

THREE STRIKEBREAKING GOVERNMENTS

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THE MILITANT

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What Are You Going to Do About It?

— An Editorial —

The Bill of Rights is under concerted assault by inquisitors, witch-hunters, book-burners, thought-controllers, brass hat bureaucrats, police spies and informers. Democratic rights, acquired by our people painfully through militant struggle and at great sacrifice, are being gagged, smothered and lynched.

The main enemy to these hard-won rights is right here at home — the capitalist class and its governmental agents who are working overtime to install the police state in this country while distracting popular attention by clamors for a crusade against police states abroad.

Why? There are two main reasons.

First, American capitalism is out to rule and exploit the entire world; it is ready to plunge every nation into the horror of atomic war if necessary to achieve that end. While preparing for this war of conquest by establishing military and political bases abroad, it feels constrained to silence and crush all opposition at home to its imperialist ventures.

What the Capitalist Rulers Fear

And second, American capitalism got the scare of its life when the labor movement gave a display of its potentially overwhelming power in the wave of strikes in 1945-46. The ruling class is afraid of this power, more afraid of it than anything Stalin can threaten them with. Because this power alone can put an end to all exploitation, oppression, misery, want and degradation — inevitable by-products of the system of production for private profit.

Today this system is heading for another economic collapse, with the capitalists themselves admitting that production trends will remain downward for at least another year. What will the mighty American working class do in this new depression? There is no telling where the workers will stop once they begin to move to a fundamental solution of their problems. The capitalists hope by restricting political liberties now to head off such movements of rebellion against their misrule.

In a conflict where the stakes are so vast, resolute mass resistance to the witch-hunt is needed without delay. But such resistance is conspicuous today by its absence. The people have the right to look for forthright leadership and bold action from those who are at the head of the labor unions, the liberal and civil liberties movements, the Negro organizations, the professions and the other groups most clearly endangered by the present war against civil rights. But the people are not getting it.

The leaders of these organizations are, for the most part, not happy about what is going on. Some of them understand that they themselves may be under the fire of reaction tomorrow. But this understanding does not lead to action because they are afraid of the consequences of taking an unambiguous stand against all police state measures and because most of them are dragged into passivity by a naive faith in the "permanence" of capitalist democracy and the "good will" of capitalist politicians.

Some among them, it is true, have summoned up enough courage to speak out against the worst outrages and to pass resolutions deploring the trend and asking Truman to do something about it. But such protests, unsupported by mass action, have no more effect than a piece of paper flung at an advancing tank.

Criminal Policy of the Leadership

On the whole, however, the leaders of mass organizations are silent. They look the other way and hope that the hysteria will spend itself before long. In this way they give the impression that there is still not too much to worry about, an impression that confuses and lulls the masses and works only to the benefit of the enemy. Moreover, many of them have not balked at using the heresy hunt for their own selfish bureaucratic interests — as in the case of the union leaders who accepted the Taft-Hartley anti-communist affidavit and employed it to push through purges of their own against militant unionists. This policy not only undermined the fight against the Taft-Hartley Act but gave aid and comfort to the thought-control drive in general.

If the unions and other mass organizations are permitted to travel further down the road of non-resistance or even collaboration in the witch-hunt, then democratic rights in this country are doomed. This dictates a radical shift in policy, and it is up to the workers to see that their leaders fulfill their obligations in this respect or give way to others who will. The Bill of Rights must be preserved. It can be preserved only by welding together the mass organizations in united action against the advance of the iron heel. The time to defend democracy is now. The place to defend it is here. The way to defend it is by mass action, demonstrations and struggles so broad, so militant and so determined that the enemy can see we intend to fight to the death rather than submit.

You Too Are a Target of the Witch-Hunt

By Art Preis

The witch-hunters lie when they say they are after only "a handful of disloyal elements." They are hacking away at the rights of everyone who works for a living — industrial workers, federal employees, veterans, unemployed, Negro people, foreign-born, ministers, journalists, educators, students, scientists — that is, the great majority of our people.

Among the first to suffer were the two million federal employees. Their most private lives and thoughts are under FBI scrutiny and they are all subject to discharge on unproved FBI "evidence." The most famous victim of this government purge is James Kutcher, the legless veteran.

The "loyalty" purge has spread to state and local governments, bringing new millions under attack. Many states have also passed "loyalty" oath and "subversion" laws aimed at school teachers, lawyers, workers in private firms engaged on "government work," unemployment insurance applicants and others. Foreign-born workers, particularly unionists in disfavor with the employers or ruling politicians, have been singled out for reprisals. Two outstanding targets of the drive against foreign-born unionists are Carl Skoglund, former president of famous Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544, and Harry Bridges, head of the CIO longshoremen, now facing the third attempt to deport him. Hundreds of obscure non-citizens, who have worked here for decades and raised families, have been seized for deportation.

Down in Georgia, the recent sadistic lynching of Calhoun Hill is a reminder that the bullet, the rope and the torch are the supreme tribunal so far as the civil liberties of the Negro people are concerned. Up North, the case of the "Trenton Six," being railroaded to the electric chair, brings home to every Negro that "legal lynching" is on the increase and that the Negro people have no rights that the police and courts are bound to respect.

Students and teachers, in both public and private institutions, are facing a reign of terror. "Probes," "loyalty" oaths, dismissals and expulsions are be-

come commonplace. Publicity has been given the victimization of six University of Washington professors. But the Association of University Professors announces it is "swamped" with cases of dismissals or denial of promotions on the grounds of "subversive" views.

The atmosphere of Nazi book-burnings and the Vatican's Index Expurgatorius is beginning to poison the air of free speech and press. This is emphasized by the ban on the liberal Nation magazine in the New York City and Newark public schools. The Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska has issued a blanket ban on the use in class rooms of any book or publication found to contain "subversive" views, whether "open or surreptitious."

Not even ministers of the Gospel are immune from the witch-hunters, as the tragic case of the Rev. John Howard Melish shows. The 74-year-old Rev. Melish is now lying critically ill in a New York hospital, broken by persecution. He was ousted from his pastorate at the Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church after more than 40 years

service, because he refused to dismiss his assistant, his son, who was under fire for association with the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship. The persecution of scientists has become so fierce that David Lillenthal, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, complains that scientists are being driven wholesale out of government projects. Eminent scientists, including Albert Einstein and Harold Urey, have publicly protested against the fettering of scientists.

Several individuals have been hounded to their deaths. The latest is Morton E. Kent, former employee of the Department of Labor, State Department and Board of Economic Warfare. Kent slashed his throat and jumped into the Potomac River after losing his job in private industry because of repeated FBI inquiries about an unproved "suspicion," based on the statement of a paid FBI informer, that Kent had conversed with a man "suspected" of being a Soviet agent.

Millions of workers in private industry are caught in the witch-hunt web. Military authorities

House Body Plans 'Book Burning' in Schools, Colleges

A "book-burning" drive in the nation's schools and colleges is being prepared by the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee. Congress' leading witch-hunt body has begun a "spot check" of "red propaganda" in text and reference books used both in public and private educational institutions throughout the country.

The House committee has demanded that public school authorities in a number of large cities, various institutions of higher learning like Yale, Cornell, Michigan and numerous teachers colleges furnish the committee with lists of titles of all books they use as either texts or reference.

Denouncing this action as President Edmund Ezra Day of amounting to "a witch hunt," Cornell University put a spotlight on the House committee's latest thought-control move when he asked the American Council on Education to find out what the House committee "was up to" when it requested a list of Cornell's books. Dr. Day said he feared the universities were in danger of "infiltration" by those who, "under the guise of attacking communism, attack something quite different, namely, 'academic freedom.'"

He added that text books at Cornell "naturally included" such socialist classics as Karl Marx's Capital and Communist Manifesto.

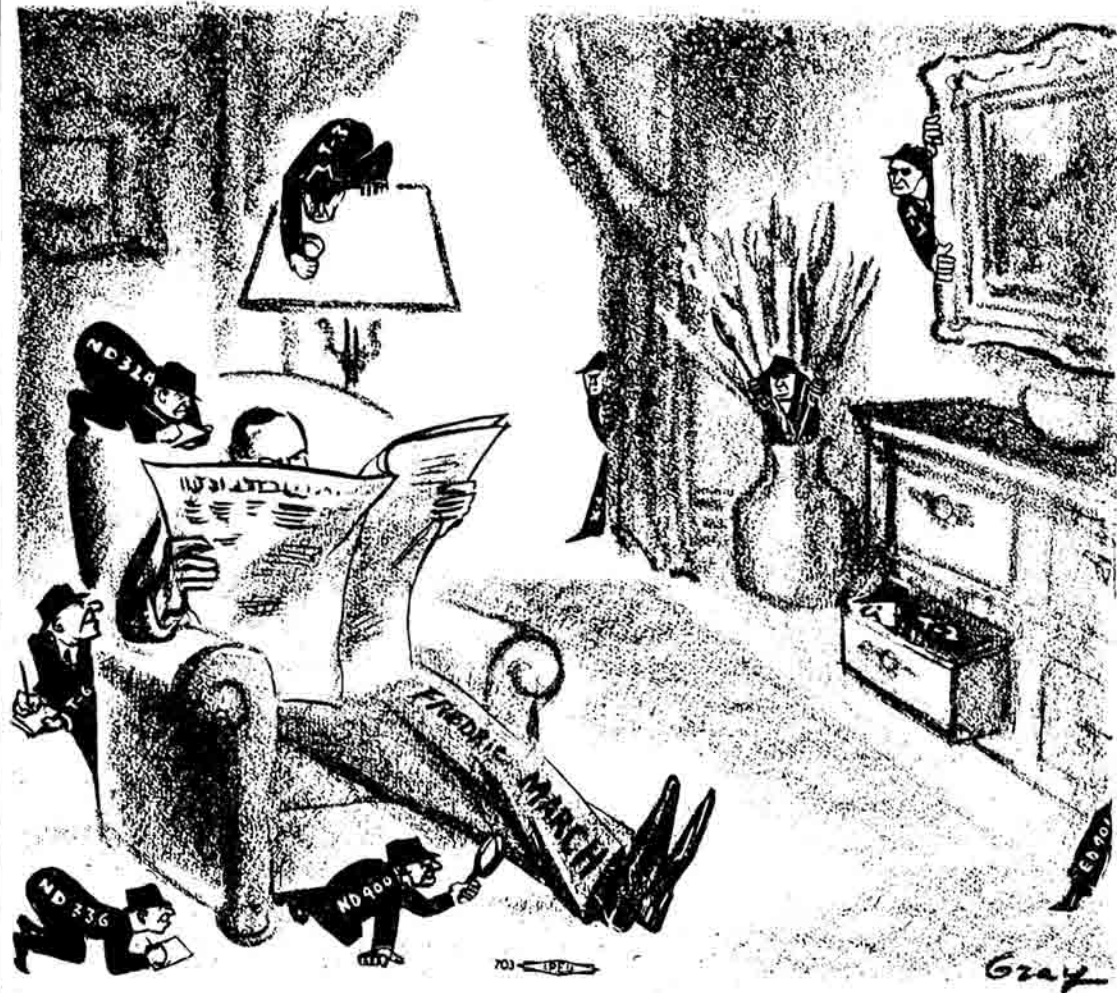
The threatened text-book purge being initiated by this Congressional committee is a warning of the scope and intensity of the thought-control drive, which naturally seeks to stifle free thought and independent inquiry at a major source, the schools, colleges and universities. It aims, above all, to put an "iron curtain" around the minds of the young.

Adding strong impetus to the drive to victimize and silence educators who dare to teach anything but the ideas of the capitalist ruling class and its political agents, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard, and Truman last week made public endorsements of the policy of barring "Communists" from the teaching profession.

Eisenhower and Conant are members of the commission of the National Education Association which prepared and last

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FBI at Work



CP Defendant Boasts War Aid to Imperialism

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, June 15 — Communist Party policy on the war issue has twisted and turned so much through the years that even a police-minded prosecutor can snare the Stalinists in the coils of their own devious line. Witness for example, the testimony of the defendant John Gates here at the thought-control trial of the 11 Stalinists.

Gates read from the witness stand his article, "The Army and the People," published in the Nov. 1941 Communist before this country formally entered the recent war. This obscene performance was clearly intended to show how loyally the Stalinists supported American imperialism during the war.

"The invasion of the Soviet Union," Gates read, "has transformed the war of rival im-

perialists into a just and progressive war," and that "alters the relationship between the people and the government" here in America.

To be an "arsenal of democracy" is not enough, he went on. The United States must also give manpower by declaring war and opening a second front in Europe. He denounced the workers for seeking deferment from conscription into what he cynically called the "democratically selected" army.

Gates attacked the Trotskyist slogan of workers' control of military training as an effort to "set the working class against the nation." He slandered the Trotskyists as "agents of Hitler."

"This is not a class war," his double-talk ran. The workers "must subordinate the class struggle to the national interest" and "create an all-inclusive national front against Hitler."

As Gates continued to read he unwittingly demonstrated that liars can't cheat history. For the same John Gates, who is today on trial under the thought-control Smith Act, had deceitfully promised the workers in 1941 that "Democracy will take a giant leap forward after victory over Hitler."

During his cross-examination the prosecutor, John McGohey, pounced on this section of Gates' testimony. Stepping over to the jury box opposite Juror No. 5, McGohey asked in his best prosecutor's tone:

"Mr. Gates, what country signed a pact with Hitler just before the war?"

Gates said the Soviet Union did. Then he defended that act of treason against the world working class by repeating the usual Stalinist drivel that the Kremlin signed a pact with Germany "because the other nations failed to unite with it against Hitler."

"From September 1939 to June 22, 1941 [when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union] you said the war was an imperialist war?" McGohey inquired.

"Yes," Gates replied. The prosecutor dragged out an article by William Z. Foster on "The War Aims of American Imperialism," published in the April 1940 Communist.

"Was this written before the invasion of Russia?" he asked. Gates said it was. Whereupon

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Fifth Amendment Is Under Attack

Last year Truman promised that if he was elected, the House Un-American Activities Committee was a "dead duck." Like most of Truman's promises, this one, too, has gone unfulfilled.

This notorious inquisition group not only was "perpetrated by the Democratic 81st Congress, but it got a bigger appropriation than ever before.

Right now it is working on a scheme to nullify the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which is designed to protect the people against the medieval procedure of being compelled to testify against themselves.

Unions, Industries, Schools Infested by Paid Informers

By George Breitman

The curtain was lifted on a small corner of the FBI's secret political activities when a judge permitted the introduction of several FBI reports as evidence at the Coplon spy

trial in Washington on June 8. It showed that America is rapidly becoming the land of the police spy and the home of the stool-pigeon.

For several days the government fought heatedly to prevent the reading of these documents. To do so, claimed the prosecutor, would "endanger the national security" and confront the government with the "sad choice of exposing vital secrets" or dropping its case against Judith Coplon, former Department of Justice employee being tried for alleged theft of these and other government secrets in order to aid the Soviet Union.

When the judge ruled the FBI reports could be read at the trial, it quickly became clear that what the FBI was really trying to protect in this matter was the shroud of secrecy behind which it has set up a wide-spread network of espionage against the American people.

How many thousands of informers are employed and paid by the FBI to sneak around spying on their fellow-citizens is still a "vital secret." But judging from the revelations at the Coplon trial about the FBI's surveillance of a single individual, Fredric March, it seems safe to say the FBI must easily run into the tens of thousands.

March is an actor — a private citizen in no way connected with the government, and hardly in a position (even if he wanted to) to get his hands on information about the atomic bomb and other military or diplomatic secrets which the FBI is supposed to be guarding. The only thing he could "sabotage" would be a Hollywood movie, and most of

'Any American Can Be Ruined'—Condon

Condemning the "general procedures of the FBI," Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, declared:

"Thousands of Americans have been caused great personal distress, fear and loss of livelihood by incorrect or incorrectly interpreted data spread in the government files by the procedures of the FBI, whereby gossip, rumor, and hearsay are gathered from witnesses of unknown integrity or veracity — witnesses who moreover, are never asked to face those whom they slander and whose very identities are kept secret."

"What this means is simply this: that any American can be slandered, his name ruined, his career blasted by any other person who chooses to relay malicious gossip to the FBI."

They couldn't be any worse than they are now.

Nevertheless, the FBI had at least a dozen agents on his trail, tracking down and reporting everything they could find about his political affiliations, interests and activities.

Six of these — Confidential Informants ND 402, ND 305, T-3, ED 324, ND 336 and T-6 — supplied a variety of alleged details about March's private and public life. He was accused of belonging to the Communist Party and of having "pro-Russian contacts"; of having "tears in his eyes" because of a criticism of his acting printed in the Daily Worker; of

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KUTCHER WELL RECEIVED BY MINNESOTA UNIONISTS

By Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, June 12 — About 150 persons gathered in the CIO Hall here Friday night to hear James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II, tell his story. The meeting was

sponsored by the Minnesota section of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Simply and dramatically, Kutcher explained to an attentive audience that the government had not questioned his politics when he entered the Army nor when his legs were shot off in Italy, but only after he obtained a job with the Veterans Administration. Then he was fired from his job because he belonged to the Socialist Workers Party. This dismissal Kutcher termed "the most rigid application to date of guilt by association."

Dr. Irving E. Putnam, another speaker at the meeting, called Attorney General Tom Clark and the House Committee on Un-American Activities the "greatest subversives in the United States," and suggested that Clark be "deported back to Texas." A member of the Minnesota Kutcher Committee, Dr. Putnam is pastor emeritus of the Methodist Church.

Other speakers of the evening included Albert Allen, Jr., president of the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Robert Wishart, president of the Hennepin County CIO Council, and Douglas Hall, local attorney.

Allen warned: "When the time comes that thought and association are controlled, then all freedom is gone."

Wishart declared that he spoke for his entire CIO body when he defended Kutcher as a man who "has proved his loyalty to a far greater extent than those who have taken his job from him."

Chairman of the meeting was Milton Siegel, field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers and president of the Minnesota Kutcher Committee. Arthur Sternberg of the Fellowship of Reconciliation made an appeal for funds to carry on Kutcher's court fight, and the audience contributed over \$150. UPWA Local 4's endorsement of the Kutcher case was announced, and a check for \$25 from that union presented. The Hennepin County CIO Council also announced a contribution of \$10 would be sent to the Committee.

Yesterday, Kutcher appeared before a session of the Minnesota CIO state executive board, with committees from both Ramsey County and Hennepin County CIO Councils specially delegated to urge endorsement of the Kutcher case. Earlier in the week, the Purple Heart veteran had appeared before both county bodies. The State CIO went on record Saturday for a fair hearing for Kutcher on his right to hold a VA job.

Tonight, an Open House was held in St. Paul at Siegel's home, in order that committee members and friends could meet the legless veteran personally. At this affair, Kutcher was presented with a leather billfold and a card inscribed:

"To James Kutcher — a brave fighter in the vanguard of the struggle for civil liberties — we offer this token of appreciation. Minnesota Friends June, 1949."

CP Defendant Boasts of Aid to Imperialist War

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McGohey read to the jury an excerpt from Foster's article stating that American capitalism sought to plunge this country into the war "to further its own imperialist interests."

FOSTER IN 1940

Apparently satisfied that he had shown it was not American imperialism that changed when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union but Foster, Gates and Co. who changed on orders from Stalin, the prosecutor dropped the subject. But let us examine the question a bit further.

Foster also attacked in 1940 the "technique for involving this country in the war." He denounced as a "gross lie" the sowing of democratic illusions about the war. He branded the slogan of "national unity" a "very dangerous trap for the workers." Foster vilified the Trotskyists as "agents of American imperialism."

After June 22, 1941, Moscow ordered the American Stalinists to master the technique for involving this country in the war, Gates' Nov. 1941 article obediently sought to sow the democratic illusion that the imperialist war had suddenly become a "progressive" war. He told the gross lie that the imperialist government of the United States had miraculously become a "peoples" government when Hitler's first tank rolled across the Soviet frontier.

Gates set a very dangerous trap for the workers by demanding that they subordinate the class struggle to the "national interest." And to all this treacherous preaching, Foster and the rest of his scurvy breed shouted, "Amen!"

McGohey, of course, did not probe into these aspects of Stalinist duplicity because he is red hot for the "peoples" government at Washington that treats him handsomely as a thought-control prosecutor. His quarrel with the Communist Party covers only those periods when Washington and Moscow disagree.

"POSSIBLE TO PREVENT"

Nevertheless, McGohey managed to sting the Stalinists during his cross-examination of Gates; so Gates' lawyer, Harry Sacher, set out to "rehabilitate" him.

"Why did you say in your Nov. 1941 article that America should become more than an arsenal of democracy and that it should become a fighter for democracy?" Sacher asked.

"I believed it would be only a matter of time before the fascists attacked the United States," Gates purred, beaming in self-admiration over his cleverness, "because the involvement of the Soviet Union against Germany left Japan's hands free to attack the United States."

Under Sacher's questioning, Gates then outlined the Stalinist program for a political coalition of workers and capitalists to form

a "peoples' peace government, a government which will have as its aim the establishment of peace and not the establishment of socialism."

"For the first time in history," he concluded, "it has become possible [for such a coalition] to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war."

What a dirty piece of business for a scoundrel like that to masquerade as a Marxist-Leninist! Small wonder Gates rose high as a political commissar for Stalin's GPU in the Spanish Civil War, attaining a rank "equal to that of a lieutenant-colonel."

ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT

Compare the testimony of James P. Cannon, a genuine exponent of Marxism-Leninism, in a federal court at Minneapolis. At the very time when Gates' scandalous article was published in November 1941, Cannon and 17 other leading Trotskyists were tried and convicted under the same thought-control Smith Act that is now being used against the Stalinists.

Cannon denounced the imperialist war aims of the ruling group of American capitalists as a scheme to dominate and enslave the world. The Sixty Families who own America, he predicted, will use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties here at home.

The government will try to suppress ideas inimical to the capitalists, he added, and it will seek to check by legislation the organization of the workers. The capitalists will try to make the workers and poor farmers pay the staggering costs of the war.

Demands will grow in this country, among people who want freedom and a right to live, for some way out of this madhouse of war and unemployment and growing fascism.

To fulfill these aspirations, Cannon told the workers from the witness stand in Minneapolis, it is necessary to break completely and forever with the capitalist politicians; build a mighty independent working class political party; establish a Workers and Farmers Government; and replace the brutal capitalist system with an enlightened socialist society.

WHO WAS RIGHT?

Who was right, Gates or Cannon? Did democracy "take a giant leap forward after victory over Hitler," or did the ruling group of capitalists unleash a vicious witch-hunt right here in America?

Whom should the workers believe now? The Stalinists who want to take the workers back into the same old trap of class-collaboration with the capitalists that led to the slaughter and destruction of World War II? Or the Trotskyists who tell the workers to break completely with the capitalists and fight to create a socialist society?

Demand Jobs, Get Clubs



New York police go to work with their clubs on pickets outside the offices of President Joseph P. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL. The round-the-clock mass picket-line was called as part of a campaign to win jobs for Negro longshoremen. Ryan supporters led the attack on the pickets, who accused the ILA leader of squeezing ILA Local 968 Negro members off the Brooklyn waterfront.

The Man They Wanted To Draft for President

The "friends of labor" theory of politics is always creating new embarrassments for those who follow it. They are forever apologizing today for some capitalist political faker they supported yesterday as a "liberal" and "friend of labor." Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower is the latest such embarrassment.

Last June, you will recall, the pro-Democratic labor leaders were in a panic to dump Truman and find a new "friend of labor" for the Democratic Party to foist on the American working people.

For weeks before the Democratic National Convention, the CIO-PAC leaders and their liberal bed-fellows searched for a presidential candidate to supplant Truman. He had to be someone they could represent as a "true liberal" and "friend of labor."

After an exhaustive search, their choice finally fell on Gen. Eisenhower. Here was the "true liberal," "friend of labor" — and potential vote-catcher — they

had been seeking. So they launched a frantic "Draft Eisenhower" campaign.

But Eisenhower refused to be drafted. The labor leaders and liberals suffered a big disappointment and finally ended up by backing Truman, the little man they said wasn't there.

Eisenhower didn't have the chance to demonstrate his "liberal" views as a president of the United States. But he did become president of the country's largest educational institution, Columbia University. In this capacity he has been giving considerable evidence that the kind of politics he would have practiced as U. S. President would have brought no end of apologies from his labor supporters.

We don't refer to the fact that Eisenhower, as an "educator," has been pounding the drums for militarism and the cold war. That is a virtue in the eyes of the pro-capitalist union leaders. We don't refer to the fact that Eisenhower continues as a leading representative of the ultra-reactionary Big Brass. All the

more reason why these union leaders might look on him with awe.

EXPLODES FICTION

But last week Eisenhower spoke out on one vital issue in a fashion to completely explode the fiction of his liberalism. He bitterly assailed the proposals for federal aid to education.

"I would flatly oppose any grant by the Federal government to all states in the Union for educational purposes," he said. He linked such a federal aid program, endorsed by all liberals and labor leaders, as part of a trend toward "paternalism, if not outright socialism." In the same week, Eisenhower's reactionary strictures on education also included the proposal to bar "communists" from teaching jobs.

Now, many of the labor leaders and liberals who a year ago were proposing to put Eisenhower in the White House are bemoaning the blow he has delivered to public education. These capitalist and militarist "friends of labor" always turn out sour.

A Book on Trotsky's Murder

EDITORIAL NOTE

The trial in Mexico City of "Jacques Mornard" or "Frank Jackson," self-confessed assassin of Leon Trotsky, irrefutably established that the murderer was one of Stalin's hired GPU agents and had killed Trotsky on the orders of his master. The precise identity of the assassin has up to now never been authoritatively fixed as the killer and his employers in the Kremlin have taken the greatest precautions in concealing his origins and background.

Many journalists have speculated as to exactly who "Jacques Mornard" or "Frank Jackson" is. The June issue of *Readers Digest* reprints an article from *Plain Talk* which recounts the main facts about the pickax assassination and quotes the restrained verdict of the Mexican judges in the case: "The court must declare that the trip of Frank Jackson or Jacques Mornard to Mexico was undertaken with the sole object of killing Trotsky."

In the summer of 1948 a book was run in serial form in the Mexican periodical *Revista de America* entitled "How They Murdered Trotsky" under the joint authorship of Julian Gorkin, a member of the Spanish POUM, and General Leandro A. Sanchez Salazar, head of the Secret Service of the Mexican police at the time of the assassination.

The book has been sharply criticized by Alfred Rosmer in the French Trotskyist periodical, *Quatrieme Internationale*, and by the widow of Trotsky, Natalia Trotsky, in an article sent to the French Trotskyist newspaper, *Le Verite*, for its gross inaccuracies and light-minded treatment of the subject matter.

In a special appendix to the book, the authors purport to establish the true identity of Trotsky's assassin.

General Salazar played a very shabby and suspicious role during the investigation of the first attempt to murder Leon Trotsky in May, 1940 and disgracefully neglected the duty assigned to him by then President Cardenas of watching over Trotsky's safety.

The authors, moreover, do not offer any proof or documentation of their assertions and hence make it impossible to verify either the correctness or incorrectness of their allegations.

We are publishing excerpts from the section dealing with the identity of the assassin for their intrinsic interest and as information for our readers.

Gorkin writes that "if it is necessary, I can cite my proofs in support of what I say." We hope that Gorkin will now produce the documentation upon which the authors based their statements.

As was noted in another part of the book, several Catalanian refugees who held responsible positions in the Communist organization during the Spanish Civil War but have since taken a position outside of — and even against it — these refugees recognized the assassin [of Leon Trotsky] beyond a doubt. As proof of their statements they even assured me that he had a scar on his right forearm, caused by a wound he received at the front — something which I had verified without the murderer himself being aware of it. Scrupulous to the extreme, I waited, nevertheless, for other complementary proofs.

At last I have them. Some of them, the principal ones, from Moscow itself. The iron curtain created by Stalinist totalitarianism in order to isolate the martyred Russian people from the rest of the world, has its flaws and its leaks. At any rate, I am now in a position to make a series of statements and to answer fully for them. I shall even say that if it is necessary, I can cite my proofs in support of what I say below.

The assassin's mother is actually alive and her name is Caridad Mercader. She is a Catalanian, firm, energetic, fanatical. A woman who has played the game of Stalinism. She lived in Belgium and France for several years. There she educated her five children, four boys and one girl. That is why all of them speak correct French. And that is

also why Trotsky's murderer, the third of these children, was able to pass himself off as a Belgian.

It was thought at first, that Caridad Mercader had entered the service of the GPU in Spain when the civil war had already begun. This is not so. Her connections with this sinister police and spy organization date back much earlier. In 1928 she was already serving the GPU in Paris. She was a member of a "special cell" controlled by the secret service that functioned — as it still does — under the cover of diplomatic immunity.

But she along with other GPU agents took cover in political organizations independent of the Communists. It is an old tactic of the GPU, which was used and abused in my poor Spain before being employed in the countries subjugated today under the Stalinist yoke. With her daughter Montserrat, Caridad Mercader belonged to Section 15 of the Socialist Party (SFIO) in Paris, for several years. Old-timers among the militants of this section know them and remember them very well.

During the Spanish Civil War, Caridad Mercader worked actively in the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC), affiliated to the Communist International. . . In Catalonia, Mercader became one of the reliable GPU agents and drew her own children into that terrible organization.

Their surname is del Rio Mercader. One of them died in Spain. The oldest lives in Paris. Next is a daughter, who is inseparable from Caridad. The third is the notorious Jackson-Mornard, the assassin of Leon Trotsky.

The full name of Leon Trotsky's murderer is Ramon del Rio Mercader. Actually he has never used his father's name but his mother's: Mercader. His older brother, who lives in Paris with his mother and his sister, Montserrat, is named George. The youngest of the children, Luis, lives in Moscow and is finishing his engineering studies.

So-called Mornard belonged to the Communist militias of Catalonia. He received at the front,

House Party Plans 'Book Burning' in Schools, Colleges

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week issued a handbook, American Education and International Tensions, which calls for the exclusion of "Communists" from schools and colleges. Giving this teachers purge program the weight of government sanction Truman commended the Eisenhower-Conant report the day after its release.

Censorship and expurgation of text books, as projected by the House Un-American witch-hunt committee, is already being put into practice. The Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska this month adopted a policy of banning from class rooms any book deemed to contain "subversive" ideas, either "openly or surreptitiously" expressed. What is most significant is that this university's new policy incorporates the program adopted by the last session of the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions.

While the groundwork is being laid for federal attacks on academic freedom and free thought in education, state and local governments and reactionary boards of trustees of colleges and universities have already gone a long way to put a steel clamp on teachers and students.

Compulsory "loyalty" oaths for teachers are becoming almost standard practice. No one can hold a teaching job in New Jersey, for example, who does not swear, in effect, that he does not hold views unfavorable to the capitalist profit system.

The Board of Regents of the University of California, anticipating a teachers "loyalty" oath law being debated in the state legislature, on June 12 announced its own compulsory "loyalty" oath for all its 4,000 full-time faculty members and administrative officials. Resentment against this action has mounted so high that on June 14 a meeting of 500 of the 700 faculty members at the Berkeley division of the university unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the rescinding of the oath requirement.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the witch-hunt in education is the support being given to it by professed liberals who claim it is "only" against the Stalinists. But, as numerous cases already show, the gag is being readied for everyone who thinks differently than the reactionary authorities.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Protest Against Ruhr Dismantling

Agitation against the dismantling of eleven Ruhr synthetic oil plants is at fever pitch. On June 8 workers at the Dortmund paraffin works and the Essen coal company's chemical works prevented the entry of dismantling squads accompanied by British officials. "Demonstrations," says a Times dispatch, "are being held in almost all Ruhr towns, with the support of town councils, trade unions and Protestant and Catholic clergy."

The British claim the factories are on the Allied list of "prohibited industries." The Germans charge that the action is caused by British capitalists' fear of competition in their "export drive." The workers are concerned, above all, with the loss of jobs. That accounts for the universal response to the mass actions, and for their daring. Maj. Gen. W.H. A. Bishop, British regional commissioner, "threatened the use of force" to put through the dismantling program, and Belgian troops were brought in to help suppress the protests.

Partial Victory In Bolivian Strike

A partial victory has been wrung from the government by the embattled working class of Bolivia, ending a national strike movement on June 8 that was started by the tin miners in the Potosi region on May 28. According to a UP report, "the government agreed to limit military control of the mines, and to repatriate exiled labor leaders for formal trial." The strike, political in character, had as its immediate cause, the deportation of prominent trade union officials to Chile. The UP correspondent remarks that "the labor crisis had threatened last week to plunge the country into civil war."

Greek Civil War Part of a Deal?

It has been repeatedly rumored about the secret sessions of the Paris Conference that the Russian delegation has offered the Western powers a deal to end the civil war in Greece. But up to this week, nobody seemed to know just why.

An AP dispatch from London on June 9 states that the Stalinist-led Greek guerrillas claimed seizure of the entire Grammos mountain area in northwestern Greece near the Albanian border. It quotes confirmation by the Yugoslav news agency, which says that a "major disaster" had been inflicted on the Greek Army in that region, as well as details from an Athens communique along the same lines.

It appears, consequently, that the guerrillas had made such gains of late that the cynical Kremlin gang considered using them as a strong bargaining point in exchange for concessions from the Western powers on other matters. A dispatch from Moscow to the Times, June 10,

reports concentrated attention to Greece in the controlled press, with emphasis on "Russia's plan to end the . . . civil war" and on news from Athens of a favorable reaction to it in Makhi, the organ of the "Socialist Party," whose editor is in Paris covering the Foreign Ministers' meeting. The Times correspondent says all this has been "read with special interest" by the diplomats there, among whom "it was doubted that the [Paris] meeting would conclude without some effort by the interested parties to examine the Greek situation."

Another sell-out of the heroic Greek guerrilla fighters is being cynically contemplated by the Kremlin to add to its long list of betrayals in Greece and all over the world.

New Crisis in The French CP

In an article entitled "Ill at Ease," Pierre Frank analyzes the crisis of the French Stalinist party in the latest issue of the Trotskyist *La Verite*. Like the Italian CP, the French Stalinists have lost heavily both in numbers and in working class influence during the past year. There have been wholesale purges, most notably in the Aube and Vaulse districts, in the leaderships of the trade unions of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments, as well as in the Seine (Paris) and Seine-et-Oise (workers' suburbs) party organizations.

Stalinist leaders in France have undertaken, as usual, a campaign of "self-criticism." One of them, in the weekly *France Nouvelle*, obviously reveals more than he intended: A. Souquiere, Stalinist Senator and head of the Parisian organization admits "stagnation" and even "losses" and finds among the reasons that the composition of the Sectional Committees, one after another, shows that there are hardly any workers among them. The entire hierarchy feels it has lost most of its "links to the factories." These have been replaced by party, trade union and municipal government functionaries.

Frank points out that the Stalinist lack naturally confines himself in his "self-criticism" to the lower ranks of the bureaucracy. The Central Committee is not mentioned — but there is not a single factory worker on it. In such a party, it is no accident that a worker should feel "ill at ease," as the Stalinist hack admits.

"The CPF," Frank concludes, "is a working class party, but it does not belong to the working class; it belongs to the bureaucracy serving the Kremlin. The only revolutionary party of the workers in France is the PCI (French Section of the Fourth International) which, thanks to its revolutionary program, has been able to overcome enormous difficulties due to the conditions in which it has arisen, and has been building a party where workers are not 'ill at ease' and whose leadership has in its ranks a constantly increasing number of workers."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Shows How Consistent Work Builds Circulation

An effective way of building up the circle of regular readers of *The Militant* is distribution of single copies in selected areas. A number of branches of the Socialist Workers Party make it a regular practice to sell bundles of the paper at union meetings, public gatherings, campuses and working class residential sections of the city. Sooner or later the sale of single copies pays off in subscriptions.

An increased number of subscriptions, with its assured circle of readers, means improved possibilities of winning new adherents to the cause of socialism. Many branches watch *The Militant* for articles that fit in particularly well with local needs and order extra copies for intensive circulation work. Last week, for instance, Detroit ordered 500 extra copies of the issue containing Bert Cochran's analysis of Walter Reuther's mishandling of the Ford strike.

New York ordered 130 extra copies of the issue containing CIO leader Irving Abramson's withering letter to the Stalinists on their reactionary policy of defending no one's civil liberties but their own. Cleveland ordered 60 extra copies of this issue, Philadelphia 100 and Los Angeles 50.

How consistent work leads to encouraging results is well indicated by the latest report from Literature Agent Bert Deck of Los Angeles. First, he tells what

happened to the bundle of 200 extra copies of the issue containing the expose of the slanderous Stalinist sheet the "Spotlight." "We sold the greater part of our regular bundle plus the 200 extras . . . which only goes to show what our possibilities are in this area if we had the sales force with which to work." Trade unionists bought 125 copies "and the rest were sold at union meetings and plant gates."

Comrade Deck then cites some instances of the sales: "A rubber plant, 15; an auto plant, 5; another auto plant, 5; still another auto plant, 15; a steel plant, 27 in three days, and so on. Our regular sales at a carpenters' local shot up to 10 last week and sales at the Teamsters Building have been slowly increasing each week. Six copies of *The Militant* were sold at a meeting at which A. Philip Randolph spoke. Ruth and Helen have been pushing this drive to expand our sales with valuable assistance from Marj and Lou."

Besides the extra copies, we should mention that the regular bundle taken by Los Angeles each week has been steadily increasing. The Los Angeles comrades are giving a practical demonstration of how consistent, well-organized sales of single copies helps build circulation.

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Monday, June 20, 1949



TROTSKY

"Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safeguarding of all the interests of the human personality. Man-kind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the USSR is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the Socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality."

—Leon Trotsky, 1940.



LENIN

Three Strikebreaking Governments

One thing the American, British and Russian governments have in common — they are all strikebreakers. This was demonstrated last week by an unusual coincidence. The Washington, London and Moscow authorities were simultaneously engaged in attempts to break railroad strikes.

When the Kremlin tried to crush the strike of Western Berlin railroad workers with violence, American military officials in Western Germany and the capitalist press in this country seized on the Stalinist acts to make hypocritical propaganda contrasting the "democratic" methods of American and British imperialism with Stalinist strike-breaking.

While the Berlin strike was still in progress last week, the Japanese railroad workers went on strike in protest against the mass firing of 109,000 rail employees and British railroad workers continued their Sunday strikes to press their claims for higher wages.

General Douglas MacArthur, U. S. military dictator in Japan, dealt with the Japanese strikers in the same spirit as the Stalinists acted toward the Berlin strikers. According to the June 12 *N. Y. Times*, MacArthur issued a "peremptory order" that "Japan's striking railmen must resume their jobs." Japanese government and union officials were summoned to MacArthur's Supreme Headquarters, which "ordered the union heads to end the strike immediately" and "the Government to suspend collective bargaining until the strike was ended." This ultimatum — bearing with it the implied threat of American military force — broke the strike. Moscow promptly denounced this "club law."

The British Labor government directed its

strikebreaking against British labor. Through George Isaacs, Minister of Labor, it broadcast radio demands that both the railroad and dock strikers, who refuse to unload scab ships from Canada, return to work at once. In the case of the dock strikes, reports the June 13 *N. Y. Times*, the use of troops to unload ships "has become almost routine." Meanwhile, in Germany on June 13, British military authorities, aided by Belgian occupation troops with Bren gun carriers and armored cars, dispersed 800 men, women and children seeking to save the workers' jobs by trying to halt British dismantling of a chemical plant.

The Kremlin smeared the Berlin railroad strikers as "pogromists" who had "received the open blessing of American authorities." MacArthur slandered the Japanese strikers as agents of the Soviet Union, "an inciter of disorder and violence in an otherwise orderly Japanese society." And in England, Mr. Isaacs libeled the British strikers as tools of the "Communists" who are trying "to dislocate our trade and thus retard our recovery." Thus, all three governments, according to the circumstances, alternately cry "strikebreaker" and "strike inciter" at each other.

The Kremlin commits its crimes against labor in the name of "communism." The British Labor government carries out its strikebreaking in the name of "socialism." American imperialism smears strikes in the name of capitalist "democracy." What they really prove is that all three are brutal exploiters of the working people — enemies alike of socialism and communism and democratic rights.

Who Are the Betrayers?

The one-week coal stoppage called by the United Mine Workers has furnished the Truman Democrats and the Taft-Hartleyites with a common theme song. Blame John L. Lewis and the coal miners, they chorused last week to the accompaniment of the Big Business press, if Congress now refuses to repeal or to greatly modify the Taft-Hartley Act.

Senator Robert A. Taft, naturally, pointed to the mine walkout as justification for continuation of his Act. But harshest in denouncing Lewis and the miners were Democrats like Senators Elbert D. Thomas and Hubert Humphrey, the highly-touted darlings of the Trumanite liberals and union leaders.

Summing up their argument, the June 10 *N. Y. Times* in a lead editorial shook its head disapprovingly at "Mr. Lewis' timing," which it called "highly unfortunate." It "comes at the very moment when organized labor is launching its fight in the Senate for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Messrs. William Green and Philip Murray may well ask, in the words recently addressed to them by the mine chieftain, who is really 'betraying American labor'?"

Of course, neither the *Times* nor the Truman Democrats ever approved the "timing" of any mine strike or any other strike. But aside from the transparent hypocrisy of their argument, it falls apart at the mere posing of this question: "Would Congress be any readier to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act if the miners had not struck at this time?"

Congress had been in session almost six months before there was any hint of the latest mine strike. That was certainly ample time for the Democrats, who made Taft-

Hartley repeal their major pledge to labor before elections, to carry it out. If they failed miserably for six months, what basis is there for expecting success in the next six months?

The opponents of Taft-Hartley repeal are not at all "softening up." On the contrary, they are tougher than ever as a result of their repeated victories over the flabby Truman Democrats. It wasn't last week's mine strike that "stiffened" them. They were emboldened and hardened by the six months of miserable retreats and "compromises" of the Truman Democrats.

The Truman Democrats showed their colors weeks ago when they put forward the Sims bill in the House. This bill came as close to the Taft-Hartley Act as it is possible to get without using its actual wording and name. Even before the Senate debate began, the leading Truman Democrats, including Senator Paul Douglas, cooked up and publicly sponsored five "compromise" amendments that differed from the Sims bill only in advocating government strikebreaking by plant "seizures" instead of injunctions. The Truman Democrats and the Trumanite labor leaders like Murray and Green — as Lewis correctly charged — had made their preparations for the betrayal of their promises on labor legislature weeks ago.

It is to conceal their own treacherous retreats, "compromises" and long-prepared betrayal that the Truman Democrats and their labor henchmen are trying to foist the blame for continuation of the Taft-Hartley Act on the very union, the UMW, which has refused to bow to the Taft-Hartley Act.

Murderous Attacks on Labor Leaders

There are specialized killers abroad today. Their specialty is killing, or trying to kill, labor leaders.

Since May 9 there have been three murderous assaults in widely separated areas — New York State, Michigan and Ohio.

In New York a gang of hired killers stabbed to death William Lurye, special organizer of International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL. Fifteen days later in Detroit another gunman shot and seriously wounded Victor Reuther, CIO United Auto Workers Educational Director.

A few days ago, on June 12, in Marion, Ohio a shotgun was discharged at Thomas S. Mitchell, organizing director for the Ohio Federation of Telephone Workers, who was recuperating from an appendix operation in the Marion City Hospital. The killer came at night and fired through an open window, three feet away from the bed. Some slugs lodged in the pillow of the ailing strike leader.

Last year, Walter Reuther, president of United Auto Workers suffered serious injury

from still another assault. This makes four such attacks in the space of twelve months.

Naturally, this sequence of events is too widely separated in time and place and in targets chosen to have any direct connection. But they do have one quite significant feature in common, namely, each individual subjected to attack is, as we said, a labor figure of varying degree of prominence.

In this sense, each attack was at the same time, each in its own way, truly a blow struck at labor itself.

Most alarming feature of all is the increasing frequency of this naked terror. In plain language, an atmosphere has already been created in our country propitious for the most brutal physical assaults upon the labor movement. Today it is vented upon individuals. On the morrow it may well be upon whole groups, especially unions.

Who has created such an atmosphere if not the red-baiters and the witch-hunters? Who is most gravely endangered by this if not the whole of organized labor?

How the Witch-Hunt Works

BUREAUCRATIC INFRINGEMENTS ARE NOT SANCTIONED BY LAW

By Albert Parker

Scores of witch-hunt bills have been introduced in Congress and the state legislatures during the past two years. But the worst inroads on American democratic rights so far have been made

not by the enactment of legislation but by executive decree and bureaucratic assumptions of power not authorized by law.

Instead of protesting against these invasions of legislative prerogative, as they usually do especially in cases where patronage is involved, Congress and the state legislatures are quite content to sit back and let the executive arm of the government and its bureaucratic minions blaze the witch-hunt trails.

More than that, the legislators are actively collaborating in the subversion of constitutional guarantees through their own "investigating" committees. These bodies arrogate to themselves police powers they were never granted, exert tremendous reactionary pressure on private institutions and individuals to conform to prevailing thought-control patterns and create the atmosphere for further assaults by the executive and eventual adoption of repressive legislation.

EVEN MORE INSIDIOUS

The FBI's police-spy system and the new Central Intelligence Agency, dual networks of espionage against the American people, are examples of non-legislative attacks on civil rights discussed elsewhere in this issue. Even more insidious is the administration's "subversive" blacklist, the keystone of the whole witch-hunt which has the support of both capitalist parties in Washington.

Acting on the authority of an executive order by Truman, the Attorney General compiled and constantly adds to a list of organizations which he has designated as "subversive." The organizations have been denied the opportunity to even see or hear the specific charges and "evidence" on which this designation was allegedly based; they have been denied the right to defend themselves against these charges at an open hearing. The whole thing rests on the say-so of a single poll-tax politician, the same man who is boss of the FBI's spy system.

Without the slightest recourse to legislation, the administration in this way has fashioned itself a potent weapon for intimidating the population against participation in anti-capitalist political action. For although the groups blacklisted remain formally legal, the effect of the "subversive"

list is to make a worker think twice, three and even ten times before joining an organization thus placed in jeopardy. The details may be different, but we defy anyone to show any real difference in principle between this method of political terror and the methods the Nazis used to outlaw opponent political organizations.

Formally, the blacklist is supposed to apply only to the two million odd federal employees, and already has been used to drive thousands of them out of federal employment and to make it clear to the others that their livelihood depends on abject obedience to the powers-that-be. But its application goes far beyond this.

Basing themselves on this list just as though it had the sanction of federal law, several state legislatures have adopted legislation embodying the same approach. Thus the New York Feinberg Act permits the discharge of teachers belonging to organizations on Clark's list, and in some state colleges even students may be barred.

Also basing themselves on this list and shielding themselves as the FBI does behind the pretext of "vital secrets," are the brass hats, drunk with their growing power and inherently hostile to democracy, this section of the government bureaucracy is preparing for the day when it can rule the whole land by extending right now its dictation over employment policies in private industry.

Using their control over military contracts, the brass hats have ordered the dismissal of workers belonging to the allegedly "subversive" organizations. And even where the unions involved protested militantly, as Westinghouse UE Local 107 did last summer in a strike that won reinstatement of the fired workers, the brass hats still claim the right to bar such workers from so-called restricted areas and departments in the plants. With the extension of military contracts, this "right," unless challenged and defeated by the unions, can become the entering wedge for complete subordination of the labor movement to the dictatorial ambitions of generals and admirals.

In the absence of serious, large-scale opposition to the extension of this deadly conspiracy, it mushrooms ever further, affecting private institutions and organizations already intimidated by the clamor of the witch-hunt and all too ready to submit to its demands. It becomes harder for known members of blacklisted organizations to get even private jobs, and in at least one instance a private employer in California has openly fired a worker because of his political affiliations.



TOM CLARK

fecting private institutions and organizations already intimidated by the clamor of the witch-hunt and all too ready to submit to its demands. It becomes harder for known members of blacklisted organizations to get even private jobs, and in at least one instance a private employer in California has openly fired a worker because of his political affiliations.

ONLY THE BEGINNING

It is necessary to understand that this is only the beginning. The "subversive" list can be extended indefinitely, again without legislative permission. Only a few weeks ago Clark added the name of a bona-fide trade union organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, whose contractual relations with employers are recognized by the NLRB.

And this far-sweeping transformation of American life takes place purely on the basis of a single executive decree, never submitted to the decision of either the voters or their elected representatives. What exists today is still called "democracy," because the laws remain substantially as before. But how much political freedom is there in reality if a man must risk his job whenever he expresses his political views or tries to work for them by joining the party that shares them?

Moreover, the fact that the government has chosen to rely chiefly on bureaucratic acts up to now is no reason for believing it will forego additional repressive laws when it feels the time is ripe. To delay further in organizing mass resistance to the growth of the police state can prove suicidal, because every passing day is being used by the government to make it more and more difficult to organize just such resistance.

FBI Police Spy System Uncovered at Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

appearing on an entertainment program sponsored by the American Society for Russian Relief in 1945 and of reading a poem of the atom bomb by Norman Corwin at another meeting the same year; of contributing money for a documentary film production; of sponsoring a book against anti-Semitism. The FBI report containing all this stuff listed it as a "security matter."

Six other informers — ND 342, ND 559, ND 384, ND 388, ND 400 and ND 403 — were in on the hunt but apparently could not find out anything about March's "current Communist activities in the New York area." In addition, the FBI had at least two other agents — T-7 and T-8 — snooping around for whatever they could learn about March's wife.

These stoolpigeons are paid for their services — with money taken from the American taxpayer. This was admitted under cross-examination in the current trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders in New York, a which most of the government witnesses testified they were FBI plants sent into the Communist Party.

"PRETTY GOOD FEES"

How much they are paid individually or what the total annual cost is — these are additional secrets that the FBI considers "vital" and for which the taxpayer never receives an itemized accounting. Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, whose wife was named in one of the reports at the Coplon trial, says the informers get "pretty good fees."

The public forced to pay these "fees" likewise knows little about the number and kind of organizations in which FBI agents are operating. But the little that has already been revealed is sinister

enough. As the Stalinist trial has proved, they are planted not only in the Communist Party and its front organizations but also in the trade unions.

There appears to be no limit to the resources at the command of the FBI. Therefore, it would hardly be an exaggeration to conclude that the FBI aims at having (if it does not already have) at least one stoolpigeon in every union local in the country, assigned to act as a finger man against the militants and to make reports on the internal affairs of the unions. If it is not checked, the extension of this police spy system could prove fatal to the very existence of independent unionism.

NEW SPY NETWORK

To make matters still worse, Congress has just passed a bill establishing a Central Intelligence Agency, most of whose provisions are a secret not only to the public but to the members of Congress who voted for it. No one outside this new agency's administrators will have any

knowledge of its activities or any authority over them.

Again, of course, the pretext is the protection of "vital secrets." But again the curtain has slipped a little and we are permitted to know that the Intelligence Agency has the power "to assign its agents to schools, industrial organizations, labor unions and other groups in this country."

Where will this police-spy network stop? FBI stoolpigeons admit they recruited members of their own family into the Communist Party and then reported them to the FBI. How far removed is that from the Nazi practice of training children to spy against their parents?

Democratic rights cannot long survive when a police espionage system against the people is permitted to flourish and extend its tentacles into every nook and cranny. The two are incompatible. The day is not far off when the American people will have to choose between their cherished democratic institutions and a police state, whose most notorious features are already accepted as normal in Washington.

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AND NOW THEY WANT TO MAKE VOTERS SIGN 'LOYALTY OATHS'

By John F. Petrone

Just when it seemed that they had about exhausted every possible variant with the "loyalty oath," Alabama comes up with a new wrinkle — a bill for a constitutional amendment

to require prospective voters to swear that they "disavow belief in or affiliation, at any time, with any group or party which advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States."

It should be noted, to begin with, that the clause about "overthrow" of the government is not even qualified by the usual phrase "by force or violence." In Alabama they don't care how it happens, they just don't want to see any change in the government.

The bill doesn't say who is to interpret which groups or parties would come under the ban, but the way is clearly open for the designation of any organization which would advocate the overthrow of Jim Crow, for example, which is considered a viciously subversive move by Southern politicians.

Equally revealing is the phrase, "at any time," which not only refers to any time in the past but evidently extracts a promise from would-be voters for the future as well.

The bill is on the calendar of the Alabama House of Representatives, where it is said to be sure of passage. It has been submitted for an advisory opinion to the State Supreme Court, which has ruled that it is constitutional.

WORST OF THEM ALL

If this bill seems "extreme and sweeping" (to use the legal expression), it is still not the worst of the lot. The dishonor of having produced that belongs to the Maryland Legislature and Governor, whose Ober Act makes it possible to outlaw "subversive" organizations and impose 20-year sentences and \$20,000 fines for membership in such groups. The Ober Act is being tested in the courts, and the fight is being watched with great care

not only by the other state legislatures but also by the FBI and the Congressional witch-hunters, who are said to have collaborated in its preparation.

Without waiting for a decision in the courts, however, the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is trying to steal some of the thunder of the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee, is working away at its own police state bills — the Mundt-Nixon and the Ferguson bills, which would require "communist" organizations to register with the government and supply it with their membership lists.

"CONTRIBUTING" ACTS

Both these bills would also make it a felony to "knowingly" commit, in concert with others, "an act which would substantially contribute" to the establishment of a "totalitarian dictatorship" in this country. The punishment could be ten years imprisonment and \$10,000 in fines.

What kind of acts would "contribute" to a "totalitarian dictatorship?" In the view of the witch-hunters a Workers and Farmers Government is a "totalitarian dictatorship" because it would abolish capitalism. Well, anything that would substantially contribute to the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government — perhaps even an act to help form an independent Labor Party — might conceivably fall within the jurisdiction of these bills.

That is why Zechariah Chafee Jr., Harvard Law School professor and constitutional expert, was 100% correct last week when he attacked these bills as a means of "suppressing" the American people. And they will do it too, unless the people act first and suppress these bills together with the reactionary drive of which they are a part.

Artists Pledge Support to Legless Veteran's Struggle

NEW YORK, June 11 — An appreciative audience of over 400 people heard five authorities express their views in a lively round table discussion on "The State of Art Today and Its Future" arranged by the New York Kitcher Civil Rights Committee at Hotel Diplomat last night.

Meyer Schapiro, Professor of Fine Arts at Columbia University, acted as moderator of the symposium. The panel of experts was composed of Clement Greenberg, art critic of *The Nation*; James J. Sweeney, author and lecturer; George Morris, well-known abstract painter; and Adolph Gottlieb, artist.

Following presentations by these artists and critics, members from the audience participated by bringing forward their own opinions on the topics under discussion.

In response to an appeal by George Novack, national secretary of the KCRG, \$145 was contributed to aid the legless veteran in his fight for reinstatement.

Painters, musicians, writers and other workers in the creative

arts were urged to support the Committee's work by signing a statement of protest initiated by the five speakers of the evening. Their statement declares:

"Throughout history creative artists in every field have been, by the nature of their activity, protagonists in the fight for freedom of thought and expression. Many have known — as they still do — what it is to have their works reviled, persecuted and even officially suppressed by arbitrary action. As creative artists, or among those closely associated with them, we therefore have a vital concern in the state of civil liberties today."

"We believe," the statement concludes, "that Kitcher has a right to his ideas and his form of expressing them — the right which we demand for ourselves."

A number of prominent artists and musicians present added their names to this protest which will become the basis for a nationwide campaign to enlist support for the legless veteran in the field of the creative arts.

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The Ban on "The Nation"

By Joseph Keller

When the New York City Board of Superintendents banned the Nation magazine from the city's public schools last year, Superintendent of Schools Dr. William Jansen indignantly denied that the school authorities acted under pressure of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The recent hearing by the Board of Education on the Board of Superintendents' renewal of the ban left little room for doubt as to the outside forces responsible for the gross act of censorship against the country's oldest and most respected liberal journal.

Those at the hearing who spoke for continuation of the ban were, with the exception of three individuals, spokesmen for Catholic organizations or Americanism Committees of the American Legion.

Among the Catholic organizations represented were the Coordinating Committee of the Catholic Lay Committees of the Archdiocese of New York, the Knights of Columbus, the Catholic Inter-Racial Council, the Catholic Teachers Alliance and the Catholic Lawyers Guild. They and the American Legion spokesmen put on an exhibition of foul-mouthed invective and slander that sounded like the fascist Coughlinites and Christian Fronters in their hey-day.

The original ban had been imposed because of the series of articles by Paul Blanshard on the economic, social and political role of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. That was in April 1948. There was a considerable liberal outcry against this attempt to censor discussion and criticism of the Catholic hierarchy's activities in the sphere of general public life.

It was claimed by Dr. Jansen at the latest hearing, however, that the renewal of the ban this month was for material that had appeared in

The Nation this year. He did not state what that material was. He told reporters after the meeting — which took no action to rescind the ban — that The Nation "had an ad in there, for a book, about Christ was a myth or something." On that basis, almost any secular newspaper or magazine that carries book ads could be banned.

But the comments of those who spoke for the ban made it clear that an alleged "attack on religion" was the least they had in mind. One American Legion speaker claimed that the mildly-liberal Freda Kirchwey, editor of The Nation, had "an outstanding record as a member of pro-Communist groups." Another roared indignantly, "Next thing we know, The Nation will be defending Lillenthal." Others assailed reviews of the Kinsey report or articles on the Minszentzy case that had appeared at one time or another in The Nation.

Speaking against the ban were such widely varied, and even politically opposed bodies, as the Liberal Party and the American Labor Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban on The Nation, the Teachers Guild and the CIO Teachers Union, the Committee on Intellectual Freedom of the American Library Association, the Public Education Association, the United Parents' Association, the American Jewish Congress and the National Lawyers Guild.

The hearing on the tremendous menace of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to free thought and democratic public education. The imposition of public censorship through the action of a private religious body, which is able to manipulate public agencies like the New York Board of Education, is a challenge to every democratic tradition in this country.

Are You A Stockholder?

By Jeanne Morgan

They forgot to invite you and me to the Waldorf-Astoria in New York last month when the American Iron and Steel Institute held its annual shindig. But it was just an oversight. They wanted us there. Really needed us. What makes me so positive is a copy of a speech made at this gathering by Clarence B. Randall, Inland Steel's president, which has belatedly come to my notice.

It's really quite simple. What the steel billion-aires need are "new sources of private risk capital," but, as Randall points out, there are now-adays "so few remaining rich" (hardly enough to fill Waldorf-Astoria) that there is "no choice but to turn boldly toward the mass savings of the two most powerful political groups in America, the workers and the farmers" (of whom, as everyone knows, there are plenty).

To be sure, Randall does not want too many of us. He just wants enough of us poor to make the "few remaining rich" feel a little happier. Randall estimates that "We of Steel" require about "500,000 men who believe passionately that their own self-interest is at stake, and who are determined that steel production shall remain free."

This is not going to be too easy, Randall warns. It appears that he and his lonely fellow plutocrats have "somehow" committed a slight oversight all these years. "We have taught men to be production minded, but have somehow not always sensed that it was our job to make them freedom minded."

And you and I are sorely in need of such an education, assures Randall. Why, we are all so

mis-educated that, as he insists, "less than 2% of the men and women employed in steel own stock in their respective companies."

You and I are so darned mis-educated that instead of buying common stock we squander it on silly things, especially the steelworkers. But let Randall himself give you the score. He says that uneducated steel workers "buy new automobiles and television sets, but not common stocks. As their future has become secure through the operation of pension plans, they have tended to live more and more right up to the limit of their incomes." Not only dumb, but shiftless, that's us, including the steelworkers.

You and I just don't know how to live the lives of really free men and women. And Randall is just the fellow to remedy this state of affairs. What is needed is for us to start pouring all our loose cash into, at least, common stock in steel. Now, Randall knows this isn't going to be easy, either. This "again must be done the hard way. We must be really more interested in the new partners than we are in their money." It's tough but it's worth it.

Get the point, partner? If you don't today, you will tomorrow when Randall and all these other new "partners" of yours and mine will let loose their barrage of "educational" ads in the Saturday Evening Post, Colliers and other philanthropic periodicals calling on all workers to "use part of every pay-check to buy steel stock." Whether we'll all get "freedom-minded" that way still remains to be seen. But one thing is sure, Randall and his friends are determined to get us "free" — but quick! — of all our "mass savings," if any.

"The Red Menace"

By C. Grant

The first war propaganda film purporting to expose the activities of American Stalinists is now on the screens throughout the country. It is a typical, viciously red-baiting, dishonest Hollywood product entitled: "The Red Menace."

Produced by Republic Studios in collaboration with California's Un-American Activities Committee and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "The Red Menace" opens in the L. A. Federal Housing Office. Here, Bill Jones, a young veteran, is politely informed by an official that he has been fleeced out of his home loan by a real estate shark and there is nothing the government can do about it.

Behind Bill, taking it all in with greedy ears, stands Tyler, the "Communist" villain (drooping cigarette, hat pulled over eyes). Bill, naturally, blows his top and leaves the joint, trailed by Tyler, who makes his pitch and manages to guide poor Bill to a quiet bar (run by "The Party") where they meet Mollie ("the seductive Party Girl").

There is Yvonne, a psychopathic Stalinist hack who goes mad when she learns she is to be deported. There is the seductive Mollie who is guided back to the Church by that kindly old black-robed saint of reaction, Father Leary. And Mollie's lover who commits suicide in despair over his expulsion from The Party. And Nina, a Stalinist from childhood who falls in love with Bill in order, one fine day, to get up and leave The Party with him, for no particularly good reason. All this and more goes on for the customary hour-and-a-half.

Notes from the News

PROTEST IN THE SP — The Socialist Party's National Executive Committee resolution on the Atlantic Pact (discussed in last week's Militant) has aroused a storm of protest among the SP members. The New York Local has called for a national referendum to put the organization clearly on record either for or against the pact.

EXPRESSING A DEBT — Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, in a speech to the American Iron and Steel Institute, urges businessmen to give due credit to "leaders of unions... who have risked their positions, their incomes, and in some cases their bodily safety... in the vanguard of our battle with communism."

STALINIST YOUTH LEAGUE — The Stalinists are building a new national youth organization. An organizing conference held in Chicago last month set itself the goal of holding 100 meetings throughout the country to form the first charter clubs during the week beginning July 4.

"MOST GEORGIA SHERIFFS" — An all-white grand jury has freed two white men held for participation in last month's lynching of Caleb Hill, Georgia Negro. Solicitor C. S. Baldwin said

the investigation also cleared Sheriff George Hatcher, who had arrested Hill and left the keys to Hill's cell on his table, where they were taken by the lynchers. "Most Georgia sheriffs would have shot the Negro instead of taking him to jail," Baldwin added.

ANOTHER PLOT — TVA chairman Gordon R. Clapp was not the only one smeared as "unemployable" by the Army. Another was Dr. George S. Counts, Columbia educator and Social Democrat. Counts hinted grimly the Army's designation might be part of a "communist plot."

CAUTIOUS PREDICTION — Leon Henderson, New Dealer and former OPA Administrator, predicts that the current "economic readjustment" will continue from nine to twelve months and "could add to the possibility of financial panic in this country."

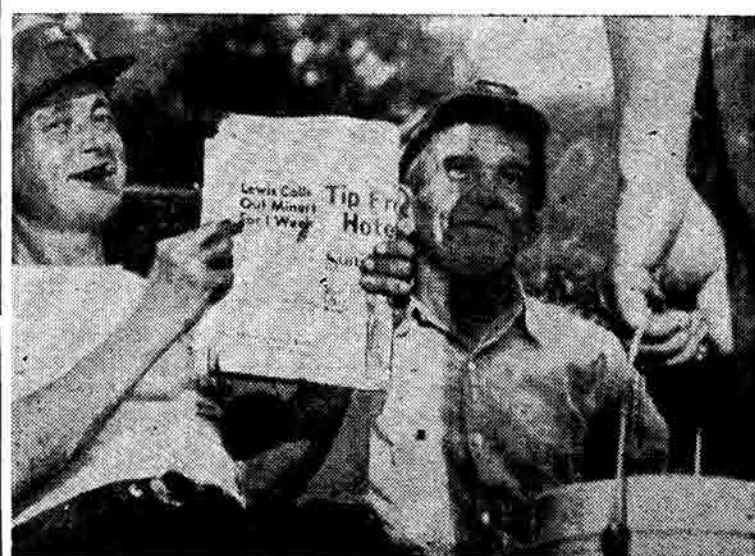
NEW POST FOR WILKINS — Roy Wilkins, assistant NAACP secretary, was named acting secretary by the NAACP Board of Directors. He will be executive head of the organization during the absence of Walter White, secretary, who was granted a year's leave of absence following the Board's refusal to accept his resignation.

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Hear of Mine Stoppage



Larry Gragg and Andy Gerdich read in Pittsburgh that work will halt for one week starting June 13 for what President John L. Lewis of United Mine Workers called "a brief stabilizing period in inaction." 450,000 soft and hard coal miners are affected by this move which is tied in with UMW negotiations for a new contract.

Roybal Victory Shows L. A. Minorities' Power

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES — Edward R. Roybal won last month's race in the Ninth District by 20,472 votes to 11,956 for his opponent. This is reportedly the first successful fight for representation for minorities on the Los Angeles City Council.

The Roybal campaign was in the main initiated and conducted by the vanguard of the Mexican community. It was an independent political action against discrimination, police brutality and second class citizenship in every aspect of political, economic and social life in the Los Angeles area. In this was the strength of the campaign.

In the councilmanic election, two years ago, Roybal was defeated in his race against the same opponent, incumbent Councilman Parley Parker Christensen, for many years the darling of the liberals and the Stalinists. At that time the needs of the minority Roybal represents were as great, but the mass base in the Mexican community had not been organized; many Mexican-Americans, ignored and excluded from participation in government, did not even bother to register to vote.

LEARNED LESSONS

The Stalinists, who then controlled the CIO here, opposed the move to run an independent labor candidate from the Ninth District, populated largely by workers and minority groups. This, coupled with the backing of CIO right-wingers, threw the labor endorsement to Christensen, helping defeat Roybal two years ago.

The vanguard of the Mexican community learned the lessons of this defeat. A group of Roy-

bal's supporters organized the Community Service Organization which, with Roybal as president, soon became a vital political body in the Mexican community.

Before the election of November 1948 the CSO had registered more than 14,000 voters, and registration was continued after the presidential election, looking toward the city election of April 5, 1949.

Chief activists in the CSO were young Mexican-American veterans, college students, and labor organizers and union officers. From the beginning, conscious efforts were made to forge an alliance between the CSO and sections of the CIO and AFL. Roybal pledged a representative labor committee to advise him on legislation of special concern to them.

ROYBAL'S PROGRAM

At the same time, the significance of Roybal's candidacy to all the minority and low income groups in the District was emphasized in approaching Negro, Jewish, Nisei, Italian and other minority groups.

Roybal's program in the campaign summed up the issues as follows: "No police brutality. Adequate pensions for aged, blind, and disabled. Better health facilities. More play centers. Fair employment procedures. City council members from the Ninth District. Support slum clearance and low cost housing. Improve transportation. No restrictive covenants. Better educational facilities. Tolerance of political views, religious faiths, racial backgrounds of all Americans. Protect rights of labor."

Financial support for the campaign came primarily from unions and from the Mexican community.

BUSY SCHEDULE PLANNED FOR JAMES KUTCHER IN BAY AREA

SAN FRANCISCO — James Kutcher will speak at a public meeting on Tuesday, June 28 in Berkeley under the joint sponsorship of the Americans for Democratic Action and the

Kutcher's appearance in Berkeley is one of many meetings already scheduled for him in the Bay area. The legless veteran will also address the Alameda County AFL Central Labor Union on Monday, June 27 and the Santa Cruz County AFL Central Labor Council on Friday, July 1.

Wednesday, June 29 he is slated to speak at the monthly meeting of Local 1-10 of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union and on Tuesday, July 5, at the meeting of the AFL Retail Clerks Union.

Wednesday, July 6 the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee will hold a public meeting in San Francisco under the chairmanship of Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner in the Mooney-Billings frameup. All local unions which have endorsed Kutcher's case are being invited to send a speaker to this San Francisco meeting.

PROFS ASSAIL PURGE

A number of professors who have raised their voices in protest against the loyalty oaths are planning to attend Kutcher's meeting in Berkeley which will offer a major medium of expression for the seething resentment in academic circles here against the intensified witch-hunt.

Twelve professors at San Francisco State College released a joint statement to the press on June 14 denouncing Kutcher's dismissal and assailing the undemocratic procedures of the government's loyalty purge. A similar statement is being circulated among faculty members at the University of California.

As Roybal correctly stated at the victory party the night of election, the fight has just begun. Now that he has been elected, both the man and the movement must strengthen and extend their independence from capitalist politics, and their working class character, or they will succumb to the opportunist pressures which overwhelmed the former liberal Councilman Christensen (nominée of the Farmer-Labor Party for President of the United States in 1920) and all other liberals and reformers who fail to maintain a clear-cut working-class loyalty and perspective, and a scientific socialist program.

The road for Roybal, if he is to keep faith with the movement which is bigger than he and which placed him in office, is to conduct an aggressive, militant struggle against discrimination and poverty, and at the same time to give leadership in the struggle for independent political action of labor and minority groups toward the building of a labor party. Only with a workers' administration locally and nationally will the movement against discrimination and poverty be able to tackle those problems with a real solution, a socialist program.

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Buffalo Bell Union Forced to Strike

BUFFALO, June 13 — About 3,000 workers of the Bell Aircraft Corporation went out on strike today following collapse of negotiations between the company and union officials representing Local 501, UAW-CIO. Picket lines were set up early this morning around the huge Niagara Falls plant amidst a spirit of rising militancy enhanced by the unprecedented arrogance of the company, which according to Regional Director Martin Gerber "wanted the contract renewed for one year without any wage increases or other economic benefits included."

Just before negotiations broke off, Sub-regional Director E. F. Gray was quoted in the Courier

Express as saying: "We proposed setting aside the question of wages and pensions for a three to four month period during which the employees would continue to work. We proposed settling all other contract issues now but indicated we were willing to give proper consideration in future negotiations to any monetary concessions made by the company at this time. Our offer was refused by the company and we were informed by their representatives there would be no further extension of contract or negotiations unless we withdrew our wage demands and accepted the company's offer on all other contract matters."

COMPANY GAINED TIME

The present union officials of Local 501 had previously granted the company two successive contract extensions, one on April 30 and another on May 15 without prior authorization by the membership. These extensions are said to have given the company precious good time which enabled it to get out pressing orders and placed the company in a more favorable position than it would have been at the expiration of the contract on April 30.

The company's sudden introduction of overtime and work on Saturdays and Sundays in certain departments had previously aroused the suspicions of the workers as company preparations for a strike.

The newly elected local officials took over the administration two months ago from the militant Rank and File group, following a violent Trotsky-baiting attack against the union administration by the anti-labor Buffalo Evening News, the company and the local Reutherite bureaucracy. The Reuther group had staked their all on obtaining a new union contract by what they termed in their campaign propaganda, "rational, constructive, intelligent

behavior on the part of union representatives — to the whole problem of collective bargaining." This was supposed to be in contrast to the conduct of the militants which they described as "insulting, arrogant, abusive, vulgar behavior" toward the company.

An unidentified Reuther spokesman quoted in the News of March 2 went so far as to state that the policy of the militants "has hurt us in our negotiations with management and may hurt us in the future. Management won't give in an inch to them." Now the new Reutherite administration is forced to admit that their "constructive" and "intelligent" belly-crawling, appeasement tactics couldn't even wrest from the company a simple extension of the contract — after they had gratuitously granted two of them to the company at a time when the latter needed them badly. The Reutherite protestations — that "we are reasonable people," "we are willing to compromise," and so forth — were not able to elicit anything from the company except greater arrogance and contempt.

The fiasco of the negotiations conducted by the Reutherites has engendered the deepest resentment and bitter criticism on the part of the rank and file. The admissions made by Sub-regional Director Gray as well as those made by Regional Director Gerber — who was called in by the local Reuther machine to save the situation for them — that they could not get anything at all from the company is regarded as a striking confirmation of the bankruptcy of their company appeasement policies.

At last night's strike preparation meeting, the workers gave more than a broad hint that they are looking towards the militants to lead them to a victorious conclusion of the strike.

Boeing Company Wins Court Decision; Union Will Seek NLRB Election

By C. Kaye

SEATTLE, June 6 — After long months of silence, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals has finally announced its decision in the case of the Boeing Airplane Co. versus the Aero

Mechanics Union, Lodge 751, International Association of Machinists. Under provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, the three-man court ruled that last year's five-month strike by 15,000 workers was illegal, thereby causing the union to lose its status as the official bargaining agency for workers at Boeing's giant Seattle plant.

On three previous occasions, the NLRB ruled that the strike was legal, that a 60-day pre-strike notice was not required inasmuch as notice had been filed almost a year before, and that the Aero Mechanics were the legal bargaining agent. On behalf of the union, the NLRB sued the company on an unfair labor practice charge.

The Circuit Court decision reversed the NLRB, but did not, however, grant jurisdiction to the local Teamster Union affiliate which is also claiming jurisdiction over Boeing workers. This issue will be decided at a representation election, and the Aero Mechanics have already petitioned the NLRB to set the voting machinery in motion.

The long 1948 strike at Boeing attracted national attention when Dave Beck, West Coast Teamster czar, joined forces with the company to recruit scabs and organized them behind the picket lines into a newly chartered rival union. Despite innumerable offers of aid from the aroused and outraged Northwest trade union movement, the leadership of the striking union refused to call for

mass action to repulse Beck and his strikebreakers.

They resorted, instead, to expensive and time-consuming legal proceedings and succeeded in forcing a disgruntled rank and file to give up the strike and return to work — to an open shop, minus a contract, with no demand gained. Hundreds of ex-strikers were victimized by this move when the company refused to rehire them, on the basis of its own "subversive" and "undesirable" listings, while inside the shops IAM organizers vied with Teamster organizers in signing up the thousands of newly hired, unaffiliated workers.

The company has followed a persistent policy of discrimination against Aero Mechanic members and indulgence towards the Teamster-union cardholders. Thousands of ex-strikers have since been fired, laid off or demoted; most new hires are forced to join the Teamsters before they can pick up a tool; and Beck operates a flourishing hiring hall for the company right in his Teamsters' Headquarters.

The present relationship of forces inside the plant is approximately three to one in favor of the Aero Mechanics Union. No official figures are available. The morale of the striking union membership is good, boss-court decisions and company pressure notwithstanding. Their hatred and contempt for Beck and his brand of "unionism" is still strong. At this juncture they should win an election although there is the danger that the company might discharge a crucial section of the membership and hire thousands of raw workers before election day.

Only when the exclusive bargaining agent is finally determined will contract negotiations with Boeing management commence. The story of the Boeing strike and its aftermath is an object lesson in Taft-Hartleyism. In trying to live up to this law, the unions are drowning themselves in a deep, endless mire of legalistic mumbo-jumbo, red tape and humiliating defeats. Only militant solidarity in action, on the picket lines and through a united Conference of Labor, can force this type of legislation off the books.

Seek 40 Hr. Pay For 30 Hr. Week

"We urge our union to set as its goal wage rates which will give 40 hours of pay for a 30-hour week," states the first point of the program adopted by the recent national convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America. The program, drafted by the union's Wage and Contract Committee, says that the shorter work week for the same take-home pay is needed "to avoid widespread unemployment and preserve our members from starvation."

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