

THE "SOCIALIST CALL" STOOPS TO SLANDER

By Bert Cochran
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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Kutcher Appeal Heard by Top 'Loyalty' Board

NEW YORK, April 1 — The top Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission yesterday afternoon held a closed hearing on the appeal of James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The press was barred from the hearing, which took place in the Federal Building here.

In addition to Kutcher and the three big-shot corporation lawyers who comprised the board, the others permitted in the hearing were Kutcher's attorney, M. J. Myer of Chicago; Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and its presidential candidate last year; and Sol D. Kapelsohn, attorney for the New Jersey CIO Council, who expressed that organization's opposition to Kutcher's dismissal.

Following the hearing, attorney Myer, representing the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, told reporters that if the final review board issued an adverse decision, the KCRC would fight the case in the courts and, if necessary, up to the U. S. Supreme Court itself. Kutcher, whose case has become the spearhead of the fight against the government's witch-hunt, said after the hearing that his testimony was essentially the same as he submitted to the VA Loyalty Board in Philadelphia last September, the text of which the top Board members had already read. It was against the VA board's decision upholding his ouster, that he appealed yesterday.

PANEL COMPOSITION
The three-man panel that reviewed Kutcher's case consisted of John Harlan Amen, chairman, and John Kirkland Clark, both of New York, and Henry Parkman, of Boston. All three are long-time associates of conservative corporation law firms and held high-ranking commissions in the armed forces during the war.

The Board's permission for Dobbs to speak was the first opportunity given the SWP to present its views before a government agency since the party was put on the Attorney General's "subversive" list in November 1947. Dobbs was called into the hearing after Kutcher's attorney convinced the panel that the views of the SWP were the real crux of the case.

DOBBS' TESTIMONY
Under direct questioning by Myer, Dobbs stated that the basic aim of the SWP was to transform capitalist society into a socialist society. To do this, the present form of government had to be changed into a Workers and Farmers Government. The party, however, does not advocate accomplishment of these aims by

(Continued on page 2)

N. J. CIO Counsel Defends Kutcher At Hearing in N. Y.

NEW YORK, April 1 — At a press conference following James Kutcher's hearing before the Loyalty Review Board yesterday, Sol D. Kapelsohn, attorney for the New Jersey CIO Council, issued the following statement in the name of Carl Holdeman, N. J. CIO President, on the Kutcher case:

"The discharge of the legless veteran... is the most dramatic symbol of the witch-hunt sweeping the country today. The fight for his reinstatement is a critical test in the safeguarding of our civil rights. These are the decisive questions in his case:

PUBLIC WORKERS RIGHTS
"Have public workers the same rights as other American citizens, including the right to their own political beliefs, as guaranteed by the Constitution? Or can they be demoted to second-class citizens?"

"Do representatives of the party in office have the right to proscriber other parties by decree and penalize their members? Or shall the principle of free political activity be preserved so that the American people can have full and free expression for their political ideas and affiliations?"

"To support Kutcher is to defend the best traditions of American democracy."

How Murray's Machine Crushed Militant Local

By C. Mason

NEW KENSINGTON, Pa., April 2 — This is a report of how the bureaucratic machine led by Philip Murray employed force and violence, deceit and dictatorship to crush a union of aluminum workers, Local 302 of the CIO United Steelworkers of America. I learned the story from interviews with three victims of the Murray machine, trade unionists who are now serving prison sentences on trumped-up charges in Greensburg, Pa., and I verified the facts with people here in New Kensington, the home of Local 302 and the ALCOA subsidiary where its members are employed.

The three men who are casualties in a fight for union democracy are William Greenwald, former treasurer; William J. Carson, former trustee; Albert Girardi, former plant chairman. Because they defied intimidation and pressure of the steel union bureaucracy, they were attacked on the streets of this city by a gang of Murray's goons. The police took all the participants to jail.

Before the judge, nine on-the-spot witnesses testified that the goons had wilfully attacked the three militants without provocation. Only two character witnesses, who had not even been present at the fight, testified to the "good faith" of the goons. The court acquitted the goons who had started the fight, and convicted the three of assault and battery, sentencing them to jail with sentences up to one year.

This incident last autumn was the climax to a struggle that has been going on in Local 302 for several years. It dates back to the rebirth of internal democracy in the local after V-J Day, when the members elected a group of militant officers, who began to press vigorously for action by the company on all shop grievances.

A conflict ensued between the local leaders and the International representatives here, who refused to support the local's efforts to get increased wages and improved working conditions. At the end of 1947 Murray sent an investigating committee to New Kensington to find out why there was no more "cooperation" between the local and the USA district office, whose director is William J. Hart, chairman of the Allegheny County ACTU.

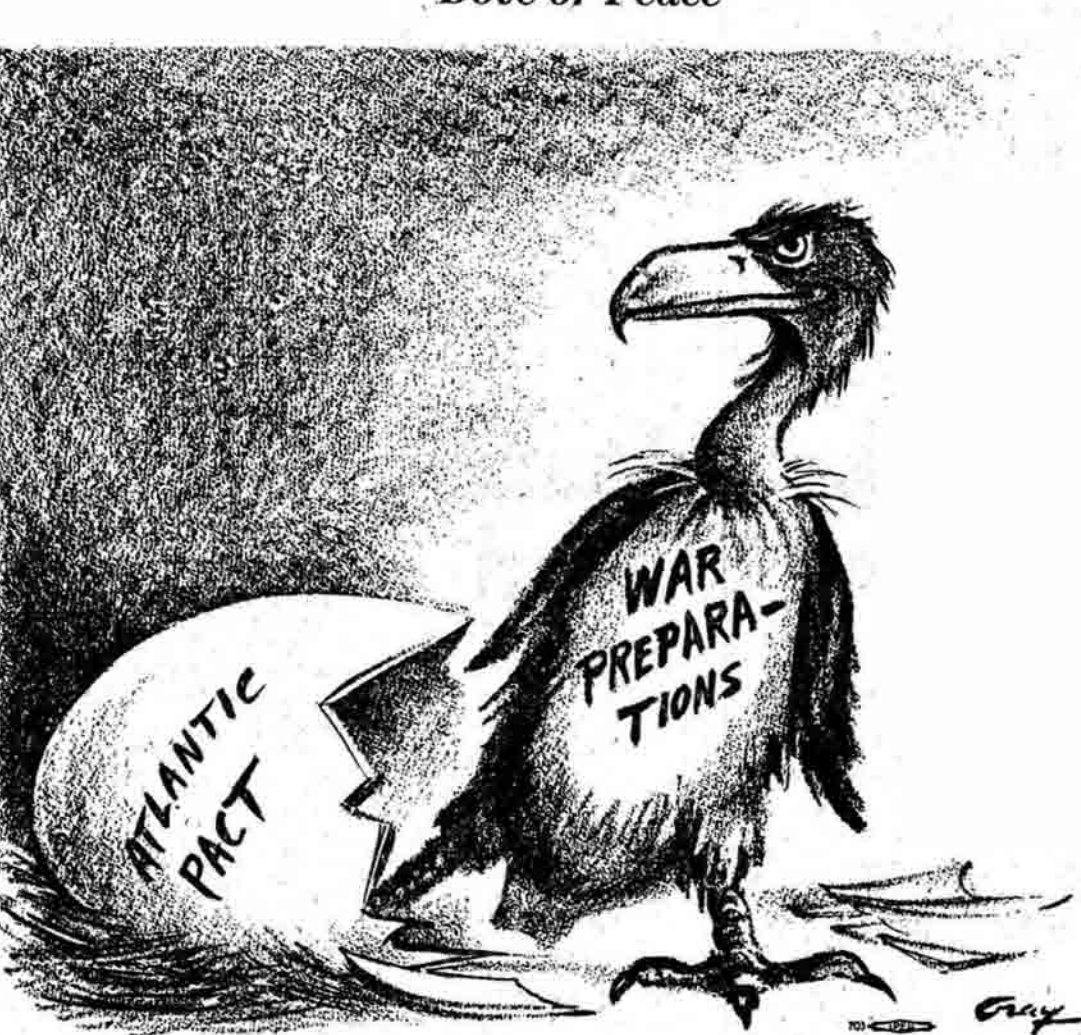
Around this time, another strain was put on the relations between the local and the International.

SWP Vote Gains in Los Angeles Election

LOS ANGELES, April 6 — Incomplete returns in yesterday's municipal primaries showed 1,300 votes for Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor. This figure tops the number of votes she received in past campaigns for Mayor in 1945 and for Congress last year.

One of the main points stressed in her campaign was the need for a struggle against the witch-hunts. As recognition of this fact, she has been invited to take the negative in a debate on "Should the Communist Party Be Outlawed?" on Television Station KFI, Sunday, April 17 at 3 P.M.

"Dove of Peace"



MOB VIOLENCE INCITED AT PITTSBURGH RALLY

PITTSBURGH, April 4 — A deliberately-planned and organized fascist-like attack was staged here last night upon some 300 men and women who attended a Communist Party sponsored rally at the North Side Carnegie Music Hall. The meeting was held in protest against the trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders.

Milling crowds, previously incited by speakers from a sound truck and by shouting "pickets," converged at a signal upon the hall exits, mauling; beating up and pursuing all those who came out, or appeared to come out of the meeting. Amid such cries as "Kill them!" "Hitler would know how to handle you people!" "Get the Hunkies!" and other red-baiting, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic slogans, men and women were slugged and chased.

Street car windows were smashed and rocks thrown as pursuing thugs sought to get at their victims. Many innocent bystanders, among them a student reporter and several women, became targets of attack. The police, afterwards prided themselves because somehow a "major riot" and "more serious casualties" had been averted.

The "picket line," which served as an organizing center for the vicious assault that followed, was sponsored by the Disabled American Veterans, Anvets and Catholic War Veterans. This "patriotic" cover was widely played up by the local press well in advance of the meeting, along with open talk of "possible violence."

The main contingent of some 150 pickets, among whom there were reportedly also members of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, was supplied by a veterans' group and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists from UE Local 601 of Westinghouse at East Pittsburgh. This organized group likewise brought out the official union sound truck and equipment. The 601 truck remained parked across

the street from the hall throughout the meeting and the violence that followed. Prominent union figures like Mike Fitzpatrick, executive board member, and other right wing leaders of Local 601, lent support not only by their presence but also by manning the loudspeaker.

The "pickets" not only shouted rabid slogans but tried to incite mob fury in other ways as well. They ranged themselves on the stairway to the hall, blocking the entrance.

As people mounted the stairs or went into the meeting they were jeered, hissed, booed, grabbed at and spat upon.

As this hysteria was being whipped to fever pitch, Charles Owen Rice, well-known "labor" priest and leader of the ACTU, mounted the sound truck and in passing threw out a few comments to "caution against violence." In effect, his appearance actually served to lend church sanction to the fascist-like demonstration.

The prominent part of Catholic veteran organizations and the ACTU in the scandalous and sinister attack in Pittsburgh serves further to underscore the roll of spearhead for reaction that the Catholic hierarchy is playing more and more openly.

Not the least scandalous feature is the role played by certain self-avowed "progressives" and some people who even style themselves "socialists." During the entire period when this anti-democratic, and in the last analysis, anti-labor demonstration, was in preparation neither the "progressives" nor the members of the Socialist Party on the executive board of UE Local 601 uttered so much as a whisper in protest.

Heaviest Blitz On Civil Rights In U.S. History

Police-State Measures to Destroy Political Liberties Flood State, Federal Legislatures

By Albert Parker

The biggest threat to the liberties of the American people today comes not from Moscow, but from Washington and the state capitals, where capitalist

politicians, masking themselves behind slogans about a new war for "democracy," are engaged in the most ominous assault on democratic and political rights in the nation's history.

Many people, including some radicals, make the mistake of thinking that fascism is the only alternative the capitalist class has to democracy as a form of its rule. Not seeing any strong fascist movement around, they conclude that there is really nothing to worry about, that democracy is good for at least several years more. Such an approach is superficial and can have suicidal effects.

WHO'S INVOLVED
History shows that under capitalist democracy there can be a great variety of situations — where the people are permitted many rights, or few, depending on the relationship of class forces and the vigilance of the working people. It is possible, even within a capitalist democracy, for the masses to be deprived of fundamental liberties while the formal trappings of democracy remain on the statute books. Pre-Hitlerite Germany showed, for example, that many aspects of a police state can be introduced within the framework of capitalist democracy, the right to vote, etc. Sober study of present trends in the U. S. discloses that a similar situation is developing here at an alarming pace, with the forces of repression being spearheaded by "demo-

SINISTER BILLS
Space does not permit a listing, let alone a description, of all the reactionary laws and bills already drawn on this pattern. To illustrate the trend and the danger we select just a few:

1. Both houses of the Maryland Legislature have passed the Ober Bill, outlawing "subversive" organizations and providing jail sentences up to 20 years on their members. Suppose the working people in Maryland organize a

Pitt. Student at Stalinist Protest Rally Tells How Thugs Beat Him Up

Richard Kovar, a junior at Pittsburgh University and campus editor of the student publication Pitt News, attended the Stalinist meeting together with two other students in order to report it — unfavorably. He wrote up his own experience with the fascist-like gangsters in the Pittsburgh Press.

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Labor Union Notes

The 'Socialist Call' Stoops to Slander

By Bert Cochran

The March 4 Socialist Call contains a hysterical diatribe against the Trotskyists and their alleged low-down morals. Our lack of morals is fully illustrated in the local union election contest recently held at Chevrolet Local 424 of the CIO auto union in Buffalo, according to the Call author, John V. Holmes, Erie County Secretary of the Socialist Party. He modestly entitles his article, "Trotskyists Stoop to Gutter In Vain Attempt To Capture Buffalo Auto Workers Local."

The attack against the Trotskyists is couched in holier-than-thou terms of high morality. The author sets the tone by observing that we, the Trotskyists, lack an "elementary sense of honesty, justice and decency." In addition to this general condemnation, we are accused more specifically of numerous horrendous crimes and misdemeanors, not the least of which includes anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda.

SERIOUS CHARGES

The last two constitute a mighty serious charge. Serious enough, so that while I was in Buffalo last week, I extended my stay to make a full investigation of the facts. I have discussed the Call article and its assortment of accusations with a score of Buffalo unionists from the Chevrolet as well as other locals and I am now in a position to tell the whole sordid story of the role of the Socialist Party in the Buffalo labor movement.

To appreciate the full meaning of the hysterical outburst in the Call, let me sketch in the background upon which the article appears.

Several months before the local elections came up in the auto union, the kept press in Buffalo opened up a filthy red-baiting campaign against Trotskyists and Trotskyism in the labor movement. On Jan. 21, the Buffalo Evening News carried a scorching by Fred Turner, its "red expert," headed "Westinghouse Labor Relations Imperiled by Trotskyists." On Feb. 18, the local paper ran a reprint of Victor Riesel's column on how the local reds were stirring up strikes in the Buffalo steel plants and hinting broadly that some of these militants might wind up with "a broken skull." This was followed by a new barrage in the Buffalo Evening News of March 2 and again on March 4 and March 7.

AIDED BOSS PRESS

What was particularly sinister about this newspaper attack was that it was not just the usual red-baiting spree about militant unionists and radicals giving the local millionaires a hard time. This was something more. It was a fingering job on numerous individuals based upon information which could only have been supplied by company officials and leading people inside the union.

The regional office of the UAW, which ran the campaign against the militants, happens in this case, to be under the direction of officers who belong to the same party as the author of the Call article. Martin Gerber, the regional director, is an avowed member of the Socialist Party and so is his assistant, Grey. In other words, these SP "moralists" leaked to the capitalist press all sorts of confidential union information.

And what was the end to justify these foul and unworthy means? To fuel the red-baiting conspiracy of the employers and their newspapers against the progressive forces of the Buffalo labor movement, so they could convert it into the small change of victory for their faction inside the union. And not content with this base betrayal of trade union principles, not to mention Socialist principles, they have the temerity to blather about our alleged lack of "honesty" and "decency" in a paper that still claims, so far as I know, to be "Socialist."

When you examine the facts of the Chevrolet local union setup itself, the hypocrisy and bad faith of the SP "moralists" take on truly revolting hues. The fact is that the administration of the Chevrolet local is in the hands of the "bookies" and the local president, Joseph Kinecki, is a notorious racketeer. His union machine, which represents locally the proud, forward-looking "labor statesman," Walter Reuther, is held together, not by ideological ties, but financial ones.

The "Rank and File" group in the local union, headed by George Scheitinger, is a typical union progressive formation and conducted its campaign in the recent elections around a number of basic tenets of militant unionism. It sought to oust from office not only a do-nothing, conservative and company-minded administration, but as we see, a venal one, to boot.

This is the local situation which has evoked the moral lather of our Call "Socialists" and this is the local leadership which our "Socialist" author unqualifiedly endorses.

The shameful collaboration of the UAW Buffalo regional officers with the capitalist press against the progressive members of their own union is no isolated affair. It is duplicated on a national scale where the Reuther bureaucracy unites with the employers to red-bait and hound dissidents, militants and radicals. Can any sincere fighter for the cause of labor conceive of anything more immoral than that?

SPECIFIC CHARGES

Now let us proceed to a few of the more important of the specific charges leveled against us by the indignant Call writer. Our moralist, Holmes, declares that the anti-Reuther opposition in the Chevrolet local "used anti-

Negro propaganda against Negro supporters of the administration." This is preceded by the opposite charge that the opposition was guilty of "trying to organize an all-Negro caucus" and our stern judge adds the obiter dicta that this is "an extreme type of reactionary action."

The first charge is made out of whole cloth. There is not even a shred of substance to it. Scheitinger is an old-time militant in the UAW and known by everyone as an aggressive upholder of the rights of the Negro workers. The "Rank and File" group, everyone conversant with the situation informed me, was never even remotely guilty of any anti-Negro propaganda. As a matter of fact, one of the leading Negroes in the local, Burnie McCall, was one of the most active campaigners for the opposition slate.

"ANTI-NEGRO" CLAIM

The second charge betrays its author and his informants, condemns them of carrying around a heavy load of white "superiority." Any Socialist — I mean a real Socialist, not the synthetic Call variety — understanding how the Negro workers bear the burden of a double oppression and how they are discriminated against even in the best CIO shops, is duty-bound to support their efforts to form their own union groups or clubs, if in their opinion that is absolutely necessary in a given situation to more effectively fight for their rights. Anyone who opposes this is not a Socialist, but a soul-less union bureaucrat. I am taking particular pains to make this point clear even though it has no specific bearing on the Buffalo Chevrolet local elections. The charge, like the previous one, is a phoney. There was no effort made by the "Rank and File" group to urge the formation of a separate Negro caucus.

The other serious charge in the Call article relates to anti-Semitism. The author states that the opposition "used anti-Semitism as a weapon against an administration candidate, Emmanuel Tabachnick, administration candidate for recording secretary, who opposes both the CP and SWP, was called by the Trotskyist group a 'New York Jew' and 'Jew Communist.'"

"ANTI-SEMITISM"

This charge, unlike the previous ones, is not simply woven out of thin air. But as we shall show, it is really an accusation against the Reutherites and not against the opposition. Tabachnick is known as generally sympathetic to the Shachtmanite Workers Party and has become the mouthpiece for the local Reutherite crew. Like the brethren of the SP, he has decided to line up with the new bureaucracy. Not only has he embraced the Reuther machine and is busy thinking up wise-guy arguments against the militants in his own shop, but his Socialist "morals" are not of the sort to inhibit him from indulging in a bit of red-baiting on his own.

The Reutherites, as all informed labor observers are aware, are flooding the unions with the bosses' witch-hunting hysteria. The SP'ers have taken their place in the front ranks of this shrieking chorus. Tabachnick puts his two cents in to help the reactionary wave along. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that he himself has become the victim of his own handiwork.

I have the solemn assurance of outstanding Buffalo unionists that not one of the leaders or active supporters of the opposition gave any aid or comfort to this reactionary propaganda. But in the poisonous atmosphere worked up by the Reutherites, it is entirely possible that some rank and file workers gave vent to this type of prejudiced sentiments.

I have personally observed more than once that when misguided radicals help light the fires of red-baiting, they are often the first to be consumed by the flames.

NEW YORK

Sunday Evening Forums

April 10
THE CRISIS OF STALINISM
Speaker: Mike Bartell
Organizer, N. Y. Local SWP

April 17
GREAT BRITAIN TODAY
Speaker: Paul Stevens
— 8:00 P. M. —
116 University Pl., New York



These two Displaced Persons, Herman Borenkraut (l) and Albertas Bauras (r) arrived in New York from Europe on the Marine Falcon. Going through customs, Borenkraut noticed Bauras, remembered him as a Nazi storm trooper, the very one who led Borenkraut to a concentration camp, Borenkraut charged. Both are being questioned by immigration officials.

Kutcher Hearing By Top Board

(Continued from page 1)

force and violence. Its method, said Dobbs, is to educate and convince a majority of the necessity for socialism, with the expectation that the majority would agree.

If there were any violence in the course of the transition from capitalism to socialism, Dobbs emphasized, it would be because the small minority whose interests are tied with capitalist private property would forcibly resist and use violence to thwart the will of the majority. In that case, he said, the majority would defend their rights by force, if necessary, and the SWP would support the majority.

Dobbs said that the SWP is opposed to Stalinism because the Communist Party does not act in the interests of the workers, because it is just a tool of the Kremlin bureaucracy which usurped political power in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin. The present Soviet government, he said, rules not in the interests of the Russian workers and peasants but only in the interests of the privileged bureaucracy.

ATTITUDE TO WAR

He testified that the SWP conducted political opposition to the last war because it was an imperialist war carried out only in the interests of the capitalist class. But the SWP did not advocate sabotage or any similar form of individual action because it was ineffective, futile and in violation of the aim of the SWP to win the majority for a transformation of society.

The best example of the SWP's policy with respect to service in the armed forces, said Dobbs, was Kutcher himself. SWP members do not refuse to go into the army when drafted. In the event of another war, the SWP would continue its political opposition as a party and its individual members would act as they did in the last war. He added that the SWP is not connected with any foreign government or agency.

He concluded his direct testimony by stressing that no person by virtue of membership in the SWP would be caused, in the words of the law, to "commit acts of sabotage, espionage, sedition or treason," or, if employed by the government, to divulge confidential information or "perform their duties in a manner to serve the interests of any other government" or to "advocate revolution by force and violence."

The lawyers of the Board then put Dobbs through a rigorous cross-examination, centered mainly on the question of advocacy of force and violence, the usual false charge leveled at Marxists by capitalist inquisitors. They hammered at Dobbs with all sorts of hypothetical questions in an attempt to exact from him an admission, direct or indirect, that the SWP advocates force and violence or unconstitutional methods to achieve its aims. But Dobbs' replies set the record straight and showed these questions were really designed to confuse the issue and distort the SWP's position.

Attorney Myer introduced in evidence to support Dobbs' statements the SWP's 1948 election platform and The Voice of Socialism, a pamphlet containing campaign speeches of Dobbs and other SWP leaders.

MYER'S ARGUMENTS

At the conclusion of the hearing, Myer was permitted to "argue the record" on the legality of the procedure. He challenged the constitutionality of Truman's Executive Order 9835, under which the "loyalty" purge is being conducted, and Section 9A of the

Hatch Act, on which the Executive Order is based. The Hatch Act makes it unlawful for any person to receive compensation from the federal government who advocates or is a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the government. The Act does not qualify "overthrow" in any way, nor does it specify by "force and violence" or "unconstitutional means."

Myer declared that both Truman's order and the Hatch Act constituted restrictions on the rights of free speech, press and assembly guaranteed to every citizen by the first Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The Executive Order, using such vague and undefined terms as "disloyal," "communist," "overthrow by unconstitutional means" and "subversive" lent itself to arbitrary and discriminatory application by government officials. He showed how officials, under the guise of applying these terms, were firing people for their religion, color, or out of personal animosity.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

It was an unconstitutional violation of due process of law, guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment, for Attorney General Clark to put the SWP on his blacklist without a hearing, said Myer. The VA administrator considered himself bound by this list under the Executive Order 9835, so that he dismissed a member of the SWP, Kutcher, without any real hearing.

The Board recognized that since it itself was set up under this same Executive Order, it could not declare void and illegal the very order from which it got its own existence and authority. The Board members also contended that working for the government is not a right but a privilege, and that the government could take away that privilege at will for any reason or no reason at all.

To this, Myer answered that where the government attempts to base the discharge of an employee on the grounds of "disloyalty" and political views, then the government's right to fire is subject to constitutional limitations.

In a statement after the hearing, Myer said: "In my opinion, regardless of the desires of the individual members of the panel, it is impossible for them to render a valid legal decision because they are 'themselves bound by the terms of the Executive Order which sets up the entire program and that order is itself fundamentally and fatally unconstitutional. So long as the Board operates within the framework of that order, no one coming before it can receive a decision consistent with the Constitutional provisions of free speech and due process. It's like asking an official to decide that the law from which he derives his function and authority is an invalid law."

"Therefore, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, in the event of an adverse decision, intends to challenge the whole procedure of the Executive Order in the courts which do have power to declare it invalid and to take the matter, if necessary, right up to the U. S. Supreme Court."

Order from

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3
Leon Trotsky—The Permanent Revolution \$2.50
Leon Trotsky—The Lesson of Spain — The Last Warning! 25c
K. Tilak — Rise and Fall of Comintern \$1.50

They Meet Again

First Branch Returns Fill 17% of Militant Fund

By Reba Aubrey

Seventeen branches of the Socialist Workers Party have already swung into action on the \$7,500 Militant Fund campaign. Seattle branch has set the pace, fulfilling its \$50 quota the same day the campaign opened. "Just for once," writes Louise Black, financial secretary for Seattle, "we thought we'd like to fill our quota promptly."

All branches have expressed their confidence that quotas will be fulfilled by the May 15 deadline. Some branches indicate their quotas will be completed before the end of the campaign. Newark, for instance, has sent in 44% of its quota and will continue to send in the money as fast as they collect it. A. Chester of San Francisco-Oakland attached a note to their \$194 payment: "If we keep this up, we will have our quota fulfilled before the end of the drive."

Buffalo's campaign is in full swing and will undoubtedly be subscribed to in full before the deadline.

"We are determined to make our quota on this Fund Drive," writes Chicago, "and I know we will."

Minneapolis rushed in an initial \$40 payment. Grace Carlson, organizer for that branch, says: "Although we have been hard hit by the 'disinflation' and the accompanying unemployment, the comrades are very eager to aid The Militant staff in this financial drive. Be assured that we will complete our quota by May 15."

The comrades in Pittsburgh write that "despite money being

SCOREBOARD FOR MILITANT FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Seattle	\$ 50	\$ 50	100
Newark	250	110	44
San Francisco-Oakland	500	194	39
Flint	200	60	30
Philadelphia	400	111	28
St. Paul	200	55	28
Pittsburgh	100	25	25
Buffalo	500	118	24
New York	2,000	430	22
Worcester	25	5	20
Baltimore	100	15	15
Cleveland	150	22	15
Lynn	50	6	12
Minneapolis	400	40	10
St. Louis	50	5	10
Detroit	500	36	7
Chicago	250	6	2
Akron	200	0	0
Allentown	25	0	0
Boston	150	0	0
Los Angeles	600	0	0
Milwaukee	150	0	0
Morgantown	25	0	0
New Britain	50	0	0
New Haven	25	0	0
Reading	50	0	0
Rochester	25	0	0
Toledo	50	0	0
Youngstown	300	0	0
General	125	8	7
Total Through April 5	\$7,500	\$1,296	17

'tight' we'll try to push it along in a hurry from now on."

GETTING IN SWING

Even though some branches have not yet sent in initial payments, their letters show that local campaigns are getting into full swing.

"The Akron branch voted unanimously to accept its quota and go ahead. A social affair tonight will start it off. We will have no trouble reaching the quota on time."

Toledo branch reports: "We have been hard hit by lay-offs. However, we think we can make

our pledge of \$50 and hope jobs may be obtained to go over the amount."

The Morgantown comrades accepted a \$25 quota. "We are sure that we can meet this quota, 100%. And if we can do more, all the better."

With this kind of determination shown by Socialist Workers Party branches, we are sure that the confident prediction made by James P. Cannon in last week's column will be fulfilled — "The promised fund of \$7,500 will be paid on the line and the regular appearance of The Militant will be assured."

ACTU WHITEWASHES STRIKEBREAKER

(Continued from page 1)

how Spellman tried to slander the work of the cemetery workers when he claimed they "regularly open about 42 graves a day, while his boys (strikebreakers), he said, opened about ninety in one day." (N. Y. Times, March 4.) As the March 4 N. Y. Herald-Tribune explained, the strikebreakers "were told to dig only four and a half feet deep, so as to save time and lessen the danger of cave-ins. Normally graves are dug nine feet deep for the first coffin, then reopened twice to admit two more coffins."

ACTU CAPITULATION

True enough, the ACTU leaders and the March 14 Labor Leader complained against Spellman's labeling them as "communists." But they capitulated abjectly to his demand that CIO Cemetery Workers Local 293 disaffiliate from its "communist" CIO international. The damaging blow this dealt the whole labor movement has been pointed out not only by The Militant, but by the April Catholic Worker, which wrote:

"Responsible labor leaders feel, and justly, that by forcing the strikers to do this the Cardinal has dealt a hard blow to the CIO in particular and labor in general. Hereafter whenever an employer comes to the conclusion that his workers' demands are unjust, he can use the Cardinal's action as a precedent to refuse to deal with their demands unless they give up their allegiance to what he can term a communistic union. Today it is a local in the CIO, but tomorrow it might be any labor organization at all."

Labor Leader of March 14 did report the fact that a meeting of the strikers at first rejected the Cardinal's arrogant terms. But it didn't consider "newsworthy" the resolution of the strikers declaring their opposition to "the union-busting tactics of any employer, including the Catholic Church when it acts as an employer." And a few days later, the ACTU leaders of Local 293 rammed Spellman's terms, previously rejected by the strikers, down their throats.

Why hasn't Labor Leader published the exact words of the settlement? Is it too full of jokers? Why hasn't it published the statement of David Sullivan, vice-president of the AFL Building Service Employees, who made the backroom deal with Spellman to recognize the AFL union as the bargaining agent of the cemetery workers and who said, "I have assured the Cardinal that such a strike will never occur under my leadership."

The article in which Labor Leader attacks The Militant attempts to represent Spellman as conciliatory to the workers, willing to make concessions. But Labor Leader never published his statement, issued after the strike was settled, in which he continued

to speak of the strikers as "confused and misled souls" who had engaged in an "unjustified and immoral strike." It wasn't Spellman who yielded, but the ACTU leaders of Local 293.

The truth of the whole matter is that the ACTU leaders were opposed to the strike, but were forced to go along in order to retain their control. Labor Leader virtually admits this when it reveals, in the article attacking us, that "both Joseph Manning, local president, and John Sheehan, union attorney, urged the men to delay strike action. But there was no holding them." Manning and Sheehan, of course, are ACTU-ers.

While the ACTU leaders in New York were compelled by their circumstances to give a show of support for the strike, the ACTU outside of New York played "neutral." Thus, the February Wage-Earner, publication of the Detroit ACTU, showed a fine "impartiality" by publishing a

"debate" under the headline: "Can Strikers Refuse to Bury the Dead? — No! Says Fr. Smith." It quotes for nine paragraphs the attack on the strike by Fr. William J. Smith, Jesuit head of Brooklyn's Crown Heights "Labor" School, and then quotes the Jan. 31 Labor Leader editorial for four paragraphs telling why the strikers should have a 40-hour week.

The prize comment on the strike was made by the Rev. Charles Owen Rice, chaplain of the Pittsburgh ACTU and most prominent "labor priest," who wrote in the Pittsburgh Catholic that it was a "delicate subject" and that he was not "competent to comment on the moral issues involved, they will have to be worked out on a higher level." By "higher level" he means his ecclesiastical boss, Cardinal Spellman. For the "labor priests" and their ACTU, anything Spellman does — including strikebreaking — is indeed a "delicate subject."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Coal Miners Greet 'Militant' Distributors

Coal miners near Pittsburgh welcomed distributors of The Militant on John Mitchell Day, the annual holiday commemorating the union leader who led the successful struggle for the 8-hour day in the coal mines. Literature Agent G. W. of Pittsburgh writes:

"We sold all of the 100 Militants of March 21 to miners celebrating Johnny Mitchell Day in New Kensington, Pa. More literature might have been sold had the crowd not been limited by some miserable rainy weather." And J. F. of Pittsburgh reports that "many people gave us a dime instead of the nickel." Evidently deciding to plow part of their cash returns back into more stock, Pittsburgh ordered 100 extra copies of the April 11 issue.

Detroit too appears to be doing well in distributing The Militant. Literature Agent Shirley S. ordered 100 extra copies of the March 28 issue.

From Akron, Literature Agent Doris H. sent an order for 20 extra copies of the April 4 issue. "The comrades paid in advance for their extra copies," she writes.

St. Louis is trying to increase its bundle order by putting The Militant on magazine stands and in drug stores. "These places, we learned, sell them better than newsstands where the people pass in a hurry and don't look

over anything unless they are sure they are going to buy it," writes D. C. "Today a Negro, part owner of the place where I left some papers and pamphlets, stuffed the pamphlets in his pocket and said, 'I am going to read all of these before I sell them.'"

Alice P. of Michigan, who sent in for 15 extra copies of the March 28 issue dealing with the North Atlantic War Pact, says: "It is the best issue yet, and I want to send a copy to everyone I have discussed World War III with and some besides for future use."

Joy C. of Chicago "criticized editorials on the Catholic Church in the past" but thinks that the editorial in the March 28 issue on Cardinal Spellman's strikebreaking "is the most powerful article of this kind I have seen in The Militant because it deals so specifically with what the Church did to a section of the American workers."

Our old friend and comrade, J. of Reading, wrote in to tell us that recent issues of The Militant are "especially commendable." He also thinks highly of the March issue of Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. The Reading comrades, he says, are working out plans to get more subscriptions.

The comrades in the coal fields of West Virginia are also working on the problem of how to increase circulation. Each member is taking a number of extra copies of The Militant to hand on to friends and acquaintances. M. F. believes The Militant is "getting better and better all the time. And that's saying something!"

WOMEN UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR PEACE

Will Big Business succeed in dragging the United States into another world war? Not if the deepest wishes of the women of America break through into the arena of political struggle. They know that another war with its bloodshed, death and atomic ruin can mean the end of everything we hold dear.

Leon Trotsky, who gave his life in the struggle to make our globe safe for mankind, understood what power women can wield when they decide the time has come for a basic change. Among these wage-earners and housewives, said Trotsky, will be found "inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness and readiness to sacrifice."

Trotsky spoke the truth.

Among our strongest supporters are women. They stand courageously beside their husbands in the battle for peace through socialism despite the difficulties and hardships this often means. They tell their friends and neighbors about The Militant and how it fights for a world where children can grow up free from hunger and fear. They ask for contributions to help The Militant spread the truth. They try to widen the circle of Militant readers, knowing that each new subscription may mean another recruit in the fight for the socialist world of the future — a world of brotherhood, good living, happiness and boundless progress.

These are the pioneer women of today. Why not join their ranks? Start your subscription to The Militant now.

Name
Street Zone
City State

☐ \$1 Six months. ☐ \$2 Full year. ☐ \$4 in combination with Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. (Fourth International alone is \$2.50. You save 50c.)





TROTSKY

"In the less privileged capitalist countries (Russia, on the one hand; Germany, Italy and the like, on the other), which were unable to engender a numerous and stable labor aristocracy, democracy was never developed to any extent and succumbed to dictatorship with comparative ease. However, the continuing progressive paralysis of capitalism is preparing the same fate for the democracies of the most privileged and the richest nations; the only difference is in dates. The uncontrollable deterioration of the living conditions of the workers makes it less and less possible for the bourgeoisie to grant the masses the right of participation in political life, even within the limited framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. Any other explanation of the manifest process of democracy's dislodgment by fascism is an idealistic falsification of things as they are, either deception or self-deception."

— Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in the United States*, 1939.



LENIN

What Churchill Revealed About Pact

When the U. S. Secretary of State and the foreign ministers of eleven other capitalist countries affixed their signatures to the North Atlantic Pact on April 4, it was the occasion for flights of oratory about "peace" and "democracy." Truman led the grandiose speech-making, hailing the greatest military alliance in world history as something that "will add to the strength of the fabric of peace throughout the world" and "a shield against aggressors."

But the real aims of this imperialist pact are not to be found in the ceremonial speeches of the signatory diplomats in Washington. The real tip-off on this pact is contained in the speech of another visiting dignitary — Winston Churchill — delivered in Boston four days before the pact was signed.

As the climax to his ferocious war-incitation against the Soviet Union, Churchill voiced what is the deepest, if not openly avowed, feeling of all the capitalist rulers in the world. He said: "The failure to strangle bolshevism at its birth and to bring Russia, then prostrate, by one means or another, into the general democratic system lies heavy upon us today."

Thus, it is not merely the present Soviet Union under the police rule of Stalin that is the source of the war-like moves of the capitalist powers. Their mortal hostility flows from their hatred of the Russian Revolution itself, their fear of the Soviet Union as it

was in the days of its birth under Lenin and Trotsky.

Had Stalinism never usurped power in the Soviet Union, had the most democratic government ever known — the Bolshevik government of workers, peasants and soldiers councils inaugurated by Lenin and Trotsky's government — continued to flourish, the capitalist powers would have been all the more determined to crush it with all the violence they could command.

Indeed, if the imperialists failed to "strangle bolshevism" at its birth, it was not for lack of trying. This "prostrate Russia" of 1917 to 1921, as Churchill describes it, was assaulted by the armies of all the leading capitalist nations, including the United States and Great Britain. The upsurge of their own workers at home prevented at that time the imperialists from wiping out the young Soviet Union in blood.

Instead of being a pact against the alleged "aggression" of the present Stalin regime, the North Atlantic military alliance is in reality the latest and most ominous stage of the long years of planning and preparations to complete successfully the aggression originally launched against the Soviet Union more than three decades ago.

And today, as then, only one force can fail this aggression which is leading directly to a third world war of atomic destruction. That force is the working class of the world.

Letters--or a Congress of Labor?

The top union leaders can no longer keep mum about the butcher's job the Democratic-controlled Congress is doing on Truman's promised "Fair Deal" program. The growing indignation of the workers at what's happened to civil rights legislation and federal rent control — and what's in store on the issue of Taft-Hartley Act repeal — has forced the Trumanite union officials to some show of alarm and verbal protest.

Thus, the *CIO News* is full these days of bitter complaints about Congress. But what kind of action do the CIO leaders propose to halt the continued march of reaction in Washington? Letters! Postcards! Telegrams!

The whole front page of the March 21 *CIO News* consists of a picture of two hands in the process of writing a protest letter to a "Dear Mr. Congressman." Underneath is a brief statement urging the workers to send similar "letters, postcards or telegrams" to their Congressmen and Senators. Its leading editorial says, "If you're like us, you're a bit burned up about the trend of things in Congress" and so "to heck with the fancy grammatical phrases. Just lay it on the line."

Now, we have no objection to mass letter writing when it accompanies more effective forms of action. But the CIO leaders are urging a sheer waste of paper and ink, be-

cause they offer letter writing as a SUBSTITUTE for the kind of action that's really needed.

The workers have seen for years the futility of reliance on letters to Congressmen to secure their demands. That's how the union leaders tried to stop passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the gutting of rent control, etc.

Congress is afraid of letters and telegrams only when these are a prelude to more direct mass action. Written protests by themselves are just the patter of the rain on the roof. Congress will act only when the roof leaks and the rain pours in!

The landlords didn't confront Congress just with written words from afar. They organized a mass mobilization in Washington of landlords from all over the country to put the heat on Congress to dismember the rent control bill. They got results, too!

Organized labor can get results also if it follows the example of the landlords. Let it call an immediate giant United Congress of Labor, with rank-and-file representation from every union, to convene in Washington on the very doorstep of Congress. Let this Congress of Labor spearhead nation-wide united mass labor action. Congress won't be able to toss that kind of protest into a scrap basket!

The Pittsburgh Outrage

There are some people who will try to pass off as an "unfortunate incident" the fascist-like assault that attended the Stalinist-sponsored protest rally last Sunday in Pittsburgh. Others, even more blinded by the red-baiting witch-hunts, will prefer to keep silent about it, especially about the leading role of the Catholic hierarchy. Still others, resorting to the slimmest of evasions, will try to explain it away as being, after all, aimed "only at the Stalinists."

But the truth is that the Stalinists were only a convenient target for reaction, and nothing more. The truth is that the real blows were struck not at Stalinism but at the right of public assembly, the right of free speech, in short, at our basic civil liberties. The Pittsburgh outrage supplies a precedent for similar attacks on any and all other gatherings. It helps create an atmosphere in which the organized labor movement itself would not be able long to survive.

For every honest unionist there is a terrible warning in what happened in Pittsburgh. Let us take, as a single instance, the fate of many innocent by-standers who found themselves subjected to attack last Sunday. Their "guilt" did not have to be proved. They were implicated on the sole ground of "association." They happened to be in the vicinity and this sufficed to endanger their very lives. Hitler

found "guilt by association" indispensable for destroying the unions in Germany. This same procedure was put in force on the streets of Pittsburgh at a time when powerful forces in this country are seeking to legalize "guilt by association" by writing it into federal, state and local statutes.

The forces of reaction, the would-be destroyers of civil liberties, have every reason to gloat over their victory in Pittsburgh. They have been trying for a long time to whip up the war and red-baiting hysteria into lynch outbursts, and they have finally succeeded in Pittsburgh. They hope and want to extend it to other cities, and, in the end, to unleash gangs traipsing in this way against the unions themselves. They succeeded under the cover of "veterans organizations," and what is even more scandalous, under the cover of a group of local union leaders.

These men were misguided and perhaps unaware of what they were really doing, but the labor movement cannot for a moment afford to take responsibility for their ignorance or gullibility. A crime was committed in Pittsburgh — a crime against the vital interests of every trade union in the land. Because, we repeat, every violation of civil rights sharpens the fascist axe which laborers now hold suspended over the organized labor movement.

Worcester Firms Chisel on Wages As Jobless Grow

By Irene James

WORCESTER, Mass., April 3 — "It's always the man who answers the door these days," the milkman remarked as he collected the bill. "The men have been laid off and they're home taking care of the kids. The women are out on cheap jobs."

This gives a pretty good picture of unemployment in Worcester. The only jobs open are for women, the worst kind of drudgery at wages lower than average unemployment benefits. With this miserable paycheck to supplement unemployed relief, a family can manage to eat and pay rent, and go deeper in debt.

Workers here, cut to two or three days a week, were probably surprised to see in the paper that the average wage in Massachusetts is \$57. They must wonder what mythical average worker ever received this amount.

Layoffs and short work-weeks are not the only problem. Direct and indirect wage cuts are general. One steel plant here laid off on flimsiest pretexts, a number of office workers with five or six years seniority, who were making 90c an hour. Then they wrote the high schools asking for office help — at 60c an hour! If this trend continues, both parents will soon be at home while the children are out working.

So far the unions here have advanced no program for the unemployed. A phony optimism is generally expressed: "Everything will pick up in April." As against such hopes, one of the largest steel plants, working a 45-hour week, has recently laid off 400.

There are no accurate figures on unemployment. The number getting benefits is misleading since many workers do not qualify for benefits and many others have already exhausted theirs. A mechanic who works as a baby sitter a couple of nights a week, a woman who has one day's work a week at Woolworth's, and workers on a five weeks temporary layoff are considered "employed."

The workers are getting restless, and bitter about the inaction or indifference of the union leaders. The next months should bring increasing militancy from the rank and file, who will demand concrete answers to the problems of the unemployed.

Vote New York Taxi Strike



After voting to strike, these New York cabbies rush forward to shake hands with Regional Director Leon Zwicker of the Taxi Workers Organizing Committee, an affiliate of Local 35, United Construction Workers, part of the United Mine Workers. On April 1 they began their strike for higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions. Mayor O'Dwyer threw a concentration of 3,000 extra police on the streets to protect cab drivers, while the press opened a war of nerves on the strikers in a back-to-work campaign. As this is written, the strike has reached a critical stage and Zwicker has been replaced by another organizer.

Opposition Holds Ground Elections in UAW Show

DETROIT — Local union elections have been completed in the CIO auto union. One of the outstanding features of this year's contests has been the unusually large turnout in the voting. Many veteran unionists interpret this as a demonstration on the part of numerous new young union members against the companies and their speedup campaigns.

From all indications, the relationship of strength between the Reuther administration and his opponents remains roughly the same as before the elections. If we center our analysis on Michigan, the union's stronghold, we find Reuther retaining control of practically all the key locals that he held previously. The opposition has likewise maintained its strength.

PHILA. MEETING HITS POLICE ASSAULT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, March 31 — A well-attended meeting to protest local police attacks on civil rights and to demand an end to the frameup of Fred Simpson was held here last Saturday night at Socialist Workers Party headquarters. The main speakers were James Price, president of District 1 of the UE-CIO; William Gardner Smith, Pittsburgh Courier reporter and author of the novel, *Last of the Conquerors*; and Fred Simpson, victim of police race prejudice.

Simpson has been indicted on the fantastic charge of "maintaining a disorderly house," for which the penalty is \$500 fine and one year in jail. His home was invaded by police, without warrant, shortly after midnight on March 5, during an interracial party held to protest the continued imprisonment of Bayard Rustin, a young Negro convicted of a murder to which another man has confessed. The 38 people present at the party were arrested with Simpson, and kept overnight in overcrowded, filthy cells.

At the hearing next morning before Magistrate John F. Daly, Simpson was held on \$500 bail on the "disorderly house" charge, while the others were freed. It was here, after looking over the mixed group, that Daly shouted: "We mean to break this thing up! and we are GOING to break it up!" It was here also that Daly made the profound statement, "If you have 30 people together, mixed, in a small house, there is bound to be disorder." This statement has aroused great indignation, even from Republican Negro spokesmen who had supported Daly for election in the 38th Ward.

THE REAL "CRIME"

On opening the meeting Max Feldman, SWP organizer who was chairman, told the audience: "We know that Simpson's real crime — our real crime — was having Negroes and whites meet together in the same house for a party. Even the police admitted we were extremely quiet and orderly."

James Price, in his address, cited the similarity between the present attacks on civil rights and the "hysteria which followed World War I." He emphasized the need for joint action by organized labor and minorities in order to combat this menace, which threatens the unity of the labor movement.

Smith told of experiences with prejudiced military police in Germany, and the patterns of police terrorism in Negro neighborhoods here. "The role of the police," he said, "is to maintain law and order — that is, in their minds, to maintain the status quo."

Simpson, who faces trial, said he would go through the arrest-procedure again, if he thought it would help their "victims of the police Gestapo." He said the sergeant at the police station repeatedly asked him, "Did you know what kind of people you were inviting to your house?" The sergeant later told other police: "He's a comrade. He had whites and colored people in his house."

PROGRAM ADOPTED

To "combat rising police authoritarianism" in Philadelphia, those present decided:

1. To send a delegation to call on Mayor Bernard Samuel, protesting the arrests and "the general dictatorial tactics of Philadelphia police."

2. To organize speaking squads to go with sound trucks into various city neighborhoods, giving the people the facts as to "the role of the police in maintaining segregation of the races."

3. To organize other interracial parties to test the "audacity of the police in breaking up such parties."

4. To carry on an all-out legal fight to free Simpson.

Meanwhile, police terror continues. From 300 to 500 Negroes were picked up here for "questioning" recently, following the murder of a liquor store clerk on March 12 in South Philadelphia. The majority of the mass arrests took place in this area. More than 500 cops patrolled the area 24 hours a day, indiscriminately seizing people on their way to and from work, on street corners, in drug stores and billiard parlors, and in their own homes. Many were held overnight. Whites were in some cases not permitted to enter the section.

Persons interested in aiding the struggle against discrimination and abuse of police power are invited to contact the Provisional Simpson Defense Committee, 1303 W. Girard Ave., Philadelphia.

Murray Machine Crushes Local

(Continued from page 1)
ternational. The members of Local 302 overwhelmingly approved a proposal that Frank Hill, their president, and perhaps another member, should run as candidates in the municipal elections.

But the International turned thumbs down on this attempt at independent political action, and ordered the local to support politicians from the capitalist parties. When this "decree" was submitted to the rank and file, they rejected it unanimously.

MURRAY TAKES OVER

This incident ruptured all of the locals' relations with the Murray bureaucracy. Murray sent in an administrator named William E. Gravatt, who took over the affairs of the local in January, 1948, suspending the entire local leadership. Indifferent to the needs and working conditions of the members, Gravatt set out to turn the union into a mere dues-collecting agency for the steel bureaucracy.

The speedup was growing in the shop and becoming intolerable to the workers. A two-day layoff was the penalty for failing to meet departmental quotas. Failure to meet them a second time meant outright dismissal. One time a whole unit of 19 workers was laid off solely because one of them had failed to meet his quota.

The administrator, however, ignored the appeals of the members for a fight against the speedup. He even resorted to strike-breaking as a means of subduing the workers. When an entire department staged a walkout against certain arbitrary company dictates, Gravatt ordered the workers to get back on the job and do as the company ordered — or else.

Such behavior by Gravatt only increased the prestige of the deposed local leaders, so the Murray machine set out to discredit them completely and drive them out of the plant. An all-out red-baiting slander campaign was launched by Gravatt, with the eager assistance of the local press and radio. Gravatt personally appeared before the Rotary Club, denounced the militants as agents of "subversive" organizations and implied they would be gotten rid of.

FRAMEUP TRIAL

The next step of the Murray machine was to bring up on

charges 15 of the leading union members, including the three now in prison. The trial board was packed with men sent in by the Murray machine. The charges were a mélange of lies, distortions and half-truths.

There were nine charges, most of them covering alleged improper use of the local's finances, "libeling and slandering International and local officers," interfering "with International officers in the discharge of their duties," and finally "conspiracy to commit the above acts" in violation of the union constitution.

At the demand of the defendants the press was admitted to the trial proceedings, which lasted for two months, from July to September 1948. The evidence showed that the whole affair was a frameup, that the defendants had done nothing which was not approved by the local membership at regular meetings, including authorization for financial expenditures and the decision to protest the bureaucratic imposition of an administrator.

RED-BAITING STRESSED

But the trial board was not concerned with the facts. Murray, Gravatt and Co. laid their main stress on alleged relations between some of the defendants and "members of communist subversive organizations which have been declared to be such by U. S. Attorney General Clark." Proof? An article about the high-handed methods of the Gravatt dictatorship had been printed in the *Daily Worker*, and one of the defendants was discovered to "have taken part in the activities" of an organization on Clark's blacklist — the International Workers Order.

For the Murray machine that was enough evidence to hang the defendants, even though none of the charges pertained to "subversiveness." The verdict they recommended was to expel about half the defendants, acquit a few who had bucked down to Gravatt and put the others on long periods of probation.

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She Confesses--A Little

By John G. Wright

Anna Louise Strong makes two noteworthy revelations in her series of syndicated articles written for the N. Y. Herald-Tribune concerning her recent arrest and deportation from Moscow on deliberately trumped-up "spy" charges. First, she herself directly connects everything that befell her at the hands of Stalin's secret police with her attempts to make another trip into Stalinist-dominated areas of China. Secondly, she casts additional light on the real character of "public trials" under Stalin's regime, and thus indirectly on the infamous Moscow Frameups of 1936-38.

Partly out of self-delusion and partly out of year-long habits acquired in loyal service to the Kremlin, Miss Strong still persists in saying publicly that her entire experience was a product of over-zealousness or "stupidity" by some lower-ranking Soviet functionary. The actual decision was, of course, made at the top, and the underlings merely carried it out.

It is still unclear just why the Kremlin tops had decided it was "undesirable" for her to go again to China, where she had previously carried out several assignments for the Stalinist propaganda machine. But the undeniable fact is, they did make this decision. For four months, Miss Strong received one hint after another to drop her project, but she persisted. Worse yet, as appears from her own disclosures, she came into possession of information relating to China which the regime, for reasons of its own, had placed under strictest secrecy. This apparently settled her fate. In any case, this is what she herself concludes.

"I had set out to prove to them," she writes, "that the road through Manchuria was open. I had proved it all right. . . . But what a stunning job of journalism! Or espionage? (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, March 30.)

What else she learned about China which the Kremlin wants to keep secret, Miss Strong does not say. Perhaps she knows more and can tell

more about the Kremlin's sinister maneuvers with the fate of the Chinese people.

Miss Strong is somewhat less reticent about her reasons for refusing a "public trial." With the macabre humor of a cat playing with a mouse, the GPU commissar did offer her such a trial. Miss Strong explains at length why she refused. It would only split the "world a little more into two."

"The commissar didn't want that trial either. I knew that. Bringing the Cold War right into the middle of Moscow! He'd be in an awful mess."

But her real reasons obviously went beyond her desires to promote the cause of peace. "Besides," she admits, "I knew what a trial would mean." It would mean a "big show trial" with her fate sealed in advance, if only because of a letter she had written to her father in 1922 containing a laudatory reference to Leon Trotsky.

It is a sad commentary that even at this late date, and even after her own bitter experiences, Miss Strong hasn't a direct word to say about the fraudulence of the 1936-38 trials, which she not only attended at the time but for which she also served as one of the Kremlin's public apologists. But the little she does say suffices to demonstrate that they were no more authentic than her own "secret trial and conviction" as a spy.

An interesting sidelight of the Strong "spy" affair is the attitude of the Stalinists in this country. They have tacitly condemned her as a "spy" and have publicly refused her donation of \$1,000 to the case of the 11. At the same time, she made a \$1,000 donation to the weekly *National Guardian*, a Wallaceite publication which the Stalinists have been backing. The editors of the *Guardian* have not only not refused Miss Strong's donation, but have publicly announced that they will continue to accept her as a "free lance correspondent." We can expect violent attacks by the Stalinists on this publication if it doesn't change its attitude to Miss Strong.

Norman Mailer's Speech

By George Breitman

The most significant speech of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was made at the Writing and Publishing Panel on March 26 by Norman Mailer, talented young novelist who was associated with the Wallace campaign last year.

"I have come here as a Trojan horse," he said. "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. I am going to make myself more unpopular. I am afraid both the United States and the Soviet Union are moving toward state capitalism. There is no future in that. The two systems approach each other more clearly. All a writer can do is tell the truth as he sees it, and to keep on writing. It is bad, perhaps, to inject this pessimism here, but it is the only way I can talk honestly."

As Mailer predicted, this statement proved "unpopular" with the Stalinists, who had led the applause before he spoke. Only five months ago, Mailer, admitting he had much yet to learn about Marxism, had written that politically he stood "to the left of the Progressive Party and to the right of the Communist Party." And now here he was, challenging the Stalinists most unmistakably from the left on the fundamental issue of war, rejecting the Stalinist lie that peace is possible if only Truman and Stalin will get together in some kind of deal, flatly condemning "peace conferences" as useless and affirming the truth that only the struggle for socialism can abolish war.

Instead of applause, his speech drew criticism from the Stalinists. The *Daily Worker* said: "An ex-GI, one of several persons to reply to Mailer from the floor, declared the hysterical effort of reaction to halt the conference, plus their failure to mobilize mass protest against it, should convince Mailer of the parley's value."

But reactionary opposition to such a conference does not automatically demonstrate their value any more than reactionary opposition to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact demonstrates their "peaceable" character. All such opposition proves is that the forces of reaction do not like conferences called to discuss problems of war and peace, no matter what program they have. Least of all do such arguments refute Mailer's correct conclusion that war is an inseparable product of capitalism.

Notes from the News

An article in the April 2 Saturday Evening Post discloses that when documents were being chosen for the Freedom Train some archivists offered a resolution praising Lincoln for the Emancipation Proclamation, adopted by an international labor conference and "signed, among others, by Karl Marx. Higher authorities bootied it off the Freedom Train with a shudder."

After Secretary of Defense Johnson's announcement that he plans to get rid of all deadwood in the armed forces, somebody (who would be purged as a subversive if he were caught) pinned up a picture of a bleak, uninhabited Arizona landscape on a Pentagon bulletin board with the caption, "The Pentagon, following changes ordered by the new Secretary of Defense."

Benjamin Gitlow, professional red-baiter, was hired last week by the Illinois Legislature's Seditious Activities Committee to help hunt out "subversives" in Chicago colleges.

Under American Legion sponsorship he gave a speech on communism to a joint session of the Illinois Legislature on March 30. Gitlow was one of the founding members of the Communist Party and later a leader of the Lovestone group.

The Socialist Party's May Day celebration in New York this year is called the "Tucker P. Smith Dinner for Academic Freedom," in honor of the SP vice-presidential candidate fired from Olivet College for union activities. The chairman of the affair will be Prof. Sidney Hook, leading advocate of an academic purge of the Stalinists.

The April 2 Nation reports that the Communist Party in Los Angeles opposed Leo Gallagher's candidacy for the Board of Education. Gallagher, an attorney for unions and the CP in many cases, gave this explanation: "I don't approve of the CP's recent activities. My present complaint is

that the CP doesn't have democratic centralism. I feel that every member should feel free to criticize the party and its policies. Those who are frank, however, are likely to be expelled. I've come to believe that orders are issued from above. This isn't the democratic method."

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) at its yearly meeting in Philadelphia last week came out in opposition to the Atlantic Pact "because it intensifies the division of the world into two competing power areas" and "implies further large-scale rearmament."

Joseph M. Coldwell, pioneer New England Socialist leader, died in Providence, R. I., last week at the age of 79. He was jailed several times for strike activities, once during a textile strike in which he collaborated with Nicola Sacco. In 1918 he was sentenced to three years in prison for publicly supporting three men accused of draft-dodging. His cell mate was Eugene V. Debs. But like the Norman Thomas Socialist party he abandoned his anti-militarist stand in World War II and supported the war.

The NAACP urges the U. S. government to "resist" the "imperialistic demands of Italy" for return of her former colonies as a condition for Italian participation in the Atlantic Pact. It also wants the Pact amended to "preclude its use against movements for freedom on the part of colonial peoples."

The March 28 Life gives the following example of the civilizing effects of imperialism: exploitation by Aramco in Saudi Arabia: "It is still Koranic practice to punish a pickpocket by cutting off his right hand; a doctor from Aramco now attends to paint the culprit's forearm with iodine before the chopping, then bandages the stump."

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THE MILITANT

FBI Stoolpigeon Testifies For Government in C.P. Trial

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, April 6 — Until he took the witness stand at 2:10 PM today, Herbert A. Philbrick, a 34-year-old Melrose, Mass., motion picture advertiser, had long posed as a loyal member of the Communist Party. His testimony revealed that for the past nine years he has operated as a police stoolpigeon inside the Stalinist movement.

As he recited his well-rehearsed lines, I was reminded of the cartoon about a burglar who included in his testimony, "I pause, take out handkerchief, and wipe your eyes." I was reminded too of a scene in the movie "The Informer," where a cop contemptuously pushed 20 silver coins across his desk to the traitor Gypo Nolan.

Then I recalled that only yesterday the House Appropriations Committee voted to give \$52 million to the FBI, whose director, J. Edgar Hoover, said he wants the money for a "comprehensive domestic intelligence coverage."

In plain English, Hoover wants police spies like Philbrick to operate in political parties, unions, lodges, and every other forum where the American people gather to discuss their problems.

PHILBRICK'S RECORD

Philbrick testified that he first established relations with the Stalinists in 1940 while chairman of a Cambridge, Mass., youth council. In March 1942 he joined the Young Communist League, and in March 1944, the Communist Party. Since 1940 he has had continuous contact with the FBI.

He first wormed his way into the post of literature director in his local group. After attending the 1945 convention of the New England CP, he was appointed to an educational commission and put in charge of leaflet production.

Copies of letters he received from CP officials regarding these matters were introduced in evidence. All bore marginal notations of FBI file numbers. That's as close as Hoover can come to fingerprinting literature.

Then the prosecutor got to the \$64 question, "What literature was on display at the New England convention?"

Like a child mechanically reciting a nursery rhyme, the police spy called attention to the absence of Browder's books and then reeled off a list of books by Lenin and Stalin. When prompted by the prosecutor, he added, "There were also books by Marx and Engels."

Sensational press accounts of such testimony are creating a false impression that the Stalinists are on trial for preparing an armed revolt. The facts are that nothing of the kind is charged in the indictment under the Smith Act.

THIS IS A THOUGHT-CONTROL TRIAL. The Stalinists are accused of teaching Marxism-Leninism. The aim of the trial is to outlaw the ideas of scientific socialism.

Marxism is doubly framed up because the Stalinists are betrayers — not teachers — of scientific socialism. They are political lepers who defile everything they touch.

BOSTON ILG FORCED TO GIVE UP 35-HOUR WEEK

BOSTON — Negotiations on the new contract between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the employers in Boston have gotten off to a poor start for the union. One of the fundamental gains of the union, the 35-hour week, which was won by strike struggle years ago, has been given up. The new contract will provide that overtime pay will start after 40-hours of work instead of after 35-hours.

In an industry such as the garment industry, where employment is extremely seasonal, the only protection the worker has for steady employment is the shorter work week. In 1927 the garment workers of Boston went out on a long strike to secure the 35-hour week. Now it is given up on the recommendation of David Dubinsky, president of the union.

The rank and file workers, especially those who participated in the 1927 strike, did not accept this proposal readily. The union leaders alibied that this lengthening of the work week did not mean much — that it would be used only in emergencies, only if every machine was in use; that the workers would not have to work more than 35-hours unless they wanted to; etc. In return the employers started a retirement fund by a contribution of 1% of the workers' wages.

The workers were unimpressed by these arguments and voted to send a delegation to discuss this matter with Dubinsky. However they made the mistake of agreeing to abide by Dubinsky's decision.

Dubinsky urged this rank and file committee to accept the proposal, Boston was the only place with a 35-hour week in the contract, he told them. Also the retirement fund was one of the demands of the union. "My hands are tied," he told them, "you have to accept it."

FRIDAY FORUM IN DETROIT

Three lectures on "The Background of the New Union Bureaucracy" will be given on consecutive Friday evenings, 8 P.M., beginning April 15, at the SWP headquarters, 6108 Linwood, Detroit. 25 cents per lecture, 50c. for three.

Ship Workers Convention Terminates in a Deadlock

--- BULLETIN ---

The General Executive Board of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (IUMSWA) voted unanimously at its final meeting prior to the opening of the union's national convention to back the Kutcher case and to "extend all possible aid to James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee." The convention resolutions committee acted favorably on the case, but its resolution was referred by the delegates to the incoming GEB, along with many other resolutions.

NEW YORK — The 14th National Convention of the IUMSWA, which met here last week, found itself hopelessly deadlocked on two important issues: how to solve the critical financial problem facing the union, and how to complete the merger of metal workers, a dissident group that seceded last year from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, and of another group — the non-operating employees of several railroads, who had likewise been admitted to the IUMSWA at the 1948 Cleveland convention.

The rail and metal groups demanded in addition to representation on the General Executive Board the adoption of a "reorganization" plan which, in part, included the creation of three vice-presidents, with each to be director of organization in the three main fields covered by the union.

Failing to obtain this, they voted against the proposed constitutional amendment to raise monthly dues to a \$2 minimum and the per capita tax to \$1. These funds are needed to cover expenses incurred in the five-month strike in 1947 and in organizing the rail and mine fields. Their action prevented the administration from obtaining the two-thirds vote necessary to carry the amendment.

In reprisal, the ship delegates dropped the rail and metal representatives from the posts they previously held on the Executive Board. President John Green, Vice-President John Grogan and Secretary-Treasurer Ross Blood were re-elected without opposition.

The union, torn by internal dissension, suffering from the secession of a number of important locals, faced with severe unemployment in the ship repair section, is left with the prospect of either patching up internal differences, especially with the rail and metal groups, or returning to its original organizational form in greatly reduced circumstances.



DAVID DUBINSKY

SWP Candidate Addresses Many Workers in Oakland

OAKLAND, April 2 — As the City Council election campaign enters its final weeks, the candidacy and program of Filomena M. Goelman, SWP candidate for councilman-at-large, are receiving increasing attention from broad sections of the working class.

A sound truck for the Goelman campaign will begin cruising around the city this week. Successful street meetings have been held in many parts of the city, with others planned, including rallies outside the gates of important plants.

Filomena Goelman has already spoken before a number of unions

on the central campaign issues. Among these were Cannery Workers Local 750, Carpenters Local 36, Ironworkers Local 378 and a meeting of Steelworkers Local 1304 where 1800 workers were present.

She is also scheduled to appear before the League of Women Voters on April 4, the Negro Presbyterian Church on April 7, the AME Zion Church on April 10, and the Rockridge Improvement Club on April 12. She will discuss "A Workers and Farmers Government" at the April 8 SWP rally.

The SWP candidate has challenged her opponents, especially those who have the endorsement of labor leaders, to an open full-scale debate. The capitalist press has suppressed this challenge, and none of the other candidates has accepted her offer for a debate.

COWARDLY POLICIES

The labor movement, which was united in the last election, is weakened today by the timidity and confusion of its leaders. The central AFL body has endorsed two real estate brokers, Frank Linotti and Albert Braga, but the individual AFL unions are going their own separate ways in the election, adding to the apathy and disinterest of their members. At least a section of the AFL leadership is finding its way back to the fold of the Oakland Tribune, the symbol of capitalist domination in this city.

Equally pathetic is the role of the Stalinists. The Alameda County CIO, dominated by them, has not made any endorsements, and Sandra Martin, who had strong Stalinist backing, has withdrawn from the race. Stalinist campaign literature tells the workers to vote against Big Business, but doesn't have a word about whom they should vote for!

Board. President John Green, Vice-President John Grogan and Secretary-Treasurer Ross Blood were re-elected without opposition.

The union, torn by internal dissension, suffering from the secession of a number of important locals, faced with severe unemployment in the ship repair section, is left with the prospect of either patching up internal differences, especially with the rail and metal groups, or returning to its original organizational form in greatly reduced circumstances.

This convention engaged in less red-baiting than did the previous ones but, nevertheless, adopted a resolution calling upon the CIO to make it mandatory for all members to affirm that they were not Communists, Nazis or Ku Kluxers and that they were not interested in overthrowing the government by force and violence.

Guest speakers included CIO-PAC director Jack Kroll; Hoyt Haddock, CIO Maritime Representative in Washington; and James Carey, CIO Secretary. Carey's speech ranged from an apology for the CIO's venture into the World Federation of Trade Unions, an attack on the Soviet Union, to an attack on Donald Henderson of the Stalinist-dominated Food and Tobacco Workers. He warned Henderson that if he attended the meetings of the WFTU, as had been announced, he would be disciplined by the CIO.

Among these were Cannery Workers Local 750, Carpenters Local 36, Ironworkers Local 378 and a meeting of Steelworkers Local 1304 where 1800 workers were present.

She is also scheduled to appear before the League of Women Voters on April 4, the Negro Presbyterian Church on April 7, the AME Zion Church on April 10, and the Rockridge Improvement Club on April 12. She will discuss "A Workers and Farmers Government" at the April 8 SWP rally.

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The six were sentenced to jail until they answer the questions put to them by the grand jury. Three others, found guilty by the court of criminal contempt, were sentenced to a year in jail.

Eight others, similarly subpoenaed by the grand jury, face

Compare the conduct of the Stalinists with that of the Trotskyists convicted under the same Smith Act in 1941.

The Trotskyists gave a forthright explanation of genuine Marxism. We warned the workers that the war would bring untold economic hardship, it would lead to anti-union laws and vicious attacks on civil rights, and it would not bring peace to the world. We said then, and we repeat now, only socialism can offer peace, freedom and plenty to all mankind.

The Stalinists cheered the government's thought-control attack on the Trotskyists and clamored for this country to create a "second front" in Europe.

STALINIST DEFENSE

Events have transpired just as the Trotskyists predicted they would back in 1941, and the Stalinists are now bearing the main weight of the government's attack on civil rights. They have met the test by whining and crawling around the courtroom on their bellies.

The prosecutor questioned the Stalinist renegade Louis F. Budenz about Stalinist policy in the early 1930's, in the 1939-41 Stalin-Hitler pact period, and in the period since 1945. These were times of friction between Moscow and Washington.

The Stalinist lawyers cross-examined Budenz about their policy during the 1935-39 People's Front period and the 1941-45 war period when Stalin and Roosevelt were on good terms.

They read passages from the program adopted by the 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935 calling for "neither socialism, nor communism," but a "broad anti-fascist united front."

They quoted William Z. Foster to prove they want a political alliance with the capitalists, if they can get it. They just thought Browder went too far when he offered to shake hands with J. P. Morgan and extend the no-strike pledge into the post-war period, because Morgan won't "loyally support unity."

Then, like the frameup artists they are, the Stalinists asked Budenz if the American Workers Party to which he once belonged "advocated force and violence." He said it did. They next asked if he left the AWP to join the Communist Party when the AWP united with the Trotskyists in 1934. Budenz said, "Yes."

This dirty piece of business is clearly intended to falsely imply that the Trotskyists do "advocate force and violence," and all that's wrong with the trial is that the government is attacking the wrong party.

Despite their treachery and double-dealing at such terrible cost to the workers, the Stalinists must be defended against the present thought-control prosecution. If the government succeeds in outlawing the Communist Party, then no political party, no union, nor any other organization will be safe from attack if it should oppose the political party in power.

FEDERAL JUDGE JAILS SIX MORE IN CALIFORNIA FOR "CONTEMPT"

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, April 4—Talk or rot in jail! That was in effect, the ultimatum, issued last week by Federal Judge Pierson M. Hall to six local victims of the witch-hunting federal grand jury convened to investigate "communist" activities and possible violation of loyalty oaths.

The six, local leaders of the Stalinist Party and others, were found guilty of civil contempt of court for refusing to answer questions about the Communist Party and its members asked them by the grand jury.

They based their defense on their constitutional right to refrain from giving testimony, that may be self-incriminating should the outcome of the trial of the national CP leaders in New York place members of the CP in jeopardy.

MORE BEING HUNTED

The six were sentenced to jail until they answer the questions put to them by the grand jury. Three others, found guilty by the court of criminal contempt, were sentenced to a year in jail.

Eight others, similarly subpoenaed by the grand jury, face

similar sentences. In all, 17 have been picked up, and U. S. Attorney James M. Carter says he is looking for many more.

The Los Angeles phase of the government's attack on civil rights began six months ago, with the serving of subpoenas on ten persons between 6 and 7 a.m. on Oct. 25.

At 10 a.m. the same morning the grand jury asked them a number of questions, including the following:

"Do you know the names of the officers of the Communist Party here?"

"Do you know the table of organization of the Communist Party here?"

"Do you know Ned Sparks?"

"Do you know Vincent Russo?"

All witnesses refused to answer on the basis that their testimony might be self-incriminating. A few hours later they were brought before Judge Hall, their attorneys' pleas for time to prepare their defense were denied, and the witnesses were instructed to return to the grand jury and answer all questions.

They returned to the grand jury, again refused to answer on

constitutional grounds, and were brought back to the court with the report that they refused to obey its instructions.

Judge Hall found the ten guilty of civil contempt of court and ordered them to jail until they would answer the questions. He denied all requests for bail.

SPANISH INQUISITION

Nine days later Judge William Denman, presiding judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, granted bail pending appeal to the circuit court. In doing so he aptly referred to the grand jury's method of getting action as "comparable to the methods used in the Spain of Inquisition days."

Subsequently, however, by a 3 to 3 vote, the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Judge Hall — and Spanish Inquisition methods.

Since then, from time to time, seven more persons have been picked up, making a total of 17. Three have not yet appeared before the grand jury.

Another hearing before the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco is scheduled for April 8.