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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 not intend to do anything about it.

As last week's *Militant* reported in detail, the pre-trial hearing in New York on the Coplon-Gubitchev case has revealed three scandalous practices by the FBI, all of them in violation of specific provisions in the law: 1. Wiretapping. 2. Use of leads obtained through wiretapping as evidence introduced by the government at 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 Coplon case although some of them have since admitted that they not only knew about it but helped to get it used.

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 a microphone in Miss Coplon's of-

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

This violation of the "privileged" relationship between lawyer and client so outraged Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, that he wrote an article in the *New Republic* calling on the American people "to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds." (See article below.)

James Lawrence Fly, ex-chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and an official of the American Civil Liberties 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 Federal Communications Act and a grave threat to American liberties. He urged a congressional investigation.

A few days earlier Senator William Langer (R, N.D.) said that as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee he was giving thought to the request he had received for an investigation of FBI wiretapping by that committee.

The view of the liberal press was expressed in an editorial in the Jan. 6 *N. Y. Post*, which stated: "We cannot imagine a more loathsome weapon of law-enforcement than eavesdropping on the dialogue of lawyer and defendant — whoever they may be, whatever the alleged crime."

It quotes J. Edgar Hoover's hypocritical remark in the *George Washington University Bulletin* that, "The well-trained police officer, 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)



HAROLD L. ICKES

ICKES URGES AMERICAN
PEOPLE TO ABOLISH FBI

"If the FBI so disregards legal propriety — to say nothing of common decency — as to tap telephone wires in order to hear what a lawyer and a client may say to

each other, then it is time for a free people who never have and it may be hoped, never will, tolerate a secret police, to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds," writes ex-Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in the Jan. 9 *New Republic*.

Ickes expresses great shock to learn that FBI agents tapped phone conversations between Judith Coplon and her lawyer, Archibald Palmer. "This was a treacherous and cowardly blow at the liberties we hold so dear. Neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor Franco, nor the Soviet Politburo, has ever sunk lower."

"The relationship between client and lawyer is highly privileged," he continues. "Only the confidential is more sacred. . . . The FBI has no more right to intercept a conversation between a lawyer and his client, like a sneak thief, than it would have to hide a dictograph in a confidential. Such debased behavior is even worse than the third degree in which policemen sometimes indulge to force the admission of a crime."

Taking note of the defense counsel's charge that the FBI had 81 agents on her trial and of the government's reply that it had "only" 40, Ickes observes: "Even if the lower figure is correct, it will be seen that, quite aside from the ethics and morals involved, it has cost the taxpayers a pretty penny to pay for the FBI's cynical breach of the

law and disregard of every concept of human decency."

Even the FBI's "proud record" at gang-busting, he declares, "cannot serve as justification of the Bureau's 'Peeping Tomism' and door-crack listening in order to pick up envious or malicious gossip to be used against government employees and others who are denied their constitutional right to defend themselves. Nor will it excuse the offenses that have been brought to light in the Coplon case."

"DANGEROUS IMMUNITY" "In the circumstances," he concludes, "it is proper to recall that whereas every other police official of high or low degree is responsible to someone else, the FBI alone seems to have a dangerous immunity from responsibility to some higher authority. Even the President must account to the people for his acts every four years — and in between times to Congress."

"No group, especially one set up with the sanction of law, should be allowed to operate as a Mafia. It is undemocratic and dangerous for one man, whoever he may be, to have such powers as J. Edgar Hoover has arrogated to himself. . . . The federal law forbids wiretapping, yet on Feb. 2, 1949, Mr. Hoover, in effect said that the FBI is above the law. The late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes called wiretapping 'a dirty business.' Today it is even dirtier."

Pie in the Sky

Japanese CP
Rejects Kremlin
Order for Purge

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

Party has flouted the Cominform directives for a purge of its leadership and has instead expelled one of the leaders who publicly backed the Cominform.

The chief target of Cominform attack is the Japanese CP leader Sanzo Nosaka. The charges against him allege that he is a "deceiver of the Japanese people" who maintains that Japan "can attain Socialism under the occupation rule" of the U. S. Nosaka is also denounced for claiming that he has achieved "the naturalization of Marxism-Leninism on Japanese soil." Other unnamed Japanese leaders are coupled in these attacks with Nosaka.

The Cominform charges have received the backing of the Moscow *Pravda*, Stalin's personal Russian daily, which has denounced Nosaka as "anti-democratic," "anti-socialistic," and "anti-Japanese." These charges and attacks are reminiscent of the tone of the Cominform's original denunciations of the Yugoslav CP leadership.

Nosaka is said to have issued no public reply as yet to the attacks against him, amounting to orders for his immediate purge. Instead he has acted to purge Cominform supporters.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, Jan. 10, this counter-purge has struck Ko Nakanishi, a veteran Japanese Stalinist, who is a member of the Japanese Parliament.

Nakanishi reportedly sided with the Cominform immediately upon the publication of its attack on Nosaka. "The Cominform criticism of our party this time is fully warranted," he declared, adding that this "criticism" offered the Japanese CP "the best chance to strengthen itself" and to effect an "over-all change in the Communist front."

He was expelled by the decision of the party's control Commission for "disruption." There has been no official comment by the Japanese CP on the Cominform attacks.

Nosaka's name has been frequently linked in the press with that of Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Stalinists who is now in Moscow negotiating a treaty of "amity and friendship." During the war Nosaka was with Mao Tse-tung in North China, the central base of the peasant guerrilla armies who later crushed Chiang Kai-shek.

If the press reports are correct, the Japanese leaders headed by Nosaka have by their actions broken irrevocably with the Kremlin and will presently be attacked much in the same way as have been the Yugoslav dissidents. At all events, the developments in Japan cannot fail to greatly intensify the international crisis of Stalinism touched off by the Yugoslav rebellion.

Bitter Campaign
Expected in New
British Elections

The new elections in Britain 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 that promises to be more bitterly fought and demagogic (on both sides) than the previous election, five years ago, which swept the Laborites into power.

From the standpoint of program there is far less difference between the opposing sides than appears from the highly colored dispatches carried in the American press. The Tory program proposes to introduce no changes in the reforms already instituted; it simply claims that Tories can realize and run the "welfare state" more efficiently and cheaply than the Laborites and proposes to halt further nationalizations.

Their chief weapon in the campaign will be sacrifices and sufferings imposed on the masses under the Laborites to preserve bankrupt British capitalism and the natural resentment and discontent among the workers.

The coal miners have flatly rejected the government wage-freeze in the face of rising living costs resulting from the recent devaluation of the pound. The engineers, railwaymen and electrical workers are other big unions expected to take a similar stand. This mass discontent is even more serious for the Laborites to combat than are their Tory opponents.

The odds still favor a return of the Laborites to office but by a narrower margin than last time.

Truman Asks
More for War
In New BudgetBUDGET HIDES MANY WAR
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 (\$17-million) 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 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 "cemetery 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.

STRIKEBREAKING STIRS
FIGHT IN CLEVELAND AFL

CLEVELAND, Jan. 9 — Repercussions of the recent transit strike are still being felt in labor and political circles here. A sharp fight has developed in the Cleveland

Federation of Labor over the shameful conduct of its officers, Secretary William Finegan and President Jack Burns, who had condemned the Transit Union and its officers for striking and had supported the strikebreaking tactics of Democratic Mayor Burke.

The CFL leaders wanted to cover up for strikebreaker Burke, whom they hope to run against Senator Taft. That is the reason for their traitorous actions. They have not gone unchallenged, however. Other segments of the Cleveland labor movement rallied to the defense of the Transit Union.

The day after the end of the strike the Cleveland CIO Council meeting officially announced solidarity with the transit workers and denounced the use of the injunction to break the strike. The CIO resolution said in part: "Those who say that public employees can not have the right to strike are advocating a form of slavery. . . ." It likewise condemned

Mayor Burke for his threatened use of strikebreakers.

CIO DISCUSSION

During the CIO meeting's discussion, one delegate remarked it was fortunate that Burke revealed himself before they supported him for Senator. The role of the PAC in its support of Democratic politicians was discussed at some length. Several delegates pointed to this strike as proof of the need for a Labor Party.

The next day Cleveland AFL Secretary Finegan attacked the CIO for supporting the transit strike "without knowing the facts." At the Federation meeting the following week, Finegan in a 45-minute speech, alibied his strikebreaking actions and launched a bitter personal attack against Thomas Meany, leader of the 4200-member local of the AFL Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, the union that had been on strike.

It was difficult at times to tell whether Finegan was a labor leader or a torch-bearer for the mayor. He slandered strike-leader Meany as a man who couldn't keep his word, but claimed scab-herder Mayor Burke had always been a "friend of labor" and obviously always would be. Finegan summed up his own actions in one whining sentence: "I have to live with the Burke administration." We have come to expect opportunism from the labor bureaucrats, but rarely has crass opportunism been so openly flaunted.

DEBATE IN AFL

Meany answered Finegan and asked the delegates to take no action until they had heard the Transit Union's side. He excoriated the Mayor and defended the union, pointing out that his union was democratic as well as autonomous. After Meany spoke, supporters for both points of view took the floor and engaged in a heated discussion for three hours. What followed after that confused all the delegates and disgusted many.

The minutes of the Board of Business Agents were read. These included a recommendation to

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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 \$317 million next year compared to \$673 million this year.

FOREIGN ARMS

Only the item "international affairs and finances" shows a reduction, from \$5,964,000,000 to \$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 Soviet Union and to slaughter rebellious workers and colonial peoples — gets an increase from \$355-million to \$645-million.

Added to the cost of preparing for future war is the cost of the past war. This includes veterans benefits and interest on the national debt. Aid to veterans will be slashed \$874-million, to \$6,079,000,000. The capitalists will collect \$5,625,000,000 in interest on blood-money lent the government, which, Truman's budget message explains, "represents predominantly the cost of financing the last war."

Here and there in the budget report you can find minute increases proposed for social benefits or for new social legislation. Most of the new measures are confidently expected by Truman not to be passed by Congress anyway.

SOCIAL APPROPRIATIONS

Thus, he proposes \$250-million for operation of a health insurance fund, \$323-million more for housing and \$312-million for school aid. All three together are about equal to what will be spent on atom-bomb development — besides which there is little prospect that the Democratic-controlled Congress will approve them. A proposed increased expenditure of \$1,200,000,000 for old-age pensions will be no gift — it will come out of a further increase in payroll taxes.

War, past and planned, will cost the American people 30-billion dollars, "or about 71 per cent of the total budget," Truman admits. And he stresses that this monumental burden of imperialist militarism and war will not abate in the foreseeable future.

"Specifically, the largest item in the budget, national defense expenditures, is expected to approximate the 1951 level in the next few years," Truman emphasized. This is the real perspective of Truman's "Fair Deal," not his glib forecast that average income will rise \$1,000 per year by 1955.

Coal Miners Need Aid of All Labor

By Joseph Keller

Probing for a vital spot in the mine owners' solid front, the coal miners on Jan. 9 began striking at the "captive" pits of the major steel companies which have been the main hold-outs in the seven-month battle of the United Mine Workers for a new and improved contract.

In spite of their magnificent solidarity and militancy, the miners have so far failed to make any significant breach in the operators' line. They are now concentrating pressure on the steel companies, which are operating at close to capacity, in the hope they can force a settlement before their depleted resources reach exhaustion.

The long struggle appears headed for a showdown. The mine owners, backed by the whole capitalist class and government, are plainly seeking to impose a crushing defeat on the coal miners.

Since the first of the year, the offensive against the miners has been mounting in intensity. They

now face a two-pronged threat of court action — a federal injunction and ruinous damage suits.

Last week all sections of the industry joined with the Southern operators in petitioning Truman's National Labor Relations Board to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction to halt the miners' three-day week and to forbid action — including strike — that the NLRB says is intended to enforce "unfair labor practices." At this writing, the NLRB is "studying" the issue.

PRESSURE MOUNTING

From all sections of Congress, including his own supporters like Democratic majority leader Senator Scott Lucas and Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, pressure is being brought to bear on Truman to intervene against the miners. He can do this under cover of his hand-picked NLRB and avoid the direct presidential action required in invoking the "national emergency" clause of the T-H Law.

Meanwhile, eight large Ohio coal companies have brought suit against the UMW for \$8,000,000 "double damages" under an old state law forbidding any group or association from "interfering" with the production of any commodity. This law was originally designed to halt price-fixing, production quotas and other monopoly practices of the corporations.

The "Hate-Lewis" mob has convinced the time is ripe to break the UMW as an effective fighting union. Washington correspondent Louis Stark points out in the Jan. 8 *N. Y. Times* that federal officials and mine operators are hopefully recalling the 1927 struggle, when the decline in the coal industry and the failure of Lewis' strategy to crack the companies' front resulted in a terrible defeat from which the UMW did not recover for almost a decade.

Today the entire Big Business class has a greater incentive than ever to smash the miners. The

corporations have never made their peace with the mighty industrial union movement that has grown up in the past 15 years. They recall that it was Lewis and the miners who were the greatest source of strength to the early CIO. And today the miners are the most aggressive union in the country.

MINERS PIONEERED

Time, and again in the past decade the miners have pioneered far-reaching demands, like company-financed pensions, which have inspired the struggles of other sections of labor. Time and again their militant methods have won gains that have spurred the rest of labor to action. Above all, the miners have relied on their own strength rather than on the government for their gains.

The employing class knows that if it can smash the miners it will have cleared the main roadblock to a direct offensive against the other industrial unions, whose leaders are weak, yielding and

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swabeck

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 100,000, 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 human being within a radius of one kilometer.

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 earmarked for atomic destruction; this would result in shattering of civilian morale and paralysis of the economy, it would be a quick and decisive knock-out war. The United States was in sole possession of the bomb, zealously guarding its "secret."

SITUATION CHANGES

Now such tempers are somewhat cooled off. It is assumed that Russia also has the bomb. Reports now describe her large fleet of jet fighters, with long range jet bombers going into mass production. Generally it is now conceded that what the United States can do to Russia in atomic warfare, Russia can do 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 imperialists.

Speculations on the advantages of a head start in bomb manufacture, size of stockpile, or available natural raw materials, do not bring great comfort to military planners. It is known that there are rich uranium 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 material, and thorium, which can also be transmuted into fissionable material.

Enormous reserves of thorium are said to have been discovered

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 master's degree.



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

NO LETUP ON ARMS

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 for the defense against atom bombs is given out freely by the National Security Resources Board. For business, relocation of factories is recommended — for safety of property — in smaller communities of less than 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 graveyard?

Although American scientists predicted a relatively early arrival of the Russian atom bomb, it came at least several years sooner than official public propaganda had led people to expect; apparently, the world is now headed 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 atomic fission material will suffice to illustrate this.

THE NEW ATOMIC AGE

When the Manhattan Engineering District, as it was named,

took over 59,000 acres in Tennessee to build the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, erected at a cost of \$500 million, one of the greatest technological projects of all time got under way. The central part of this huge plant, erected for the diffusion process of separating uranium 235 from the slightly heavier uranium 238, was called K-25. A partial description of this plant was given in Fortune magazine as follows:

"Heart of K-25 is a gigantic U-shaped building, each wing 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-Chalmers, over 100,000 control instruments were provided by Taylor Instrument Companies to make the prodigious operation go."

The second largest atomic fission material plant, the Hanford Works, in the state of Washington, was erected at a cost of \$350 million. It was the first nuclear chemical factory in the world. Within this plant, in immensely large "ovens," with walls three feet thick, atomic "fires" are built as part of the process of transmuting U-238 into plutonium. This is called the atomic pile.

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 a potential heat intensity of millions of degrees.

Such are the descriptions of but a part of the gigantic technological and engineering developments inaugurated by the atomic age. These examples are taken, 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 purpose, certainly approaching what has been described above. Once again this brings home an important lesson to the working class.

VERIFICATION IN USSR

During the 32 years of existence of the Soviet Republic, starting out with an extremely backward economy, industrialization has unquestionably 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 capitalist "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 development pose questions directly affecting the fate of mankind. The alternative of barbarism or socialism 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.]

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 gathering of steelworkers and others here tonight. "The first lie is that Stalin and the Kremlin gang represent socialism, the second is that the rulers of America represent democracy. We must nail these two lies and spread the truth."

Dunne spoke here in the course of a two-day stop in Youngstown as part of his current national tour. Earlier in the day he presented a similar speech on "Labor and Civil Rights" to a smaller gathering of steelworkers who were prevented by their working shift from attending this evening's meeting. Both meetings were held in the Socialist Workers Party hall.

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 labeled the United Nations as a tool of

the American imperialist bloc, and denounced American capitalism for initiating atomic warfare.

Pulling no punches, Comrade Dunne gave frank replies to questions about the Soviet Union. He spoke of the inestimable superiority of the productive system set up in Russia by the revolution of 1917, but he attacked the destruction of workers' liberties in the Soviet Union by the Stalinist clique and the departure by this clique from the 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.

STRIKEBREAKING ACTION STIRS CONFLICT IN CLEVELAND AFL

(Cont. from page 1)

suspend Meany as a delegate to the Federation until he gave a satisfactory explanation of his 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, vice-president 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.

It seemed at that point as though Burns changed his opinion and agreed. The minutes were accepted and discussion began on suspension. Davey took issue with the method of discipline, claiming it didn't conform to Federation laws which called for the filing of charges and a hearing. Numerous other delegates, including Louis Friend, secretary of the ILGWU Joint Council, agreed on this point. Finegan's backers interpreted the issue as one of supporting or rejecting the policies of the CFL officers.

A motion was then made to suspend Meany for ninety days. It was resoundingly defeated. Finegan rose and shouted "Thanks for the slap in the puss." The meeting then adjourned. It was the longest in many years and the first time in six years that

any recommendation of the Board of Business Agents had been challenged.

WHAT STRIKE ACHIEVED

The newspapers, the next day reported that Burns had ruled that Meany was suspended. What will develop now is difficult to predict. It is to be hoped that the Transit Workers in their justifiable anger against the CFL leaders take no rash steps by breaking from the CFL. To do so at this time would be to admit defeat and desert their supporters inside the Federation. These supporters, with the Transit Union, have challenged the deadening influence of the bureaucracy. This could mark the beginning of a new period of militancy in the Federation in Cleveland. In the CIO too, the transit strike has awakened a new fighting spirit. If they accomplished nothing else, the transit workers are owed a vote of thanks for this.

But they did accomplish more. In addition to gaining part of their demands, they shook the autocracy of the management. The newspapers have quoted the Transit Board as admitting the labor relations were bad and efforts would be made to improve these conditions. The union should not count too heavily on this, however. Its continued militancy is its only guarantee of good working conditions.

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.

Also:

The Eternal Mask

A stirring psychological film. Starting promptly at 9 PM

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Food and refreshments after movie

A Letter from Australia On the Recent Elections

SYDNEY, Dec. 13 — All the shouting is over now. The Australian petty-bourgeois has given his vote to the parties of Big Business. He will regret this within the next

few years, but in the meantime the Australian worker, who hung on to the Labor Party, will suffer too. Actually the problem of winning the petty-bourgeois, who sways between the camps of the capitalists and workers. If he cannot find a solution for his problems under the leadership of the workers, he will look for it in the camp of Big Business. It is 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, shootages 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 world slaughter is a socialist society of peace and plenty based upon a planned economy.

It was not with this objective in mind that the Labor government originally took office. The saying that "Mr. Menzies is the best asset of the Labor Party" was not just a joke but a sad reality, for Labor was put into 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 confined to the limitations of capitalism. Thus the proposed bank nationalization was not considered a step towards a socialist economy 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 disappointment of the rank and file due to actions like the use of troops in breaking a strike — in direct violation of Labor's platform — created the atmosphere in which the parties of Big Business could launch their scare campaign about "socialism," a campaign the exorbitant cost of which was fully repaid by its success.

To what extent the new government which is run directly by the capitalists and their immediate agents will try to curry favor with the people by eranting child - endowment for the first child, reducing taxation, etc., remains to be seen. The Chifley government had accumulated a certain reserve for the lean days to come. The "liberals" may draw on this reserve to maintain their popularity, but they will not escape the reckoning when the lean days do come. It also remains to be seen how strong the conflicts within the capitalist camp are. Most of Labor's propaganda was to the effect that it could govern, in contradistinction to the leading parties of Big Business.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

One thing is clear, however, and that is that the accession of the capitalist parties to office has given the green light for an all-out offensive of the employers "to put the workers back into their place." The immediate task is to fight against intensified exploitation (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.

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 Socialism. 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 between Labor and the Tories may continue indefinitely. But social stability is not safeguarded by decaying capitalism. The bosses will find that while they could no longer afford the luxury of letting Labor governments prop up their moribund system, the outmoded Tory machine will be completely inadequate to cope with the situation; and if by that time there is no genuine socialist party to lead the people towards a reconstruction of society, then fascism will make its bid.

Now is the time to rally all socialist forces. Within the Australian Labor Party differentiation is bound to occur in spite of the apathy which follows a defeat. While some right-wing forces will press for a repudiation of the socialist objective, 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 union affairs will think twice before propounding this again. Many a bureaucrat divested from the responsibilities of office will feel the urge to turn militant.

A concerted effort must be made to defend the socialist objective against all attempts to "emasculate" it. It must be linked up with day-to-day demands of the masses. All those who have 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 their problems. Socialists must prepare now.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

The Fate of Tan Malaka

The fate of Tan Malaka, revolutionary leader of the Indonesian masses, remains shrouded in mystery. A recent bulletin by the Republic of Indonesia of free 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 — apparently as part of the price demanded by the imperialists for a settlement in Indonesia.

But there have also been dispatches from Indonesia since last April mentioning Tan Malaka as 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 Premier Hatta and the Indonesian delegation at the Hague, reminding them of the RCP's incessant activity for Indonesian independence and requesting the courtesy of a reply.

On Oct. 16 Dr. Darnasatiawan finally answered "in the name of Minister-President M. Hatta." We cite the following astonishing excerpt from this letter, printed in the Nov. 5 De Tribune:

"... I acknowledge with surprise your deep interest in the alleged death of Tan Malaka, a person who is currently disfavored by the Soviet Union and held to be a renegade. ... As I understand that your sympathies are extended toward the Soviet Union and this individual is designated as a deviationist, I must ask you in all seriousness how you expect to answer for that. More especially my attention is drawn to the question of what retaliatory measures the Soviet Union would take against you were your very strange attitude on this matter to become known."

The above excerpt alone is sufficient to indicate not only the amazing ignorance of the new statesmen of Indonesia but something far more important, namely, their intention to use the dastardly repression against Tan Malaka and his revolutionary co-fighters as a bargaining point, not only with the Dutch colonial interests and their overlords in Wall Street, but also with Stalin's GPU.

It is still not clear if Tan 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.

Greek Centrists in Marshall Plan Camp

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

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on

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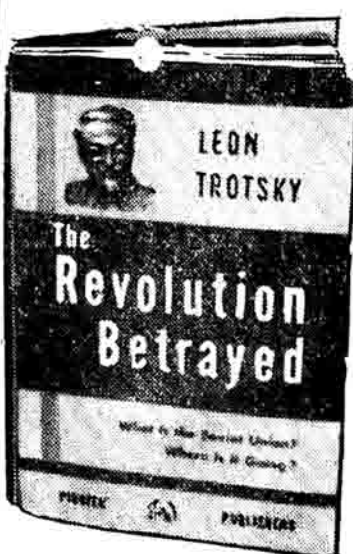
Archio-Marxists. This organization belonged for a short time to the international Trotskyist movement, in 1934 joining the London Bureau, that catch-all outfit which served as a half-way station for all kinds of centrist organizations who found it impossible to maintain their revolutionary character and broke with Trotskyism on the ground that it was too "sectarian" in its approach to the masses. Even after the war, with the London Bureau defunct, the Archio-Marxists have maintained close fraternal relations with such of its vegetating remnants as the British ILP and the Spanish POUM, the newly-found 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 Archio-Marxists are moving with far greater speed than the others. The Greek centrists on this occasion came out for the Marshall Plan and even went so far as to send congratulations to the "National Army" of the Athens Government on its "victories" against the "bandits" — that is, the Greek guerrilla fighters.

The POUM organ La Batalla of Nov. 30 publishes a communique on this conference sent by the Archio-Marxist leader Witte, dressed up so as to give the impression that this organization is fighting against the present regime in Greece and against American imperialism.

Does La Batalla know that this conference was legal, that is, authorized by the Athens Government, which imposes complete illegality not only upon the Stalinists but also upon the Trotskyists? Is the POUM aware that this conference sent congratulations to the army of the Greek Royalist assassins on its victories against the guerrillas? Is it aware that the Archio-Marxist organization has shamefully betrayed 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?

An answer from the POUM would be interesting, and so would a comment from their friends and supporters.



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GREETINGS

To the Civil Rights Mobilization
Delegates

We hope you enjoy this copy of The Militant and find it both informative and thought-provoking. Our aim is to consider the most important current events in the light of the long-range interests of the working people of all races, colors and nationalities. The struggle for full equality is, in our opinion, inseparably linked with labor's great historic task of ending capitalist reaction and establishing socialism, a new way of living that can assure a world of peace, plenty and the brotherhood of mankind.

The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly. We have no connection with the purge regime of Washington or the police regime of Moscow. We have no high-paying advertisers or wealthy backers like the capitalist press. We represent native American socialism in the great fighting tradition of Eugene V. Debs. Our funds come from working people who understand the need for an uncompromising Marxist newspaper to stand up against the moneyed interests and the bigots.

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The Fredric March Case

By Ruth Johnson

Actor Fredric March and his wife Florence Eldridge have finally forced the slander-sheet *Counterattack* to retract a charge that they are "communists." We're glad to see them chalk up a score against the red-baiters, but there is no victory in sight to cheer about. By far the most significant part of the "apology" published Dec. 23 is the ominous concluding statement: "Counterattack's information confirms the Marches' testimony that they are no longer active in any organization 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 smear-sheet? On the evidence of the March case, it seems not at all unlikely! The false charges hurled 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 FBI 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 outfit? 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 won a clear decision. They dropped their suit and signed a non-communist oath, in return for a 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 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 attempting to eradicate its weaknesses and by extolling and practicing 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.

Truman on Formosa

By Joseph Hansen

One of the curiosities 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 not right now.

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 expeditionary 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 "interference."

"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 can hardly see the billions of dollars Truman gave the Chiang dictatorship, the scores of top-rank brass sent to mastermind 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 like interfering in China's internal affairs and trying to save a hated executioner from his long over-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 "good will."

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 beginning. . ."

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 minorities. And the purpose of the instigators of "Affairs Blum" is always the same: To divert the dissatisfied masses and especially the petty bourgeoisie from the real culprit — the capitalist system and its consequences — by finding convenient scapegoats.

Victor deSica's *Bicycle Thief* is a masterpiece. By its natural simplicity and profound truth it ranks high in the field of cinematographic art. After searching for a long time, an unemployed 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 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 day.

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 he 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 out.

Only by getting together with other proletarians, by struggling with them against the injustice of this society could he seriously hope 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 failure, 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.

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New Political Policy Needed By Civil Rights Mobilization

By Albert Parker

The National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, which will meet in Washington for three days beginning Jan. 15, will mark a high point of Negro and labor struggle for enactment of civil rights legislation. No matter how much or how little this movement achieves in Washington, it already has the following progressive features:

1. It is a genuinely broad united front movement. Instead of acting individually, as they did in the past, the NAACP, CIO, AFL 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 program, starting with the FEPC.

3. The mobilization reflects the growing understanding by the mass of the people that the Democrats and Republicans cannot be depended on to fulfill their civil rights promises. In short, the Washington conference itself is objectively an expression of distrust in the capitalist politicians — distrust which experience has proved to be well justified and which will be transformed into more active hostility to the capitalist politicians who continue to stand in the way of first-class citizenship for Negroes and other minorities.

MORE IS NEEDED

It would be unrealistic, however, to expect that the Washington conference will be enough to turn the tide and force Congress to override filibusters against civil rights.

In the first place, official announcements make it clear that the conference itself will be largely a routine lobbying affair, with the delegates assigned to visiting their congressmen and holding a couple of meetings at which politicians and their own leaders will deliver some pep-talks. The same kind of lobbying that has proved so ineffectual in the past will prevail this year, although the form will be changed a little and more people will be involved. The members of Congress, who knew last year that the same participating organizations favored the passage of civil rights bills, will not feel the addition of serious pressure through this conference and will not be much more inclined to act favorably than they were in 1949.

In the second place, all signs indicate that attendance at the conference will not be anywhere nearly as large as it can and should be, if the real strength of the participating organizations is taken into account. But the most serious shortcoming is the fact that the delegates will not be reinforced by powerful mass demonstrations 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 grass-roots level. Attempts to hold mass meetings were actually made in some communities, but by and large they were not big and therefore not very successful. Even where genuine efforts were made, the masses were not aroused, they remained apathetic. Knowing why this happened and how to correct the situation is the key to victory in the civil rights fight, for only when the rank and file workers are actively aroused and set into motion will Congress begin to do something about it.

Why did the masses fail to respond in large numbers? Not because they are indifferent to the civil rights bills; everybody, even the capitalist politicians, know they are for them. What is involved is a POLITICAL question. Their leaders have given them the false impression that the Trumanites are sincerely working to pass these bills and that it is necessary only to rely on the Trumanites and everything will turn out right in the end. Where the impression prevails that there is no need for a fight, will naturally be unable to arouse people to engage in one.

This false political conception, shared by all the leaders of the mobilization, must be rooted out of the civil rights movement before it can make further progress. It must be understood, and publicly stated to the masses, that the Trumanites are quite content to go on with things as they are, to keep on making pro-civil rights statements and gestures, etc.

TRUMANITE RECORD

They proved this conclusively last year by the sham battle they 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 Republicans. Truman himself has proved it over and over again by refusing to use his power to end segregation in the armed forces and to withhold federal funds from discriminatory housing. For the Trumanites the whole question of civil rights is a political maneuver, and no headway can be made until they are branded for it and held EQUALLY responsible with the Republicans and Southern Democrats for the defeat of the rights bills.

When the masses are told the truth, when they are shown that they have no real friends in Washington, then they will understand the need to fight for themselves and will act accordingly. Once that happens, there will be a genuine upsurge by the people. Then broad and deep pressure will really be exerted on the capitalist politicians.

The ruling class may be compelled to grant some concessions. But in the course of the struggle the Negro and labor movements will find out that the achievement of their full objectives requires a complete break with capitalist politics and the formation of an independent Labor Party that will undertake to replace the capitalist politicians in Washington with real representatives of the masses.

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 want. The Trumanites, instead of being worried by the mobilization in Washington, will even welcome it and try to exploit it for their own ends; at any rate, feeling that they have the labor and Negro vote "in their pocket" because of their demagogic gestures last year, they will see no reason for not repeating them this year.

WHAT WE MUST SHOW

But the picture can be changed radically and rapidly if the delegates to the Washington conference rid themselves of false political conceptions, break with the illusion that civil rights bills can be passed by reliance on the Trumanites in any form, and go back home determined to build a mass movement of militant struggle for equality which no capitalist politician will be able to ignore, manipulate or prevent from reaching its goal.

What we need to show Congress is not that the masses want civil rights legislation — which they already know — but that they are ready to defeat and sweep aside any force that stands in the way of their getting it.

Want 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.

Curran Machine Expels 4 Opponents in NMU

The purge of all opposition to the Curran machine in the National Maritime Union received a new impetus with the expulsion of four members at the New York meeting of the union on Jan. 4. Despite open intimidation by New York police and Curran goons, it was clear that a majority of the membership at the meeting had voted against the expulsion of Charles Keith, one of the leaders of the anti-Curran, Independent caucus. But the votes were brazenly miscounted by administration supporters who acted as counters and Curran announced from the chair that Keith had been expelled by a vote of 1,641 to 496.

As shouts of protest mounted throughout the hall, Robert McElroy, a seaman, took the floor on a point of order, demanding that a recount be taken with both sides represented as counters. While still before the microphone at the front of the hall, McElroy was assaulted by several masters-at-arms who beat him to the ground in the presence of the entire meeting. Angered members rising to their feet in the rear of the hall were set upon by the police gang of hooligans. The motion, present in large numbers, did nothing until the goons ran into trouble when they intervened on their side and broke up the fracas at the rear of the hall.

The violence against rank and file members at the union meeting had been preceded days earlier by a Curran goon squad attack, aided by cops, on a group of members who were standing in front of the union hall, distributing leaflets which condemned the purge program of the administration.

Keith, the most prominent of those expelled, had formerly been one of the two secretaries of the Rank and File Caucus headed by Joseph Curran, which succeeded in ousting the Stalinists from office at the last general union election in 1948. He was charged with "inciting to riot," creating a "dual and hostile" organization, collecting money for "anti-union" purposes, bringing court action against the union among other things.

In his speech of defense, which was continually interrupted by Curran, Keith charged that the trial was the result of his opposition to the policies of the administration. No particulars of the charges had been given to him despite repeated requests on his part. Keith further charged that in keeping with this kangaroo court procedure he had been denied access to the union hall many times during the course of the "trial."

Next in line for purge action were Leo Silverman and Jack

Smith, accused among other things of editing and writing for *The Voice of the Membership*, a discredited Stalinist maritime paper. Silverman admitted the charge but pointed out that he had written for the paper because no critical material from the rank and file is permitted in the official union paper, *The Pilot*.

Curran's denial of the suppression of criticism in the *Pilot* reached a new low in cynicism and hypocrisy. There was room, he said, for "constructive criticism" — only "garbage" was kept out. Then, as dozens of police lined the aisles of the hall, he boldly launched into a left criticism of the Stalinists, condemning them for their wartime betrayals and contrasting his "democratic" methods with the regimes behind "the Iron Curtain." Finally in a thinly-veiled appeal to violence, he said that it appeared inevitable that "blood would flow" until the dissenters were driven out of the union.

Silverman and Smith, the latter in his absence, were then declared expelled although fewer members participated in the voting than on the Keith case. The show of brute force earlier in the meeting had had its intended effect. Lastly, Jean Beck, a woman member who was charged with "distributing unauthorized literature" and "causing a disturbance," was dealt with in the same summary manner. In a sense this action was even more repugnant than the others, resulting apparently from nothing but personal spite on the part of John Reaves, a new Curran appointee in the New York Port. This completed the meeting's "business" and logically complemented all that had preceded it.

The charge of "inciting to riot" derives from the actions of the rank and file in resisting the attempt of the National Office to illegally remove 15 regularly elected New York Port officials. This legitimate resistance to bureaucratic and arbitrary actions has been stigmatized as an attempt to seize the union hall in a "Communist plot" to take control of the union. In this way, the crimes of Curran and Co. have been placed on the rank and file, creating a broad pattern of continuing purge action against all critics of the top union machine.

The large vote cast against the expulsion of Keith indicates that despite all his vicious methods and red-baiting, Curran has not succeeded in winning a majority for his purge program in New York, the largest branch in the union. But there is no indication that this will deter Curran and Co. This totalitarian regime, which goes hand in hand with a policy of capitulation to the shipowners, must inevitably produce a reaction from the seamen. Sooner or later the rank and file will settle with Curran as they did with the old ISU gang and later with the Stalinists.

COAL MINERS NEED THE AID OF ALL ORGANIZED WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

lacking in any fighting capacities. That is what lends exceptional ferocity to their attacks on the miners.

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

What particularly emboldens the labor-haters in their present drive against the miners is the failure of the CIO and AFL leaders to lend any support to the UMW, even though these leaders must have some inkling of what a defeat for the miners would mean for their own unions.

These union leaders have remained criminally silent as the corporations and government conspire in an attempt to cut the miners to pieces. They have always resented the fact that Lewis' aggressive methods have won big gains and have exposed their own lickspittle dependence on the government for small shabby favors. No doubt, down in their narrow little souls many of them feel if the UMW and

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

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 the miners into a corner and beat them down without fear of intervention by the rest of organized labor.

The miners are fighting back against great odds. By no means are they to be counted out as yet. But they are in great danger — that fact must be recognized and emphasized. If they suffer a defeat, the whole front of the labor movement will be exposed to attack.

To turn the tide speedily in the miners' favor requires massive intervention by the rest of organized labor. The impulse for this intervention will come only from the union ranks. It is the members and leaders of the local unions of every affiliation who must take the initiative. Pass resolutions of support for the miners and protest against government interference against them. Demand that the top leaders of your union mobilize all-out aid to the miners. Let the American plutocracy know that the organized American workers will not tolerate its scheme to drive for victory against all labor over the shattered ranks of the miners.

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 Washington next week. The meeting, held in Tabernacle Baptist Church last night, was more than three times the size of the meeting called by the NAACP a few weeks ago, shows that the mobilization for civil rights is gathering momentum.

The main speaker was Herbert Hill, assistant field secretary of the NAACP, who has been touring the mid-west to gather forces for the Washington mobilization. He called attention to the new militant spirit that is pervading the movement for civil rights, and said it must be wedded to the organized strength of the labor movement in order to accomplish the aims of both.

The burning determination among Negroes to win the fight for civil rights was impressed upon the audience by Nathaniel C. Lee, NAACP branch coordinator. "I am not going to thank you for coming," he said,

"because this is where you ought to be." The mobilization is being called, he said, "because we must take different steps to impress upon those in authority that civil rights must be passed now."

Dan Thomas, president of Local 1462 of the CIO United Steelworkers, pointed out to the audience that employers foster racial divisions because it is to their profit in dollars and cents. The people must depend on their organized strength, he said, to win the fight, just as the fight of the workers in the mills against the companies is only as effective as their union is strong.

The local delegation to Washington will include Nathaniel C. Lee and Harry Greene from Local 1330, United Steelworkers; Jack Thornton, PAC Director for District 26, United Steelworkers; and Andrew Diehl, William Howard and Rev. S. S. Booker from the local NAACP.