

MAY DAY AND THE FIGHT FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK

By Ruth Johnson - See Page 3 -

THE MILITANT

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The Spirit of May Day



Union Chiefs Shadow-Box With T-H, Unemployment

SKOGLUND FACES RENEWED THREAT OF DEPORTATION

An examiner of the Federal Department of Immigration last week over-ruled the application of Karl Skoglund's attorney to set aside the deportation order that has been pending against the Minneapolis labor leader since 1941.

This latest decision in the case of Skoglund, former president of famed Minneapolis Drivers Local 544, is being appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals, final administrative authority of the Department of Immigration.

Skoglund, who is now in his sixties, has been a resident of the United States for 38 years. He came here from Sweden in 1911. He has been active in the socialist and labor movements since he first came to the U. S. In 1923, he was chairman of the Burlington, Great Western and North Western during the railway shopmen's strike.



KARL SKOGLUND

2,018 Votes Cast for Filomena Goelman Oakland Candidate

OAKLAND, April 20 - Filomena Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Councilman-at-large, received 2,018 votes in yesterday's municipal primary election.

This was the SWP's first election campaign in Oakland and the vote, representing more than three per cent of the total, is regarded as a good beginning in local electoral activity.

Fail to Mobilize Membership For United Action Campaign

By Art Preis

"It's Time to Slug Back!" is the headline over a big special-feature editorial in the April issue of the United Automobile Worker, national paper of the CIO auto workers union.

But the kind of "slugging" proposed to halt the "all-out campaign" of the reactionary forces in America looks more like a slap on the wrist. The editorial winds up by telling the workers only to "make known to their senators and congressmen their support of the Fair Deal program and their determination to use their votes" in the next election.

This is typical of the kind of vague, ineffectual and fumbling program the top labor leaders are now advocating in the face of such immediate threats as defeat of the Taft-Hartley repeal bill, growing unemployment and the obvious retreat of the Trumanite Democrats in Congress on all their pledged "Fair Deal" reforms.

Ever since the Senate buried the civil rights promises of both major parties under the filibuster and disemboweled the promised "strengthened" rent control bill, the top union leaders, CIO and AFL, have been urging their members to flood their congressmen and senators with letters and telegrams. This may have helped to defray the Postal Department's deficit and to boost

Western Union's profits, but it hasn't made a dent on Congress. Two weeks ago a check of Congress revealed that a majority in both houses are against Taft-Hartley Act repeal, the key election promise of Truman and the Democratic Party.

This bestirred the CIO leaders to the point where they adopted a "grand Easter strategy." If they couldn't move Congress collectively in Washington with their tidal wave of paper and ink, they'd work on the legislators individually back in their home towns over the Easter recess. CIO President Philip Murray even sent a letter to 300 CIO local leaders to try to get meetings with the various congressmen and senators and let them know labor is "dissatisfied" with the record of Congress since it convened in January.

So here and there little committees of local unionists paid Easter calls on sometimes polite but little impressed congressmen. Because the only thing that ever moves these political agents of Big Business and the vested interests is an overwhelming show of mass labor strength. Had thousands of workers in every community been mobilized as a "committee of the whole" to greet the home-coming legislators, there might have been a different result.

Virtually the entire emphasis of the labor leaders is on the Taft-Hartley issue. They are not only making little visible headway on this question, but are almost completely neglecting the other major issues, such as the growing menace of unemployment and part-time employment.

On this latter vital issue, the CIO offers its local bodies only platonic advice to initiate "Community Service Committees" to help their members file for unemployment compensation or relief. No basic attack on unemployment has been launched. The program of the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay, adopted a decade ago by the CIO and AFL, is still gathering dust. Meanwhile, surveys in New York, Connecticut and other industrial states show unemployment rising at the fastest rate in 11 years.

It is time for labor to slug back! That means more than confetti showers of letters and an occasional polite little delegation. The labor movement must unite in mass action, spearheaded by the mobilization in Washington, D. C., of a giant United Congress of Labor. The "all-out campaign" of reaction can be halted in its tracks only by an all-out fighting counter-offensive of labor.

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May Day Manifesto Of Socialist Workers Party

Capitalism's deadly triple-threat — war, dictatorship and unemployment — hangs over the American workers on this May Day.

Four years after a war for the "four freedoms," American imperialism's drive for world domination has placed the American people, together with all mankind, under a pall of fear — fear of the atomic bomb, fear of brutal regimentation, fear of insecurity and hunger.

The rulers of America talk of "peace," but they plan war. They howl about the "aggressions" of the Kremlin, while they plant their air and naval bases on every continent. Their United Nations serves merely as a screen for secret diplomacy, international intrigue and maneuvers, feverish war preparations. Behind this facade stands the reality of the North Atlantic Pact, the greatest military alliance in history.

And now the workers directly face the specter that has haunted them since the end of the war — unemployment. Five million are already out of work, while another 11 to 12 million are reduced to part-time employment of one to four days a week. While the monopoly corporations report record profits, labor's living standards have been drastically slashed. The classic contradiction of capitalist production for private profit is asserting itself once more — millions of tons of goods are piling up while the mass of people are too impoverished to buy.

War, dictatorship and depression — the unholy trinity of capitalism — today confront American labor with its greatest challenge. The mighty American working-class, mobilized in unions 16-million strong, holds in its hands the hope of peace, democracy and plenty for America and the world. But, as yet, the American workers have not taken up the challenge.

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War Drive Speeded Up

The first weeks of this pact have seen a tremendous speed-up of the war drive. Truman publicly hurls the threat of the atomic bomb. The Wall Street-Brass Hat clique speaks openly of a "preventive" war against the Soviet Union. Congress moves to gouge from the American people even more billions for the military machine than Truman himself has demanded in his biggest peace-time military budget. Truman calls for extra billions to rearm Washington's pact partners, while the latter clamor for speedy increase of American troops in Europe and prompt down-payments on promised arms.

And the war industries monopolists — the Merchants of Death — rub their hands in anticipation of more armaments profits and prepare for M-Day — Mobilization Day — when the brass hats and gold braid will stalk into the factories, mines, power stations, railroad terminals, etc., and clamp an iron military rule on the workers.

Democratic Rights Under Assault

The drive toward military dictatorship and total war has already torn great gaps in the barrier of civil liberties erected to protect democratic rights.

Starting with Truman's "loyalty" purge of federal workers and blacklist of "subversive" organizations, a witch-hunt has been unleashed on the land. Federal and state legislatures are churning out gag-laws to victimize and silence anyone who dares to speak for peace and an end to the war plotting. Professors and teachers are being hounded from the educational institutions. Journalists are being fired. Liberal-minded religious leaders and pacifist religious groups like the Jehovah's Witnesses are being persecuted. Civil rights for the Negro people are buried in the grave of a Senate filibuster. Leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) Party are being framed up in a thought-control trial under the Smith "Gag" Law — first used to imprison 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyists, during the last war.

Specter of Unemployment

The American labor movement is assailed by reaction from without and within. The infamous Taft-Hartley Act remains on the books. Strikebreaking has once more become standard practice, as employer, and police — and even a Catholic Cardinal — brazenly flout picket lines and herd scabs. In Cleveland a labor-hating judge has slapped \$2,060,000 bail on 12 CIO pickets for "contempt" of his anti-strike injunction.

The top union bureaucrats are engaged in their own witch-hunt, inserting new gag-laws in union constitutions, expelling rank-and-file militants, encouraging the penetration of sinister ultra-reactionary elements like the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. They are transmitting into the unions the atmosphere and methods of the police-state that the capitalist politicians and militarists are trying to impose on the population as a whole.

Novack Describes Progress In Rallying Kutcher Defense

By Larissa Reed

"What attitude toward civil rights did you find in the cities you visited?" I asked George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, who recently concluded a speaking tour on behalf of the legless veteran.

"I have traveled the country many times on various cases," he remarked, "but never before have I observed such keen interest in problems connected with democratic rights. This trip coincided with the Senate filibuster. The blocking of civil rights legislation in Washington provided the main topic of conversation wherever I went.

"At the same time, furious fights were in progress around FEPC measures pending in both the Pennsylvania and Ohio State legislatures. I believe civil rights is the Number One political issue in the minds of thinking Americans today."

How much interest had he found in the Kutcher case in particular?

"The case of the legless veteran has not received much publicity in the daily press, outside of a few large cities," Novack replied. "A real or alleged spy story will be featured material for weeks, while news such as this abominable persecution is played down or suppressed.

"However, most people and organizations who follow important events in the civil liberties field are familiar with this case. And, thanks to the efforts of our local committees, more and more people are getting to know the facts."

The committee launched in Akron during Novack's stay there typifies the kind of organization the Kutcher committee is aiming to build, he said.

"The initiating members comprise a representative cross section of progressive opinion in this center of the rubber industry, leading Protestant clergymen. Among them are the president of the Akron CIO Council, two

ARRESTED IN 1941

During the midst of this struggle for union democracy, Skoglund was arrested and held in jail for 30 days on a bond of \$5,000. This was part of the general persecution of the leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party which culminated in the indictment, trial and imprisonment of 18 SWP and Local 544-CIO leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Skoglund was one of the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis Labor Trial and served a 16-month sentence in the Federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn.

As a result of his prosecution and imprisonment, the deportation proceedings were held in abeyance, but Skoglund was kept under bond all the time. Now the immigration authorities are proceeding actively against him on the grounds that he had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which Attorney General Clark has put on his political blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations.

The attempt to deport Karl Skoglund, who has lived the greater part of his life in this country, is a clear-cut case of victimization and reprisal for his political views and his loyal and militant service to the cause of labor.

His friends have announced their intention of raising a fund for his legal defense in the federal courts in the event the immigration appeals board, which is expected to rule in a short time, hands down an adverse decision.

Novell worked in 1937-38 for

POLICE-SPY ATMOSPHERE PERVADES TRIAL OF CP

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, April 19 - William O. Novell's unsavory biography is in some respects a symbol of corrupt Stalinism and government's brutal methods in the legal lynching of scientific socialism here on Foley Square.

A 44-year-old Negro born in Georgia, Novell migrated to Detroit in 1922 where he went to work for Henry Ford. He joined the Communist Party in 1929, was soon assigned to direct Negro work in Detroit and later spent a year at the Lenin Institute in Moscow. He claimed he was taught that "Marxism means the government must be overthrown by violence."

Novell said he disagreed with the CP's 1930 decision to advocate creation of a Negro state in the South. When he refused to "correct his error," he was denounced for "factionalism and disruption" and finally quit the CP in 1936.

The Stalinist lawyers tried to make him admit he had "confessed" to the charges of "factionalism and disruption." They contended he was expelled in 1936.

Novell worked in 1937-38 for

Homer Martin, then president of the UAW, and went back to Ford in 1939 where he remained until driven off the job by UAW Local 600 in 1944. He denied that he flunked during the 1941 Ford strike but admitted that he later asked the company for protection because some of the workers were "trying to drop things" on him.

He spoke at public meetings with the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith during 1940-41 and did work on Smith's files for which Smith paid him.

Novell testified before the Dies Committee in 1939 and has more recently testified against Gerhart Eisler and a number of Stalinists up for deportation. Shortly after he was lined up as a witness in the present trial he was given a clerical job with the Department of Justice without a civil service examination.

The Stalinists claim that Novell was a Ford spy when he first

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The Outrage in Cleveland--A Grim Warning

By Bert Cochran

The strike at the Fawcick-Airflex Company in Cleveland, reported in last week's Militant, was a small affair involving only 125 workers. But it was like a magnesium flash, which for an instant illumined the whole scene with a blinding glare and pitilessly exposed the present gangrenous condition of the labor unions. How have the mighty fallen! How has the once-proud CIO, whose very name was magic, become the habitat of red-baiters and conscienceless careerists!

The strike was called March 7 by the Stalinist leadership of the CIO United Electrical Union because the company withdrew recognition on the pretense that the union officers had not signed

the Taft-Hartley affidavits. The company had no trouble in getting a complaint judge to issue an injunction limiting the union to seven pickets. So far everything is running according to schedule.

Then the AFL auto union steps in like a skulking traitor and petitions for an election under the Taft-Hartley slave law. In this instance, the wheels of justice grind without any delay. An election is held pronto and the AFL loses, with the majority of the workers voting "No Union" on the advice of their leaders. But the AFL, which is spending bushels of money to teach the benighted workers of Europe and Asia the beauties of "free unionism," has not yet finished. They now start running carloads of scabs through the seven-man

picket line. Surely here is an inspiring demonstration of the superiorities of free American unionism to Stalinist totalitarianism.

The Stalinist leaders thereupon mobilize a mass picket line and blockade the gates. The Fawcick workers battle like Trojans to maintain the union of their own choosing. There are a number of clashes with the police and special deputies. Then 12 of the strike leaders are hauled into court and the judge proceeds to throw the book at them. Judge Connel delivered himself of the following judicial pronouncements: "There will be no more picketing. There will be a journal entry that there will be no more, generalizations, or speakers, or equipment of any kind. The phoney strike will be declared judicially

at an end." To make sure that there would be "no more generalizations," the judge meted out jail sentences totalling 440 days for the 12 strike leaders and held them for \$2,060,000 bail.

The next day, when it was pointed out to him that declaring a strike "judicially at an end" was kind of raw, maybe even illegal, the judge blandly ordered the journal entry not to include this statement, "because I do not consider that there is a strike out there, and therefore cannot order an end to it."

When the Court of Appeals fixed lower bail for the 12 strike leaders, Judge Connel ordered that Sheriff to continue keeping them in jail, and they were finally released only by direct order of the Court of Appeals when the higher court overruled the judge.

Of course, cops and judges breaking strikes and jailing union men and women are nothing new in this land of the free and home of the brave. But honest democrats and lovers of freedom, not to talk of labor leaders, are supposed to get indignant at such travesties of justice. They are supposed to battle the minions and timeservers of Big Business, and not aid and abet them in their nefarious suppressions, aren't they? The AFL officials have again made clear that when they were dubbed "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," this was not an epithet, but literal truth. Like Judas, they have since received, in payment for their treachery, the traditional 30 pieces of silver. The company recognized AFL strike

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Labor Union Trends

The Outrage In Cleveland

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breakers — pardon, Auto Workers Local 987 — as the bargaining agent for the plant workers. And what was the CIO doing while all this backstabbing and union-busting was afoot and while the cause of honest unionism was being dealt blow upon blow? Did the Cleveland CIO officials come to the rescue of their sister CIO local? Not quite. Like Pontius Pilate, the CIO "labor statesmen" decided to wash their hands of the whole business. They sat back, unshaken and unmoved, while a CIO local was being cut to ribbons, as if it didn't concern them, or the workers, whose interests, presumably, they represent. Finally, on April 13 — OVER ONE MONTH AFTER THE STRIKE WAS IN PROGRESS — when they could no longer remain silent, the CIO central labor body adopted a resolution. And what a resolution! In times to come, it will be reprinted in the labor text-books as a horrible example of how low the labor movement sank in the late 1940's under the leadership of the Murray-Reuther-ACTU bureaucracy.

The resolution — let us give credit where credit is due — does come out with the four-square declaration that the "Fawick workers were clearly within their rights in wanting to choose their own bargaining agent without management interference." That's telling them. But don't get the notion from this that you can just do anything. The resolution makes clear that the CIO statesmen have "duties as loyal citizens of this American democracy" and therefore they cannot help but make clear that "those persons who committed the violence had no right to take the law into their own hands and must suffer the consequences." As for the UE leaders, "it was their duty to show respect for the court by obeying its orders, and not taking the position that two wrongs make a right."

Our stern task-masters don't let off the strikebreaking judge scot-free, either. Another resolution, in straight-from-the-shoulder fashion, condemns Judge Connell's "inexpert handling of the Fawick strike."

That's making the punishment fit the crime.

And that about sums up their

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labors in connection with the strike.

You can read reams of pages about Reuther's global plans, or Murray's industry-management councils, or Catholic trade union morality, and all this will not tell you one-tenth as much of the real character and aims of this bureaucracy as its conduct in the Fawick strike. The Bible says: "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Their alliance with the capitalist government is obviously more important to them than their duties to the CIO rank and file. Their prosecution of the State Department's "cold war" inside the unions is a greater objective than elementary solidarity in a strike.

THE STALINIST RECORD

Of course, the Stalinist UE leaders are no unskillful militants undauntedly battling the forces of evil. For ten years, they ran the Cleveland Union Council like a "little Kremlin" and taught the present CIO leaders all the scabby tricks and class collaboration villainies that these gentlemen are now employing. It is only too true that the Stalinists helped nurture the "cobras' nest" which is now strangling them.

Even in their present turn of pseudo-militancy, they run true to form and played the cheapest kind of factional politics at the expense of the best interests of the Fawick strikers. In all the weeks of AFL strikebreaking, while the newspapers were shrieking for the strikers' blood, the Stalinist leaders didn't once call on the Cleveland CIO to come to their defense. The April 17 Sunday Worker carries a statement against the Atlantic Pact signed by sixteen midwest AFL and CIO officials. Ten of these are from Cleveland. Yet not one of these ten spoke a mumbling word on behalf of the Fawick strikers while they were battling with their backs to the wall. That is why the CIO tin horn leaders could get away with their scandalous conduct.

But all this Stalinist villainy — past and present — does not mitigate the infamy of the Murray-Reuther-ACTU crew, who are now in the saddle. As the CIO resolution pontificated, "two wrongs don't make a right."

Yes, you Murray bureaucrats are now in the saddle. You are riding mighty high these days. But, remember, you have attained your exalted positions not because of your own genius, but because fifteen million men and women have lifted you up on their backs and shoulders and made you what you are. And there is a galling dissatisfaction building up in these ranks. And if you do not mend your ways, the time is not so far off when these masses, who have raised you so high, will in their anger, hurl you off their backs, and trample upon you, because you have usurped their rights and have betrayed their trust.

STOOL-PIGEON ATMOSPHERE AT TRIAL OF CP

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joined the CP, but it isn't necessarily so. He may be just another of the many once-sincere persons who became corrupted by Stalinism.

Whichever the case may be, Nowell's presence on the witness stand is a mark of the stoolpigeon mentality which pervades this thought-control prosecution.

While the police spy Herbert A. Philbrick was testifying, the prosecutor read to the jury the last five paragraphs of the Communist Manifesto. The prosecutor next read excerpts from Stalin's false explanation of Marxism. Then Philbrick explained what Stalin meant.

This FBI stoolpigeon's interpretation of the traitor Stalin's interpretation of the ideas set forth in the Communist Manifesto was palmed off on the jury as — "Marxism."

Two more experts called to testify on Marxism-Leninism as a philosophy of "force and violence" were FBI agents Eugene H. Stewart and Fred G. Cook. They claimed to have heard the defendant Carl Winter say at a Detroit meeting in 1946 that "the time is coming when Lenin's teachings will be put into action."

The Stalinists didn't cross-examine Stewart, but they made Cook admit he has never read a word of Lenin's writings. Cook is no doubt equally ignorant of the fact that Winter, who only pretends to be a Leninist, is nothing but a cynical Stalinist hack who has betrayed Lenin's program time and again.

Frank S. Meyer, a 40-year-old perennial student, was teaching at the St. Paul School when the Duclos affair arrived in 1945. He said several members of the faculty lined up in support of Earl Browder until Jack Stachel came over to "straighten them out."

Meyer submitted a pro-Browder discussion article to the Daily Worker but it wasn't printed. He protested to Eugene Dennis and was told that "Browder can speak for himself."

Meyer quit the CP in December 1945, after 11 years in the party, because he was against the so-called "return to Marxism-Leninism."

The testimony of every witness and every speech by the prosecutor in this trial is aimed straight at the theory of scientific socialism, just as the prosecution in 1925 of John Thomas Scopes in a Tennessee court was aimed at the theory of evolution. But there the similarity ends.

Darwin had on his side the honest disciple Scopes and the sincere defenders of freedom of thought, Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays. Marx has no one to address the jury but a gang of treacherous Stalinists who pretend to represent scientific socialism only to betray it at every turn.

The Scopes trial sought to obscure man's knowledge of the true facts of life. The present trial of the Stalinists threatens the very preservation of life itself, because its aim is to outlaw scientific socialism, the only road to peace, and to set a precedent for the gagging of all who are opposed to the atomic war of conquest now in preparation.

Witch-Hunt Bill Signed



Despite protests from several labor and teacher organizations, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey signs the Feinberg bill, which gives the New York Board of Regents power to draw up its own "disloyalty" list and to bar alleged "subversives" from teaching.

NOVACK MAKES REPORT ON KUTCHER DEFENSE

(Continued from page 1)

for an hour and a half. Ex-GI's I met on the campus were angry about Kutcher's mistreatment at the hands of the VA.

He had addressed university audiences in almost every city on the tour. "There is considerable alarm in the universities about the effects of the witch-hunt on academic freedom. This deep concern doesn't always find public expression but it simmers below the surface. Several professors I spoke with hesitated to join our committee, but assured me that they admired the forthright stand we were taking and hoped we would win our fight. The initiative taken by Professor Urey and his colleagues at the University of Chicago has been a source of considerable encouragement for others to come out in Kutcher's defense."

There was only one place where he ran into open opposition. "That was at Wayne University in Detroit, where a faculty committee tried to prevent the Student League for Industrial Democracy from holding an open meeting there on the Kutcher case. The pretext was that our Committee was 'promoting a special interest.' However, I did speak, although the meeting had to be confined to SLID members only. The Detroit Collegian the following day published a statement by me, pointing out how odd it was that a national non-partisan committee composed of many distinguished figures in the educational world should find its freedom of expression restricted in a city-supported college. I admitted that our committee had a special interest, in James Kutcher, but that the underlying issues in his victimization were of general concern to everyone concerned with freedom of opinion."

But he got a much friendlier reception from the labor movement in Detroit. "Our Detroit Committee held a fine meeting at UAW-CIO Local 174 hall, where prominent spokesmen for Detroit labor shared the platform with me. I also presented the case over the UAW radio station."

He had made other radio talks on the case. "In Pittsburgh I

participated in a radio interview with an official of UE-CIO Local 610, which has endorsed our work. In Cleveland I was the guest of A. I. Davey, vice president of the Cleveland AFL and editor of the Cleveland Citizen, on his regular Sunday radio labor program."

Summing up on the results of his trip, he said:

"Unfortunately illness forced me to cut the tour short in Chicago, but I believe we have made an excellent beginning in securing support in many cities. It requires considerable time and sustained effort to organize an effective defense campaign even around a case so dramatic and decisive as this. I have heard complaints about the indifference of the average person toward the threats to civil liberties. In my opinion most people are simply uninformed. They cannot learn through ordinary channels either about the facts in this case or the importance of the issues at stake. That is why the activity of our committees is so indispensable."

"I can best illustrate this by the following incident. A student editor of the university paper in Akron turned down a request for publicity and support. This young ex-GI told our committee representative that Kutcher got a raw deal but he personally could not see how the inclusion of the Socialist Workers Party on the 'subversive' list concerned him, since he believed in World Federalism and opposed socialist ideas."

"That same week, ironically enough, the Akron papers reported a resolution passed by a Veteran of Foreign Wars convention, demanding that World Federalism be outlawed as subversive! The next issue of the university paper published an editorial denouncing this extension of the witch-hunt to the World Federalist movement, as well as an article captioned: 'Men of Principle Take Up Cry for James Kutcher.'"

After chucking over this story, Novack concluded: "Seriously speaking, I think that caption is a good slogan for everyone of principle to adopt."

Fund Lags 11% as Drive Goes into Second Half

By Reba Aubrey

Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party sent in \$1,023 on their \$7,500 Militant Fund quotas during the week, but the national campaign is still lagging behind schedule by 11%. Those branches that have not fulfilled at least 50% of their quotas are not keeping pace with the campaign, which accounts for the 11% lag. Toledo leaped from the zero column to third place in this week's "Scoreboard" with 80%. Another leap and Toledo will finish before the May 15 deadline.

Youngstown moved into fourth place with a \$100 payment, boosting it to 80%. Newark makes sure it stays high on the "Scoreboard", by sending in regular weekly payments on its pledge.

Boston Branch jumped from the zero column to sixth place with 61%.

Dottie B. of New Britain while on a visit to New York turned in \$25 — 50% of that branch's quota — "because it looks bad to be in the zero column."

New York Local is keeping pace with the campaign, which is no small achievement considering its \$2,000 quota. "We can proudly say that the comrades of the New York Local are not only keeping the Militant Fund money rolling in," Janice M. says, "but at the same time they are keeping up their regular contributions to the local organization."

Grace Carlson, organizer of the Minneapolis Branch sent this week with a \$138 payment on its quota: "We have had a very gratifying response to The Militant appeal, which we regard as a tribute to the fact that our people know that The Militant is their best weapon in the fight against the red-baiters. Ten dollars of this amount was contributed by Martin Soderberg — our much-revered, 82-year old member. Out of his small old age pension, he made this contribution to The Militant because he was very troubled by the news of the fire in the office and all of the other growing expenses that our paper has had. He reads The Militant through each week — line by line — and appreciates it very much."

Genora Dollinger of Flint writes: "If all branches are as determined to make their quotas as the Flint branch is to fulfill its pledge, we'll put this fund drive over the top on the scheduled date. There is no finer or better paper for the workers than The Militant, and it deserves our best efforts of support."

Akron, Allentown, Los Angeles, Rochester — let's get out of the zero column before next week's "Scoreboard." Every single branch and local should specifically aim to come under the wire with 100% of its quota on or before the deadline of May 15.

Woolen Textiles Skid

More than half of the workers are now jobless in Lawrence, Mass., one of the biggest wool centers. Local authorities are pleading for federal work-relief projects in the city. The CIO Textile Workers Union has inaugurated a "share-the-work plan."

SCOREBOARD FOR MILITANT FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Morgantown	\$ 25	\$ 30	120
Seattle	50	50	100
Toledo	50	40	80
Youngstown	300	240	80
Newark	250	190	76
Boston	150	91	61
Flint	200	106	53
Philadelphia	400	211	53
New Britain	50	25	50
New York	2,000	952	48
Minneapolis	400	178	45
Pittsburgh	100	45	45
New Haven	35	15	43
Baltimore	100	40	40
San Francisco-Oakland	500	194	39
Buffalo	500	175	35
Reading	50	17	34
Lynn	50	14	28
St. Paul	200	55	28
Chicago	250	68	27
Cleveland	150	38	25
Detroit	500	112	22
Worcester	25	6	20
St. Louis	50	6	12
Milwaukee	150	2	1
Akron	200	0	0
Allentown	25	0	0
Los Angeles	600	0	0
Rochester	25	0	0
General	115	18	16
Total through April 19			39
			\$7,500
			\$2,917

THE MILITANT ARMY

Election Campaign Helps Los Angeles Increase Circulation

"I have a lot of good news to report," writes Al Lynn, Literature Agent for Los Angeles.

"One very happy carry-over from our election campaign has been sales of Militants to union meetings. In the past week or so, we sold 5 copies to a Carpenters Union meeting (three of them at a dime each), 4 copies to the UAW Council meeting, 9 copies to a Workers Party meeting, 5 copies plus a copy of the pamphlet, Socialism on Trial, to a meeting of the Socialist Civil Rights Congress — until they called the cops — and 9 copies to an Amalgamated Clothing Workers local. We have also placed 10 copies of Socialism on Trial on one of the major newsstands and hope to push it on stands and in stores."

Comrade Lynn says that Los Angeles plans to devote more attention to increasing circulation of The Militant and Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. "I can report that both publications are resulting in many complimentary remarks from the comrades, and the strengthening of the editorial staffs, etc., is really paying off."

The Minneapolis comrades are likewise "very appreciative of the strengthening of The Militant staff and the improved coverage of the news of national and international working class activities which has resulted," according to Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1948 elections. "This has already been reflected in the sales of The Militant and, we think, will soon be reflected in increased Militant subs."

Literature Agent C. E. S. of Minneapolis adds that "Previewing The Militant is an innovation very useful to Militant agents. The Minneapolis branch ordered extra copies of the paper carrying the articles on the United Electrical Workers Union. These were mailed out to prospectively

interested people and now we learn, second-hand, that a local leader of the CIO has commented very favorably on the UE report by Bert Cochran. One article such as this can interest a reader in the entire contents of The Militant and in our presentation of all the news. In such a way we build our subscription list and adherents to our program."

Literature Agent Winifred N. writes us that the St. Paul comrades thought the April 4 issue "a splendid paper — James P. Cannon's statement on the united front for civil rights, Farrell Dobbs' articles on the conscientious objectors and the thought-control trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders and the interview with the nearly-deposed 70-year-old minister — all were excellent examples of the fact that we don't fight for civil rights only for ourselves. . . . We really believe in civil rights for all!"

The St. Paul comrades likewise thought the April 11 issue was "excellent" especially the emphasis on the working class defense of civil liberties and "Albert Parker's good analysis of the trend of things in the USA. These are just exactly the kind of things we should be saying in this period. I liked the story on Spellman — particularly your taking note of the fact that there is a more liberal grouping (Catholic Worker) within the Catholic Church which objects to the ACTU's role in breaking the cemetery workers' strike. One of our members has contact with a number of Catholic workers in his shop and a recognition of the fact that not all Catholics are behind Spellman and the ACTU makes a much better point-driven-home than an all-out hammering away at the Catholic Church."

Literature Agent J. C. of Flint sent in some subs. "Our campaign for renewals is getting under way. The new price and lay-offs are responsible for the slow start. We hope however to keep going at a steady pace. Here are the first batch."

R. G. of British Columbia, Canada, renewed his subscription and enclosed a \$5 bill: "Please put the balance into the fund to pay for the repairs to your office made necessary by fire damage." Thanks, R. G.

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 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.



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Meetings to Celebrate May Day

<p>NEW YORK</p> <p>Movie: "ROAD TO LIFE" Exciting Soviet film of 1926 at 2 P. M. sharp</p> <p>Speakers: BERT COCHRAN Chn., SWP Trade Union Dept. JAMES KUTCHER Civil Liberties fighter NEWTOL PRESS Youth Representative</p> <p>Sunday, May 1 doors open 1:30 P. M. Caravan Hall 110 East 59th Street</p>	<p>SAN FRANCISCO</p> <p>Banquet Speaker: MURRY WEISS "The SWP—Continuator of Working Class Tradition" ROAST BEEF DINNER at 6 P. M. sharp Sunday, May 1 1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor — \$1.25 per plate —</p>	<p>ST. LOUIS</p> <p>Speaker: LEERYAN "The Significance Of May Day" Thur., April 28 8 P. M. at United Halls, Hall No. 3 Jefferson & Lafayette Avenue</p>	<p>CHICAGO</p> <p>Speaker: ARNE SWABECK Dancing Entertainment Sat., April 30 9 P. M. 777 West Adams Street Donation \$1.00</p>
<p>LOS ANGELES</p> <p>MAY DAY BANQUET Speakers: MYRA TANNER WEISS Mayorality Candidate in Los Angeles FILOMENA GOELMAN Council Candidate in Oakland Sun., May 1 6:30 P. M. 126 No. St. Louis Reservations at 124 W. 6th St.</p>	<p>SEATTLE</p> <p>Speakers: JOHN BLACK FRANK POWERS Chairman: LOUISE CAMERON Sun., May 1 3 P. M. Maynard Bldg., Room 201 1st Ave., South & Washington</p>	<p>TWIN CITIES</p> <p>Speaker: GRACE CARLSON "Workers Rights In Danger" Followed by Supper and Social Hour Sun., May 1 3:30 P. M. 10 So. 4th St., Minneapolis</p>	<p>CLEVELAND</p> <p>Speaker: ART PREIS Labor Editor, The Militant Fri., April 29 8 P. M. Parlor H, Hollenden Hotel</p>
	<p>NEWARK</p> <p>Speakers: C. THOMAS JAMES KUTCHER Buffet Supper Dancing Sat., April 30 9 P. M. 423 Springfield Avenue Subscription 85c</p>	<p>YOUNGSTOWN</p> <p>Speaker: ART PREIS Labor Editor, The Militant Refreshments Dancing Entertainment Sat., April 30 8 P. M. 234 East Federal Street</p>	<p>AKRON</p> <p>May Day Banquet BAKED HAM DINNER Speaker: ART PREIS Labor Editor, The Militant Sunday, May 1 5 P. M. 4 So. Howard Street Donation \$1</p>
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Monday, April 25, 1949



TROTSKY

... the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral...



LENIN

The Truth Comes Out

With the signing of the Atlantic Treaty we have the bases, and all we need now are the planes to deliver the bombs...

of the North Atlantic Pact. It is a pact to secure foreign bases as close as possible to the Soviet Union from which to "pulverize" its cities.

The House was "startled" only because Rep. Cannon spilled the beans about the Atlantic Pact, which is being palmed off as a measure for "peace."

These are direct quotations from the April 13 speech by Rep. Clarence Cannon in the House of Representatives.

These words were so blunt and revealing that, said the Herald Tribune, they "startled the House."

Now frantic efforts are being made to cover up for this "blunder." The Congressional Record has been doctored.

But the cat was out of the bag. Rep. Cannon, chairman of the key House Appropriations Committee and on the inside of all the secret discussions by administration and military leaders, had revealed the real intent

The Paris "World Peace Congress"

The fraud of the Paris "World Peace Congress" found its most insidious expression in the keynote speeches at the opening session.

refutation of all such opinion; to declare that especially now, after the recent war [1914-1918], only the most hopelessly stupid-or confirmed hypocrites can believe that such an answer to the question of the struggle against war would have the slightest effect anywhere.

The capitalist press in this country pretends to be shocked by this bombast. But as a matter of fact the warmakers have nothing at all to fear from such empty "threats."

What Lenin meant was war is unavoidable so long as capitalism remains the dominant world system; that unless the masses have been mobilized for the struggle to establish socialism, talk of preventing war by "the revolt of the peoples" can only deflect these masses from a successful struggle against war.

The futility of such threats as a way of combatting the danger of war was clearly pointed out by Lenin back in 1922.

The Stalinists have done everything in their power to peddle the idea that it is possible to have peace under capitalism through a deal between the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and American imperialism.

"Our reply to war will be a strike or a revolution," say the reformist leaders when addressing the working class.

The very "Peace Congress" that utters empty threats of "revolt" remains deliberately silent about — socialism. That is why it is not and can never be an instrument for peace, but only a wretched masquerade which, like all its predecessors, provides so much grist to the war-mills.

Clericalism Versus Social Welfare

The Roman Catholic hierarchy has now joined with the American Medical Association, the medical monopoly, in bitter opposition to a government health insurance system.

vide for big donations of federal money to private insurance schemes and medical agencies — with Catholic sectarian institutions grabbing off a sizable share, naturally.

Against the "compulsory" health insurance plan of Truman — limited and inadequate as it is — the most powerful theological trust in America comes forward with a scheme, suspiciously similar to the AMA's, for extension of "voluntary" private insurance plans like the Blue Cross, Blue Shield, etc., that have proved more profitable to their sponsors than adequate to meet the medical needs of those with small incomes.

What particularly concerns the Catholic vested theological interests is a government "monopoly" that would interfere in any way with their own use of "charity" as a means of raising funds, winning converts and making the Catholic poor dependent for medical relief on the priest-caste.

The chief argument of the Catholic clerics is that a government system of health insurance "will necessarily involve a loss of freedom for voluntary health agencies and put an end to private initiative to the ultimate detriment of the nation," according to Bishop Karl J. Alter of Toledo.

Thus, the Catholic hierarchy once again stands in the forefront of opposition to progressive government measures for the benefit of the people. As it opposed the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution back in 1934, as it recently denounced proposed federal legislation for increased child welfare as a "dangerous step toward the 'slave state,'" so now this powerful agency of reaction would condemn millions of poor Catholic workers, along with the non-Catholic majority, to ill-health, neglect of needed medical care and the extortions of profit-seeking medical practitioners and institutions.

May Day and the Fight for 30-Hour Week

By Ruth Johnson

On the first May Day, 1886, a call for the 8-hour day was inscribed on banners of workers throughout the United States.

slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in States of the American Union.

But no great demonstrations are planned this year. No real struggles have yet been launched.

But resolutions alone are powerless to change conditions. For 20 years this resolution remained on the record books, and in the dreams of the toilers.

The 8-hour day had been set as an objective of the working class as early as August 16, 1866, when the General Congress of Labor met in Baltimore.

Their solidarity and militancy were so impressive that in many cities the employers yielded immediately, and the victorious workers returned to their job on May 2.

RESOLUTION INTO ACTION

"The first and great necessity of the present," this Congress declared, "to free the labor of this country from capitalist

Driven beyond endurance by these intolerable conditions, the workers took the road of struggle.

Vincent Dunne, Pioneer Trotskyist, Honored on His Sixtieth Birthday

MINNEAPOLIS, April 17 — Vincent R. Dunne, pioneer Trotskyist and former organizer of Truckdrivers Local 544, was honored at a social held here on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

Dozens of telegrams, letters and greeting cards sent to Comrade Dunne from Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country as well as from individual comrades and friends were read by Grace Carlson, who served as master of ceremonies.

saddle leather, tough, flexible and long-lasting," and that it had been purchased because "it fits the man."

Minnesota comrades presented him with a signed testimonial, "The Case of V. R. Dunne vs. The Capitalist System," which listed the achievements that made his name an outstanding one in the trade union movement of the Northwest.

These sentiments were heartily cheered by the comrades and friends who had gathered at the Minneapolis SWP headquarters to pay tribute to an outstanding revolutionary socialist leader.

May Day Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

It is not the power of the capitalists that has kept the American working class passive. The capitalist ruling class could not stand up very long against the massive weight of the American workers advancing in united battle formation.

Against the gigantic war budget devouring the substance of the people, fight for:

These leaders — the Murrays, Greens, Dubinskys, Reuthers, etc. are demonstrating their bankruptcy as never before. Their program for "peace" merely echoes the lies of the State Department, the militarists and Truman about the "peaceful" intents of ECA and the Atlantic Pact.

ALL WAR FUNDS FOR GOVERNMENT-BUILT LOW RENT HOUSING AND OTHER SOCIALLY BENEFICIAL PROJECTS!

They offer only for-the-record occasional verbal protests against the monstrous attacks on civil rights that are being perpetrated every day.

Against the imperialist military alliances to enslave the world, demand:

The very "Peace Congress" that utters empty threats of "revolt" remains deliberately silent about — socialism. That is why it is not and can never be an instrument for peace, but only a wretched masquerade which, like all its predecessors, provides so much grist to the war-mills.

WITHDRAWAL OF ALL TROOPS FROM FOREIGN SOIL! NOT ONE CENT, NOT ONE GUN FOR IMPERIALIST BUTCHERS AND COLONIAL DESPOTS LIKE BRITAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE AND BELGIUM AND DICTATORSHIPS LIKE GREECE AND PORTUGAL!

Failing Miserably

These top labor leaders are failing most miserably even in the elementary task of unionism — to defend the living standards and working conditions of the union members.

Against the tide of police-state measures and assaults on democratic rights, unite all sincere defenders of civil rights to fight for:

Above all, these union leaders are keeping labor bound to the capitalist political machines through their alliance with the Truman Democrats. Today they cover up for Democratic betrayals of election promises and offer only feeble protests against the butcher's job the Democratic Congress is doing on the pledged "Fair Deal" reforms.

FULL FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY! NO RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND PICKET! UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE TAIT-HARTLEY ACT, THE SMITH "GAG" ACT AND ALL OTHER LEGAL RESTRAINTS ON LABOR'S UNION AND POLITICAL RIGHTS! FOR FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS, WITH TEETH, GUARANTEEING FULL PROTECTION TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL OTHER OPPRESSED MINORITIES! FOR THE IMMEDIATE END OF ALL WITCH-HUNT COMMITTEES, "LOYALTY" PURGES AND D THOUGHT-CONTROL TRIALS.

The Stalinists, who yesterday worked hand-in-glove with the pro-imperialist union bureaucrats, today pose as a "progressive" opposition. But they continue, as in the past, to rule the unions still under their control with an iron hand, subordinate the interests of the workers to the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, play the game of capitalist politics through the Wallace party and uphold the United Nations, that cover for war preparations, as a vehicle for peace.

Against the threat of depression and unemployment, labor must unite for:

Time for Stock-Taking

This May Day should be the occasion for a thorough stock-taking by militant and class-conscious workers of the words and deeds of the union bureaucrats of all stripes.

THE 30-HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS IN ALL UNION CONTRACTS TO SPREAD AVAILABLE WORK AMONG ALL EMPLOYEES WITH NO REDUCTIONS IN WEEKLY PAY! UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION EQUAL TO TRADE-UNION WAGES FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT! GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATION AND OPERATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF ALL IDLE PRODUCTION FACILITIES! A FULL-SCALE PROGRAM OF SOCIALLY-USEFUL PUBLIC WORKS!

On this May Day let us advance the program that alone can pave the way for peace, plenty and security.

Against the war-makers and their drive to a new world war, assert the right of the people to decide the fateful question of war or peace.

Against the war-makers and their drive to a new world war, assert the right of the people to decide the fateful question of war or peace. TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWERS OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS! LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE!

Against the threat of depression and unemployment, labor must unite for: THE 30-HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS IN ALL UNION CONTRACTS TO SPREAD AVAILABLE WORK AMONG ALL EMPLOYEES WITH NO REDUCTIONS IN WEEKLY PAY! UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION EQUAL TO TRADE-UNION WAGES FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT! GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATION AND OPERATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF ALL IDLE PRODUCTION FACILITIES! A FULL-SCALE PROGRAM OF SOCIALLY-USEFUL PUBLIC WORKS!

This is a necessary and realistic program. It can be achieved — but not by reliance on capitalist politicians or letters to Congressmen. It is a program that will be realized only through nationwide militant labor struggle.

A UNITED CONGRESS OF LABOR, WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE RANK AND FILE FROM ALL UNIONS, TO CONVEY IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE.

This Congress of Labor not only would spearhead the offensive for labor's immediate demands, but could become the spring-board for a new forward leap toward:

AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, BASED ON THE UNIONS, OPPOSED TO ALL CAPITALIST PARTIES AND CANDIDATES!

A genuine class party of the toiling masses will provide a political instrument for the full emancipation of society from war, dictatorship and depression by fighting for:

A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY!

To all who want a country and a world without fear, poverty, exploitation and war, we appeal: JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY — THE ONLY PARTY ON THIS MAY DAY THAT HOLDS ALOFT THE TRUE BANNER OF SOCIALISM! JOIN TODAY!

tions. In the smoke and confusion they killed some of their fellow-officers as well.

CLASS JUSTICE VICTIMS

No one has ever proved conclusively who threw the bomb, but it is common belief that the culprit was a provocateur paid by the bosses. Certainly the retaliation had been planned before the explosion; Mass arrests were underway almost instantly, from lists conveniently arranged to include almost every labor leader in the city.

The chief victims had also been chosen beforehand; the eight anarchist leaders, Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, A. Fischer, Louis Lingg, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe. They were charged with "first degree murder" and convicted in a frame-up trial that ignored all proof of their innocence.

But the outrageous massacre in Haymarket Square and the judicial murder of working class leaders, could not kill the 8-hour day — or the labor movement. Instead, May Day became something more than the date of the 1886 general strike. It became also the international holiday of the working class, and the constant reminder of capitalist injustice.

RENEW MAY DAY SPIRIT!

The bosses were not allowed to forget the last words of August Spies, spoken as the hangman's noose tightened around his throat: "The time will come when our

silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches."

In spite of all terror and repression the labor movement, surged forward again and again. The 8-hour day was followed, in the formative years of the CIO, by the 40-hour week. Some unions went still further—the Oil Workers to a 36-hour week, the Mine Workers to a 35-hour week and the Akron Rubber Workers to a 6-hour day, before World War II, intervened and hours were lengthened.

Now, with the war days of full production over and unemployment striking millions from the payrolls, the American workers once more must fight for shorter hours.

The CIO Oil Workers Union Executive Board, citing the 36-hour week they had before the war, now urge "industry, labor, the President and Congress of the United States and other appropriate government agencies to take immediate steps as a matter of foresight to provide for a reduction of the weekly hours of work, whenever and wherever necessary, without loss of take-home pay, and to the extent necessary to keep America's working force employed."

CIO Shoe Workers in St. Louis have asked for the 30-hour week for workers at the Brown Shoe Company, but in this case the union has failed to mention take-home pay.

Both resolutions are important signs of an awakening. But if they remain on paper — like the 8-hour resolution of 1866 — they will mean little. If they are taken into action, in the spirit of May Day 1886, they can mean a giant step forward for the American working class.

MEETING IN PARIS CONDEMNS FRENCH WAR ON INDO-CHINA

PARIS, April 16 — A mass protest meeting against the French war on Indo-China was attended by some 3,000 people at the Mutualite here. The meeting was held under the auspices of the People's Congress Against

Imperialism, which was organized last summer by non-Stalinist controlled organizations of the colonial people, a number of sections of the Fourth International, the British Independent Labor Party, the French RDR, etc. Most of the audience were workers from various colonies under French rule.

of the Ceylon Trotskyists, received an especially warm reception when he pointed out how the imperialists of the world collaborate against colonial rebellions and emphasized the need for the colonial peoples to cooperate actively in the struggle against the imperialists and to forge a revolutionary alliance with the workers in the imperialist countries against their common enemy.

Speakers at the meeting were representatives of the Socialist Party of India, the Tunisian Neo Destour (nationalist party fighting for independence), the PPA (Algerian Liberation Party), the Moroccan Independence Party, the Viet-Namense Workers in France, the RDR, the Spanish POUm, the PCI (French Trotskyists), and the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party (Ceylon section of the Fourth International).

DE SILVA'S SPEECH

All speakers were unanimous in denouncing the crimes of the French imperialists. Mostapha of the PPA, who is the elected representative of Algeria to the Council of the French Union, received thunderous applause when he condemned the French government's use of Algerian troops against the Indo-Chinese.

The meeting was very enthusiastic and especially well-organized against attack by the de Gaulists, who have made it a practice to break up meetings protesting the war on Indo-China. The excellent organization of the guards discouraged the de Gaullists from any violent interference with the meeting.

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Atlantic Pact and the ADA

By John C. Wright

A significant section of the delegates to the recent convention of the Americans for Democratic Action unquestionably came to Chicago in order, they hoped, to organize a showdown struggle against the reactionary Democratic-Republican coalition which has dominated the 81st Congress.

This aim was expressed most clearly by various young trade unionists and representatives from university campuses. In this sense the ADA convention was both a reflection and continuation of the moods and desires expressed by the overwhelming majority of the people during the last presidential elections.

Instead of striking blows at reaction, those participants who actually came to Chicago for this purpose, found themselves stymied at every turn. Instead of effectively challenging the dominant bloc in Congress and its policies, the ADA convention proved a complete dud.

This outcome was predetermined by the very first action into which these delegates found themselves maneuvered. Their leaders asked and obtained approval for the Atlantic Pact and, in effect, for the administration's entire foreign policy.

There is a direct and intimate connection between foreign and domestic policy, and not at all an unbridgeable gulf between the two, as many ADA delegates have been mistakenly led to believe. Foreign policy can never serve as anything else than an extension of policies applied at home. If the one is reactionary, so must be the other. Nor is it possible to fight at home if you capitulate in advance to reactionary policy applied abroad.

The Truman administration's foreign policy has been the fountainhead of all the reactionary assaults we have witnessed in this country since the termination of the hostilities.

What has spurred the witch-hunt in the unions, in the schools, among the federal employees and

industry itself, if not the policy of the "cold war" and all its corresponding measures from the Marshall Plan to the Atlantic Pact? How is it possible to approve all-out support to such dictatorial regimes as in Greece, Turkey or Portugal without playing directly into the hands of the Taft-Hartleyites whose ultimate aim is to destroy organized labor at home?

It is a mockery to talk about fighting to preserve civil liberties while in the same breath approving huge arms expenditures which strengthen the role of the military, increase their specific weight in the government and in the country's social life.

Yet this was precisely the trap in which so many well-meaning and honest delegates found themselves caught at the ADA convention. It was this that tied their hands completely and thwarted their own aims and desires.

It may be said that the leaders acted only out of political innocence or ignorance. Perhaps some, but certainly not all of them. In any case, when one presumes to lead a political struggle, ignorance or naive borders closely upon a crime. It is a crime to play the game of reaction regardless of whether this is done deliberately or unwittingly. Most criminal of all is to persist in one's ignorance or mistakes after the experiences of life glaringly reveal the fatal consequences.

It is a fact that instead of launching a fight against reaction, the ADA convention ended only in feeding it fuel. This miserable fiasco resulted directly from the failure of many delegates to assimilate an elementary political lesson, namely, that the struggle against reaction is indivisible. It must be fought on both the home and foreign fronts, or it cannot be fought at all.

Those delegates and members of the ADA who are really serious and mean what they say should waste little time in reviewing their latest experience and drawing this basic lesson from it.

Aftermath of the Filibuster

By J. Meyer

The response of the Negro press to the civil rights fiasco marks a very high stage in the development of political consciousness among the Negroes, which is to say, a very important section of the American people. Many of the Negro writers refused to place the main blame upon the Southern senators. They turned their fire on the Truman administration for its patent hypocrisy and dishonesty in making no fight at all. But that was not all. From there many made the leap to condemnation of the whole American democratic system. They did this not merely in regard to Negro rights. They weighed the shameful behavior of Congress on this issue as a test of its capacity to serve the country in a period where so many vital problems are demanding solution. Finally they drew to the full the international implications.

The Amsterdam News columnist, Earl Brown, writes: "In the meantime, when the Senate voted to kill the civil rights bills last Friday it did more damage to democracy everywhere in the world than a thousand Communist spies could do in this country in a decade. By voting against civil rights the Senate let the world know again that America is no land of freedom and equality." True, Brown praises Truman but he condemns the system: "The Senate is making a mockery of democracy, human decency and our vaunted legislative system of government by proving that whenever it desires it will ignore, emasculate and prostitute the ideal of majority rule."

Brown takes up the problem in another article. The action of Congress, he says, encouraged Negroes to join with the Communists. The Senators not only knifed civil rights and the Negroes, but they hurt America, discredited the country as leader of the struggle against Communism.

Brown is obviously very much affected by the prevailing red-baiting. But he makes it clear that while he is anxious to keep Negroes clear of the Stalinist taint, he is ready to go to any lengths against this Congress. The Negro, he says, "must fight with both mental and physical courage." Physical courage! Very interesting. Against whom is this "physical courage" to be exercised? "Insofar as the United States Congress is concerned, (the Negro) must be willing to lay down his life for the right to enjoy freedom in his own country." This democrat is saying that in a war he will not be "a traitor" to his country, he is trying to say that he is no Stalinist. But against the reactionary Congress, Negroes must be ready to fight to the death, physical death. The confusion in Brown's thinking is only on the surface. He expresses clearly enough a current of profound revolutionary sentiment among Negroes, which the filibuster fiasco has done much to clarify.

A. N. Fields in the Chicago Defender takes a similar line, and links the struggle over Negro rights to the problem of "a perplexed and confused world (turning) from the horrors and tragedies of today to visualize some ray of light with the coming of the dawn of the future." This hope the Congress betrayal has cast into the mud.

The best piece of political writing on the filibuster fiasco comes from Lem Graves, the Washington correspondent of the Pittsburgh Courier. In a masterly article summing up the crisis, he shows that his attitude to the actual civil rights program is realistic to the last degree: Congress was never going to pass any legislation which would give the federal government the power to interfere with the states on Negro segregation. That, said Graves, is out, whatever the rules on filibuster may be. "The best that could come out of such legislation would be a general statement of Federal policy, which, incidentally, needs sorely to be made."

That is a very just appraisal of the whole civil rights program. For the Negroes and the labor movement it could never be much more than a basis for mass struggle. That, however, was very important. But Congress would not tolerate any such measure. Graves goes on to say that what was at stake was "fundamentally, the validity of the U. S. legislative system and the question of whether that system can, by retreat to the protective arms of an unyielding fascism, thwart a world-wide trend toward socialism or whether it can, by mature statesmanship, find the elusive middle ground which will preserve our liberties and yet accommodate our system to the needs of the present hour. I would say our Legislative flunked the test." He develops the theme fully: Is the system ready "to meet the challenge of socialism? . . . Can democracy survive the moral and intellectual inadequacies of its legislature?"

Graves is no revolutionary, but his paper in a four-column front-page editorial finally came to the conclusion that Negroes are orphans in the political storm and "neither the Democratic nor Republican party is a safe haven. . . . There is talk of Walter Reuther and other labor chiefs establishing a labor party which would eventually break up the Democratic solidarity of the South. Maybe, this will, in time, offer an alternative from the 'great dilemma' now facing the Negro people."

Once again it is made clear how deeply imbedded in the whole social and political life of the country as a whole is the question of Negro rights. Precisely because of this the Negro people, fighting for their democratic rights, are impelled to far-reaching conclusions on both a national and international scale.

Notes from the News

LOANED FOR THE CAMPAIGN — Senator Glen H. Taylor is going to run for re-nomination in the Idaho Democratic primary next year. "I never felt I left the Democratic Party," explained Henry Wallace's running mate in last year's election, "I was just like a player that M.G.M. loaned to another company." He said he saw no need to resign from the Progressive Party because he had never taken any formal action to join it. "I just ran, and now I'm back with the Democrats," who are not discriminating against him on committed posts.

LORA ALBRO — The Militant mourns the death of its friend, Lora Albro of Flint, after a serious operation. Sincere condolences to her daughters, Genora Dollinger and Bea Allen.

MORALITY OF CONFESSIONS — The U. S. Army used duress, false promises of immunity, mock trials and force and violence to obtain confessions from German soldiers charged with slaughtering American prisoners near Malmedy. Last week Secretary of the Army Royall told a congressional committee he did not think confessions should be "disregarded, merely because trickery or deception has been practiced in obtaining them. As perhaps every member of this committee knows, confessions are rarely obtained without some such tactics."

NOT MUCH HELP — Truman's economic advisers frankly admit they don't know what's coming next for the nation's economy. The best advice they can give him is to prepare for "any eventuality."

COURT SETBACK FOR MELISH — A New York Supreme Court judge has sustained the right of Episcopal Bishop James P. De Wolfe

to out Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish from the pulpit he has held for 45 years. Melish's "crime" is that his son and assistant rector is active in the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a group on Clark's "subversive" list. The decision may be appealed.

BANNER-BEARER OF CONFUSION — "I have been about the country and have found that there is a growing conviction that President Truman is a socialist, although he doesn't know it," says Norman Thomas who isn't a socialist either, although he doesn't know it.

ITALIAN COLONIES — The NAACP has expressed "unqualified opposition to the restoration of Italian administration in any form over the former Italian colonies." But instead of advocating immediate independence of these colonies, the NAACP leaders are asking the State Department and the UN for "collective trusteeship with a view to eventual independence."

UAW-FE FIGHT — After the UAW won an NLRB vote at two Allis-Chalmers plants in Springfield, Ill. (UAW — 1,974 votes, FE — 722), the Farm Equipment Workers won the election at the McCormick Works of International Harvester in Chicago (FE — 2,474, UAW — 2,059).

YOU'D NEVER KNOW — R. Fahan, a staff member of the Shauchmanite Labor Action, has an article in the British ILP paper referring to James T. Farrell, although delicately not naming him, as "one of the last [socialist intellectual] stalwarts [who] seems to have recently abandoned the idea of independent socialist politics by participating in a welcoming committee for Senator Hubert Humphrey, a New Deal liberal." Labor Action has never bothered to make this information known to its readers in the U. S.

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NMU Port Officials in N. Y. Hit 'Yellow-Dog' Amendment

By R. Bell

Twenty-four officials of the CIO National Maritime Union in the Port of New York have publicly declared their opposition to the proposed yellow-dog amendments to the union's constitution recently adopted by the NMU National Council.

A statement distributed to the membership over the signatures of Jack Lawrence, Vice-President in charge of Education and Publicity, David Drummond, New York Port Agent, and 22 field patrolmen, patrolmen and dispatchers, calls upon the membership to defeat the proposed amendments.

The constitutional amendments, to be submitted at a 30-day referendum, would require all members to sign a "non-communist affidavit" and would subject to expulsion those persons who "subscribe to, support, sponsor or otherwise follow a course of action consistent with and demonstrating membership in or adherence to the policy and program of the Communist Party or any other subversive or totalitarian doctrines."

Declaring that the yellow-dog amendments were a violation of the program upon which they were elected, the 24 officials, most of whom were elected on the Rank & File Caucus slate which ousted the Stalinists, call upon the membership to vote "NO" in the referendum on the amendments.

"In the program of the Rank & File Caucus," the statement points out, "distributed over the signature of Joseph Curran and hundreds of other members, point number ONE of the program reads:

"Equality for all members regardless of race, creed or color or political belief and favoritism to none."

"The following proposition," continues the statement, "was sponsored by the Rank & File Caucus at the last convention and incorporated in Article I, Section D, of our constitution by a vote of better than 15 to 1 in the rank and file membership referendum:

"To completely eliminate and outlaw Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism, and all forms of discrimination against racial, religious, national, or political minorities."

"We, the undersigned officials were elected by the membership on the basis of carrying out the Rank & File program, which emphasized over and over again

the above stated principle of non-discrimination.

"Now, the National Council, at its recent meeting, adopts a resolution proposing to change the NMU constitution, by amendments which include the worst features of Taft-Hartleyism such as: Loyalty oath, thought control, yellow-dog affidavit and witch-hunts.

"If adopted, these Council amendments would enable union officials to brand as 'subversive' any member who disagrees with them, yank his union book, expel him from the union, and deprive him of his livelihood without trial. This is a weapon of such great power that NO official should be given it and no official with the welfare of the union and the membership at heart should demand it as is now being done.

"The entire labor movement to-day stands opposed to these most undemocratic devices, advanced under the pretext of providing safeguards against 'communism' but which, in reality, are designed to strip the rank and file membership of its rights."

Pointing out that both the AFL and CIO went on record at their last conventions against the loyalty oath purges, the statement reminds NMU President Joseph Curran of his own words, written in the union's paper, the Pilot, July 16, 1948:

"Some union members," wrote Curran, "in a spirit of vengeance, are now proposing that there be a mass expulsion of members simply because of their political beliefs and affiliations. Expulsions on this basis cannot, and must not take place. Every member of our union has the inalienable rights to his own political beliefs and affiliations. This right is one of the foundations of our union democracy and unity, which must not be undermined."

The statement then concludes by expressing "regret that President Curran and other Council members now repudiate their own words" and by urging "all members to DEFEAT THESE AMENDMENTS which would destroy the foundations of our Union democracy and unity."

Broad Minnesota Committee to Help James Kutcher

MINNEAPOLIS—42 prominent citizens "deeply concerned with the state of civil liberties today" have joined the newly-organized Minnesota section of the national Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. Their public statement announcing the state committee's formation protested the denial of freedom of thought and association in the case of the legless veteran and asked that he be given "a fair public hearing in accordance with accepted judicial and civil procedures."

Among the signers are Robert Wishart, Carl Boye, and Otto Wagner, top officials of the Hennepin County CIO Council; Paul Chelstrom, secretary of AFL Sheet Metal Workers, Local 209; Rev. Horace H. Goodell, Fifth Avenue Congregational Church; Rev. Eugene Prosser, Canon, St. Mark's Cathedral; Michael Sutton, AFL Highway Employees Local 1152. Eleven members of the University of Minnesota faculty joined in the appeal, including the atomic research scientist, Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, and Prof. E. W. Ziebarth, chairman of the Speech Department and news commentator over the local CBS station.

Officers of the Minnesota Kutcher Committee are Milton Siegel, field representative of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, chairman; Rev. James Claypool, pastor, Grace Lutheran Church, vice chairman; Waldo E. Byrne, secretary; and Robert West, vice-president of the Twin Cities Workers Defense League, treasurer.

James T. Farrell Explains Why He Supports Kutcher

NEW YORK — James T. Farrell, noted novelist, has issued the following statement on the case of the legless veteran: "I have read the material concerning the case of James Kutcher. Mr. Kutcher, a legless veteran of World War II, was dismissed from a minor governmental post because he admits to membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has been arbitrarily placed upon Attorney General Tom Clark's subversive list. Mr. Kutcher has not been granted a public hearing. He is demanding a public hearing both for himself, and for his party. I support that demand.

"I am not opposed to fair procedures which will be used in a democratic way in order to rid the American government of espionage agents and spies. In the case of genuine espionage agents and spies, I do not believe a clear-cut civil liberties case is indicated. The Kutcher case is different in character. I do not agree at all with the Socialist Workers Party. I would assert that it has a full right to the maintenance of its position publicly, and that James Kutcher, as a citizen of this country, has the same right. The dismissal of Kutcher seems to me to be inexcusable.

"It is clear that the current handling of loyalty cases is not only resulting in unfairness, in injustice, and in endangering our civil rights. It is also having a most serious demoralizing effect. If it continues, intelligent men with a sense of honor and dignity will merely refuse to participate in any kind of necessary governmental enterprise. The practice of arbitrary exclusion, so clearly indicated in the Kutcher case, is one which can only help to rot the moral fiber of the nation.

"I hope that James Kutcher wins his right to a hearing, and that he is restored to his post. This kind of treatment, especially in the case of a legless veteran of the World War, is shameful and inexcusable."

Detroit Lecture on Labor Leader's Role

DETROIT — A lecture on C. Wright Mills' book, *The New Men of Power — America's Labor Leaders*, will be given Friday, April 29 at 8 P. M., at the Socialist Workers Party hall, 6108 Linwood Ave. Admission will be 25 cents.

New York College Strike



Interference and a general pushing around by police did not succeed in dispersing pickets at City College in New York, who struck to force suspension and trial of two professors accused of racial and religious bias. The strike was resumed after the Easter holidays, then suspended because the strike had "already had a maximum effect."

SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS DEMANDED BY NEW YORK NAACP

NEW YORK, April 19 — The New York Branch of the NAACP voted unanimously tonight to ask the 40th annual conference of the NAACP to call on President Truman for a special session of Congress this summer for action on the civil rights program. It also advocated the holding of a united Negro and labor conference in Washington, at the same time as the proposed special session, in order to mobilize pressure for favorable action by Congress.

The resolution, adopted at a meeting at the Harlem YWCA, was addressed to the national conference of the NAACP, which will be held in Los Angeles beginning July 12. It read as follows:

"Be it resolved: That the 40th annual conference of the NAACP shall call on the President of the United States to convene a special session of Congress this summer for action on all of the civil rights bills not enacted when it adjourns, and

"Be it further resolved: That the 40th annual conference of the NAACP instructs the NAACP executive officers to convene a united Negro and labor conference, representing Negro and labor organizations in all parts of the country, to meet in Washington simultaneously with the special session of Congress and

to press for the passage of the civil rights bills."

The speaker who presented the resolution to the meeting explained that it did not mean any slackening by the NAACP of its efforts to secure passage of the civil rights bills during the present session of Congress.

However, it is acknowledged on all sides that there is little possibility of progress on these bills during the present session, which is already lagging far behind schedule. This means that in all likelihood none of the civil rights measures will be enacted before Congress adjourns.

NAACP annual conference rules provide for the introduction of resolutions by the branches at least 60 days before the conference. What happens to the New York resolution will depend not only on the conference but also on what the NAACP national leadership thinks about it. A resolution calling for a delegated, united Negro conference on civil rights was passed by the 39th NAACP conference last year, but the NAACP leadership did not do anything to implement the resolution.

Two More Unionists at Westinghouse Victimized as 'Poor Security Risks'

PHILADELPHIA — Two more active unionists at the Westinghouse Electric's South Philadelphia Works have been labeled "poor security risks" by Navy officials and have been removed from the work on which they have been regularly employed.

Norman Smith and Fred Bentz, members of CIO United Electrical Workers Local 107, were branded as "poor security risks" and the company was ordered by the Navy to dismiss them for the "sensitive" aviation gas turbine division.

Fortunately, as the result of a partial victory for the union in a similar case last year, Smith and Bentz were not thrown out of work. They were transferred to the steam turbine division, which, presumably, is not "sensitive." However, the basic issue remains unresolved.

These two workers have been

Next Week:

The Text of Harry Braverman's radio talk on socialized medicine. Medical care today is sold at luxury prices. Millions cannot afford to go to the doctor. Needless death is rampant. Under socialized medicine, America can have free clinics, hospitals and medical service. Prevent ill health by making medicine a public service like the postal system! Read this smashing answer to the profiteers on illness and death.

Send to The Militant for extra copies. Only 3c. each in bundles of five or more.

MYRA WEISS GETS 1,506 VOTES IN LOS ANGELES

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, April 16 — Broadcasting from the Los Angeles City Hall election night, Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, told the radio audience that while she was not elected this year, she is confident that "it will not be many more elections before a workers' administration will be elected and will oust Big Business from City Hall!"

The Trotskyist candidate, conducting her campaign around the working class slogan of "Oust Big Business from City Hall," received 1506 votes. This was 500 more than in the 19th Congressional District race last November and almost a thousand more than she received in the 1945 mayoral campaign.

Comrade Weiss spoke on the regular election night broadcast from City Hall in which candidates are introduced during the reporting of election returns as they arrive from the precincts. She thanked the workers and socialists who had voted for her and invited her audience to join the Socialist Workers Party in its activities 365 days a year, not merely during elections.

She was also interviewed on television by a reporter on City Hall steps the same night, and introduced Hugo Rasmussen, chairman of the Southern California Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, who was in the audience. Rasmussen spoke on the Kutcher case, then answered questions from the audience. Later, on the same program, the roving television reporter put the spot on Comrade Weiss and a man in the audience as they discussed the Soviet Union.

The incumbent mayor, Fletcher Bowron, received the highest number of votes but not the majority of votes cast, which is necessary for election in the primary. He will face Lloyd Aldrich, city engineer who came in second in the field of nine candidates for mayor, in a runoff off May 31. These two capitalist candidates have no fundamental differences and have begun their final election race as a typical capitalist mud-slinging, petty personality fight.

Ellis Patterson, who was supported by the Independent Progressive Party and the Stalinists, and officially endorsed by the Democratic Party County Central Committee, received 57,286 votes. State Senator Jack Tenney, the "Little Dies" of California, came in fourth with 48,162 votes.

The only upset in the councilmanic elections came in the Ninth District, where Edward Roybal, campaigning primarily as the candidate of the large Mexican minority seeking representation in the city government, received 11,139 votes, forcing incumbent Parley Parker Christensen, with 9,521 votes, into a run-off. Roybal had SWP support in the campaign.

In the Board of Education race for Office No. 2, Attorney Leo Gallagher, who ran as a "communist" and on a "working-class program" but was opposed by the Stalinists, received 28,244 votes, coming in fourth in a field of 14 candidates. Raphael Konigsberg, supported by the Stalinists and running on a watered-down liberal program, came in sixth, with 24,653 votes.

The only official Stalinist candidate in the election, Henry Steinberg, one of the 17 persons sentenced to jail for contempt of court in the current witch-hunting grand jury trials, received 33,943 votes for Board of Education Office No. 4, second in a field of five, but too far behind the winner to figure in a run-off.