, is now on trial in federal court, charged with advising his son not to register.

In Puerto Rico, the Truman administration has charged 12 men and women with "conspiracy" to counsel non-registration. Three are native Puerto Ricans. The others are government workers and Methodist teachers from the U. S. Their case has not yet come to trial.

have registered for the draft, they have not yet come into serious conflict with the government. Hayden Covington, a leading attorney for the JW's, told me their only case to date involved a young Texan who has already served a prison sentence under the wartime draft.

In accordance with JW policy, he had claimed exemption from the peacetime draft as a minister. The local draft board denied his claim. He refused to report for induction when called and was thereupon arrested.

When Covington learned the local board's decision had not been appealed, he went to General Hershey, selective service chief, and secured the young JW's release from arrest, pending an appeal of his draft classification.

Appeals from local board decisions classifying two other JW's 1-A are similarly pending. There has not been a full test of the JW claim to exemption as ministers, because machinery for appeal of classifications under the peacetime draft has not been fully established. So far none of the JW's has been ordered inducted, except in the Texas case

Restrictive Ballot Bill Opposed by SWP in Conn.

HARTFORD, March 29 — The Connecticut State Judiciary Committee held a hearing today on a bill to prohibit "members of subversive groups from... appearing on the ballot or holding office." Such persons would also be prohibited from holding any state or municipal jobs.

AGAINST BILL

Only State Senator Dodd (Dem.), former Nuremberg prosecutor, and spokesmen of the American Legion spoke in favor of this bill. Representatives of the CIO, AFL, IAM, Progressive Party, Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party spoke against the bill. Several individuals also spoke against it.

OFFERS UNITED FRONT

Berman cited the James Kutcher case as "a practical illustration of how the proposed bill would work out in practice." The Stalinist functionaries in the hall squirmed when Berman declared that the Socialist Workers Party urged "a united front with the Communist Party on the question of civil liberties in spite of our fundamental political disagreements."

Sen. Dodd, the chief proponent of the bill, closed his remarks by admitting that his views were unpopular among the people in Connecticut right now. Assuredly, the labor and liberal representatives present in the Senate Chamber today will force capitalist politicians to think twice before enacting this bill.

Laski Barred from UCLA Talk



Harold J. Laski, British Labor Party leader and author of numerous political works, chats with his wife on board the Queen Mary as he prepares to disembark in New York. He learned on arrival that authorities of the University of California in Los Angeles had barred him from speaking there at a scheduled lecture. Laski, former head of the British Labor Party, is anti-Stalinist.

Workers Forum

United Defense of Civil Rights Urged

There is no doubt that James Kutcher's civil rights have been violated and I want to do all I can to defend and protect him. However, what about the civil rights of the thousands of other "James Kutchers" whose civil rights are being violated every day as the young men of our nation become 18 years of age and are threatened with imprisonment if they refuse or fail to sign away their God-given birth-right by registering for military service? I am in favor of protecting and

defending the civil rights of all humankind and especially, the young men and boys whose age permits the criminal war-makers to draft them into military slavery and involuntary servitude.

Since our nation has been almost completely militarized, I wish to suggest that we organize all civil rights committees into "one big union" of civil rights for all people for all time to come, instead of this present haphazard way as we are now doing.

Railroader, Minnesota

Ed. Note: See Page 1 for articles dealing with the questions raised in this letter.

A Timely Study of 'Loyalty' Purge

By William F. Warde

LOYALTY AMONG GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES by Prof. Thomas I. Emerson and David M. Helfeld, Yale Law Journal, Dec. 1948, 143 pp.

This article on "Loyalty Among Government Employees" by Professor Emerson of the Yale Law School and David M. Helfeld has justly called forth considerable comment in the

press. It has evolved an angry smear statement by FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover, attacking the "sincerity" of the authors on the ground that certain of their statements about the FBI resemble statements printed in the Daily Worker.

This attempt to discredit the authors by "association" is understandable because they have written the best available documented study of the government loyalty program. And from the first to the last of its 143 pages it constitutes a scathing criticism of the assaults upon civil and constitutional rights involved in the Truman witch-hunt against government workers.

The authors point out that the present loyalty purge originated, not with Truman's administration, but with the hated Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. This Committee did not stop at attacking real or alleged "reds"; it even demanded that Secretaries Ickes, Perkins and other New Dealers be discharged as "disloyal."

"Over the years... the Committee was to be largely successful in forcing its premises and standards of loyalty upon the executive arm of the Government." In March 1947 when Truman issued Executive Order 9835 setting up the loyalty purge machinery, Congressman Sabath of

right to their political opinions and cannot be constitutionally disqualified for them.

MASKED BY SECRECY

The authors condemn the secrecy masking the Loyalty Board operations. "It is seldom that one encounters in public affairs such a blanket of darkness as covers the operation of the loyalty program." This begins with the establishment of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations which was fabricated without evidence, bill of particulars or judicial hearings.

It is carried forward by the Loyalty Boards where hearings are private and Anglo-American traditions of fair procedure are ignored by the failure to provide for complete notice of charges and full disclosure of the evidence upon which the decision is reached. "Decisions of the Loyalty Boards consist solely of the final conclusions reached, there are no findings of fact, no analysis of the evidence, no statement of reasons."

The authors note that the rule of "guilt by association" which is made absolute grounds for dismissal violates the fundamental legal principle that guilt must be personal. Moreover the loyalty purge makes no provision for any judicial review.

"One of the striking features of the Loyalty Order is that it does not define disloyalty," upon which the whole persecution hinges. This term can be stretched to mean any idea displeasing to the party in power or to the inquisitors at work. "This use of sweeping and undefined standards in loyalty cases carries with it grave dangers." Among them is the fact that the average government worker is under "constant pressure to conform to the conventional and safe."

THE NEW LOYALTY

The authors quote the noted Prof. Henry Steele Commager of New York University on this tendency:

"What is the new loyalty? It is, above all, conformity. It is the uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of America as it is -- the political institutions, the social relationships, the economic practices. It rejects inquiry into the race question or socialized medicine, or public housing, or

AFL EDITOR TELLS WHY HE SUPPORTS KUTCHER DESPITE INTIMIDATION

CLEVELAND — At a recent meeting to rally local support for James Kutcher, Walter L. Davis revealed that he had been under pressure not to participate in the defense of the legless veteran, and told the audience why he was resisting such pressure. Davis, who is associate editor of the Cleveland Citizen, official publication of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, reprinted the text of this speech in the March 18 issue of that paper. It reads as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen. From the start, I think I should make quite clear to everyone that I speak for myself. Understand, I mean me -- and me alone.

That preface rather sounds as though I have been intimidated somewhat -- which is my way of saying that I have. So, let's stop kidding me -- and maybe some other people in this room at this very moment, I'll admit it.

I'm here only because I believe in the basic principles back of the fight for James Kutcher. In this day and age it takes courage to be for right things such as Kutcher. And that's horribly ironic because I was a 4-F all during the course of the last war, and now I find myself in the position of having to be "courageous" to come to the defense of a man who got a couple of legs all blown to hell fighting MY part of OUR war. I ask myself -- and you -- should there ever come a time in history when it takes courage to defend a man like that?

A TERRIBLE FEAR

What's the big problem then? Well, you see, in my profession as a labor editor, in my union, in the American Federation of Labor which The Cleveland Citizen happens to represent, there are certain individuals who live in a mortal, dreadful, terrible fear of

being called a certain name -- and I don't mean that Truman-Pearson business you might be thinking of. Honestly, that particular nomenclature doesn't worry me too much. But let's face it. The man we are apparently defending here tonight -- as I understand it -- is a believer in the principles advocated by Trotsky. Well, I don't agree with him. That doesn't make me very unique. I didn't agree with the philosophy advocated by Sacco and Vanzetti, either.

Frankly, I don't give two whoops in hell about what James Kutcher believes. He could even be a Republican and I would defend him. But I do care very much about what has happened to him. Because if James Kutcher can get kicked out of his job because he belongs to the Socialist Workers Party, I can get kicked out of mine because I bite my fingernails and pick my nose.

The question here -- the real question, it seems to me -- is one of liberty. I know this -- and I speak with all the conviction within me -- there is no way to take away just a little bit of liberty. There cannot be such a thing because no one has ever come up with a definition of what a "little bit" of liberty is. What I'm talking about, for example, is that there is no way -- in this country of ours -- of abolishing the Communist party, without taking away a little bit of liberty. I despise the Communist party, but I know very well that if it is abolished I can be next because I believe in national health insurance, real social security, unemployment compensation on a really sane and sensible basis, full employment, a real mental hygiene program and lots of other things.

BETTER ACT NOW

Liberal people had better act now and get down to cases about the presidential loyalty order. When we get to the point where a man can lose a couple of legs in defense of his country and then be booted out of his government job on "disloyalty" charges, we haven't lost just a little bit of liberty; we've lost a helluva lot. And if you can lose a "little," you can lose it all.

Unfortunately, the people who think right in this country on such matters as Kutcher are beginning to run for cover. And that's all part of a vicious circle, of course, because the right-thinking people are the ones who are most affected.

I say this: Let's not gamble with losing a little bit of liberty. Let's keep it all. And let's fight to keep it all.

DETROIT BAZAAR Many objects are on hand for all the family Sat., April 9 - 9 A. M. 6108 LINWOOD AVENUE Proceeds to ACEWR

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Walter White Apologizes

By Albert Parker

The Call, a Negro weekly published in Kansas City, Mo., printed an interesting dispatch from Washington on March 25 about the relations between the Negro leaders and the Democratic Party bosses after the Southern Democrats won the filibuster debate in the Senate.

On the previous Tuesday, the Call story reports, "a heated argument" took place in the Senate Office Building between Walter White, NAACP Secretary, and Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic Party. The argument broke out over a confidential letter sent to NAACP branch presidents during the filibuster, in which White accused McGrath of "turning tail before the Dixiecrats."

The letter charged that the Southern Democrats had "bluffed" the rest of the Senate with their filibuster and that "Democratic Senators from outside the South gave up and sold the civil rights program down the river."

"McGrath," White wrote, "is not 'right' on the question of Negro rights. He is a trader. He listens sympathetically to the Dixiecrats. Last spring in the Jim Crow regional college fight he was on the side of the Southerners. Since the election last November he has ducked and dodged every discussion of the civil rights program. He has never laid a card on the table. McGrath forgets that he is a victorious national chairman today, not because of the Dixiecrats, but because of the support his party got from Negroes on civil rights issues."

"That burned me up, and I told him off," said McGrath, who had got hold of a copy. He admitted using "strong language" on White. "It cuts deeply when people who know the record don't appreciate it but go out of the way to question our sincerity," he said with mock indignation.

Now everything White said about McGrath was not only the truth, but a mild version of it (and everything he said about McGrath also applied to Truman). If White had anything to apologize for, it was the fact that he kept these charges confidential during the filibuster fight

when it was essential for everyone to be aware of the double-dealing role of the Democratic Party.

But the story doesn't end there. McGrath reveals that a few hours later he got a letter from White saying he "attributed the unfortunate incident . . . to fatigue and the strain under which you have worked these last few days," and believed that McGrath had misinterpreted the remarks in the confidential letter. McGrath said that he appreciated this and would send White "a cordial answer." And he added: "I trust this will close the incident."

The incident may be closed, but in our opinion the moral of this incident should never be forgotten, because it really takes the cake. Here one of the chief leaders of the Democratic Party, after finishing a stab in the back to civil rights, has the nerve to bawl out the leader of the largest Negro organization in the country for telling part of the truth in a confidential letter, and this Negro leader answers with a humiliating apology for such arrogance and adds some hogwash about "misinterpretation."

No wonder the Democrats feel they can continue betraying their campaign promises and get away with it. What reason is there for them to change their hypocritical policy when the official representatives of the Negro people act in such a cowardly, cringing manner? What do the Democrats have to fear from leaders like Walter White when all they need do is give them a tongue-lashing to bring them meekly into line?

That's why we repeat what we've said before: Reliance on Negro and labor leaders who rely on Truman and other capitalist politicians will never bring victory in the civil rights fight. More than ever, we must try to arouse the Negro and labor organizations to organize a United Labor and Negro Congress on Civil Rights, with democratically-elected representatives from every city in the country going to Washington during the present session of Congress to demand the passage of civil rights legislation.

Our Reporter Makes News

The day before the prosecution presented its first witness in the trial of Stalinist leaders, the N. Y. Post printed a sensational rumor that the government's first witness would be Earl Browder. A N. Y. Sun reporter asked Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party chairman and Militant correspondent at the trial, his opinion of this rumor. Dobbs, as quoted in the Sun, said: "I think it's extremely unlikely that Browder will be a prosecution witness at all. I think he is being kept on ice by Moscow for a change of party line."

The next day Browder denounced the rumor and offered his services to the Stalinist defense. The government placed Louis Budenz on the stand.

This is one example of the way Farrell Dobbs is making news as well as writing it. Another is the interview with Dobbs in the March 17 N. Y. World-Telegram, written by its staff writer, Frederick Woltman. Militant readers will be interested in the impression Dobbs makes on other trial correspondents, as indicated by Woltman's article, headlined: "No. 1 Trotskyist Watches Red Trial."

There is a "studious-appearing man, whose youthful looks belie his 41 years" taking "copious notes and intently watching every development" at the trial, Woltman writes. "He has a very special interest in the case. He served 16 months in Sandstone Federal Prison, Minn., for violating the very same law (the Smith Act), following the only other prosecution in its history."

"He is Farrell Dobbs, 1948 Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party." He is well-known to the Stalinist defendants, says Woltman,

"for the Trotskyist movement, of which Mr. Dobbs is national chairman here, is No. 1 on the hate list of the Stalinist Communists throughout the world."

"Yet, Mr. Dobbs opposes the prosecution of his political enemies as fervently as anyone in the courtroom. He hopes for their acquittal and his party offered — without success — to help the Communists in their defense. This raises an embarrassing problem for the Communist party. It calls the Smith Act a measure of thought control, instigated by Wall St. imperialists, and that's exactly what Mr. Dobbs says about it."

Woltman describes how the Stalinists supported the government's prosecution of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Trial and quotes Dobbs: "During the trial itself, Robert Minor, then national chairman of the party while Earl Browder was in prison, came to Minneapolis and called on the workers not to defend us."

Dobbs writes Woltman, "believes that Trotskyists are the true Communists. 'We represent what they pretend to be,' he said, 'the continuators of Marxism-Leninism. That's why Stalin had Trotsky murdered.'"

The Trotskyists claim they were railroaded to prison as the "first victims of the infamous Smith gag act," reports Woltman. He describes Dobbs' election campaign last year and his activities in the Minneapolis labor movement in the Thirties. The article ends by reporting that when the Stalinist defendants submitted a list of persons, "association with whom they deemed to show bias by prospective jurors, it included Farrell Dobbs, who is rooting for their acquittal."

Crisis in the Workers Party

By George Breitman

Stalinism is in retreat and on the defensive, but that has not prevented the coming of hard times for two radical groups whose politics is distinguished above all by emphasis on anti-Stalinism—the Socialist Party led by Norman Thomas and the Workers Party led by Max Shachtman.

The papers of both are in financial difficulties, according to their own reports. By itself, that would not be decisive, because with present high printing costs all papers lacking substantial income from advertising are in financial straits. This is true not only of The Militant, but even of the Social Democratic New Leader, which has considerable support from a section of the trade union bureaucracy.

But in the case of the SP and WP press, there are many indications that their financial problems are reflections of deep political crisis, marked by dwindling membership and lack of confidence in their own future. Because the WP is holding a national convention as this is written, we will deal with it first, reserving a discussion of the SP crisis for another time.

RECOGNIZE FAILURE

The WP was formed nine years ago when its members split from the Socialist Workers Party. Condemning the "dogmatism," "sectarianism" and "bureaucratic conservatism" of the SWP, they set out to build a revolutionary socialist party by their own methods.

Now, as they meet in national convention after a long period of discussion, leaders and members alike recognize that they failed completely in this aim. Weaker in numbers than when their organization was founded, smaller in trade union forces than they were during the war, divided on almost every question confront-

ing them, united primarily by their hostility to "orthodox Trotskyism" as represented by the SWP, they face a bleak future, and they know it.

A number of the WP's prominent leaders and sympathizers have broken with it during the last year. James T. Farrell, a contributor to the WP press, publicly dissociated himself when the WP failed to take a clear-cut stand of critical support to the Marshall Plan. Albert Goldman, a member of the WP National Committee who objected to its 1948 election policy ("Vote socialist, vote for either the SP, SWP or SLP"), handed in his resignation last summer, allegedly so that he could actively support Norman Thomas' candidacy. More recently Ernest Erber, another NC member, quit with a statement repudiating the "Leninist concept of the state, democracy and the road to power" and promising to support U.S. imperialism in a war against the Soviet Union because "the main enemy is abroad."

OPPORTUNIST TENDENCIES

The views of Farrell, Goldman and Erber are not incompatible with membership in the WP, and people sharing these and other Social Democratic, social-patriotic positions continue to remain in the organization, and to advance essentially the same arguments for supporting imperialism that the Social Democrats gave 35 years ago for supporting their capitalist governments in the first world war.

Also remaining as members are opportunists described by the "Trade Union Resolution" of the WP Political Committee as people who "accept relatively high offices in union and in area bodies" with the following results: "isolation from a mass base, tapering-off of our political propaganda, failure to recruit or even to establish a circle of worker sympathizers for the party, and alienation from the

party proper." While the Political Committee denounces this tendency, it does not give its direct source—namely, the role of the WP itself as a critical supporter of the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy.

While such tendencies continue and grow in the WP, enough members have quit so that the organization today is barely one-third of its 1940 size. The financial difficulties resulting from this situation are quite understandable.

As a partial solution, Hal Draper, editor of the WP monthly, New Internationalist, proposes that it be merged with the weekly Labor Action. Doing away with one WP periodical would save the pay of one editor at the very least, and solve the problem of insufficient copy for the WP press, Draper explains; at the same time the proposal provides a clue to the effectiveness of the WP press as a whole.

Here too the financial problem is not the main one. There is a sickness in this organization—a deep-rooted pessimism about revolutionary perspectives at home and abroad. The sickness manifests itself not only in the growth of social-patriotic tendencies which the leadership seems at a loss to check, but also in multiplying discord leading to the introduction of half a dozen positions on every question.

CHANGE OF NAME

How to cure this sick organization, pull it together and restore some morale? The WP leadership's main answer appears to be its resolution on "The Situation in the U.S. and Our Next Tasks." Rewriting the absence in this country of a mass Social Democratic Party which the WP could enter, it presents as a substitute the perspective of a mass labor-third-party movement. Without this, the resolution says, there can be no hope of growth for the socialist movement.

VOLUME XIII

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NUMBER 14

THE MILITANT

100,000 in Strike Wave Against the Speedup in Auto

Railway Express Lockout



These neatly-parked Railway Express Agency trucks are idle as the result of a lockout of 12,000 workers instituted by the company as a reprisal against a "protest slowdown demonstration" by seven locals of the AFL Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in New York. The union charged the company with stalling in negotiations on a demand for a 40-hour week and a 25-cent hourly pay boost. On March 9, the company dismissed 3,000 workers and sent out dismissal notices, effective March 12, for 9,000 others, including 3,300 members of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters who drive the Agency's trucks.

Juries Convict Two in Seattle 'Contempt' Trials

By John Black

SEATTLE, March 25—Three of the six projected "contempt" trials here are completed, except for sentencing and possible appeal. Two were convicted, and one was acquitted, at trials which grew out of last year's thought-control investigations of "Un-American" activities by the Canwell Legislative Committee. The defendants were indicted for refusing to answer questions put by the committee, especially the question, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

Prof. Herbert J. Phillips was acquitted. One of the three teachers fired at the University of Washington, he was the only defendant prior to the trial who had openly proclaimed his membership in the Communist Party.

Convicted were Prof. Gundlach and Mr. Ottenheimer, who is connected with the Repertory Playhouse of the campus. The judges in the trials repeatedly ruled out defense challenges of the constitutionality of the Canwell Committee itself.

The Canwell hearings had been run in the spirit of a lynch campaign. Burly state troopers stood on either side of "unfriendly" witnesses and frequently dragged them from the room. Attorneys for the witnesses were ejected repeatedly, and Canwell's gavel drowned out all undesired answers.

Defense attorneys at the trials charged their clients had been deprived of counsel at the hearings, and claimed they had the right to refuse to testify on affiliation with the CP for fear of self-incrimination. They showed that at the hearings a number of so-called "experts" on the CP had labeled the CP as a criminal conspiracy.

In two of the trials the judges ruled, however, that the defendants could not have claimed immunity under the law because it is not a crime to belong to the CP and no criminal proceedings could have resulted. The ironic thing is that the jury in effect found the defendants guilty because it is not a crime to belong to the CP!

Gundlach and Ottenheimer declared that it was impossible for them to answer yes or no to the crucial question because the Can-

well "experts" on the one hand had defined CP membership as implying a number of criminal activities, and on the other hand defined membership in the party as belonging to a number of "front" groups to which they readily admitted belonging.

CP DECLINES SWP OFFER

On the occasion of these trials the Socialist Workers Party here publicly invited the Communist Party to engage in "united action against the anti-red persecution as it has manifested itself in numerous civil right cases involving members or sympathizers of your party and ours."

The offer received considerable publicity in the local press, and finally Henry Huff, state chairman of the CP, gave the press a statement saying his organization "has no intention now or at any time in the future of entering into any agreement" with the SWP.



BACKGROUND OF THE OAKLAND COUNCIL ELECTION

By William Gorman

Unlike other cities its size, there has been great interest in Oakland in the workings of the City Council — especially since the general strike over two years ago which was aimed at the Mayor, the City Council and the whole local capitalist political machine. Since that smash-up, boss politics in Oakland is still broken up into a lot of little pieces.

You don't have to look very far for the evidence. A business man stands up in front of the council and tells them that they are too imbecilic to understand what he is talking about, and 300 spectators give him a big hand. One of the councilmen tries to commit suicide, claiming that he's "been kicked around." At a Council meeting one member threatens another with "I'll punch you in the puss." "Laughingly," say the newspapers. Of course, The whole City Council is just a three-ring circus.

How did it happen? After the general strike, the local labor movement went into politics in a big way. Four of the five strike-breaking councilmen were swept out in an amazing upset. The fifth labor-supported candidate lost by only a thousand votes. It was a record turnout for a city

election. And this record was set by rank and file trade unionists. It was strictly the political class struggle on a city-wide scale. The workers had won that battle and felt it, too.

But the labor bureaucracy and the middle class hangers-on had different ideas. From the very beginning they avoided setting up an organized movement which would bring all workers under one political roof. Instead they took over the hollow shell of an old political organization called the Oakland Voters League and turned it into a vehicle for the election victory. Not long afterwards they buried it without ceremony. One CIO union continued to send monthly contributions to the League but the union's checks kept coming back because there was no one to cash them!

The four newly-elected councilmen began to act in a peculiar manner. Elected on a common program, they began to vote both against each other and the interests of the workers. Pledged to abolish the sales tax, they voted for it. Pledged to bring about a new city charter, they voted to shell out \$30,000 to pay some so-called experts to patch up the old one. Pledged to improve transportation, they've

DETROIT, March 28 — In the past three weeks at least 100,000 auto workers have been involved in strikes against the growing speedup. Sporadic wildcat strikes and wildcat strikes have taken place at Midland Steel

Local 410, Budd Local 306, Chrysler Local 7, Dodge Local 3, Briggs Local 212, Ford Local 400, and Hudson Local 154. The main stage of action is the Chrysler setup, which recently began production on its new model, and has instituted disciplinary layoffs and wholesale firings to push the lines faster and faster.

At Midland Steel, producer of Chrysler frames, the pressure of the speedup and inaction by the union leadership led to a general walkout on March 24, when 11 men were fired. The rank and file spontaneously organized a mass picket line at 5 A.M., despite a pouring rain. This strike climaxed four weeks of walkouts and layoffs caused by the speedup.

At a general membership meeting yesterday, it was shown that the members struck only after their local leaders and the International had failed to settle their grievances. At this meeting UAW Regional Director Mike Lacey and other international representatives, demanded a return to work. They implied there was no speedup and that the walkout was caused by a handful who had "a tough night before and really didn't feel like working." They also invoked the power of the UAW International Executive Board "to revoke the charter of any Local Union engaging in an unauthorized strike."

Beaten into submission, the members voted to return to work and take a strike vote March 29. The fate of the 11 fired workers remains to be negotiated with a corporation emboldened by the failure of the weak-kneed International leadership to fight the speedup.

At Budd a similar case had occurred in the Chrysler door department where production standards were raised 35% on the new model, although it actually involves few production changes. For a month the company made various pressure moves against the men, such as sending them home half a day for failure to meet production standards. When this failed to intimidate the men, the company fired 12.

The affected department immediately stopped work. Within a few hours the entire plant of 7,000 was shut down. As a result of this militant action, the 12 were reinstated the next morning.

Here we have two different methods for fighting discharges resulting from the speedup. In the Midland Steel case the plant will resume production while 11 fired men walk the streets. Each man in this shop is under pressure. The company simply tells them, "Meet our production standards or you too will be fired!" Even if the 11 are reinstated, 11 others may be fired. And then the International will again try to force the members to "follow the contract," go through

the rigamarole of another strike vote, etc. This can only dissipate the energy and courage of the members.

In the case of Budd Local 306, the company found that such wholesale firings would result in immediate shutdown. It must be pointed out, however, that at Budd's the International was not presented the opportunity to intervene and rubberhose the members into submission.

Following the action of GM, the Chrysler Corporation raised crankshaft production from 40 to 51 per hour. The workers walked out in protest, only to be ordered back by the Reutherite leadership. More crankshafts meant more doors, more roofs—in short, speedup all along line.

At Hudson the situation has been festering for some time, with the plant working only 10 to 20 hours a week. Here the corporation, saddled with a high-priced product, faced with a declining market and the need to cut production has adopted a few simple devices to protect its record profits. Almost daily men are pulled out of the line. Then as the line slows down, the remaining workers are charged with a deliberate slowdown and sent home. Rather than lay off a few thousand workers and pay compensation, the corporation has resorted to speedup and every other means in order to "provoke strikes."

Walther Reuther for his part has said little and is doing less. Corporation spokesmen said, "It does not seem possible the strikes and slowdowns could occur on such a large scale without organization, if not without leaders."

To this Reuther demagogically replied, "It happens every time there is a radical change in car models. Management tries to push our members around and they won't stand for it." These words belie his lack of action to protect the UAW members and the peace-at-any-price policy of his administration.

Reuther has resisted all efforts at fighting the speedup on an industry-wide basis. The pattern of his action has been just the opposite. He has allowed the workers to waste their energy and strength in sporadic and wildcat strikes, and to be starved into line by short work weeks.

Lacking an International leadership with a firm program to combat speedup, the general sentiment of the workers has been against strike action. They have been duped and sacrificed too many times by the "one-at-a-time" strategy. On numerous occasions the Reuther leadership has accused production workers of laying down on the job. Opponents of speedup are smeared as "reds" and factional opponents of Reuther. The workers have seen the International in open collusion with management to boost production. Recently they have resorted to wildcat strikes but only after extreme provocation by the corporations.

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