ATOMIC ENERGY AND CAPITALIST SOCIETY

By Arne Swabeck

- See Page 2 -

Workers of the World, Unite!

MILITANT THE

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Public Protests Mounting Against FBI Lawbreaking

By George Breitman

The FBI's violations of the law in the Coplon-Gubitchev case are so flagrant and shocking that a former Cabinet member has called for the abolition of the FBI, a former

high government official has asked for a congressional investigation, a U. S. Senator has announced that he is considering an inquiry by the Judiciary Committee, and the U.S. Attorney General has found it necessary to explain publicly that he has "reviewed" the situation but does and clent so outraged Harold L. not intend to do anything about likes, former Secretary of the

As last week's Militant report-Gubitchev case has revealed three will keep it within proper bounds." scandalous practices by the FBI, all of them in violation of specific previsions in the law: 1. Wiretapping. 2. Use of leads obtained the first Coplon trial in Washington last spring. 3. Perjury by FBI agents who swore at that trial that they had "no knowledge" of wiretapping in the Coolon case although some of them have since admitted that they not only knew about it but helped to get it and used it.

When the evidence about these crimes began to pile up in the New York court where Judge Sylvester Ryan had permitted defense counsel to ask questions about them, it was revealed that the FBI had not only planted : microphone in Miss Coplon's of-



ice and tapped her wire before ier arrest, but that its agents had even listened in on her conversations with her lawyer after

This violation of the "privileged' celationship between lawyer Interior, that he wrote an article in the New Republic calling on ed in detail, the pre-trial hearing the American people "to abolish in New York on the Coplon- the FBI if nothing short of that (See article below.)

James Lawrence Fly, ex-chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and an official through wiretapping as evidence of the American Civil Liberties introduced by the government at Union, sent the Washington Post eral Communications Act and a grave threat to American liberies. He urged a congressional investigation.

A few days earlier Senator Wilam Langer (R, N.D.) said that as a member of the Senate Indiciary Committee he was giving thought to the request he had Party has flouted the Cominform received for an investigation of directives for a purge of its | Nakanishi reportedly sided with FBI wiretapping by that com- leadership and has instead ex- the Cominform immediately upon

The view of the liberal press was expressed in an editorial in be, whatever the alleged crime." pypocritical remark in the George

HAROLD L. ICKES

each other, then it is time for a ?

Franco, nor the Soviet Politburo.

the FBI's cynical breach of the dirtier."

9 New Republic.

has ever sunk lower.

mission of a crime."

ICKES URGES AMERICAN

"If the FBI so disregards legal propriety — to say

free people who never have and, law and disregard of every

tolerate a secret police, to abolish | Even the FBI's "proud record"

the FBI if nothing short of that at gang-busting, he declares,

will keep it within proper bounds," "cannot serve as justification of

writes ex - Secretary of the In- the Bureau's 'Peeping Tomism

terior Harold L. Ickes in the Jan. and door-crack listening in order

Ickes expresses great shock to gossip to be used against gov-

learn that FBI agents tapped ernment employees and others

phone conversations between who are denied their constitu-

the liberties we hold so dear. to light in the Coplon case."

Neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor "DANGEROUS IMMUNITY"

fessional. Such debased behavior in between times to Congress.

it may be hoped, never will, concept of human decency.'

Washington University bullet'n that, "The well-trained police of- Levinism on Japanese soil." Other anese CP on the Cominform ficer, schooled in the democratic tradition, respects the civil rights of the accused and observes the rules of fair play and decency." The Post hopes this article will be made "compulsory reading at the FBI" and wishes "J. Edgar (Continued on page 3)

to pick up envious or malicious

PEOPLE TO ABOLISH FBI

nothing of common decency - as to tap telephone wires in order to hear what a lawyer and a client may say to

According to an Associated developments in Japan cannot their Tory opponents. Japanese Parliament.

Union, sent the Washington Post a letter saying that the Justice Department was flouting the laws it was supposed to enforce by indulging in wiretapping. This practice, he charged, was clearly contrary to the intent of the Fedrder for Purge

Pie in the Sky

Revolt against the arbitrary domination of the Kremlin which flared in Yugoslavia twenty months ago has now spread to the Far East where the Japanese Communist

pelled one of the leaders who the publication of its attack on publicly backed the Cominform. Nosaka. "The Cominform critic-

The chief target of Cominform ism of our party this time is fully the Jan. 6 N. Y. Post, which attack is the Japanese CP leader warranted," he declared, adding tated: "We cannot imagine a Sanzo Nosaka. The charges that this "criticism" offered the more loathsome weapon of law- against him allege that he is a Japanese CP "the best chance to inforcement than eavesdropping "deceiver of the Japanese peo- strengthen itself" and to effect on the dialogue of lawyer and ple" who maintains that Japan an "over-all change in the Comlefendant - whoever they may "con attain Socialism under the munist front." whatever the alleged crime." occupation rule" of the U.S. He was expelled by the decision quotes J. Edgar Hoover's Nosaka is also denounced for of the party's control Commission claiming that he has achieved for "disruption." There has been "the naturalization of Marxism- no official comment by the Japunnamed Japanese leaders are attacks coupled in these attacks with

> The Cominform charges have that of Mao Tse-tung, leader of received the backing of the Mos- the Chinese Stalinists who is now ed Nosaka as "anti-democratic," ing the war Nosaka was with "anti-socialistic," and "anti-Jap- Mao Tse-tung in North China, the anese." These charges and attacks central base of the peasant guerare reminiscent of the tone of the rilla arm'es who later crushed Cominform's original denuncia- Chiang Kai-shek. tions of the Yugoslav CP leader-

to public reply as yet to the broken irrevocably with the attacks against him, amounting Kremlin and will presently be to orders for his immediate purge. attacked much in the same way Instead he has acted to purge as have been the Yugoslav Cominform supporters.

Press dispatch from Tokyo, Jan. fail to greatly intensify the in-10, this counter-purge has struck Ko Nakanishi, a veteran Japanese

Bitter Campaign **Expected in New British Elections**

The new elections in Britair have been officially fixed for Feb 23. The Labor Party leaders have apparently decided that they can not afford to wait any longer This leaves approximately six weeks for a campaign tha' promises to be more bitterly fought and demagogic (on both sides) than the previous election, five years ago, which swept the Laborites into power.

gram there is far less difference dispatches carried in the American press. The Tory program proposes to introduce no changes in the reforms already instituted it simply claims that Tories car realize and run the "welfare state" more efficiently and shameful conduct of its officers. Mayor Burke for his threatened cheaply than the Laborites and Secretary William Finegan and use of str.kebreakers. proposes to halt further na- President Jack Burns, who had tionalizations.

Their chief weapon in the campaign will be sacrifices and suf- had supported the strikebreaking ferings imposed on the masses under the Laborites to preserve Burke. cow Pravda, Stalin's personal in Moscow negotiating a treaty bankrupt British capitalism and Russian daily, which has denounce of "amity and friendship." Durthe natural resentment and discontent among the workers.

The coal miners have flatly rejected the government wagefreeze in the face of rising liv. have not gone unchallenged, howing costs resulting from the recent devaluation of the pound rect, the Japanese leaders headed The engineers, railwaymen and to the defense of the Transit Nosaka is said to have issued by Nosaka have by their actions electrical workers are other big unions expected to take a similar stand. This mass discontent is even more serious for darity with the transit workers

The odds still favor a return ternational crisis of Stalinism of the Laborites to office but by Stallnist, who is a member of the touched off by the Yugoslav a narrower margin than last strike are advocating a form of

COSTS UNDER OTHER TITLES You need persistence and a sharp eye to find the innumerable hidden war costs buried under misleading titles in Truman's budget. The listing of atomic-bomb development (817million) under "natural resources," subtitle "atomic energy," is but one example, and the easiest to trace.

There's another sizeable item, under "transportation and commerce," that strictly speaking should be listed under war preparations. That's "promotion of the merchant marine" which means federal subsidization of the shipping interests to the tune of \$222-million. As Truman explained it, "Our national security requires an efficient nucleus of merchant shipping and shipbuilding adequate to permit such expansion as

BUDGET HIDES MANY WAR

may be required by a future emergency" — meaning war. You'll find \$563-million for the Army Corps of Engineers listed under "land and water resources" and \$20-million for the Department of the Navy under "mineral resources."

A total of \$64-million is allocated for the improvement and expansion of roads, railroads and communications in Alaska, which is just across from Siberia. And there's a small item of \$4-million, listed under "general government," for the administration of the Pacific island possessions like Guam and American Samoa, which are nothing but military bases.

Also under "general government" are such costs of past wars as "cemeterial program (Army and American Battle Monuments Commission)" - \$21-million; and for the selection of an Unknown Soldier of World War II and entombing him in Arlington National Cemetery - \$1-million.

From the standpoint of probetween the opposing sides than appears from the highly colore. FIGHT IN CLEVELAND AFL

CLEVELAND, Jan. 9 — Repercussions of the recent transit strike are still being felt in labor and political cir- fairs and finances" shows a recles here. A sharp fight has developed in the Cleveland duction, from \$5,964,000,000 to Federation of Labor over

condemned the Transit Union and its officers for striking and

tactics of Democratic Mayor The CFL leaders wanted to cover up for strikebreaker Burke, shom they hope to run against

Senator Taft. That is the reason for their traitorous actions. They ever. Other segments of the Cleveland labor movement rallied The day after the end of the

strike the Cleveland CIO Council meeting officially announced solidissidents. At all events, the the Laborites to combat than are and denounced the use of the in- strikebreaking actions and launch Those who say that public employees can not have the right to slavery ... " It likewise condemned

Truman Asks

More for War

In New Budget

CIO DISCUSSION

vealed himself before they sup. \$355-million to \$645-million. ported him for Senator. The role | Added to the cost of preparing of the PAC in its support of for future war is the cost of the Democratic politicians was dis- past war. This includes veterans cussed at some length. Several benefits and interest on the nadelegates pointed to this strike tional debt. Aid to veterans will as proof of the need for a Labor be slashed \$874-million, to \$6,-Party.

Secretary Finegan attacked the on blood-money lent the governstrike facts." At the Federation meet predominantly the cost of financing the following week, Finegan in a 45-minute speech, alibied hijunction to break the str ke. The ed a bitter personal attack agains Clo resolution said in part: Thomas Meaney, leader of the fits or for new social legislation. 4200-member local of the AFI Amalgamated Association of confidently expected by Truman Street, Electric Railway and not to be passed by Congress Meter Coach Employees, the anyway. union that had been on strike.

It was difficult at times to tel' whether Finegan was a labor eader or a torch-bearer for the has crass opportunism been so payroll taxes. openly flaunted.

DEBATE IN AFL

Menney answered Finegan and the total budget," Truman admits. asked the delegates to take no And he stresses that this monuaction until they had heard the Transit Union's side. He excoriated the Mayor and defended the tarism and war will not abate in union, pointing out that his unior | the foreseeable future. was democratic as well as autonomous. After Meaney spoke. supporters for both points of view took the floor and engaged in a heated discussion for three hours. What followed after that next few years," Truman em-

disgusted many. The minutes of the Board of Bus ness Agents were read. These

(Continued on page 2)

Human Needs Sacrificed to Militarism

By Art Preis

More than seven times as much for direct war preparations as for social welfare, health and security - that's what Truman's "Fair Deal" program adds up to in cold dollars, according to his proposed federal budget for the next fiscal year.

Direct military expenditures, "cold war" foreign aid and the atom bomb total \$19,173,000,000 (that's billions) - or about 47% of the whole budget of \$42,438,-757,406. Social welfare, health and security get only 6% - or \$2,713,000,000.

Truman's promised military 'economy" turns out to be an increase for the army, navy and air force. These will get \$13,544,000,-000, or \$397-million more than in this year's budget. Development of bigger and better atom bombs - listed under the non-military item, "natural resources not primarily agriculture" — will cost the American people \$817 million next year compared to \$673 million this year.

FOREIGN ARMS

Only the item "international af-\$4,711,000,000. This is mainly a proposed cut in spending for "international recovery and relief." But "foreign military assistance" - arms for war against the So-During the CIO meeting's viet Union and to slaughter rediscussion, one delegate remarked bellious workers and colonial peoit was fortunate that Burke re- ples - gets an increase from

079.000,000. The capitalists will The next day Cleveland AFL collect \$5,625,000,000 in interest CIO for supporting the transit ment, which, Truman's budget "without knowing the message explains, "represents ing the last war.'

Here and there in the budget report you can find minute increases proposed for social bene-Most of the new measures are

SOCIAL APPROPRIATIONS

Thus, he proposes \$250-million for operation of a health insurmayor. He slandered strike ance fund, \$323-million more for leader Meaney as a man who housing and \$312-million for couldn't keep his word, but school aid. All three together are laimed scab-herder Mayor Burke about equal to what will be spent had always been a "friend of on atom-bomb development - belabor" and obviously always sides which there is little proswould be. Finegan summed up his pect that the Democratic-controlown actions in one whining sen- led Congress will approve them. tence: "I have to live with the A proposed increased expenditure Burke administration." We have of \$1,200,000,000 for old-age pencome to expect opportun'sm from sions will be no gift - it will the labor bureaucrats, but rarely come out of a further increase in

> War, past and planned, will cost the American people 30-billion dollars, "or about 71 per cent of mental burden of imperialist mili-

"Specifically, the largest item in the budget, national defense expenditures, is expected to anproximate the 1951 level in the confused all the delegates and phasized. This is the real perspective of Truman's "Fair Deal," not his glib forecast that average income will rise \$1,000 per year

Coal Miners Need Aid of All Labor

Judith Coplon and her lawyer, tional right to defend them-Archibald Palmer: "This was a selves. Nor will it excuse the treacherous and cowardly blow at offenses that have been brought

miners on Jan. 9 began striking suits. "In the circumstances," he con- at the "captive" pits of the major Last week all sections of the cludes, "it is proper to recall that steel companies which have been industry joined with the South- or association from "interfering" the miners who were the greatest "The relationship between whereas every other police of the main hold-outs in the seven- ern operators in petitioning Truclient and lawyer is highly privi- fic.ai of high or low degree is month battle of the United Mine man's National Labor Relations modity. This law was originally C10. And today the miners are leged," he continues. "Only the responsible to someone else, the Workers for a new and improved Board to invoke a Taft-Hartley confessional is more sacred. . JBI alone seems to have a contract.

The FBI has no more right to dangerous immunity from reintercept a conversation between sponsibility to some higher solidarity and militancy, the tion - including strike - that a lawyer and his client, like a authority. Even the President miners have so far failed to make the NLRB says is intended to sneak thief, than it would have must account to the people for any significant breach in the enforce "unfair labor practices. to hide a dictograph in a con- pis acts every four years - and operators' line. They are now con- At this writing, the NLRB is centrating pressure on the steel "studying" the issue. is even worse than the third "No group, especially one set companies, which are operating degree in which policemen some-up with the sanction of law, at close to capacity, in the hope times indulge to force the ad-should be allowed to operate as they can force a settlement be-

Taking note of the defense dangerous for one man, whoever reach exhaustion. counsel's charge that the FBI he may be, to have such powers The long struggle appears ator Scott Lucas and Senator A had 81 agents on her trial and of as J. Edgar Hoover has arrogated headed for a showdown. The mine Willis Robertson of Virginia, decine in the coal industry and their own strength rather than or the government's reply that it to himself. . . The federal law owners, backed by the whole pressure is being brought to bear the failure of Lewis' strategy to the government for their gains. had "only" 40, Ickes observes: forbids wiretapping, yet on Feb. 2. capitalist class and government, on Truman to intervene against crack the companies' front re-"Even if the lower figure is cor- 1949. Mr. Hoover, in effect said are plainly seeking to impose a the miners. He can do this under sulted in a terrible defeat from if it can smash the miners it will rect, it will be seen that, quite that the FBI is above the law. crushing defeat on the coal cover of his hand-picked NLRB aside from the ethics and morals The late Justice Oliver Wendell miners.

involved, it has cost the tax-payers a pretty penny to pay for ty business.' Today it is even offensive against the miners has "national emergency" clause of been mounting in intensity. They the T-H Law.

Probing for a vital spot in the of court action - a federal in coal companies have brought suit their peace with the mighty inmine owners' solid front, the coal junction and ruinous damage

rebellion.

Nosaka's name has been fre-

quently linked in the press with

If the press reports are cor-

miunction to halt the miners' In spite of their magnificent three-day week and to forbid ac-

PRESSURE MOUNTING

From all sections of Congress. a Mafia. It is undemocratic and fore their depleted resources including his own supporters like that federal officials and mine won gains that have spurred the and avoid the direct presidential for almost a decade.

against the UMW for \$8,000,000 dustrial un on movement that has 'double damages" under an old grown up in the past 15 years state law forbidding any group They recall that it was Lewis and with the production of any com- source of strength to the early designed to halt price-fixing, the most aggressive union in the production quotas and other country. monopoly practices of the cor-

The "Hate-Lewis" mob has

class has a greater incentive than leaders are weak, yielding and included a recommendation to ever to smash the miners. The

MINERS PIONEERED

Time and again in the past scented blood. They are evidently decade the miners have pioneered convinced the time is ripe to far-reaching demands, like combreak the UMW as an effective puny-financed pensions, which fighting union. Washington cor- have inspired the struggles of respondent Louis Stark points other sections of labor, T'me and out in the Jan. 8 N. Y. Times again their militant methods have Democratic majority leader Sen- operators are hopefully recalling rest of labor to action. Above the 1927 struggle, when the all, the miners have relied on

> The employing class knows that which the UMW did not recover have cleared the main roadblock to a direct offensive against Today the entire Big Bus ness the other industrial unions, whose (Continued on page 4)

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

The announcement by President Truman that an atomic explosion had taken place in the USSR set into motion a veritable chain reaction of conjectures, based on both reality and fancy. It reverberated on frayed nerves in the Pentagon. The feud of brass hats and gold braids over global military strategy grew more tense.

Armchair strategists began painting horrid pictures of V-2 Rockets, with ranges of thousands of miles, propelled by atomic power and carrying atom bombs in the heads, equipped with proximity fuses and accurate enough to hit a city of 106,000, coming over the Polar Sea where less radar detection and fever ships, or bases, are capable of intervening. Nightmarish conjectures appeared of such unheard of things as deadly radioactive ray barrages. Dr. Leo Szilard, an atomic scientist, actually suggested as a possibility a new poison gas, made of neutrons, that might kill a humar being within a radius of one

Prior to this announcement the most zealous adherents of the cult of air power, disciples of Douhet, Mitchell and Seversky. had projected the idea of a thirty day blitz on Russia. It was all to be very simple. Seventy major Russian cities were carmarked for atomic destruction; this would result in shattering of civilian morale and paralysis of the economy, it would be a quick and donisirs knock - out war. The United States was in sole possession of the bomb, zealously NO LETUP ON ARMS guarding its "secret."

SITUATION CHANGES

Now such tempers are some what cooled off. It is assumed that Russia also has the bomb. Reports now describe her large for the defense against atom fleet of jet fighters, with long bombs is given out freely by the range jet bombers going into National Security Resources mass production. Generally it is Board. For business, relocation now conceded that what the of factories is recommended — United States can do to Russia for safety of property - in in atomic warfare, Russia can do smaller communities of less than to the United States.

Assuredly it would be fatal to harbor the slightest doubts that the Kremlin oligarchy will be just as ruthless as the American im-

Speculations on the advantages of a head start in bomb manufacture, size of stockpile, or of the Russian atom bomb, it available natural raw materials, do not bring great comfort to military planners. It is known had led people to expect; apthat there are rich uranium parently, the world is now headed deposits in the Central Asiatic provinces of Russia. Moreover, there have also been reports that Soviet scientists have pursued their studies in the direction of two atomic mixtures for the manufacture of bombs. These are: uranium 235 plus plutonium, which is the American bomb atomic fission material will sufmaterial, and thorium, which can fice to illustrate this. also be transmuted into fissionable material.

Enormous reserves of thorium

the brotherhood of mankind.

\$1 Six months.

master's degree.



on the northern spurs of the Altai Mountains. The same reports affirm that the USSR thorium reserves in the world.

So. American military strategists seem to be giving renewed attention to the old maxim that wars are lost or won by armies. But there is no let-up in preparations for atomic warfare. Advice

50,000 population. For the individual citizen six feet of earth is described as adequate protection. But how? Could this possibly have reference to the gravevard?

Although American scientists predicted a relatively early arrival came at least several years sooner than official public propaganda for an atomic arms race. The atomic explosion in Russia attests at the same time to the high degree of Soviet technological development.

A couple of examples of what is required for the production of

THE NEW ATOMIC AGE

GREETINGS

To the Civil Rights Mobilization

Delegates

both informative and thought-provoking. Our aim is to con-

sider the most important current events in the light of the

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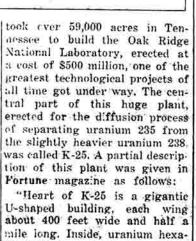
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The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly. We

We hope you enjoy this copy of The Militant and find it

When the Manhattan Engineerare said to have been discovered ling District, as it was named,

The writer of these articles wishes to acknowledge the collaboration of Comrade Roy Brown, whose assistance in the presentation of the strictly scientific data has proved invaluable. Roy Brown is an industrial chemist who has attained his bachelor's degree and is now continuing research for his



about 400 feet wide and half a mile long. Inside, uranium hexafluoride, a gas, is pumped a distance of some eleven miles through thousands of porous barriers, each perforated by billions of holes smaller than two-millionths of an inch. Gas molecules containing U-235 move slightly faster than molecules containing heavier U-238 and thus find their way through the barriers slightly more easily. Acres of barriers were mass produced by Houdaille-Hershey Corp., thousands of novel pumps, some whirling at velocities above the speed of sound, were built by Allis-Chalm- ica represent democracy. We must ism for initiating atomic war possesses the most important ers, over 100,000 control instruments were provided by Taylor the truth." Instrument Companies to make the prodigious operation go."

fission material plant, the Han-"fires" are built as part of the list Workers Party hall. process of transmuting U-238 into plutonium. This is called

The nature and the purpose of these atomic "fires" will be described later. Suffice it to say here that these "fires" can generate a heat intensity of hitherto unthinkable proportions, having potential heat intensity of milions of degrees.

Such are the descriptions of but a part of the gigantic techage. These examples are of course from the most industrially advanced nation in the world. However the atomic explosion in the Soviet Union would indicate a technological development, for this particular purnose, certainly approaching what has been described above. Once again this brings home an important lesson to the working

VERIFICATION IN USSR .

During the 32 years of existence of the Soviet Republic, starting out with an extremely backward economy, industrialization has unmestionably made great strides. Comparatively, taking into account this backward basis as well as the relatively brief time element, these strides overshadow developments of a similar character in nations of canitalist "free enterprise." Certainly this brings a historic verification of the superiority of nationalized economy, of planned economy The verification comes in spite of the strangulating influence of the totalitarian rule of a degenerated bureaucracy.

Russia's obtaining the atom bomb has brought a greater sense of awareness of the fact that mankind has indeed entered the atomic age. The disturbing and agitating idea of the titanic and terrifying power locked within the atom has penetrated more and more deeply into the consciousness of the masses everywhere.

Its discovery and further dev elonment pose questions directly offecting the fate of mankind The alternative of barbarism or soc'alism becomes more definite and more concrete.

In order to appreciate fully the fateful implications of this alternative we must attempt to understand all that the layman is permitted to know about this terrifying atomic power that was first demonstrated in the explosion at Hiroshima and is now heard as an echo out of the Soviet Union. We must attempt especially to understand the meaning of the atomic age in its present-day social context.

The second article in this series will appear next week.l

Unemployment Victim



George Fisher of San Francisco is out of work. His wife and youngest child need hospital care. Unable to raise the needed money, he has offered one of his eyes for sale. Here he poses with his family, waiting for a customer.

Dunne Flays Witch-Hunters At Meetings in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 7 - "We must nail the two big lies of modern times," Vincent R. Dunne told a gather- was not just a joke but a sad ing of steelworkers and others here tonight. "The first lie reality, for Labor was put into

s that Stalin and the Kremlin gang represent socialism, the the American imperialist bloc second is that the rulers of Amer- and denounced American capital nail these two lies and spread fare.

Dunne spoke here in the course of a two-day stop in Youngstown questions about the Soviet Union. The second largest atomic as part of his current national He spoke of the inestimable tour. Earlier in the day he superiority of the productive ford Works, in the state of Wash- presented a similar speech on system set up in Russia by the ngton, was erected at a cost of "Labor and Civil Rights" to a revolution of 1917, but he at-\$350 millions. It was the first smaller gathering of steelworkers tacked the destruction of worknuclear chemical factory in the who were prevented by their ers' liberties in the Soviet Union world. Within this plant, in im- working shift from attending by the Stalinist clique and the mensely large "ovens," with this evening's meeting. Both departure by this clique from the walls three feet thick, atomic meetings were held in the Social-

RADIO INTERVIEW

During the afternoon, V. R. Dunne was interviewed by the Program Director of radio station WBBW. In response to questions, Comrade Dunne outlined the fundamental causes of the past world war, the war now in preparation and the attacks against civil liberties. He labelled the United Nations as a tool of

Pulling no punches, Comrade Dunne gave frank replies to program of Marxism.

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

Lynn - Jan. 17. Worcester - Jan. 18. New Britain - Jan. 19. New Haven - Jan. 20. New York - Jan. 21. Philadelphia - Jan. 27-28. New York - Feb. 3.

nological and engineering developments inaugurated by the atomic STRIKEBREAKING ACTION STIRS

suspend Meaney as a delegate to the Federation until he gave a satisfactory explanation of his WHAT STRIKE ACHIEVED actions as a strike leader. A motion to accept the minutes was made and seconded. The question was then raised: Did approving the minutes mean accepting the recommendation? Burns, chairman, ruled yes. A. I. Davey, vicepresident of the Cleveland Federation and editor of the Cleveland Citizen, Federation weekly paper. denied this, stating that the recommendation would have to be

voted on separately. accepted and discussion began on suspension. Davey took issue with it didn't conform to Federation other delegates, including Louis Friend, secretary of the ILGWU Joint Council, agreed on this preted the issue as one of sup-

the first time in six years that ing conditions.

of the CFL officers.

any recommendation of the Board

that Meaney was suspended. What will develop now is difficult to predict. It is to be hoped though Burns changed his opinion deadening influence of the bureauand agreed. The minutes were cracy. This could mark the beginning of a new period of militancy in the Federation in Cleveland. has awakened a new fighting laws which called for the filing of spirit. If they accomplished nothcharges and a hearing. Numerous | ing else, the transit workers are owed a vote of thanks for this.

But they did accomplish more In addition to gaining part of ness. point. Finegan's backers inter- their demands, they shook the Transit Board, challenged the porting or rejecting the policies autocracy of the management. The newspapers have quoted the A motion was then made to Transit Board as admitting the suspend Meaney for ninety days. labor relations were bad and ef-It was resoundingly defeated. forts would be made to improve for the slap in the puss." The not count too heavily on this, howmeeting then adjourned. It was ever. Its continued militancy is

New York RECEPTION in honor of

VINCENT R. DUNNE

Meet this well-known labor leader in his first public appearance in New York on a nation-wide lecture tour on the struggle for civil rights.

The Eternal Mask

A stirring psychological film. Starting promptly at 9 PM Saturday, January 21 - Admission 60c 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE Food and refreshments after movie

A Letter from Australia On the Recent Elections

SYDNEY, Dec. 13 - All the shouting is over now. The defeat. While some right-wing Australian petty-bourgeois has given his vote to the par- forces will press for a repudiaties of Big Business. He will regret this within the next tion of the socialist objective,

few years, but in the meantime? the Australian worker, who hung on to the Labor Party, will suffer too. Actually the problem between Labor and the Tories of winning elections here is that may continue indefinitely. But of winning the petty-bourgeois, who sways between the camps of by decaying capitalism. The the capitalists and workers. If bosses will find that while they he cannot find a solution for his could no longer afford the luxury problems under the leadership of of letting Labor governments the workers, he will look for it prop up their morbund system, in the camp of Big Business. It the outmoded Tory machine will made to defend the socialist obis true that in his present frame of mind he is scared of "socialization" but this is only due to the fact that he has not seen any genuine socialization at work and identifies it with regimentation, shortages and high taxation which are in reality concomitants of a decaying capitalist system.

The fundamental reason for the defeat of the Chifley government was its futile attempt to make capitalism work. The only alternative to capitalist anarchy which now threatens the world with a new terrible depression or with atomic destruction in a new orld slaughter is a socialist society of peace and plenty based upon a planned economy.

It was not with this objective

n mind that the Labor governnent originally took office. The saying that "Mr. Menzies is the best asset of the Labor Party' office primarily because the people were fed up with the Tory administration.

WHY LABOR PARTY LOST While the Labor government

introduced some progressive legislation, the extent of its socialization" was strictly con fixed to the limitations of capitalism. Thus the proposed bank nationalization was not considered a step towards a socialist eco nomy but a measure necessary to pad the effects of a coming 'recession." Any improvements of the conditions of the people had also to be compatible with the maintenance of the capitalist system. On one hand the government ran up against the active opposition of the very class whose system it was trying to preserve and who defeated it merely by using the Constitution against it On the other hand the government was forced to deal ruthlessly with its staunchest supporters, as was exemplified by its strikebreaking action in the mining dispute.

The continuous rebuffs given by Big Business to Labor (Airways, Bank-Nationalization, Free Medicine, Petrol) and the apathy and file due to actions like the use of troops in breaking a strike person who is currently disfavored the impression that this organ-- in direct violation of Labor's of Business Agents had been platform - created the atmost be a renegade. . . As I understand present regime in Greece and phere in which the parties of Big that your sympathies are ex- against American imperialism. Business could launch their scare campaign about "socialism," a The newspapers the next day campaign the exorbitant cost of as a deviationist, I must ask you authorized by the Athens Govreported that Burns had ruled which was fully repaid by its in all seriousness how you ex- ernment, which imposes complete

success. To what extent the new government which is run directly by to the question of what retaliatory ists? Is the POUM aware that that the Transit Workers in their the capitalists and their imjust fiable anger against the CFL mediate agents will try to curry take against you were your very tions to the army of the Greek leaders take no rash steps by favor with the people by granting strange attitude on this matter Royalist assassins on its victories breaking from the CFL. To do so child - endowment for the first to become known." at this time would be to admit child, reducing taxation, etc., defeat and desert their sup- remains to be seen. The Chifley porters inside the Federation, government had accumulated a These supporters, with the Transit | certain reserve for the lean days It seemed at that point as Union, have challenged the to come. The "liberals" may draw thing far more important, nameon this reserve to maintain their popularity, but they will not dastardly repression against Tan escape the reckoning when the Malaka and his revolutionary colean days do come. It also remains fighters as a bargaining point, the method of discipline, claiming In the CIO too, the transit strike to be seen how strong the con- not only with the Dutch colonial flicts within the capitalist camp are. Most of Labor's propaganda was to the effect that it could GPU. govern, in contradistinction to the leading parties of Big Busi-

IMMEDIATE TASKS

and that is that the accession of the capitalist parties to office has given the green light for an allout offensive of the employers Finegan rose and shouted "Thanks | these conditions. The union should "to put the workers back into their place." The immediate task is to fight against intensified exthe longest in many years and its only guarantee of good work. pleitation (speed-up and extension of working hours); to maintain the standard of living in conditions of continuing inflation; to resist the repressive measures planned by the government against workers' organizations; to resist interference in trade union affairs and the institution of thought-control.

One thing is clear, however,

The victory of the Liberals while constituting a set-back for Labor is certainly not a disaster. It will not hold up the course of history but finally accelerate it. The masses will learn again by their own experience of the "blessings" of the direct rule of Big Business and will become receptive to the message of Social ism. One day the Liberals will find that they no longer enjoy the confidence of the people. Who is going to replace them?

Given a condition of relative social stability the see-saw game social stability is not safeguarded union affairs will think twice befascism will make its bid.

NEED TO PREPARE NOW

Now is the time to rally all socialist forces. Within the Ausralian Labor Party differentiathe apathy which follows a prepare now.

many rank and filers will be stimulated by the set-back into doing some solid thinking. Those who only recently advocated government interference in trade are propounding this again. Many a bureaucrat divested from the responsibilities of office will feel the arge to turn militant.

A concerted effort must be be completely inadequate to cope jective against all attempts to with the situation; and if by that emasculate it. It must be linked time there is no genuine socialist up with day-to-day demands of party to lead the people towards the masses. All those who have a reconstruction of society, then been fooled by the capitalist scare propaganda will become aware of the brutal truth about "free enterprise" by their own bitter experience. They will turn to Socialism as the only solution to tion is bound to occur in spite of their problems. Socialists must

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

The Fate of Tan Malaka

The fate of Tan Malaka, revolutionary leader of the Indonesian masses, remains shroud ed in mystery. A recent bulletir by the Republic of Indonesia of fice in New York repeats the report that he was murdered by Republican forces last April 16 - just two days after the resumption of the Sukarno-Hatta negotiations with the Dutch imperialists | the war, with the London Bureau demanded by the imperialists for a settlement in Indonesia.

But there have also been dis patches from Indones a since last April mentioning Tan Malaka ar a living political figure, active and in opposition to the present government. To clarify the situation, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland (Trotskyist) addressed several inquiries to Marxists are moving with far Premier Hatta and the Indonesian delegation at the Hague, reminding them of the RCP's incessant occasion came out for the activity for Indonesian indepen- Marshall Plan and even went so dence and requesting the courtesy far as to send congratulations to

Minister-President M. Hatta," We that is, the Greek guerrilla fightcite the following astonishing excerpt from this letter, printed in the Nov. 5 De Tribune:

alleged death of Tan Malaka, a Witte, dressed up so as to give by the Soviet Union and held to ization is fighting against the tended toward the Soviet Union and this individual is designated conference was legal, that is, pect to answer for that. More illegality not only upon the Stalespecially my attention is drawn | nists but also upon the Trotskymeasures the Soviet Union would this conference sent congratula-

The above excerpt alone is suf- aware that the Archio-Marxist ficient to indicate not only the organization has shamefully beamazing ignorance of the new statesmen of Indonesia but somely, their intention to use the interests and their overlords in Wall Street, but also with Stalin's a comment from their friends and

Malaka was murdered. But the whole episode casts sufficient light on the criminal character of Sukarno-Hatta's police methods for all those forces who have supported Indonesia's fight for independence in the past to raise their voices and demand a full and unambiguous explanation on this score from the new government of the United States of Indonesia.

It is still not clear if Tan

Greek Centrists in Marshall Plan Camp

A national conference was held in Athens on Oct. 16 and 17 by an organization known as the

> BRONX John G. Wright

CHINA AND THE ORIENT Will Titoism take root among the Chinese Communists? Will Wall St. fight World War III over the Far East?

Thur., Jan. 19, 8:30 PM Hunts Point Palace (Rm. 25) 953 Southern Blvd., Bronx Adm. free--Discussion welcome

Archio-Marxists. This organization belonged for a short time to the international Trotskvist movement, in 1934 joining the Londor Bureau, that catch - all outfit which served as a half-way station for all kinds of centrist organizations who found it impess ble to maintain their revolutionary character and broke with Trotskyism on the ground that it was too "sectarian" in its anproach to the masses. Even after - apparently as part of the price defunct, the Archio-Marxists have maintained close fraternal relations with such of its vegetating remnants as the British ILP and the Spanish POUM, the newlyfound friends of the Shachtmanites in this country.

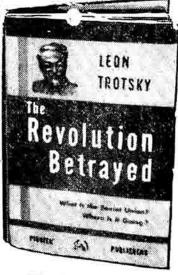
All of the old centrist organizations have degenerated considerably and moved to the right. But it appears that the Archiogreater speed than the others. The Greek centrists on this the "National Army" of the On Oct. 16 Dr. Darmasetiawan Athens Government on its "vicfinally answered "in the name of tories" against the "bandits" -

The POUM organ La Batalla of Nov. 30 publishes a com-". . . I acknowledge with sur- munique on this conference sent ise your deep interest in the by the Archio-Marxist leader

Does La Batalla know that this against the guerrillas? Is it trayed its one-time revolutionary banner under the cloak of becoming a "neo-socialist" tendency in Greece "fighting under the conditions of legality," that it really serves as a left cover for the bloody Athens butchers?

would be interesting, and so would

An answer from the POUM



- Why Stalin Triumphed. - Dual Character of the Workers State.

's the Bureaucracy a Ruling Class?

- Foreign Policy and the

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"The elimination of competition by monopoly marks the beginning of the disintegration of capitalist society. Competition was the creative mainspring of capitalism and the historical justification of the capitalist. By the same token the elimination of competition marks the transformation of stockholders into social parasites. Competition had to have certain liberties, a liberal atmosphere, a regime of democracy, of commercial cosmopolitanism. Monopoly needs as authoritative a government as possible, tariff walls, "its own" sources of raw materials and arenas of marketing (colonies). The last word in the disintegration of monopolistic capital is Fascism." - Leon Trotsky, Marxism in the United States, 1939.



LENIN

Don't Rely on the Courts

An important victory for civil liberties was won when the New Jersey Supreme Court on Jan. 10 declared the Mehorter-Tumulty "loyalty" oath law unconstitutional. This law, passed in 1949, required candidates for public office within the state to swear that they do not believe, advocate or advise the violent overthrow of the government nor belong to any organization so believing, advocating or advising.

Credit must go to James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for governor last November, and 29 other PP candidates, for taking the initiative in challenging the law and carrying an appeal against it to the highest state court. The appeal was backed by numerous organizations and the court's decision was a response to popular hostility to "loyalty" oaths and other forms of thought-con-

However, Imbrie subsequently did the cause of civil rights a distinct disservice when he hailed the state court's ruling as "a great victory for constitutional government" which "shows the folly of the all too frequent attacks by the far-left against our judiciary."

This can only spread the dangerous illusion that the courts are dependable guardians of the rights of the people and that we can rely on them to halt encroachments on civil rights.

We have only to examine the record of the courts to see that for every instance where an isolated court or judge renders a decision favorable to the people's rights. there are a hundred cases where the courts have trampled upon and nullified them. Within the last few weeks, the U. S. Supreme Court itself has shown

how little the judiciary can be relied on to safeguard civil rights - and on the very issue of "loyalty" oaths. By a shyster resort to technicalities, it refused to review a key test case involving the "loyalty" oath law for public employees in Los Angeles County, At the same time, it also ducked a review of the appeal by two CIO unions against the non-"communist" oath of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

The true nature of the U.S. Supreme Court was glaringly revealed by its two vindictive rulings that upheld anti-strike injunctions and huge fines for "contempt" against the United Mine Workers. And we recall, in connection with the recent frame-up trial and conviction of 11 Stalinist leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act, that the U.S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the constitutionality of that act in the similar case of the 18 Trotskyists who were railroaded to prison in 1944.

The courts as an institution function to uphold the interests of the ruling class. that is, the capitalist class. They are political and reflect the views and aims of those in power. And, generally speaking, they lean to the most conservative and even reactionary politics.

The real safeguard of the people's rights is the organized power and action of the people themselves. It was their mass pressure, their opposition and protest that at bottom determined the ruling of the New Jersey court on the "loyalty" oath law. Imbrie should know that, inasmuch as the action of his own organization and other groups was responsible for victory in this instance.

The "Welfare City"

New York is the richest city in the richest country in the world. It is also controlled lock-stock-and-barrel by the loudest proponents of the "welfare state," the Truman Democrats. Its mayor, William O'Dwyer, is an ardent "Fair Dealer." So are 23 of its 25 city councilmen. All its department heads and administrative officials are beholden to O'Dwyer for their jobs.

Here, you might say, we have the prerequisites, if not for a "welfare state," then for a large-scale model of it - what you might call a "Welfare City."

This "Welfare City" has some 320,000 needy people on relief who have been receiving an average of \$40.68 - per month - to enjoy the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Last month O'Dwyer's Commissioner of Welfare, Raymond M. Hilliard, announced that "falling prices" allow these blessings to be secured at bargain rates and that relief allowances would be cut an average of from \$2 to \$6 per month starting Jan. 16, 1950.

This wasn't the "Welfare City" the local CIO and AFL leaders had envisaged and so, two months after they had joined in urging the re-election of that dyed-inthe-wool "welfare-stater," O'Dwyer, they rejoined in a loud protest against his administration's cuts in welfare.

O'Dwyer - who since his re-election has considerably improved his own welfare with a \$15,000 raise in salary didn't halt the relief cuts. In the face of protests of labor organizations representing a million workers, Hilliard has replied that the relief slash is going through per schedule.

The labor leaders blame the "failures" of the "welfare state" in Washington on the Republicans and the Dixiecrats. They can't do so in the case of New York City. A good Republican can't get even a floorsweeper's job in City Hall. And the local Dixiecrats faded out with the Civil War. So if you want to see what Truman's "Welfare State" will be like, look at a fair sample - O'Dwyer's "Welfare City."

The Trials in the

The bureaucracy's drive to totalitarianize the CIO is speeding ahead with the trials now going on against unions under Stalinist control. Through these trials, the Murray machine tries to preserve a legal fiction of democratic processes. But even the mechanics of the trials smell of the kangaroo court. The members of the trial committees are hand-picked lieutenants of Murray and leaders of the drive to kick out the "communists."

But even if all the forms of democracy were preserved in the process of expulsions, the bases for the expulsions are thoroughly anti-democratic. These are the constitutional amendments, pushed thru the last CIO convention, which place political qualifications on membership rights and give the top leadership unprecedented power to throw out whole unions if their members or leaders do not conform to the political dictates of the Murrays and Reuthers.

There is not an iota of difference between the principles of the "loyalty" purge and thought-control in the CIO and the witch-hunt against "subversives" being waged by Truman, the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee. Indeed, they both flow from the same

The purge of government employees, the spread of "loyalty" oath laws, the spy trials based on illegal wiretapping and perjured testimony, the conviction of the Communist Party leaders under the unconstitutional Smith Act - these are all part of the government's drive to silence critics and opponents of its "cold war" foreign policy.

It is in support of this same foreign policy that the CIO leaders are expelling the Stalinists — and laying the basis to victimize anyone else who dares to disagree with Murray and his faction on this or any other matter. Editor Allan L. Swimm, in the Dec. 19, 1949, CIO News, states candidly: "Don't get the idea that the 'cold war' is being fought by the generals and diplomats alone. A small but important part of it is being fought in the union halls of America.'

The Stalinists in the CIO are not being tried by the membership for their real crimes against labor; they are being court-martialled by the CIO brass hats as part of the "cold war."

Truth About Economic 'State of the Union'

The universal spirit of optimism business community found, as was to be expected, its most exaggerated expression in the economic section of President Truman's annual "state of the union"

Without a single dissenting voice, the economic forecasters. rovernment and civilian alike, see nothing but smooth sailing for many holding their fingers crossed about the developments in the general expectation is that the year as a whole will approximate real! trouble in store.

Truman expressed confidence of merely for 1950 but for the next five years, predicting an "expanding economy" which will, he is sure, within 5 years lift this country to a gross output of \$300 billion a year, raise the purchasing power of each family by \$1,000, with all the rosy tints that such a prospect implies. All this is, of course, an indispensable part of the "Fair Deal" demagogy.

REGAIN HALF OF LOSSES

However, the general business optimism, unlike the pretenses grounded in something more than mere wishful thinking.

In the first place, there is the fact that in the second part of from the tailspin into which it appeared earlier to be heading. By the year's end, production was up 9% compared with the lows set in July, or had recovered approximately half of its losses. They had expected the classic pattern of a bust and were naturally more than relieved that it turned out to be - for 1949!

only a "moderate recession?" The strongest sector of the economy, the auto industry, instead of glutting the market, had its banner year, attaining the peak production of 6,200,000 vehicles. This acted to bolster up he sagging metals, lifting them, pecially steel, from the doldrums.

There was, in addition, a pickap in the badly hit light industries, in the first instance textiles and leather, and this last year. could not fall to add to the growing spirit of optimism.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

the domestic market will have tions in Marshall aid. Injected into it an average of racted. But on the whole, it is quite a shot in the arm.

other huge deficit piling up. almost half a billion bushels of ism is concerned.

which now pervades the entire anomally is indeed a strong in- cotton, and a huge quantity of

at all the same as it was six gress. months ago. It is foolish to the first six months of 1950, with or crisis is already here, and that of more than 5 million unemminor and meaningless fluctua- misery but a vast loss of pursecond half of the year. But the tion. On the other hand, it is chasing power. just as false to pretend, as do Truman and the capitalists gen- LESS PURCHASING POWER the levels of 1949 without any erally, that the postwar "readthat a long period of stabilization lies ahead.

STILL TRANSITIONAL

The economy is still in its transitional phases. Last year marked the first head-on collision of the hugely expanded productive forces against the limits set by constricting markets at home and abroad. The sharp fluctuation of 1949, or more accurately the violent paroxysm, demon strated that, while gravely dislocated, the domestic market, propped up by huge arms exearly last year, is this time penditures, was still strong enough to sustain the economy temporarily on reduced but relatively high levels. Such has been the case for the last six the low levels of 1948 which last year, the economy recovered months. Can this last for another spelled so much trouble at the six months? It is impossible to time. It is possible, but not a give the answer in advance.

One of the unknowns in the situation as the auto industry. How many more cars will it be able to sell in the next period? 54, million, or 10 to 20% below have arisen. The department store 1949. Only an actual test will skow how good or bad this guess is. Should the decline prove worse, auto instead of remaining a grop to the economy will help the most bullish of speculators puli it down.

There are important indications that 1950 will provide the acid test for the domestic market. the economy as a whole is not than it was at the beginning of bances. International currency

To list only a few of the weaknesses: There is stiffer com- serious aggravating element. petition and there are fewer cutlets in the world markets The current year will see the where a trade war is now in distribution of approximately 3 progress. The tendency of U. S. the current phase of relative billion dollars in GI insurance exports will be to decline, stabilization is highly unstable benefits. For the next six months especially with drastic reduc- and vulnerable. Abrupt turns in

fifth and more, and further cuts but literally on a

[Belleit government spending at | wheat, two-thirds of a billion a rate of 5 to 6 billion dollars bushels of corn, 5 million bales of flationary dose - a highly arti- other farm produce. Further ficial stimulant for the economy gigantic surpluses loom. Truman but a temporary one nonetheless. has the Brannan plan as the sole All these factors are new in solution, and appears to be stuck the situation and must be taken with it, since there is little likeliinto account. The situation is not hood of its passage through Con-

This year begins with the Daily Worker that the depression the beginning of 1949. The army we are merely passing through a ployed represents not only vast

The gravely impaired position justment" is definitely over and of the mass of the farmers and millions of working class families was translated last year into marked decline of retail trade. It was at the same time the major condition underlying the "moderate recession." The fact is that despite the upturn since July 1949, despite credit and installment buying at the unheard of rate of a quarter billion dollars a month, there has been no significant improvement either in the unemployment situation or in the rend of retail sales. The 1949 decline was signalled

by a sharp drop of retail sales in October 1948. This decline con tinued through the last quarter of 1949, with sales dipping below all certain, that the GI insurance benefits plus continued credi buying and government defici spending, may check this decline Should this fail to materialize The Department of Commerce the current moods of optimism estimates fix the number at 5 to will evaporate as swiftly as they cash registers will spell out, as before, the story in the next period, and we may be sure they'll be anxiously watched by on the stock market today.

Finally, the growing govern ment deficits and consumer debts (now amounting to \$18 billion!) It can be said with certainty that can easily turn from factors of temporary stimulants into those stronger but much weaker today of acute fiscal and credit disturcrises - which are by no mean over -- can enter here as a most

MAIN DIFFICULTIES AHEAD

From all this we conclude that developments are just as inherent Unlike the beginning of 1949, in the situation as is the prospect half a billion dollars a month, when the purchasing power of of six more months of relatively No one knows how much of this the farmers was only slightly high production. The trends, as money has been already spent impaired, this year begins with matters stand, cannot be gauged or will go to pay debts previously the farm income slashed by one- in terms of six months or a year. - by one-third and more - seem if not day-to-day, basis. In short, In addition, government spend- anavoidable. Agricultural sur- the major postwar economic difing will continue on virtually the phases are a fact, not a prospect. ficulties lie not behind but still same scale as before, with an The government already holds ahead so far as American capital-

Prof. Emerson's Speech on **Kutcher and Bill of Rights**

[The Militant is pleased to print the following extracts from the speech made by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School pretend as do the hacks of the jobless easily double the total at at the New York City meeting of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee on Dec. 15, the anniversary of the Bill of Rights.]

It was 158 years ago today that the State of Virginia ratified the first ten amendments, thereby being the eleventh state to do so, and the Bill of Rights became effective as part of our Constitution. The Bill of Rights was hardly incorporated in the Constitution, however, when it was subjected to a severe test in the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Alien and Sedition Laws were directed to a large extent against the French. But I think it is interesting to note also that in large part they were directed against the Irish immigrants, because the winds of revolution were blowing at that time both from France and from Ireland.

These laws prohibited the publication of any false, scandalous or malicious writing against the government and attached the criminal penalties. The first person prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Laws was Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, and he was convicted for having referred to President Adams and saying that President Adams had demonstrated an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice. That was Matthew Lyon's crime. Old-fashioned words, perhaps, but they have a certain current application and some of us may want to use the same sentiments some day.

There were others convicted of similar offenses under the Alien and Sedition acts, mostly editors of newspapers that supported the Jeffersonian Party. Fortunately the country rose in protest against the Alien and Sedition Laws and in the election of 1800 the Federalists who had sponsored them were decisively beaten: Jefferson and his party came in: those who had been convicted were pardoned and

eventually they were recompensed for any fines they had paid. Another period of hysteria arose somewhat later, during the 1830's and 1840's. This time it was an anti-Catholic hysteria. For instance, when President Pierce appointed a Catholic to be Postmaster-General, the outcry was tremendous. It was asserted that Catholics in the Post Office would become members of a spy ring for the Pope and it was solemnly claimed that Catholic immigrants could not and would not be loyal to the nation. This eventually nostly disappeared.

A Continuing Struggle for Free Speech

Then we come to the period where in the South it was impossible for anyone to utter any opinions or views in opposition to the institution of slavery. It took a Civil War to dispose of that problem and during the Civil War there were suppressions of civil rights which were kept in check by the wise and tolerant statesmanship of President Lincoln.

And then we come to the first World War. Under the Espionage Acts which were passed during the first World War there were nearly two thousand prosecutions and of those there were 877 convictions. People were convicted under those acts for having advocated the subversive idea that the war ought to be financed by taxation and not by Liberty Bonds, or that there was some doubt, before the Supreme Court passed on the issue, about the constitutionality of the Draft Act, or even for saying that there should have been a referendum before the war was started.

Not only were there federal Espionage Acts but there were similar acts passed in the states, and here abuses of the same sort occurred. There is one case in Minnesota, for instance, in which a woman was convicted and sentenced to jail for making the remark to one of her neighbors, discouraging the woman from knitting socks for the soldiers by saying: "The soldiers never see those socks." That was a violation of the Minnesota statutes.

It was not only Espionage Acts. That was a period of the Lusk Committee, of teachers' oaths, of laws that prohibited the display of red banners. There were suggestions that laws prohibit the wearing of red neckties. It was the era of the Palmer raids, it was the era when Victor Berger, elected on the Socialist ticket, was denied a seat in Congress on the ground that he didn't support the war.

It was also the time when five members of the New York State Legislature elected on the Socialist ticket were refused their seats in the State Legislature. The grounds for refusal were: "The Socialist Party is not a real political party but in reality a subversive organization which adheres to revolutionary principles of Soviet Russia." A familiar ring!

We Fight in a Glorious Tradition

Now we are in a somewhat comparable situation. The loyalty order is typical of the problems with which we are now faced. We are here to protest the discharge of James Kutcher, a member of the Socialist Workers Party discharged merely because he was a member of that party. Recently a case in New Haven came to my attention whereby a stenographer was discharged from a government position on the ground, among others, that she played Paul Robeson records. In another case of a government employee in Detroit, when his loyalty proceeding came before the board, on of the relevant pieces of evidence was that his mother, 17 years before, voted the Socialist ticket in New Haven!

So when we meet here tonight we are fighting in a tradition that has been a glory in this country for 150 years. It is important to realize this. This sort of meeting is nothing new. True American citizens, those devoted to the highest principles of democracy, have been holding meetings like this for a century and a half and for more. In part we have been victorious in these fights. The prosecution of Matthew Lyon, the attacks on the Catholic Postmaster-General, the Palmer raids, the expulsion of the five Socialists from the New York Legislature, these things are considered today disgraceful performances, unworthy of American citizens. I am confident that the time will come also when the Kutcher case will be considered equally shameful, equally unworthy of America.

(To be concluded next week)

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

FLAGRANT LAWBREAKING BY FBI AROUSES GROWING PUBLIC PROTEST

(Continued from page 1) . Edgar Hoover, essayist."

The criticism was so sharn and

McGRATH'S "REVIEW"

so widespread that Attorney General J. Howard McGrath had to issue some answer. The best that could be said for it was that t was not very convincing. Mc-Grath, former Senator and Demo-Department of Justice last court. summer. But, like all previous liberal Attorneys General during testified under oath that it was he last quarter of a century, he

McGrath announced that he had fully reviewed" the FBI's wiretapping activities, but: "In view of the emergency which still pre- of any such policy. Somebody, vails and the necessity of protect- clearly enough, was either lying ing the national security, I can again or evading telling the truth. ce no reason at the present time for any change."

nation's top agency for enforcing the law are thus given the sancion of the Truman administration. Furthermore, since the the cold war) is expected to consumably is in permanent need of access to all the records. protection, McGrath is serving notice that the Justice Departwill continue not only for the

Knowing that a violation of sought to brush it away by exby President Roosevelt and three prove Miss Coplon's contention tapping was taking place.

is left up to them.

Attorneys General — Francis that on the day she was arrested Hoover, FBI director, showed Biddle, Robert H. Jackson and her boss in the Department of more respect for the writings of Tom Clark, the latter two of Justice, aiming to "entrap" her, whom are now members of the told her to take along for study U. S. Supreme Court. But all that on her trip to New York certain such an argument proves is that government documents which they too are to be condemned for were found in her possession authorizing infractions of the law.

MORE EVASIONS

Meanwhile, as the pre-hearing in the Coplon - Gubitchev case continued last week, there were eratic National Chairman, was additional signs that the FBI hailed as a "liberal" when he re- was still trying to keep the whole placed Tom Clark as head of the story of its offenses from the Previous FBI witnesses had

"routine" FBI policy to destroy does not dare to cross Hoover, all wiretap recordings within 60 who is technically his subordinate. days. But on Jan. 3 two agents of the FBI and one of its special employees declared on the witness stand that they had never heard

The legal issue involved is this: Violations of the law by the The prosecution has to show that its evidence against the defendants is not based on information or leads supplied by wireapping. The defense lawyers 'emergency" (probably meaning want to examine all the wiretap records to show that the proseculinue for a long time, and since tion has no "untainted" evidence. the "national security" pre- It can't do this unless it has

First the prosecution insisted there had been no tapping; when ment-FBI's violations of the law that was disproved, it insisted many of the recordings had been "present time," but forever, if it destroyed; and when finally comnelled to produce the recordings from the microphone planted in the law was involved, McGrath Miss Coplon's office, it now turns out that for some mysterious plaining that policies condoning reason they are completely unany evidence obtained by wire-"limited" use of wiretapping intelligible. This deprives the were laid down many years ago defense lawyer of a chance to tapping, did not deny that wire

when she was arrested.

Her lawyer said it was strange that the FBI had the recordings for ten months but "nobody ever found out that they were unintelligible" until the government was forced to produce them in court. But the "strangeness" disappears in the light of the FRI's previous evasiveness and perjury, and of the possibility that the recordings might have supplied information that would aid the defense.

IN BRIDGES CASE TOO

Simultaneously, on the other side of the country, it was shown that wiretapping is by ho means an offense limited to the Conlon case. James M. MacInnis, defense counsel in the Harry Bridges perjury case in San Francisco, revealed in court on Jan. 5 that after another lawyer had telephoned him about some important information related to the trial, that lawyer had been visited by a government agent and queried.

As MacInnis pointed out, the only way the government could have learned about the matter was by wiretapping. The judge in San Francisco, unlike Judge Rvan in New York, ruled that the wiretapping complaint was irrelevant. But the significant thing is that the government prosecutor of Bridges, while denying (like the prosecutor in the Coplon case) that he was introducing

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ization deemed subversive."

What "information" is Counterattack talking about? Has it access to the secret files of the FBI? Are all the thousands of stoolpigeons and informers hired by Washington also put at the service of this professional smearsheet? On the evidence of the March case, it seems not at all unlikely! The false charges burled at the Hollywood stars by Counterattack early in 1948 were produced in court in the Coplon case a year and a half later, when they became the most notorious example of the PBI at work. Counterattack, a 4-page "newsletter" published weekly by the "American Business Consultants, Inc.," claims to be a collection of "Facts to Combat Communism." It covers all fields, from movies to local trade unions, and from national magazines to hotels that rent meeting-rooms to "subversive" organizations. The scope of its information also indicates that behind it somewhere are some of the same forces that have imposed a vast network of "anti-red" ferrets on this country.

What recourse has the average victim of this obviously powerful putfit? It took Fredric March and his wife nearly two years, with expensive

legal help and the filing of a \$500,000 libel suit, to make their reply heard. No worker can afford such a suit. And even the Marches by no means

United States Attorney Generals have declared subversive and totalitarian." But now, it adds, the stars have signed an oath that proves them thoroughly red-white-and-blue.

"We condemn the Russian regime and its agent, the Communist Party of the United States, as a totalitarian system, and we condemn the totalitarian practices of their leader Joseph Stalin," the March statement says in part. "We believe deeply in the Constitution of the United States and in our system of government. . . We believe in the system of free enterprise. . . We shall continue in the future as we have in the past to try to preserve our democracy by exposing and ettempting to eradicate its weaknesses and by extolling and practising its virtues."

One of the ways in which Fredric March and Florence Eldridge could really help "to preserve democracy" now would be for them to begin "exposing and attempting to eradicate" such outfits as Counterattack by making public their experiences and the information they have gained in the course of the two-year legal fray.

Formosa Truman on

By Joseph Hansen

One of the cur osities of the marine world is the squid. When embarrassed it lets fly a discharge that thoroughly inks up the water and so permits it to retire gracefully from the scene.

This happy method of defense is not confined to the squid. It can be observed among the vertebrates too. Thus the typical capitalist politician caught in a spot that does him no good with the voters will at once let loose a resounding statement about principles, lofty aims, noble intentions and how it wasn't him anyway - at least

For instance, take Truman's statement Jan. 5 on Formosa where ex-dictator Chiang Kai-shek. after being run off the mainland by the Chinese people, is now bidding for more American arms and dollars. China was one of the big prizes for which the imperialist powers fought World War II. But peasant uprisings spoiled Wall Street's dream of shortly running up its house flags from Shanghai to the Gobi desert. Then when Britain and other junior partners and satellites of American imperialism started recognizing the Mao regime, Truman felt the irresistible urge.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory," he said. What were all those U. S. troops doing in China at the end of World War II? Does it take bayonets to convince the Chinese people that American imperialism has no predatory designs?

"The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time," Truman continued. A short time ago, Truman had the desire it seems to establish military bases on Formosa, "At this time" he doesn't desire it, perhaps because his military and political advisers

don't think Chiang can last long on Formosa and they couldn't get away with an American exped tionary force "at this time." Later on, things may look up again for the American militarists. Then Truman can say that the old colonial powers may have had "predatory designs" but all Wall Street wants "at this time" is special rights, privileges and military bases.

"Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed force to interfere in the present situation," continued the head of the Democratic Party. A few days after this pious pronouncement about intentions in the "present situation," it was revealed that Chiang is still buying arms - at bargain rates - in America with dollars handed him from the U. S. Treasury. All Army markings are being scrupulously "painted out" on the engines of death so that it's a sale, you see, not

"The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China," Truman promised in a final flourish. That really fouled the water! You new impetus with the expulsion ier by a Curran goon - squad discredited Stalinist maritime can hardly see the billions of dollars Truman gave the Chiang dictatorship, the scores of top-rank York meeting of the union on of members who were standing charge but pointed out that he brass sent to master-mind Chiang's campaigns, the American ships and planes used to ferry Nationalist troops into battle position, the vast stores of arms turned over to the infamous butcher to slaughter the rebellious Chinese peasants.

Some people claim there's nothing in this world without a final goal and purpose. Truman shows what even the lowly squid can evolve into if this view is correct. A vertebrate that stops at no means to justify an end! Especially a foul end Ike interfering in China's internal affairs and trying to save a hated executioner from his long that Keith had been expelled by with "inciting to riot," creating a boldly launched into a left criticover-due doom

Two Significant Films

By Charles Hanley

Among the excellent foreign motion pictures we have seen in 1949, two stand out for their consciousness of social questions and impressive realism. The Affair Blum and Bicycle Thief do not offer a solution to those questions (and this is not their aim); but they more or less suggest that there is now a very honest attitude greatly superior to Hollywood's method of spreading illusions about social problems to be solved in the framework of capitalist society by mere

The Affair Blum, based on the story of a frameup which actually took place in Germany in 1926 - seven years before Hitler seized power - is a German film made by Germans in the Russian occupation zone, (fortunately without any notable injection of typically Stalinist slogans): A Jewish capitalist (who probably thought this could never happen to him) is suddenly accused of a murder he did not commit. The real murderer, a former member of one of the ultra-nationalistic "Free Corps," and the reactionary police and judges work together to build up a case against the completely innocent Blum. They need such a case to whip up Anti-Semitism.

Blum's (non-Jewish) wife appeals to the Social Democratic Minister-President of the State who, in spite of his sympathy with the Blums, is unable to do anything against the reactionary state apparatus he is supposed to direct. The judges do not allow any "interference with the independence of the judiciary" and openly scorn the Social Democratic government. But, a well known detective of the Berlin police, whom the Minister-President asks for help, succeeds, after overcoming many discouraging difficulties, in proving Blum's innocence, unmasking the real murderer and foiling the whole frame-up. Thanks to the revelations of the murderer's girl friend who knows the truth and whom the detective convinces she must not allow an innocent man to be beheaded, the victim of the frame-up escapes, The judges are furious, but have to release Blum. as the murderer, faced with overwhelming evidence, confesses everything.

A "happy ending?" Not quite, For Blum, who is an intelligent man and has learned quite a few things in prison, clearly understands that this individual victory over the reactionary state apparatus and his narrow escape from the executioner's axe are due to mere luck, and that the problem as such remains unsolved, the same state apparatus remaining in command; and that other "Affairs Blum" will follow.

In the final scene, which is accompanied by the menacing music of a Nazi march, Mrs. Blum tries to comfort her husband, saying "It's all over now." - "No," replies Blum, "its only begin-

With some variations, different forms and circumstances, the same sort of thing can still

happen in many countries all over the world: against Jews, against Negroes, against other at the front of the hall, McElroy trial was the result of his op- would flow" until the dissenters minorities. And the purpose of the instigutors was assaulted by several masters- position to the policies of the were driven out of the union. of "Affairs Blum" is always the same: To divert at-arms who beat him to the administration. No particulars of the dissatisfied masses and especially the petty ground in the presence of the the charges had been given to in his absence, were then declared bourgeoisie from the real culprit - the capitalist system and its consequences - by finding con- bers rising to their feet in the his part. Keith further charged participated in the voting than venient scapegoats.

Victor deSica's Bicycle Thief is a masterpiece. By its natural simplicity and profound truth it ranks high in the field of cinematagraphic art, did nothing until the goons ran hall many times during the After searching for a long time, an unemployed into trouble when they interven- course of the "trial."

ed on their side and broke up Next in line for purge action worker, who has a wife and a little son, finally gets a job. There is a condition attached to it. he must have a bicycle. His bicycle is in the pawnshop; he gets it out by his wife pawning coal miners need their blankets instead. He can start working again. But his precious bicycle is stolen on the first day of his new job. The police are not interested; they cannot help him to find the thief. Besides, there are so many bicycles stolen every

So he is obliged to help himself and after a dramatic chase finally finds the thief - but not the bicycle. And he has no evidence against the thief. So there is nothing be can do about it. And then, in his bitterness and despair, he tries to steal another man's bicycle. The attempt fails. However, the bicycle owner does not want to have him arrested. With his terrified son the worker goes home, ashamed of himself, without a job, without help, without hope.

And that is the end of this story. No stroke of good luck comes to that man's aid. The comedy of capitalist charity which, by coincidence, he witnesses while chasing the thief, often benefits scoundrels and vagabonds; a worker is too proud to accept it; he wants a job, a decent wage, he wants justice. The police officers, i.e., the state, are not interested and will not help him; they do not defend the poor and the hungry. Some individuals succeed in helping themselves by injuring others. Our "hero" tries it half-heartedly and is trapped. For him, there remains no way

Only by getting together with other proletarians, by struggling with them against the injustice of this society could he seriously hone to achieve something. The worker in Bicycle Thief is not a bad fellow, but he seeks only for an individual solution and cannot find one. The solidarity of a few personal friends and of his family is not enough. (And he fails so completely. that at a certain moment he finds himself almost stripped of his dignity.) DeSica does not force those conclusions on us. What we have just said is only suggested by his "hero's" loneliness and falure, by the futility of his individual struggle. This is not a political but a social picture, a

human picture: A perfect one of its kind.

THE MILITANT

VOLUMB XIV MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1950

won a clear decision. They dropped their suit and signed a non-communist oath, in return for public statement restoring them to the good graces of the red-baiters. Counterattack was able to retreat with all guns blazing furiously at the "red menace." "Up to a couple of years or so ago," said the Counterattack retraction, "the Marches publicly supported a number of organizations which United States Attorney Generals have declared. By Civil Rights Mobilization

Wants Troops in Formosa



Just before President Truman announced the U. S. government would not send military aid to Formosa. Sen. William F. Knowland (R, Calif.) urged such intervention. Here the senator uses a map in his office to point out the island where he would want U. S. youth to go and die in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek. Program, starting with the FEPC.

majority of the membership at administration.

on a point of order, demanding things.

the meeting had voted against Keith, the most prominent of

meet in Washington for three crats and Republicans cannot be of the civil rights movement bedays beginning Jan. 15, will mark depended on to fulfill their civil fore it can make further progress. much or how little this movement trust in the capitalist politicians go on with things as they are, to achieves in Washington, it al- - distrust which experience has keep on making pro-civil rights ready has the following progres- proved to be well justified and statements and gestures, etc. sive features:

ed front movement. Instead of talist politicians who continue to and 49 other national labor, minority, fraternal and church organizations have pooled their efforts in the mobilization which speaks for a combined membership running into the tens of millions, despite the self-defeating decision to exclude all political parties and Stalinist-led organizations.

2. The mobilization represents an important - if limited - step in the direction of mass pressure and mass action against the Jim Crow forces. In previous years these organizations relied primarily on letters and telegrams to Congress: this time they are sending representatives in person to demand enactment without delay in this session of the civil rights

the official union paper, The Pilot.

regimes behind "the Iron Cur-

Silverman and Smith, the latter

Lastly, Jean Beek, a woman

member who was charged with

"distributing unauthorized litera-

ture" and "causing a disturbance."

was dealt with in the same sum

mary manner. In a sense this

action was even more repugnant

than the others, resulting ap-

parently from nothing but per

sonal spite on the part of John

pleted the meeting's "business"

Curran's denial of the sup-

The National Emergency Civil growing understanding by the shared by all the leaders of the Rights Mobilization, which will mass of the people that the Domo- mobilization, must be rooted out a high point of Negro and labor rights promises. In short, the It must be understood, and publicstruggle for enactment of civil Washington conference itself is ly stated to the masses, that the rights legislation. No matter how objectively an expression of dis- Trumanites are quite content to which will be transformed into 1. It is a genuinely broad unit- more active hostility to the capi-

MORE IS NEEDED

minorities

ticians and their own leaders will defeat of the rights bills. deliver some pep-talks. The same so ineffectual in the past will pre-Curran Machine Expels
4 Opponents in NMU the addition of serious pressure iticians. through this conference and will

indicate that attendance at the con will find out that the achievethe Curran machine in the Na- file members at the union meet- things of editing and writing for ference will not be anywhere near- ment of their full objectives retional Maritime Union received a ing had been preceded days earl- The Voice of the Membership, a ly as large as it can and should quires a complete break with capibe, if the real strength of the par- talist politics and the formation ticipating organizations is taken of an independent Labor Party into account. But the most serious that will undertake to replace the shortcoming is the fact that the capitalist politicians in Washingdelegates will not be reinforced ton with real representatives of by powerful mass demonstrations the masses. in the communities from which they come.

WHY THE APATHY?

The original plans for the mobilization included the organization of such mass pressure on a being worried by the mobilization grass-roots level. Attempts to hold mass meetings were actually in Washington, will even welcome made in some communities, but it and try to exploit it for their by and large they were not big nd therefore not very successful. Even where genuine efforts were gro vote "in their pocket" because made, the masses were not arous- of their demagogic gestures last ed, they remained apathetic. year, they will see no reason for Knowing why this happened and not repeating them this year. how to correct the situation is the WHAT WE MUST SHOW key to victory in the civil rights But the picture can be changed fight, for only when the rank and radically and rapidly if the delefile workers are actively aroused and set into motion will Congress ence rid themselves of false poli-

on the Keith case. The show of false impression that the Trumanites are sincerely working to its goal. pass these bills and that it is What we need to show Congress necessary only to rely on the Tru- is not that the masses want civil manites and everything will turn rights legislation - which they out right in the end. Where the already know — but that they are impression prevails that there is no need for a fight, you will nat- ready to defeat and sween aside urally be unable to arouse people any force that stands in the way to engage in one.

NUMBER 3

TRUMANITE RECORD

They proved this conclusively acting individually, as they did in stand in the way of first-class last year by the sham battle they the past, the NAACP, CIO, AFL citizenship for Negroes and other staged over the filibuster, which they were perfectly willing to lose as soon as they saw how they could put the blame for it on the It would be unrealistic, however, Republicans. Truman himself has to expect that the Washington proved it over and over again by conference will be enough to turn refusing to use his power to end the tide and force Congress to segregation in the armed forces override filibusters against civil and to withhold federal funds from discriminatory housing. For In the first place, official an- the Trumanites the whole quesnouncements make it clear that tion of civil rights is a political the conference itself will be large- maneuver, and no headway can ly a routine lobbying affair, with be made until they are branded the delegates assigned to visiting for it and held EQUALLY retheir congressmen and holding a sponsible with the Republicans couple of meetings at which poli- and Southern Democrats for the

> When the masses are told the kind of lobbying that has proved truth, when they are shown that they have no real friends in Washvail this year, although the form ington, then they will understand will be changed a little and more the need to fight for themselves people will be involved. The mem- and will act accordingly. Once bers of Congress, who knew last that happens, there will be a genyear that the same participating uine upsurge by the people. Then organizations favored the passage broad and deep pressure will realof civil rights bills, will not feel ly be exerted on the capitalist pol-

> The ruling class may be comnot be much more inclined to act pelled to grant some concessions. favorably than they were in 1949. But in the course of the struggle In the second place, all signs the Negro and labor movements

> > At present the prospects in Congress are no better than they were last year. The same fancy political footwork will be offered as a substitute for what the people own ends; at any rate, feeling that they have the labor and

gates to the Washington conferbegin to do something about it. | tical conceptions, break with the Why did the masses fail to re- illusion that civil rights bills can spond in large numbers? Not be- be passed by reliance on the Trucause they are indifferent to the manites in any form, and go back civil rights bills; everybody, even home determined to build a mass the capitalist politicians, know movement of militant struggle for they are for them. What is in- equality which no capitalist polivolved is a POLITICAL question. tician will be able to ignore, mani-Their leaders have given them the pulate or prevent from reaching

of their getting it.

OF ALL ORGANIZED WORKERS

rear of the hall were set upon by that in keeping with this kan-

the fracas at the rear of the hall, were Leo Silverman and Jack

lacking in any fighting capaci-

ties. That is what lends exceptional ferocity to their attacks on the miners.

a vote of 1,641 to 496.

They are pressing for a showdown now not only because the economic situation of the coal inlow, but because the UMW battle has been isolated. The rest of organized labor is quiescent. The corporations were able to settle for crumbs and clear the field of the class struggle for a concentrated assault on the miners.

the labor-haters in their present to attack. drive against the miners is the failure of the CIO and AFL mean for their own unions.

of them feel if the UMW and shattered ranks of the miners. later with the Stalinists.

Lewis are torn down a bit, their Reaves, a new Curran appointee own stature may seem to grow by comparison.

of four members at the New steack, aided by cops, on a group paper. Silverman admitted the

Jan. 4. Despite open intimidation in front of the union hall, dis- had written for the paper be-

by New York police and Curran tributing leaflets which con- cause no critical material from

goons, it was clear that a demined the purge program of the the rank and file is permitted in

the expulsion of Charles Keith, those expelled, had formerly been pression of criticism in the Pilot

one of the leaders of the anti- one of the two secretaries of the reached a new low in cynicism

Curran, Independent caucus. But Rank and File Caucus headed by and hypocrisy. There was room,

the votes were brazenly mis- Joseph Curran, which succeeded he said, for "constructive critic-

counted by administration sup- in ousting the Stalinists from ism" - only "garbage" was kept

porters who acted as counters and office at the last general union out. Then, as dozens of police

As shouts of protest mounted collecting money for "anti-union" ling them for their wartime be

throughout the hall, Robert Mc- purposes, bringing court action trayals and contrasting his

Elroy, a seaman, took the floor against the union among other "democratic" methods with the

that a recount be taken with both In his speech of defense, which tain," Finally in a thinly-yeiled

sides represented as counters, was continually interrupted by appeal to violence, he said that it

While still before the microphone | Curran, Keith charged that the appeared inevitable that "blood

entire meeting. Angered mem- him despite repeated requests on expelled although fewer members

another gang of hooligans. The garoo court procedure he had brute force earlier in the meet-

police, present in large numbers, been denied access to the union ing had had its intended effect.

"dual and hostile" organization, ism of the Stalinists, condemn

Curran announced from the chair election in 1948. He was charged lined the aisles of the hall, he

The capitalists and their government agents are fully aware of this attitude. Indeed, they count on it as a principal assurance that they can crowd miners and their resources are tervention by the rest of or-

against great odds. By no means are they to be counted out as yet. with the CIO steel and auto unions But they are in great danger that fact must be recognized and emphasized. If they suffer a defeat, the whole front of the

miners' favor requires massive chine. leaders to lend any support to the intervention by the rest of or- The large vote cast against the Hill, assistant field secretary of audience that employers foster

in the New York Port. This comand logically complemented al

that had preceded it. The charge of "inciting to riot" derives from the actions of the rank and file in resisting the the miners into a corner and beat attempt of the National Office dustry is unfavorable to the them down without fear of in- to illegally remove 15 regularly elected New York Port officials. This legitimate resistance to ganized labor. bureaucratic and arbitrary ac-The miners are fighting back tions has been stigmatized as an

control of the union. In this way, have been placed on the rank and What particularly emboldens labor movement will be exposed file, creating a broad pattern of To turn the tide speedily in the all critics of the top union ma-

UMW, even though these leaders ganized labor. The impulse for expulsion of Keith indicates that the NAACP, who has been tour- radial divisions because it is to must have some inkling of what this intervention will come only despite all his vicious methods ing the mid-west to gather forces their profit in dollars and cents. defeat for the miners would from the union ranks. It is the and red-baiting, Curran has not for the Washington mobilization. The people must depend on their members and leaders of the local succeeded in winning a majority He called attention to the new organized strength, he said, to These union leaders have re- unions of every affiliation who for his purge program in New militant spirit that is pervading win the fight, just as the fight mained criminally silent as the must take the initiative. Pass York, the largest branch in the the movement for civil rights, of the workers in the mills against corporations and government resolutions of support for the union. But there is no indication and said it must be wedded to the companies is only as effective conspire in an attempt to cut miners and protest against gov. that this will deter Curran and the organized strength of the as their union is strong. the miners to pieces. They have ernment interference against Co. This totalitarian regime, labor movement in order to acalways resented the fact that them. Demand that the top lead- which goes hand in hand with a complish the aims of both. Lewis' aggressive methods have ers of your union mobilize all-out policy of capitulation to the The burning determination C. Lee and Harry Greene from won big gains and have exposed aid to the miners. Let the Amer- shipowners, must inevitably pro- among Negroes to win the fight Local 1330, United Steelworkers, their own lickspittle dependence ican plutocracy know that the duce a reaction from the seamen. for civil rights was impressed Jack Thornton, PAC Director for on the government for small organized American workers will Sooner or later the rank and file upon the audience by Nathaniel District 26, United Steelworkers, shabby favors. No doubt, down not tolerate its scheme to drive for will settle with Curran as they C. Lee, NAACP branch co- and Andrew Diehl, William

YOUNGSTOWN NAACP RALLY **GETS ENCOURAGING RESPONSE**

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 9-Almost 700 people answered the call of the Youngstown Branch of the NAACP to attend a mass meeting to build support for the National Civil Rights Mobilization in 5-

attempt to seize the union hall Washington next week. The meet- "because this is where you ought weeks ago, shows that the mobil- rights must be passed now." continuing purge action against ization for civil rights is gathering momentum.

thank you for coming," he said, from the local NAACP.

in a "Communist plot" to take ing, held in Tabernacle Baptist to be." The mobilization is being Church last night, was more than called, he said, "because we must the crimes of Curran and Co. three times the size of the meet- take different steps to impress ing called by the NAACP a few upon those in authority that civil Dan Thomas, president of Local

1462 of the CIO United Steel-The main speaker was Herbert workers, pointed out to the

ington will include Nathaniel in their narrow little souls many victory against all labor over the did with the old ISU gang and ordinator. "I am not going to Howard and Rev. S. S. Booker