

James Kutcher Nails Slanders Of Howard Fast

LOS ANGELES, July 23 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran who is persecuted by the Truman administration and slandered by the Communist Party because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, today sent the N. Y. Daily Compass a letter answering Howard Fast's lies in that paper about the Kutcher case and the SWP. The following is the full text of the letter by Kutcher, who is now touring the West Coast to win support for his fight against the witch-hunt:

Dear Sir:

When I read Howard Fast's condemnation of I. F. Stone's support of everyone's civil rights in the July 11 Compass, I do not know what disgusted me most: his hypocrisy toward my case and distortion of my political views, his slanders against the Socialist Workers Party, or his refusal to defend the civil rights of political opponents of the Communist Party. Let me explain why.

Mr. Fast feigns agreement with Mr. Stone that my discharge "is a thoroughly disgusting and revolting example of the operation of our loyalty act." He then goes on to say: "When questioned

on his beliefs, Kutcher said quite frankly that he supported the overthrow of the government by force and violence." This is a complete fabrication. I have never said anything of the sort. On the contrary, at Loyalty Board hearings and in the press, I have repeatedly stated that neither I nor the Socialist Workers Party advocate violence to achieve Socialism and that the only time I ever practiced force and violence was under the orders given me in the Army by the U. S. Government.

SAME LINE AS CLARK

This is not a mere slip of the pen by Mr. Fast. In the first place, this same false accusation of preaching violent overthrow of the government is Attorney General Clark's pretext for political blacklisting of the SWP and other organizations and for ordering my discharge. By putting this position in my mouth, Mr. Fast not only lies about my views but aids the loyalty purgers in excluding me from my job.

In the second place, Mr. Fast's falsification coincides with the standard slanders spread by the Stalinists to prevent support for my fight. My case has been before the public for about a year. Not once during that time has the Daily Worker or any prominent figure connected with the Communist Party said a word in my behalf, although hundreds of liberal and labor groups have made their stand known.

THE CP IN ACTION

Moreover, the Communist Party has persistently tried to sabotage my defense. Here are two such instances I personally encountered on my present West Coast tour. While I was in Seattle, the June 24 Daily People's World, the June 24 Daily Worker, the June 24 Daily Communist Party paper, published a lengthy editorial on my case headed: "Look Out For This Booby Trap."

More crudely than Mr. Fast to I. F. Stone, this CP organ warns "misguided liberals and progressives" that everything connected with my case "reeks of fraud and deceit." It says my case "hasn't the remotest connection with the defense of civil rights" or the struggle against Truman's loyalty purge. It winds up by declaring: "To talk of 'civil liberties' for a Kutcher is to talk of 'civil liberties' for a Ward Warren or a Louis Budenz" (who help the witch-hunters while I am their victim).

Five days later I presented my case to 2,500 members at a regular meeting of Local 10 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco. During my speech I called for defense of the CP leaders on trial in New York and also for the defense of Harry Bridges. (Local 10 is Bridges' own local). When a motion was made for a contribution to my

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Successful Rally For Legless Vet In Los Angeles

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, July 24 — Recognition of the need for united action to combat the government attack on civil liberties keynoted the unusually successful Kutcher banquet held here yesterday.

Purpose of the banquet was to make known to labor and liberal circles in Los Angeles the facts regarding the legless veteran's fight for reinstatement in his job with the Veterans Administration and to help raise money to carry his case to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

A spirited plea for funds made by Leonard Levy, business manager of the Amalgamated Retail Clerks local, resulted in a collection of \$298. Further funds to implement the fight were obtained through greetings from unions, business houses and individuals printed in a special souvenir program entitled "Civil Rights at the Crossroads."

ALL ARE MENACED

Each speaker emphasized that an attack upon the civil liberties of one is an attack upon the liberties of all, and that the loyalty oaths, "subversive" list and "un-American" investigations are all significant signposts leading directly to government by decree, dictatorship and finally fascism.

"James Kutcher is the symbol of the fight for civil liberties in America," declared Anthony Ramuglia, international representative of the CIO United Textile

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Support Gladly Given for Defense of Carl Skoglund

The Civil Rights Defense Committee reports an encouraging response to its appeal for funds to help stop the deportation of Carl Skoglund. Solely because of his loyalty to labor and his political opinions, this 65-year-old Minnesota union leader is threatened with expulsion from this country where he has lived for 38 years. The CRDC has launched a campaign to raise \$1,000 to cover the costs of the first steps in his anti-deportation fight.

"HARD TO UNDERSTAND"

A woman supporter writes from California: "I'm in a hospital with a broken hip but I've friends to help me and my State Insurance so that I can spare a five to help your man against unfair treatment."

Another contributor writes from Delaware: "It is hard to understand why, in this land where justice is supposed to prevail, those who are even suspected of being left wing are harassed and persecuted while far more dangerous forces are permitted to secure a stranglehold on all our institutions. Few seem to know, or care, what fascism is doing to our country."

A 90-year old rebel from Leonardville, Kansas, W. H. Sikes, comes to the defense of the 65-year-old youngster, comparing his case "to the many persecutions of labor leaders in this coun-

try, including Tom Mooney. The persecution of Skoglund also reminds me of the murder in Salt Lake City by the copper trust of a man known as the IWW poet who was also from Sweden."

Mr. Sikes states that one of the main points in the autobiography he is working on "will be to give credit for the great achievements of capitalism in this country to the fact that we received so many of the best from Europe."

AID FROM STRIKER

A "token contribution" to Skoglund's defense fund has been sent to the Committee from a friend who has been on a picket line in Hollywood for nearly three years — "the longest lock-out in history, I believe."

The Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington is now considering a brief submitted by Skoglund's attorney to drop the deportation proceedings. Their decision is expected to be handed down in several weeks. It is very likely that Skoglund's case will have to be carried into the federal courts. Contributions for his fight should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



Auto Union Heads Stall for Time in Ford Negotiations

DETROIT — UAW President Walter Reuther is stalling for time in the current Ford negotiations. First the contract which expired July 15 was extended on a day-to-day basis. Now he has called for a strike vote under the Michigan Bonine-Trippe law, a law which the UAW ignored in the past. This will consume at least an additional three weeks time.

The Ford workers are not only deeply concerned about the wage and pension demands, but feel that the problems of speedup, working conditions and the so-called "company security" clauses in the contract are of equal importance.

STRESS OTHER DEMANDS

The national Ford Council, meeting prior to the recent strike over speedup, adopted a resolution that these matters must be given equal consideration with the wage and pension demands. The 24-day strike over speedup shows how crucial the Ford workers consider this question of working conditions.

This was reflected again in the Milwaukee convention of the auto union, where, on the initiative of the Ford delegation, the convention called for the elimination of company security clauses—under which company speedup has been pushed — from all future union contracts.

Meanwhile, the bankruptcy of the one-at-a-time union wage strategy is again evidenced. The leading CIO unions do not have a common wage strategy and each division is floundering around on its own. UAW negotiations with the Chrysler Corporation are as hopelessly deadlocked as at Ford. The Stalinist leaders of the CIO United Electrical Union, despite their blarney about militancy, have indefinitely postponed negotiations with the General Electric Corporation.

In the meantime, the Fact-Finding Board appointed by Truman in the steel wage controversy is beginning its hearings and will make its recommendations by the end of August.

These recommendations, which may very well offer the unions a pitiful fraction of their fourth round economic demands will then for all practical purposes become the "pattern" for the Ford, Chrysler, Steel and other workers, while the corporations remain free to even turn down these recommendations. This is the sorry pass to which the Murray-Reuther leadership has brought the fight for a fourth wage round.

The Ford rank and file upset predictions once before when they forced through strike action on the speedup issue. Despite the many difficulties thrown in the way of the rank and file by the CIO bureaucrats on the top, these militant workers may still inject themselves into the struggle and demand that a new fight be waged for labor's fourth round economic demands.

THE CARDINAL'S ATTACK ON ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

By Ruth Johnson

Cardinal Spellman last week unleashed an insulting and arrogant attack against Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, accusing her of "bias," "anti-Catholicism" and "discrimination unworthy of an American mother." His letter made newspaper headlines in a dispute that has been going on for months over the Barden Bill for federal aid to education.

The capitalist press expressed surprise over such venomous denunciation of a woman whose reputation is one of tolerance. But the Cardinal's attack was not based on her personal attitude. It was only an extension of the slander campaign carried on by the Catholic hierarchy against anyone who dares to oppose the political aims of their organization.

When the Barden Bill was first presented, Spellman assailed its author as "a new apostle of bigotry." Why? Because the bill, which would give \$300,000,000 of federal aid yearly to schools throughout the country for construction and equipment, specifies that only public schools are eligible.

This is in keeping with the First Amendment to the Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting any establishment of religion." It is in line with a Supreme Court decision of 1947, which ruled that tax funds cannot be used for support of any parochial school, to set up its buildings or to pay its teachers.

The dispute has nothing to do with Catholicism as a religion. Catholic and other religious schools are still free to operate, with whatever funds their own supporters make available. Catholic children can still attend public schools — as most of them do now, since their parents cannot afford to pay tuition to the church.

CIO Split Hinted at MCS Parley

By W. Manning

SAN FRANCISCO, July 26 — The probable course the Stalinist-led CIO unions will take in the fight against the national CIO bureaucracy was indicated last week in the 3rd Biennial Convention of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, a union of 6,000 members. This was the first convention of a CIO union led by Stalinists since the last session of the CIO Executive Board which demanded that the leadership of these unions comply with national CIO policy or resign.

While adopting a resolution serving notice to the CIO Executive Board that they will not be dictated to, the convention, amidst vicious lies and red-baiting of Trotskyists by President Hugh Bryson, voted down a proposal to have a referendum vote for or against instructing delegates to the next CIO convention to fight vigorously for autonomy and democratic rights and declare at the same time their opposition to secession from the CIO.

The original resolution on autonomy presented by the Stalinist leadership proposed to remain "within the framework of the CIO and do all within our power to return it to its democratic founding principles." Sent back to committee at the instigation of the leadership "for more drastic action," the resolution was returned in vague form with the section on remaining within the CIO omitted.

DANGEROUS TREND

Highly ambiguous in regard to secession from the national organization, the substitute resolution called for opposition to efforts by the top CIO leaders to expel any union because it insists on the right of self-determination, and authorized the national MCS officers to participate in any movements to preserve the autonomous rights of CIO members.

The resolution on autonomy received unanimous support. However, an amendment against secession was introduced by a few delegates because of indications that leaving the CIO was being treated lightly and that even secession was being considered. This tendency was evidenced when Stalinist spokesmen, in a week-long "Pre-Convention Con-

New Arms Bill Unties Hands Of Warmakers

State Department Aims War of Nerves At American People

The formula of "artificial alarm" is obviously being intensively applied in connection with the Truman administration's new arms bill.

The hearings in both the House and the Senate have been limited to two weeks.

The administration has more-over issued a special announcement that it will permit discussion of "details" of its proposed program "only in closed sessions of Senate and House committees." Everything will not only be done at top speed, but strictly hush-hush.

Not content with this, the "rush-them and hush-them" masterminds in Washington have planted in the press sensational items purporting to disclose large-scale "Soviet war preparations," mysterious "mass movements of troops," and the like.

On July 26 the United Press issued a release claiming that the State Department had completed preparations "to lay before Congress secret intelligence reports which indicate Russia is arming for war."

But Spellman is not satisfied to keep the status quo. He demands a cash reward for the services the Catholic Church gives to capitalism. It is not an interest in people's souls which moves the Pope to brandish the club of excommunication over the heads of Catholics for even reading or listening to Communist doctrine. He is concerned with safeguarding the worldly assets of the church, one of the biggest financial enterprises in the world today. In the same way it is not concern over religious training of children that infuriates Spellman in the current dispute; he is determined to get his hands into the public treasury.

Cardinal Spellman showed in the cemetery strike of the Catholic workers last winter that he thinks and acts like any other profit-hungry boss. He looks at the Barden Bill as a desirable source of income for the hierarchy. If they could build parochial schools with government funds, and keep all tuition as total profit, the Church would be vastly enriched out of money paid by taxpayers of all denominations. If they could secure the estab-

lishment of a special session of Hawaii's Legislature and demanded power to seize the islands' docks, take over operation of the pineapple and sugar plantations and issue injunctions against the striking workers.

Hawaiian members of CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Unions are shown demonstrating at the docks, where they have been striking for a wage increase for two months. Meanwhile, Gov. Ingram M. Stainback

Truman, Brass Hats Demand Sweeping Peacetime Powers

The ink had hardly dried on Truman's signature to the North Atlantic Pact when his administration began trying to jam through Congress still another "pact" — the "Foreign Military Assistance Act of 1949." Ostensibly designed to implement militarily the North Atlantic Treaty, Truman's "arms bill" goes far beyond this.

Never in this country's history, either in peace or war, has any piece of legislation been proposed vesting such sweeping powers in a single individual as this bill does. In this sense, the proposed measure represents still another giant step to plunge this country into another world war. By the same token, it brings closer the establishment of a military police-state at home.

NO LIMIT TO SCOPE

Truman's "arms bill" truly encompasses our entire planet, empowering him to extend any time he pleases "military assistance" not alone to any country but also any "foreign group" he may designate.

American troops and military personnel may be sent anywhere by presidential order under the cover of "the performance of non-combatant functions."

There is virtually no limit to the scope of this "assistance." In addition to arms and munitions, the bill authorizes allocation and shipment of all types of supplies and equipment, including "provision of funds or any other form of financial assistance." The sole items specifically excluded are atom bombs and merchant vessels.

In this monstrous bill the term "nation" is defined as meaning "any foreign government or country, or group thereof; or any representatives or group of the people of any country, however constituted, designated as a 'nation' by the President for the purposes of this act."

With such a definition of "nation" and with the proposed powers vested in Truman, the Congressional "control" of foreign policy would become largely meaningless.

The butcher Franco could become a beneficiary to such "aid" without the formality of Senate approval. So could Chiang Kai-shek or any other counter-revolutionary clique in China or elsewhere in the Orient.

Washington would have a free hand in aiding the West-European imperialists in suppressing colonial movements for independence. It could start re-arming Germany at any time it saw fit. It could move with equal ease against the revolutionary masses anywhere in Western Europe.

Since all that is needed for Truman to act is the request of any "nation," his hands are completely untied to transform the "cold war" into open military hostilities whenever the Big Brass deems the circumstances propitious.

STRENGTHENS BIG BRASS
The dictatorial powers granted to the President under the proposed set-up hardly require additional comment. But it must not be overlooked that vast new powers will likewise accrue to the military gang who are already deeply entrenched in the government and who will play an increasingly dominant role in the diversion of supplies and funds and the allocation of "arms aid."

Public attention is now being deliberately focused on the secondary issue of the amount of aid proposed. Whatever the initial sum may be, it is only the first installment on expenditures for which there is — and can be — no limit set in advance.

What is more, the actual expenditures can easily go far beyond the fixed formal figures because the administration is free to place only "token charges" on shipments that it designates as "surplus equipment."

NO PEACE PACT
Testifying in May on the North Atlantic Pact before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, opposed and denounced it as a pact not for peace but part and parcel of a deliberate conspiracy — an "unprecedented military alliance for atomic war into which the Truman administration is dragging this country."

This bitter truth is being confirmed to the hilt. Truman's "arms bill" is additional unassailable proof of it.

Hawaiian Strike in Danger



Hawaiian members of CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Unions are shown demonstrating at the docks, where they have been striking for a wage increase for two months. Meanwhile, Gov. Ingram M. Stainback

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Press Comment on Bill Of Rights Conference

The Communist Party has been posing as a defender of civil rights and leader of the fight against the witch-hunt. But the Stalinists had to abandon this pose at the Bill of Rights Conference when they were confronted with a demand that the conference support the civil rights of the Trotskyists as well as the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act. They had to take off the mask and reveal themselves as die-hard opponents of civil liberties for their political opponents in the working class movement and as objective allies of the Truman administration's assault on the Trotskyists.

All the reporters, commentators and editorial writers got the essence of the matter, and although they approached the facts from the viewpoint of how best to use them for their own political purposes, the facts themselves were widely disseminated to the public.

TIMES' COVERAGE

Of the daily press, the N. Y. Times printed the greatest number of dispatches on the conference. On July 16 it reported that SWP chairman Farrell Dobbs had made public letters he had received from several of the conference sponsors "supporting the view that the civil rights of all groups should be considered." This story also mentioned the fact that Henry Wallace had pledged his support to the campaign for the restoration of civil rights for the 18 SWP defendants convicted in the Minneapolis Trial.

The next day the Times briefly reported that at the first session Dobbs was booed when he made his first attempt to get the floor in order to answer a number of slanderous statements by the Stalinist, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. On July 18 the Times carried an article about the close of the conference, featuring the debate over its only controversial issue and the arguments offered by the supporters and opponents of

the resolution calling on Truman to restore the civil liberties of the 18 Trotskyists.

It noted that the resolution was supported by Paul J. Kern, chairman of the conference, and Professor Thomas Emerson of the Yale Law School. It correctly quoted Dobbs as saying: "Either this conference is going to vote to defend the civil rights of everyone or prove on the record that so far as the Communist Party is concerned you would rather wreck a cause than support those with whom you do not agree." It also reported Paul Robeson's demagogic and malicious comparison of the SWP with the Ku Klux Klan and his characterization of the Trotskyists as "allies of fascism" and "enemies of the working class."

HANDLE FOR REACTION

The next day the Times editors gleefully seized hold of Robeson's arguments to show that for the Stalinists, civil rights for minorities "are apparently valid only when the minorities conform to the party line." This was followed by a few hours for the "American way."

Similar coverage of the conference was given by most of the other metropolitan papers, although less fully. The World Telegram also ran an editorial illustrating how the Stalinist policy plays into the hands of the reactionaries and red-baiters. Proclaiming the conference as "a large flop," it suggested that the Stalinists send the Kremlin a memo saying:

"The Trotskyites made it quite embarrassing. In the middle of all our hullabaloo demanding more freedom of speech, they wanted in on the act. Naturally we didn't let them. We know how you feel about those people. But it was awkward for it to get out that we really didn't want free speech for everybody, only for us, until we can destroy it and set up the Soviet system here."

The Daily Compass and the National Guardian, Wallacite papers, gave short reports on the dispute at the conference, the Guardian referring to the resolution on the SWP as a "hot cargo" issue. Neither made any editorial comment.

STALINIST REPORTING

With the exception of The Militant, however, the most space given to the controversy was in the Daily Worker. This was in marked contrast to their treatment of the same controversy at the conference of the Civil Rights Congress held in June, and showed that the Stalinist leaders were seriously concerned about the effects of their unpopular position.

On July 14 the Worker's entire editorial column was devoted to warning the conference delegates that defense of the Trotskyists' rights would weaken the defense of civil liberties in general.

On July 18 it gave almost two full columns of its lengthy report on the conference to discussion of the debate over the resolution on the Trotskyists. It completely omitted reporting what the SWP delegates said in favor of this

resolution. It crookedly gave the impression that the SWP was interested only in the defense of its own rights, when the fact is that the SWP also advocated support for the CP victims of the witch-hunt.

REPEATS LIES

It reduced to three short sentences the statements for the resolution by such non-Trotskyists as Professor Emerson and Paul Kern, printing only a few generalities and leaving out their strongest and most concrete arguments against the Stalinist position. Even after Emerson had proved from the record of the Minneapolis trial that it was a peacetime case involving freedom of speech, the Daily Worker repeated the lie that the Trotskyists had been convicted "during the war for attempting to undermine the morale of the armed forces."

It also repeated the boner made by the Stalinists at the conference, by admitting that their spokesman "pointed out Prosecutor McGohey at Foley Square argued along the lines of equating the 12 to the case of Trotskyites." This was an unconscious admission of the fact that the Stalinists, by supporting the conviction of the 18 SWP members under the Smith Act, had helped prepare the precedent which is now being used against them in the trial of the Stalinist leaders.

In an editorial the next day the Daily Worker sadly admitted that although the Trotskyists had been defeated at the conference, "they did maintain confusion in the minds of some of the delegates as to their real character." It also sought to weasel out of the disruptive and rule-or-ruin role they had played at the conference by solemnly assuring that "The Communists do not make it a condition for unity against reaction that liberals accept their views..."

NO EXPLANATION

The editorial professed to express satisfaction that the conference "marked another important advance" in the struggle against the witch-hunt. But it did not explain why if this was so, the Stalinists suddenly decided in the midst of the conference, where strong opposition tendencies were manifested on the controversial issues, to let the conference die after its two-day sessions instead of continuing it as a permanent movement.

Neither the Stalinists nor any of the other papers mentioned Farrell Dobbs' challenge for an impartial Commission of Inquiry to investigate and render a verdict on the Stalinist slanders against the Trotskyists.

Florida Terrorists Burn Down Negro Homes



Flames cut into the darkness as three Negro homes burn to the ground at Groveland, Fla. This was only a small part of the reign of Jim Crow terror by an armed mob which lasted several days and resulted in driving all 400 Negro inhabitants out of Groveland. The houses were set afire in reprisal for an alleged attack on a couple by four Negroes. Three Negroes were arrested on this charge, and are in danger of death by legal lynching. A fourth Negro was caught by deputy sheriffs in Lake County and shot to death in cold blood although he was unarmed. The record will read he was "killed resisting arrest," but the truth is that he was lynched.

James Kutcher Answers Howard Fast's Slanders

(Continued from Page 1)

defense committee, a well-known Stalinist committeeman opposed it with the usual lies that the Trotskyists are stool-pigeons, etc. I am glad to say that he sat down to a chorus of boos and all but 12 out of the 2,500 longshoremen present voted to support my fight.

In the light of these facts it is possible to judge Mr. Fast's attempts to explain why the Stalinist-dominated Civil Rights Congress rejected an amendment supporting my case. He gives two flimsy alibis: one, that the proper procedure was not followed, and two, that mine is only one case among many and to record specific support for it would "water down the intent of the central resolution."

However, despite the wide public controversy around my case and the CP attitude toward it, the Bill of Rights Conference held in New York two weeks later under similar auspices likewise failed to take any specific stand in support of my case. A split took place there between the supporters of defense for all victims of the witch-hunt and the Stalinists who insist on denying defense to political groups opposed to their policies.

FAST'S REAL ATTITUDE

The real reasons for this attitude toward my case are not to be found in Mr. Fast's mealy-mouthed apologies but in his avowed refusal to support the restoration of civil rights to the 18 Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act. His main argument is the long-explored Stalinist lie that the Trotskyists "have acted as paid agents of fascism." As every informed person knows, the truth

is that the Trotskyists have everywhere been the most uncompromising foes of the fascists. Many European Trotskyist leaders paid with their lives for their fight against Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. It was not Trotsky, but Stalin, who made a pact with Hitler. Fast's only "proof" of his slanderous accusations comes from Stalin's Moscow Trials of the Old Bolsheviks which were exposed as frameups by the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry as long ago as 1938.

Fast tries to justify the CP line by claiming that the Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists in 1941 "is not a case of civil liberties." None seriously concerned with civil liberties outside the CP holds such a view. That is why labor and liberal organizations representing over five million members backed the defense of the 18.

WE DEFEND CP'S RIGHTS

The Minneapolis case was the first peacetime prosecution under the Smith Act. The defendants were railroaded to prison solely because of their socialist political opinions. The Communist Manifesto was introduced as evidence against them. Now the Department of Justice is using the conviction of the 18 as the principal precedent in the current trial of the 12 CP leaders.

There are very deep differences between the Socialist Workers Party to which I belong and the Communist Party for whom Mr. Fast speaks: These differences are made plain, among other things, by our respective positions on the struggle for civil rights. Wherever I have had the chance, I have stated the need for a united defense of all victims

of the witch-hunters, regardless of political differences; and so has my party. I have publicly opposed all persecutions of members and followers of the Communist Party, despite my opposition to their policies. Apart from the Communist Party, representatives of many widely varying political and labor groups have rallied behind my fight for justice.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has crippled its own defense and discredited itself in the eyes of public opinion by its shameful conduct on the issue of civil rights. Mr. Fast provides further evidence that the Stalinists, who shout so loudly about assaults on their rights, are unwilling to join in protecting the civil liberties of their left-wing political opponents. That is why I cannot refrain from characterizing Mr. Fast's letter as "a thoroughly disgusting and revolting example of the operation" of the Communist Party.

"I AM EAGER TO APPEAR"

Farrell Dobbs, SWP national chairman, in his reply to Mr. Fast, demanded that Fast submit his alleged evidence against me and my party to an impartial Commission of Inquiry to be headed by L. F. Stone. I am eager to appear before such a body. Unless Mr. Fast does likewise, he publicly exposes himself as a conscienceless slanderer.

JAMES KUTCHER

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Trotskyists Gain In Dutch Elections

In Holland's municipal elections last month the Revolutionary Communist Party (Dutch section of the Fourth International) presented candidates in six of the largest cities. The results marked considerable headway for the Dutch Trotskyists in the electoral field, particularly in the chief city of Amsterdam. There they got 2,200 votes, double what they received in 1946. In Rotterdam they were given 960 votes, a slight gain. They averaged 200 votes in the other cities.

The Trotskyists carried on a vigorous campaign, centering their propaganda on a demand for the immediate and unconditional evacuation of Indonesia. Posters carrying this slogan were seized by the "socialist" Mayor of Amsterdam and resulted in a court case undertaken against this action by the RCP.

The Stalinists lost considerably in the elections. In one of the northern cities, all of the CP members of the Municipal Council resigned from the Stalinist Party.

Algerian Leader Protests Against Atlantic Pact

Messali Hadj, leader of the People's Party of Algeria, which is semi-legal under the present French administration although it is the country's strongest organization, recently visited Paris by special permission. He had to attend a hearing at the French Court of Appeals. The Algerian leader otherwise is still banned from the capital of France by a decree of Petain's Vichy government which the present "socialist" Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, is very zealous to execute.

In an interview with the Trotskyist La Verite, Messali was very bitter about the "socialist" figures who serve to dress up and carry out French imperialist policy today. He told of an open letter he wrote to "socialist" President Vincent Auriol on the latter's recent visit to Algeria. In it he explained that Algerians, fighting against the regime oppressing them, cannot participate in the celebrations to honor the President of the so-called "French Union" (the new post-war name for the French empire). The Algerian people, Messali wrote,

"are convinced that the Fourth Republic over which you preside is not any different from its predecessor, symbolized by the old colonial helmet and the swinging club."

In Algeria itself, the PPA leader said, the regime of the "socialist" Governor Naegelen is strictly a police regime. It has practically the right of life and death over every Algerian. The "Algerian Assembly" is nothing more than a fiction, part of the methodical propaganda to falsify the real condition of the Algerian people.

Messali voiced particularly strong protest against the enforced inclusion of Algeria in the North Atlantic Pact. He told the interviewer that the French Government, by means of this pact, has two aims: "To sanction the French domination of Algeria by means of international agreements; to guarantee the continued presence of the French in Algeria by means of the clause relating to 'internal aggression.' It is evident that France intends to utilize this clause against any eventual movement for Algerian national liberation. Obviously, the Algerian people cannot range themselves on the side of their oppressors."

Messali closed the interview by stating his great pleasure always in reading La Verite, which he said he follows attentively. He asked the correspondent to convey his best wishes to all friends of the Trotskyist paper.

British Trotskyists Enter Labor Party

At a national conference held last month the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain (Trotskyist) decided by a substantial majority to dissolve the organization and called on its members and sympathizers to enter the Labor Party in order to "carry on the fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for a socialist Britain." A majority of RCP members were already affiliated to the Labor Party by virtue of their union membership.

In the concluding issue of Socialist Appeal, the RCP states the reasons for this step. The statement begins by saying plainly that the economic and political reforms introduced by the Labor Government have not basically undermined the capitalist structure of the country. It stresses the dissatisfaction among wide sections of the working class with the policy of the Labor Party and notes that this is reflected "however, not by seeking for a new or more revolutionary organization, but by striving to exert pressure through their established mass political organization — the Labor Party. They see no alternative in small left-wing groupings outside that party."

"The perspective for socialists," the statement continues, "must therefore be to join the ranks of the politically conscious workers inside the Labor Party and try to orientate its policy along truly socialist lines." It then gives a criticism of the Labor Government's actions and warns that the coming depression must bring a capitalist attack upon the social services and living standards of the workers.

To prevent such an attack, a bold policy is required, including further extension of nationalization to cover all industry and land without compensation, overall socialist planning conducted by workers' and technicians' committees at all levels, etc. It also stresses the need for a socialist foreign policy, calling for the withdrawal of British troops from colonial and foreign soil, and for steps toward the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The statement concludes: "We would prefer to have the right to enter the Labor Party as an organized body, affiliated in the same manner as the Fabian Society and other organizations. But this is not possible owing to the 1946 decision of the Labor Party regarding organizations seeking affiliation. We have therefore dissolved our organization and will fight as individual members, within the framework of the constitution of the Labor Party, for the policy outlined above."

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BANQUET FOR LEGLESS VETERAN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL IN LOS ANGELES

(Continued from Page 1)

Workers, who was master of ceremonies.

As Kutcher rose to tell his story to the 325 people present, he was given a standing ovation. In a simple, direct manner, he explained how he had been fired from his job as clerk because of his socialist views and his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

WITCH-HUNT'S REASON

"The capitalist system at the present time is practically in collapse, and they intend to hold on to their privileges; they intend to do this at the expense of the vast majority of the population of the United States as well as of the world. If they can keep the people divided on racial lines, on religious lines, citizen against alien, trade unionist against non-trade unionist, if they can intimidate and terrorize people from taking a position on public

questions, then they will be able to establish fascism."

Stating that the purpose of the Taft-Hartley Law was "to destroy the trade union movement," and that the "subversive" list was designed to intimidate those not members of unions, he added: "There are certain people here in the United States who know that their days are numbered and that the people are going to move into a new social order. And so they have given orders to their agency, the state, to destroy every organization which might in some way prevent them from maintaining their control over the people."

The similarity of Kutcher's fight for his civil rights and the fight of the minorities was stressed by Logan Miller, lawyer for the NAACP, and Masamori Kojima, editor of the Japanese-American weekly, the Crossroads.

"ETERNAL CREDIT"

Miller asserted: "I think it is to Mr. Kutcher's eternal credit that he is not one of those who has taken refuge in denial of his views." He pointed out further

how the insidious doctrine embodied in the loyalty oath concept has seeped down to where now in Los Angeles even persons who sweep the streets and collect garbage are compelled to swear fealty to the government in order to keep their jobs.

Kojima stressed the fact that the Japanese on the West Coast during the war in their opposition to forceful evacuation made the same demand that Kutcher is making today. "A public hearing is what we Japanese-Americans demanded to decide our case — but we didn't get it."

A. L. Wirin, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, declared "The greatest menace to freedom is an inert people." He made the point that the present victims of the Smith Act, now being tried in New York, "did not have the good sense to speak out against the same persecution when it was used against the Trotskyites some years ago."

CONFORMITY PROGRAM

He stated further that the so-called loyalty program is not a loyalty program at all but "obviously merely a conformative program," a program designed to force people to conform to the ideas set out by Attorney General Tom Clark, who was largely responsible for the deportation of the Japanese from the West Coast during the war, and who has a "meager reputation as a liberal."

Among the many organizations which expressed their solidarity with Kutcher's fight through greetings in the souvenir program were the Cloak Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the United Steelworkers, United Automobile Workers, Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and United Packinghouse Workers.

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Monday, August 1, 1949



TROTSKY

"Stalinism... is not an abstraction of 'dictatorship,' but an immense bureaucratic reaction against the proletarian dictatorship in a backward and isolated country. The October Revolution abolished privileges, waged war against social inequality, replaced the bureaucracy with self-government of the toilers, abolished secret diplomacy, strove to render all social relationships completely transparent. Stalinism reestablished the most offensive forms of privileges, imbued inequality with a provocative character, strangled self-activity under police absolutism, transformed administration into a monopoly of the Kremlin oligarchy and regenerated the fetishism of power in forms that absolute monarchy dared not dream of."
— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, 1938.



LENIN

Arms and the "Fair Deal"

The housing bill, passed by Congress and signed by Truman amid loud fanfare, has been acclaimed as a great victory for the "Fair Deal." Actually, the outstanding feature of this bill is its utter inadequacy.

Assuming all its provisions are fully carried out, there will be 810,000 low-rent units built in the next six years, or an average of 135,000 units per year. Meanwhile, the need is for much more. For example, the CIO Economic Outlook estimates that existing shortages and new needs require a minimum of 1,300,000 units a year.

In other words, this bill provides for barely one-tenth of what is actually needed — or not enough to cover the number of dwellings normally lost each year through fire, disrepair, obsolescence and so on. Truman, however, is elated. The housing problem has been "settled" so far as he is concerned.

On the question of unemployed relief and social security, it all came down to a face-saving gesture. Truman made a

recommendation for increased federal participation in general relief to the unemployed and for extending and liberalizing the social security insurance program. The House Ways and Means Committee rejected it out of hand. The Senate will not even bother considering such matters until next year. Neither the House nor the Senate has passed a single measure to cope with growing joblessness.

Not that Truman has been keeping quiet. On the contrary, he hasn't been so loud and insistent in quite a while. What is at stake is the multi-billion dollar arms program to implement the North Atlantic War Pact. When it comes to such issues, the "Fair Dealer" obviously cedes to none in determination and aggressiveness.

Truman and his colleagues are resolved at all costs to jam the first installment of this arms program through Congress. In this glaring contrast you have the gist of the "Fair Deal." It is a demagogic screen for Wall Street's war drive to dominate the world.

Vatican's Thought-Control Decree

On July 13 the Vatican issued a decree automatically excommunicating a member of the Catholic Church who joins, or so much as "shows favor" to, the Communist Party. If any measure was ever intended to make a mockery of freedom of thought and freedom of speech, this is certainly it.

Reading, publishing, disseminating, let alone writing for, the CP press likewise come under this sweeping ban. This is specifically stated in the text of the July 13 decree of the "Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office."

It was spelled out by Edwin B. Broderick, one of the priests on the staff of St. Patrick's cathedral in New York City, who during a solemn mass on July 24 publicly prohibited the reading of the *Daily Worker* and other CP publications "for information, professional reasons or curiosity."

Cardinal Spellman later confirmed that even those Catholics, such as journalists, teachers, lawyers and the like, who for professional reasons have to follow the Stalinist press, would have to obtain special permission from the "diocesan authorities."

The cloak of religion which the Catholic hierarchy invariably uses to cover up its arch-reactionary politics can hardly obscure the basic issues that are at stake here.

Far from defending their religious views, the Pope and his minions are seeking to deal a death-blow to the most elementary and most precious of all civil rights. The red-baiters and the witch-hunters, for all their brazenness, have not dared as yet to go to such extremes as the Holy See.

Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese Mikado tried to outlaw freedom of thought and of speech by means of "temporal powers." They brought into play naked physical terror—the jail, the whip, the executioner's block — in order to enforce all the thought-control decrees they had written into their respective legal codes.

It has remained for the Vatican to attempt exactly the same thing by means of "spiritual powers." What the fascists and the Japanese militarists tried to impose through the use of brute force, the Pope and his hand-picked "Princes of the Church" seek to achieve by means of ideological terror.

The Vatican's dictate, invoked in the name and under the guise of religion, is more insidious and no less dangerous than the fascist onslaughts against civil liberties. Let all the super-patriots who are condemning thought-control in Eastern Europe speak up loudly now to tell us what they think about this effort to impose thought-control on a world-wide basis.

Tory "Socialism" and "Socialist Toryism"

The American capitalist press, as part of its anti-Socialist propaganda, gave considerable play to the publication last week of the Conservative Party's official program for the coming general election in Britain and Winston Churchill's fiery speeches endorsing it.

The British capitalist press, according to dispatches from London, took a much more sober view toward the Tory program. Brushing aside Churchill's rhetoric, Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* concluded that "plainly, the Tory chiefs see the problem very much as the socialists do." The liberal *Manchester Guardian*, reaching a similar conclusion, titled its editorial "Tory Socialism."

Unquestionably the newspapers in Britain are far more perspicacious than our own red-baiting press. Even a cursory examination of the Tory program cannot fail to disclose that Mr. Churchill and his colleagues do not intend to make very many changes in the "socialist" measures adopted by the Labor Party.

The reasons are obvious. British capitalism cannot afford to take a different

course from that adopted in its behalf by the Laborites. The economic position of British capitalism in world affairs does not permit it, nor can the working class of Britain be persuaded to accept anything less than the sops granted in recent years.

From this point of view it is quite apt to characterize the Conservative program as "Tory socialism." This characterization is at the same time an illuminating commentary on the pro-capitalist policy of the Labor Party. So far as basic policy is concerned, there are more similarities than differences between the two major British parties. If the one is characterized by "Tory socialism," then the other may be no less aptly called "socialist Toryism."

The real difference between them is that the Labor Party has a representative mass character, which inevitably germinates socialist revolt. It is this latent revolutionary power stored up in the Labor Party ranks, and not the program of Attlee and Co., that Churchill and his friends fear.

Excellent Biography of Debs

THE BENDING CROSS, A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs, by Ray Ginger. Rutgers University Press, 1949, 516 pp., \$5.

By George Breitman

This is an excellent book, unquestionably the best ever written about Debs. The author evidently had only one axe to grind, and that was to present all the important

facts in the Debs story as fairly as he could and as fully as his space permitted. When you finish it, you can feel with justification that you know what forces shaped Debs, why his ideas developed from pure and simple unionism through reformism to revolutionary socialism, what problems the revolutionary movement of his time had to contend with, what contributions he made to the struggle for socialism, what his legacy is for the present generation.

Briefly but vividly we get a picture of Debs' family, of his birth in Terre Haute in 1855 around the time the American industrial working class was born, the humanitarian influence his father exerted on him, his decision to quit high school at 14 so he could help his family, his first job on the railroads at 50 cents a day. He became a locomotive fireman, got acquainted with hard work and unemployment, cried when his high school class was graduated without him, studied at night, and after five years was compelled to leave the railroads because of his mother's anxiety over his health and hazardous working conditions.

HIS UNION RECORD

Working as a grocery billing clerk, he learned of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen which was then more of a fraternal order than a union, became the local secretary and later national secretary-treasurer and editor of its magazine. He taught himself how to speak, became active in the Democratic Party, was elected City Clerk and member of the State Legislature, got married. But above everything else, he threw his energy, time and money into the job of organizing the workers in his own and other unions and was soon recognized as one of the ablest labor leaders in the country.

Young Eugene Debs started out with conservative, class-collaborationist ideas, but experience taught him some truths about the class struggle. He began to recognize the need for strikes and militant activities if the workers were to gain anything, and he learned the weaknesses of craft unionism. Under his leadership the rail unions were federated together into a joint council for mutual aid and action, but the federation collapsed because of the selfish and shortsighted policies of the union bureaucrats. Dissatisfied with these policies, Debs withdrew from his post in the BLF, despite the unanimous pleas of its convention delegates that he remain at a higher salary.

When the depression of 1893 brought a new wave of militancy, Debs and a few others organized the American Railway Union, which was open to the rail workers of all crafts, attracted them by the thousands, won an inspiring strike victory from James J. Hill's Great Northern, and grew so rapidly that it threatened to displace all the other rail unions.

This promising movement was smashed when the Cleveland administration (which Debs had helped elect) broke the great Pullman strike of 1894 by injunctions and federal troops and sent Debs and his colleagues to jail for "contempt." No longer a Democrat when he came out of jail, Debs was soon collaborating with socialists and helped to form the organization that later developed into the Socialist Party.

BRIGHT PAGES

The rest of the story, containing some of the brightest pages in U. S. history, is better known — especially the five presidential campaigns headed by Debs, during which the socialist movement for the first time became a real political force in this country; Debs' undeviating opposition to the first world war; his Canton speech, conviction under the Espionage Act and prison sentence. But these are only the high points, and the author has surrounded them with serious research, scores of anecdotes and reminiscences of Debs' associates that throw new light on the man and his relation to the movement.

Thus the Socialist Party is shown as the kind of organization it really was during the first two decades of the century — a loose federation of conflicting groups, divided mainly between the revolutionary proletarian wing and the opportunist middle class elements. Debs, it is amply proved, was closer to the left wing, and generally sided with it on specific issues (for example, in its advocacy of industrial unionism to organize the unorganized, its op-

position to conciliation with the conservative Gompers bureaucracy in the AFL and its struggle against imperialist war and social-patriotism). But he never broke with the right wing and he failed to line up with the left wing for a struggle to win the leadership of the party.

HIS MISTAKES

Debs did not have an adequate or realistic understanding of the responsibilities of revolutionary leadership. Disgusted and repelled by the selfishness and careerism of both union and party bureaucrats, he held himself aloof from most factional fights, and while he occasionally expressed his own views in magazine articles intended for the rank and file, he refused except on very rare occasions to even attend party conventions, where policy was adopted and the leadership chosen. As a result the left wing was deprived of the full influence Debs could have wielded and the right wing found it easier to gain control and put over policies which eventually led to the degeneration of the party.

Debs never had any trouble finding the right side to support in the class struggle, but his grasp of Marxism was incomplete and he tended to oversimplify important problems. Thus he was a life-long opponent of Jim Crow and, as the author notes, "He always insisted on absolute equality. But he failed to accept the view that special measures were sometimes needed to achieve this equality." This led him to reject the correct policy for mobilizing the Negro people in the revolutionary struggle against Jim Crow.

But while the author's evaluation in this case is correct, it is



EUGENE V. DEBS

necessary to warn that that is not true in all cases. He is wrong, for example, when he says that Debs, by helping to establish the Industrial Workers of the World (which the author regards as a "dual union"), delayed rather than promoted the campaign for industrial unionism because it isolated revolutionary forces from the majority of the organized workers in the AFL. But the IWW was more a new movement to organize the unorganized unskilled workers whom the AFL ignored, than a dual union. And Debs, for his part, continued to support the AFL in all its strikes and organizing campaigns.

The AFL represented only a small fraction of the working class, mainly skilled craftsmen, and had little or nothing to do with the fields the IWW tried to organize. Under the circumstances it would have been extremely shortsighted to take the position that industrial unionism could come only through the AFL. The successful organization of the mass industries by the CIO, which was a split from the AFL 30 years later, serves to confirm Debs' view on this question, rather than that of his critics.

In all fairness, however, it should be added that even where

the author commits such mistakes in evaluation as this, he always presents the facts fully and makes it possible for the reader to judge for himself the merits of the disputes in which Debs engaged and thus to arrive at independent conclusions.

VIEW OF BOLSHEVIKS

Many stories have been told about Debs' attitude to the Russian Revolution and the split in the American Socialist Party which followed it, and most of them are inaccurate. The author has tracked down most of these stories and given us the probably definitive study of where Debs really stood on these questions.

Debs, as is well known, hailed the Russian Revolution and proudly claimed to be a Bolshevik himself at his trial in 1918. The Social Democrats and Norman Thomas "socialists" would have us believe that afterwards he repudiated this stand and became, like themselves, an enemy of the first workers' state. The evidence indicates that this is simply untrue. He reproached the 1920 convention of the SP (which had nominated him for the presidency) because it opposed the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Later, in prison, he became disturbed by stories about revolutionary violence and repressions in Russia, but after talking them over with Lincoln Steffens he expressed himself as completely reassured.

The basis of the Social Democratic legend rests on two incidents: 1. He sent a telegram to Lenin protesting against the impending execution of Social Revolutionaries who had taken up arms against the Soviet government. But this move was not at all inconsistent with support of the Soviet government, in which there were also differences as to the best means of combatting the anti-Soviet terrorists.

2. The Christian Science Monitor printed an unsigned article, quoting Debs as having told a communist interviewer (who had been alone with him at the time

of the interview) that he was opposed to communism and "dictatorship, regardless of the class by which it is practiced." Debs said that "some of the interview is true, and some is not," but the Social Democrats continue to refer to it as if it were an authorized statement. The fact is that to the end of his life he continued to call for recognition of the Soviet regime.

On the split in the party, which took place while he was in prison, Debs played pretty much the same role as he had played in the pre-war factional fights. He was distressed by the split and repeatedly called for reunification. He disapproved many of the SP's policies, but he also disapproved many of the new Communist Party's sectarian, unrealistic and inflexible tactics. He sent greetings to the conventions of both organizations. It was not until almost a year after he left Atlanta that he decided to remain a member of the SP for what were chiefly sentimental reasons. But he continued to collaborate with the Communist Party and its campaigns on behalf of class war prisoners until he died. He was a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense and contributed to its magazine, the *Labor Defender*.

HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

Politically his career can be summed up as that of a pioneer revolutionary militant, who alone among the well-known leaders of his time bore aloft the banner of revolutionary politics and industrial unionism. He never wavered in the face of the class enemy, and in this sense his grasp of "theory" was better and sounder and more Marxist than that of all the "theoreticians" like Hillquit and Berger, who at bottom were nothing but reformists.

His main mistake, in our opinion, was his tolerant personal attitude toward these reformists, which enabled them to exploit his great popularity and retain control of the party. Because of the general backwardness of the American socialist movement, which had not yet learned the principles of building a revolutionary combat party, he tended to play the role of a left centrist in the movement. But his shortcomings will be more than compensated for in the eyes of history, as they were in the eyes of his own generation, by his contributions as organizer, agitator and inspirer of the first great socialist upsurge of the American working class.

Lack of space prevents a fuller appreciation here of the magnitude of those contributions (which most Militant readers are already at least partly acquainted with, and which I tried to summarize in last year's review of Debs' Writings and Speeches, to which the present biography is a worthy companion volume). But I cannot close without calling attention to something which the biography well illustrates — namely, the total nature of Debs' commitment to the socialist goal, which led him to give to the movement not merely his talent, time and money, but literally everything he had. This is surely not the least of Debs' examples to be emulated by those who aspire to continue the work he began.

Next week we shall deal with comments on this biography and Debs by people who are not fit to shine Debs' shoes — the Social Democrat Sidney Hook's review in the *N. Y. Times* and the Stalinist David Carpenter's review in the *Daily Worker*.

Indonesia Republicans Make Deal With Dutch

By Charles Hanley

World public opinion strongly condemned the renewal of full-scale warfare by the Dutch imperialists against the Indonesian people last December. The UN discussed this outrage at length, and the U. S. government paid lip-service to public opinion by cutting off Marshall Plan funds for Indonesia (while continuing to supply such funds to the Dutch government itself). Nevertheless, the Dutch imperialists appear to have obtained the major part of their objective — namely, keeping Indonesia within the Dutch empire.

Guerrilla warfare continues against the Dutch in many parts of Indonesia, but the Republican leaders (headed by President Sukarno and Premier Hatta) have capitulated to the imperialists, have been released from detention, and are now negotiating a Dutch-directed deal with the Federalist leaders (who remained puppets of the Dutch even when the Republicans were fighting for independence).

Under this deal, the Republicans and Federalists will unite forces to set up a United States of Indonesia, which will remain part of the Dutch empire and to which the Dutch imperialists will turn over "sovereignty" and "control," once they are assured that it will be able to function effectively as their instrument of rule.

TOKEN "INDEPENDENCE"

Indonesia's position in the Dutch empire will then closely resemble that of the North African colonies in the French "Union." That is, it will be able to boast a token "independence" and a government staffed by Indonesians, but will be utterly dependent on the decision of the Dutch imperialists in the fields of foreign policy, trade, fiscal policy and armed forces.

The Dutch have won a victory, although the resistance of the In-

donesian masses compels the Dutch to grant greater concessions than they did before the war. But it was a victory they could not have won without the support of U. S. imperialism and its British and French partners who feared that the independence of Indonesia would encourage the rebellious partisans in Indo-China and Malaya and precipitate the loss of imperialist influence on the Asiatic continent.

The capitalist politicians of the Indonesian Republic would have been glad to get rid of Dutch domination. They would have preferred a more discreet arrangement and indirect collaboration with American imperialism, which would have been less visible to the population and more profitable to their own class interests.

TAN MALAKKA'S MURDER

But the Dutch were stubborn out of desperation — after all, what would Holland be without Indonesia to exploit? And to drive the Dutch out of the country would require a mass revolutionary mobilization and upsurge, which the Indonesian bourgeoisie was afraid to unleash because they knew they could not control it. Rather than risk the consequences of such a struggle, which might well conclude with the masses deciding to put an end to native as well as foreign capitalist exploitation, they have decided to come to terms with the Dutch.

Against the background of these latest developments, it is easier to understand the murder of Tan Malakka by the Republican militia last May. Tan Malakka, the leader of a revolutionary socialist party that was independent of Moscow, was the chief representative of the policy of struggle for the complete independence of Indonesia. This meant he represented a powerful threat not only to the Dutch im-

perialists, but also to Sukarno and Hatta, who fear a proletarian revolution more than a Dutch victory.

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that one of the preconditions of the deal worked out by the Dutch and Sukarno was the murder of Tan Malakka before the Dutch troops withdrew in June from Jogjakarta, the Republican capital. At one stroke the Republican leaders thus removed the chief opponent of their capitulationist policy and gave the Dutch proof of their willingness to collaborate as a junior partner on the basis of capitalist "law and order."

But the murder of Tan Malakka does not mean the death of his ideas, which expressed the deepest aspirations and needs of the Indonesian masses — complete independence, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the overturn of a class of parasites and profiteers now becoming the main obstacle in the way of Indonesia's further development, and active solidarity with the other Asiatic peoples fighting for independence. The Indonesian bourgeoisie cannot solve its problems by firing squads. Every move it makes now further compromises itself and prepares the way for the growth of a new leadership based on Tan Malakka's program.

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The NAACP Convention

By William F. Warde

We have many times observed that, because of their status as a doubly oppressed minority, the Negro people are driven to take positions more advanced than the rest of the mass movement in this country. Their actions and initiative in turn serve to spur forward other sections of the American people in the fight against oppression.

This feature of our national political life received fresh confirmation at the recent annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles. Despite its serious shortcomings and although it does not have a radical, farsighted leadership, the pressing needs of the Negro struggle compelled this gathering of the principal organization of the Negro masses to assert views and sponsor highly progressive proposals on key issues of the day. While conservatism and red-baiting reigned over recent conventions of the leading unions, resistance to red-baiting and notes of militancy marked the NAACP conference.

Two important actions were taken by the 500 delegates. One was the demand upon Truman to summon a special session of Congress "for the express and exclusive purpose of passing civil rights laws." This not only expresses the deep disillusionment of the Negroes in Truman's election promises but their dissatisfaction with the policy of reliance on the Democratic administration pursued by the NAACP national officers. These officers had to deny that they behaved as stooges for the Democratic Party.

No less significant were the proposals for mass action in this resolution. The resolution called for the proclamation of "a national civil liberties month" to be climaxed by a mass conference of Negroes and their allies in Washington while Congress is in session. This emphasis on a mass demonstration as the most effective way to put the heat on Congress and gain civil rights legislation indicates that the Negro people, fed up with the double-crosses and delays of the capitalist politicians, are ready for decisive action.

The other outstanding aspect of the NAACP conference was its forthright condemnation of the red-scare and its determination to defend all victims of the witch-hunters. By word and deed the delegates clearly recognized that the attacks upon organized labor, the persecutions of working class parties, the loyalty purge, etc., are all integral parts of a single pattern of reaction and are directly connected with the reign of terror against the Negro masses and their fight for equality.

Thus, for all the bureaucratism and compromise still present in its leading circles, the NAACP has put forward proposals and set examples that organized labor ought to support and follow. If the unions should take up the proposed mass civil rights conference and the NAACP leaders proceed to realize it, the tremendous outpouring of the people that would respond to this call would do far more to advance the cause of freedom and the movement for civil rights than a million telegrams and postcards to all the do-nothing politicians in Washington.

Socialized Medicine VII

British Difficulties

By Grace Carlson

As any real Marxist could have told the British Labor Party leaders, the path of true socialism can never run smooth through capitalist fields. As with its nationalized industries, Britain's National Health Service has had rough going!

Many of the criticisms of the National Health Service, which went into effect on July 5, 1948, have been completely reactionary. Such are the attacks made by the right-wing leaders of the British Medical Association and the even more right-wing heads of the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine. There are the familiar charges of all supporters of free enterprise in medicine: "too much government"; "wasteful extravagance"; "bureaucratic rule over doctors"; "England is becoming a nation of hypochondriacs," etc., etc.

But the British people are very undisturbed at the dire prediction that they are on the road to becoming hypochondriacs — too many years of tragically inadequate medical, surgical and dental care lie behind them. Now they are flocking to the doctors, dentists and opticians to have repairs made. No one can tell British workers who have suffered for years with rotten teeth, neglected eyes and diseased bodies that they are only imagining these difficulties! And the British workers are not concerned about "too much government in medicine." They want more government subsidies for medicine — an increase in medical facilities and medical aid.

The Socialist Medical Association sees a need for a great increase in the number of doctors — 15,000 more as quickly as possible and many thousands more later on if a real program of preventive medicine is to be undertaken.

Forty thousand more nurses are needed in Britain to care for the increasing number of patients who are now receiving very necessary hos-

pital care under the National Health Service. This is despite the fact that Britain now has 35,000 more nurses than in 1938.

Some 100,000 more hospital beds are needed to take care of the rapid increase in patients demanding free hospitalization. It was recently estimated that 33,000 patients were waiting for admission to London's hospitals alone.

In the 1949-50 budget, no provisions were made for increasing the number of hospital beds or for training more medical workers. Instead, the Sir Stafford Cripps "austerity" budget slashed \$38,000,000 from the hospital budget. Meantime, under the free enterprise system, hundreds of millions of dollars were budgeted to pay Britain's druggists, dentists, opticians and optometrists, who have been reaping a golden harvest under the National Health Service.

Despite all of the readily observable defects of their nationalized medicine, British workers do not want to go back to private medicine. John McPherrin, editor of the American Druggist, testifies to this fact in the latest issue of his magazine, in which he records the results of five weeks of interviewing Britons. He admits that the National Health Service is popular with the British, but thinks that it is bad for them. He calls Britain, "Welfare Island" and mourns over the "depressing effect" that the National Health Service has had upon the "spirit of the people." He also wails over the cost of the British medical system to British taxpayers.

Editor McPherrin is completely unconcerned about the cost of Britain's war program to these same taxpayers. Disarmingly listed as defense needs, Britain's war program for 1949-50 will cost three times as much as the whole nationalized medicine system!

Rank and File Reactions

By Ruth Johnson

Listening and talking to some of the rank and file delegates to the Bill of Rights Conference in New York, I was impressed by their resistance to the Stalinist policy of denying rights for the Trotskyists. These were young people from organizations friendly to or dominated by the Communist Party, yet under relentless pressure they stood firm for a principled position.

The first of these I spoke to was a delegate from the American Labor Party — and, as he took pains to explain, from the Marcantonio wing, not the dissident supporters of Connolly. We discussed the need for united action to defend all victims of government persecution. I gave him a copy of The Militant.

He sought me out after lunch, to tell me he had read the articles on civil liberties, and agreed with us completely although he "still didn't like the Trotskyists in general." I saw him vote against the resolution designed to bar support of the Socialist Workers Party, and shake his head in dismay when it passed.

Nearby, a young girl had been carrying on a debate for over two hours. She knew nothing about the Trotskyists or their program, she frankly admitted. "But that isn't the point," she insisted. "If you don't support them, the government will use their cases against the rest of us too."

Her opponent was repeating all the vile slanders hurled by the Stalinist hatchet-men. "What

about Spain? They're fascists," and so on. But in vain.

"I don't know if what you say is so or not," the first girl insisted. "But we're talking about civil rights here, and that's the only thing I'm arguing about."

There was one young trade unionist who wanted to know all about the background of the Stalinist policy. "I believe in defending everybody's civil rights," he said. "So I voted against that resolution. Then the way they called you fascists made me think some more."

"Maybe I don't know everything about fascists, but I do know they never defend the rights of the Communist Party like you do. In the National Maritime Union I SAW the Trotskyists lead the fight against Curran when he wanted to kick out the Communists."

"Then the people I was arguing with mentioned a lot of things I couldn't answer, about Spain and a lot of stuff. But if they're so wrong about calling you fascists, I want to know what you've got to say about the rest of it."

"I'm going to do some reading and studying up so I can go back and take them on again."

He was from the Civil Rights Congress a "front" that the Stalinists have controlled as thoroughly as their own party. Something tells me that the reaction of this delegate and others to the Stalinist line at the Congress, will have a good many repercussions for a long time to come.

Notes from the News

CIO STAND ON EDUCATION DISPUTE — The pressure of the Catholic hierarchy is keeping the House Labor Committee from taking action on the Barden Bill, providing federal aid to education but barring the use of federal funds for parochial schools. The national CIO leaders announce they have "taken no position on whether funds should be used, in the aid program, for parochial or other types of non-public schools." Instead, taking a line favorable to the Catholic hierarchy's campaign, they say "the issue should be left up to the individual states to determine their own policy on these matters."

PAPAL HONORS FOR STRIKEBREAKER — Judge James C. Connell of Cleveland, who helped to break the CIO strike at Fawick Airflex Company in Cleveland last spring by issuing one of the worst anti-labor court orders in American history, has now been knighted by Pope Pius XII "for meritorious public service benefiting religion and the Holy See." The rank of Knight of St. Gregory will be conferred on Connell at a ceremony on Sept. 4.

DAILY WORKER RETRACTS — When the Daily Worker kept referring to Paul Silver, a

leader of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, as a "Trotskyite," Silver threatened to sue. The Daily Worker apologized and withdrew the characterization in its July 25 issue — not once but twice.

"LOYAL" BUT IMPATIENT — The Socialist Call announces that William Gausmann has resigned from the Socialist Party National Executive Committee to become head of the ECA Labor Information Division in Great Britain. "I hope that when I return to these shores, some several years hence, I'll find the SP a dynamic left-wing of American labor's political life," said Gausmann. "I am convinced that means lining up with the Democratic Party." The Call article containing this statement designates Gausmann as "a loyal SP'er."

ALP FIGHT — New York City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly has filed a \$100,000 slander suit against Ewart Guinier, his Stalinist-supported opponent for the American Labor Party nomination for Manhattan Borough President. Connolly says Guinier called him "an anti-Negro, anti-Marxist, anti-Wallace, pro-O'Dwyer renegade from ALP policies."

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THE MILITANT

Congress Prepares to Act On Two Police-State Bills

THE CARDINAL'S ATTACK ON ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

(Continued from page 1)

ishment of church schools with public funds, what would stop them from demanding public funds for other religious institutions?

Moreover, this precedent would greatly increase their already dangerous influence on public school boards of education. The case of The Nation, liberal magazine banned from the New York schools for publishing articles by Paul Blanshard that exposed the growth of the Catholic Church's temporal power, would be followed by similar outrages of church censorship.

Mrs. Roosevelt's articles in her column, "My Day," were far more innocuous and restrained than the Blanshard articles in The Nation, but for Spellman it was enough that she dared to speak out at all. Her strongest statement was: "Sometimes I think church organizations are foolish because they do things that lead people to believe they are not interested mainly in the spiritual side of the church, but that they have a decided interest also in temporal affairs."

Aside from that single sally, she spoke only of "broad, general principles": "The separation of church and state is extremely important to any of us who hold to the original traditions of our nation. To change these traditions . . . would be harmful, I think, to our whole attitude of tolerance in the religious area."

These were the comments that Spellman called attacks upon Catholicism. In hypocritical fury, he implied that she wanted to subject Catholic children to hunger and disease, although the Barden Bill deals only with construction and operation of school property.

Representative Steed of Oklahoma, ripped Spellman's letter apart for the fraud it is:

"I have never in all my experience read a more clever bit of propaganda. It could never have been written by anyone except a man who holds no regard for God's justice or truth. . . . It is the best example of the 'smear' that I have ever noted."

But most of the Congressmen cringe in silence, afraid to risk exposure to Spellman's vituperation and to the antagonism of the Catholic hierarchy in their constituencies. The case of former Governor Lehman of New York is for them a horrible example of how much political power the hierarchy has.

Lehman spoke out against the banning of The Nation, and was subjected to a vicious whispering campaign. He publicly defended Mrs. Roosevelt in the dispute with Spellman, and the newspapers report that the Democratic Party machine is suddenly becoming "cold" about nominating him for the U. S. Senate.

Since Roosevelt openly embraced the Vatican as a political

ally by giving it diplomatic recognition, the political ambitions of the hierarchy have expanded enormously. Their opposition to such measures as the Barden Bill is apparently sufficient to doom it in the present Congress. Their arrogance is so unbounded that they have even rejected a so-called "compromise" bill which would give them control over a large slice of a \$35,000,000 school health program. Either they will get what they demand or there will be no federal aid to education.

Their attempts to dictate to Congress and to intimidate even opponents as prominent as Mrs. Roosevelt can be answered only by firm resistance of all labor and liberal forces. And for this it is necessary first of all to expose the fraudulent nature of their outcries about "anti-Catholicism." Opposition to clerical interference and domination in public affairs is not anti-religious, as Spellman contends; it is only rejection of the maneuvers by a vast financial power to promote its selfish economic and political interests at the expense of the American people.

Robeson vs. Robinson-- A Propaganda Episode

By J. Meyer

The press, radio, and newsreels have now carried to the world the statement by Jackie Robinson, Negro ballplayer, that Negroes in the United States will be loyal in the coming war. He made this statement before the House Un-American Activities Committee which had invited him to testify. The whole episode is another incident in the propaganda war between Russia and the United States. It tells a great deal about both of them.

For years Paul Robeson, the actor and singer, has been a notorious follower of the Stalinist line; and in the recent period he has missed no opportunity at home and abroad to boost Stalinist Russia and denounce American imperialism. The climax of his outbursts was the statement at a Stalinist conference in Paris that it was "unthinkable" that Negroes would fight against the Soviet Union.

The American bourgeoisie was startled. Robeson's reputation is world-wide and this statement no doubt has traveled far. Furthermore the letters to the press and the general hysteria showed that many people believed there was a great deal of truth in what Robeson said. Why should Negroes fight for a country which denies them their elementary rights?

The House Un-American Committee invited various Negro

British Dock Strike Ended



The hard-fought British dock strike came to an end when Canadian Seaman Union leaders asked the British dockers to return, although the Canadian strike continues. Shown above are a few of the troops employed by the British Labor government as strikebreakers on the docks.

Powerful committees in both the House and Senate moved last week to sneak arch-reactionary legislation through Congress and push this country along the road toward the establishment of a police state.

On July 22, the Eastland subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee reported out favorably a new Mundt Bill patterned after the notorious Mundt-Nixon Bill which died in the Senate last year.

The new Mundt thought-control measure requires, like its predecessor, that "communist" organizations must register with the government and supply it with their membership lists. It also would make it a felony, punishable by 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine, to "knowingly" commit "an act which would substantially contribute" to establishment of a "totalitarian dictatorship" in the U. S.

In addition to the old provisions of the Mundt-Nixon bill, there is a new "anti-spy" clause obviously intended to capitalize on the spy-scare around the Coplon and Hiss cases. The old bill was vigorously opposed by many prominent labor and liberal organizations. The new Mundt Bill is scheduled to come up before the Senate on Monday, Aug. 1.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

On July 26 the House Judiciary Committee reported out favorably the Hobbis Bill which would "withhold bail" from all "undecidable aliens" whom the authorities seek to deport. It would in effect establish concentration camps for tens of thousands of aliens while, at the same time, intimidating and terrorizing other scores of thousands of foreign-born by the mere threat of government persecution. The action of the House committee was reported as unanimous.

The passage of either or both these measures would mark a signal success for the forces of reaction. They have been moving more and more brazenly to violate the elementary democratic rights of the American people as a prelude to abolishing them altogether.

CIO SPLIT HINTED AT MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS PARLEY

(Continued from Page 1)

feated, though many delegates refrained from voting.

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

On the last day of the convention, the Stalinists brought in a civil rights resolution mentioning the attacks on the Communist Party. A minority resolution proposed that the convention also go on record protesting the placing of the IWW on the "subversive" list; the persecution of Vern Smith (expelled member of the CP) by the Tenney Un-American Committee for his refusal to testify before that body; and the government purge of James Kutcher, Trotskyist legless veteran.

Delegate Jim Kiernan, speaking for this minority resolution, said the discussion on his proposals in committee was reminiscent of the witch-hunt in the national CIO convention, but this time against Trotskyists and other opponents of the CP. He explained that the reason is that Stalinists support only their own tendency and not their opponents.

To prove the truth of this charge, Kiernan cited the experience of Warren K. Billings, who was imprisoned for years with Tom Mooney on a labor frame-up. Billings came to the support of Vern Smith when he was attacked by the Tenney Committee. As a result, the Stalinist People's World withdrew Billings' ad for his watch repair shop from the paper, and CP members were told that they would be expelled if they patronized Billings' shop. Billings, claimed the CP leaders, had become an "enemy of the working class," the same slander they use against all working class opponents to their perfidy.

UNEMPLOYMENT ACUTE

Although this minority resolution was defeated, the large number of delegates who declined to vote at all on it, showed that many have begun to seriously question the Stalinist slanders. The political action resolution adopted by the convention vaguely praised the Progressive Party, but it also left the way open for endorsement of "progressive" Democrats and Republicans. The

foreign policy resolution proposed the ironing out of all disagreements in the UN.

The MCS membership has faced an acute unemployment problem for some time. The convention went on record to demand overtime for Saturday in addition to the present Sunday overtime, and two days off in port with pay for every week spent at sea. While this will relieve the unemployment problem somewhat, the feeling has been growing that the fight for actual reduced hours aboard ship to be achieved by increased manning scale, and fought for in conjunction with efforts of the Deck and Engine Departments to achieve the Four-Watch System, will become imperative.

In conclusion, a word about the membership of this union. Negroes and whites work together and fight together against the boss. They remained solid through the 93-day strike in the latter part of 1948. They know the value of fraternal ties with the labor movement, national and international. If the leadership plans an adventurist withdrawal from the national organization of industrial workers instead of remaining to fight the bureaucrats in control, the rank and file of this union will be heard from.

SP Schedules

Two Referendums

In December the Norman Thomas Socialist Party will hold a referendum of its members on the calling of a joint convention next spring with the Social Democratic Federation for the purpose of merging the two groups. Before then, in September, it will hold a referendum on the following proposals: (1) to approve the North Atlantic Pact; (2) to disapprove it; (3) to "neither approve nor condemn it" while expressing the view that under the pact the U. S. "must not be committed to the automatic grant of specific military appropriations to our Allies." (The third position is favored by the SP National Executive Committee.)

Strike Leader Begins Six-Month Term for 'Contempt' of Court Order

ST. PAUL, July 25 — Milton Siegel, field representative of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers and one of the leaders in last year's South St. Paul meat strike, was taken to Dakota County Jail last Wednesday to begin serving a six-month term for "contempt" of court.

Siegel's "crime" was that he resisted a court injunction handed down against mass picketing in front of the Swift & Co. plant in the early days of the nationwide meat strike in March, 1948.

Armed with a court order, Sheriff Norman Dieter demanded that Siegel get himself and the union pickets out of the way so that scabs could get into the plant. Siegel replied that he was not going to do so.

One of the unusual aspects of the case is that Siegel was arrested after that on a court action brought by Swift & Co., one of the parties in the strike dispute. This action clearly showed whose interest the injunction served as well as what side the courts are on.

When the case came to trial in May, 1948, Siegel was found guilty of "criminal contempt," fined \$100 and given a six-months jail term.

The conviction was appealed to the state supreme court, and Siegel was freed on bail. The court recently turned down the appeal on the ground that it was not filed "properly."

Last week Judge Charles Hall denied a motion asking suspension of the jail sentence, and ordered Siegel to jail. In addition Hall said that after 30 days of the term have been served, Siegel can again ask for suspension of sentence or modification of the remainder.

Because of the policies followed by the union in South St. Paul, which is one of the world's biggest meat packing centers, the strike there was one of the most effective in the whole packing-house workers' struggle. However, the strike ended without the union winning its wage demands after the National Guard had been called out to protect scabs in several states.

Siegel is state chairman of the Minnesota Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, which is mobilizing support for the legless veteran.

leaders to testify — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, a distinguished scholar and public figure, Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, etc. etc., and Jackie Robinson. The committee did not want the other Negroes. It did not even come to listen to them. At one time Lester Granger was talking to no more than two members of the committee.

Jackie Robinson was the person the committee wanted. Because of his popularity Jackie was a reasonably good counter to Robeson. A mass of people turned up to hear him and press, radio and newsreels got down to work. Robeson did his job for Stalinism and Robinson did his job for American imperialism.

Where do the Negro masses come in? Nowhere. Drowned out. Robeson's first concern is to his patrons, the Stalinist bureaucrats. When during the war the American Communist Party lined up with the capitalists to crush and disrupt the Negroes' struggle for their rights, Robeson uttered no protest. He did it yesterday, he will do it tomorrow.

Robinson made a brave attempt to denounce Jim Crow and to say a word for the Negro cause. But the total effect of what he said was to give the House Committee just what it wanted — an opportunity to tell the Negro masses not to listen to Robeson; and at the same time to give some comfort to the disturbed petty-bourgeois whites.

The committee has shouted itself hoarse and sweats day and night to ferret out and persecute "subversives." Repeatedly it has been pointed out that the grossest violations of American democracy are committed against American Negroes and that the committee should devote part of its time to exposing and demanding prosecution of the authors of these crimes. But such a thought never enters their heads. The committee's serious entry into the Negro question is to demonstrate Negro loyalty. Whereupon we may be sure it is now finished with the Negro question.

A LESSON IN POLITICS

The use of Jackie Robinson by the committee teaches a great lesson in politics. The committee never did anything for Robinson. If Jackie Robinson is where he is, it is as a result of agitation by the Negro masses and the labor movement. For years they hammered away until they broke down some of the barriers in baseball. This gave Jackie the chance to demonstrate his ability. But as soon as he is established, up comes the committee to use him against the very masses who fought so hard to put him where he is.

Thus Negro persecution becomes a football in the world-