Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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REPORT FROM BOLIVIA ON MINERS MASSACRE

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JOBLESS MILLIONS NEED ACTION NOW

Miners Oppose Naming of Clark To Highest Court

The United Mine Workers have vigorously opposed Truman's nomination of Attorney General Tom C. Clark to the U. S. Supreme Court. The **District 50 News**, an official publication of the United Mine Workers, in its Aug. 6 issue lashed out against Truman "whose record of appointments," it said, "has been anything but brilliant, appears to have reached a new low in his selection of a successor for the late Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy."

The miners have direct experience with the anti-labor Attorney General who has engaged twice in strikebreaking acts by initiating Federal court injunctions and multi-million dollar fines for "contempt."

MINERS SHOW THE WAY

The District 50 News correctly pointed out that "the Senate will be doing this country a real service if it refuses to confirm" the appointment of witch-hunter Clark to the Supreme Court.

In marked contrast to the action of the miners has been the conduct of other prominent labor leaders.

AFL President Green, running true to form, sent a letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, supporting the nomination of Clark.

Similar action was taken by James B. Carey, CIO Secretary Treasurer, who went out of his way to tell the Senate Committee to disregard the objections of a "few officials of a few unions." The reference here is obviously to Stalinist-dominated unions. This is one more indication to what extremes anti-Stalinist phobia may lead.

ENEMY OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The struggle against Clark's appointment has nothing whatever to do with a genuine struggle against Stalinism. Clark is an avowed enemy of civil rights. He is the very symbol of the witch-hunt. His anti-labor bias is a matter of record. It is short-sighted and suicidal for organized labor not to oppose the nomination of such a man, let alone take responsibility for his tenure on the Supreme Court.

If labor takes its cue from the action of the miners and joins with liberal and minority forces, there is still time to deal a blow to the inspirers and promoters of witch hunts and the deadliest enemies of labor and civil rights. Rejection by the Senate of Clark's nomination would constitute such a blow. On the other hand, his confirmation will have just the opposite results.

TOM C. CLARK

Oxnam Charges Hierarchy Killed School-Aid Bills

Hits Political Role Of Catholic Church

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, a world leader of Protestantism, last week charged the Roman Catholic hierarchy and Cardinal Spellman with sabotage of federal aid to public education. In a broadcast interview over WWDC, Washington, Bishop Oxnam declared:

"The American people have recently learned that Federal aid to education in this session of Congress is dead. Most of our citizens deplore this fact. The Roman Catholic hierarchy is responsible for killing the bills that might have brought aid to our public school systems."

The bishop's blast came after badly-scared Democratic Party leaders, including New York's Mayor O'Dwyer, a Catholic, sought to "heal the rift" in Democratic circles caused by Spellman's insulting and arrogant attack on Eleanor Roosevelt for her stand against the use of federal funds for religious schools.

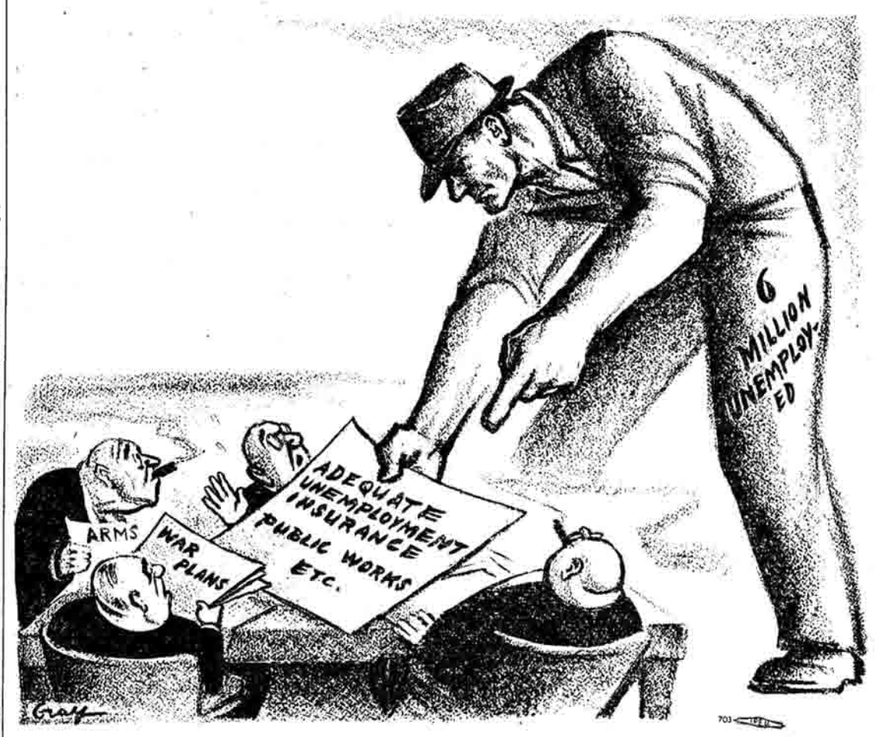
SPELLMAN'S DEMAND

As Catholic and Protestant public opinion alike condemned the Prince of the Church for his demand for public monies for Catholic parochial schools, the Cardinal issued a second statement, which he first read to Mrs. Roosevelt whom he previously said he would not again "publicly acknowledge." Although more diplomatically phrased, Spellman's second statement repeated the hierarchy's demand for a "guaranteed" share of public money for so-called "auxiliary services" in Catholic schools. (See Art Preis' article on Spellman's statement, Page 2).

Bishop Oxnam pointed out that "far more children from Roman Catholic homes attend public school than parochial schools. It will come as a shock to these parents when they learn the hierarchy is responsible for denying their children higher education standards. Thousands of loyal and able Roman Catholics are teachers in the public schools. They will not forget that the much-needed salary increase was denied them by the action of the hierarchy."

He also stated that the Roman Catholic church "is fighting for its life in Europe. It has become so interlocked in political affairs of state, so encumbered with vast land holdings, and so allied with military and feudal reaction that the common people are turning from it." He likened the methods of Rome to those of Moscow — "excommunication, character assassination and economic reprisal."

Action Now!



"White Paper" on China Reveals Imperialist Role

By John Saunders

After giving over 4½ billion dollars and considerable military aid to Chiang's Chinese National Government, Washington now reveals for the first time, through the "White Paper" issued by the State Department, that as far back as 1943 and 1944 it was already well aware of the "incompetence and corruption" of the Chinese ruling clique.

From its own top investigators on the scene of action, it had then learned that Chiang's Government and the Kuomintang consisted mainly of "a scramble for place and power," that "economic deterioration" and "maladministration" were everywhere apparent, and the country "was in the grip of the reactionaries who were indistinguishable from the war lords of the past."

AMERICAN TRADITION

The White Paper seeks to justify the huge expenditure of funds wrung from the overtaxed American masses to bolster a hated regime. The chief claim is that aid was given in order to win the war as soon as possible and thereby save the lives of perhaps a million American soldiers. But the truth of the matter is that the great bulk of the financial and military aid, over 3 billion dollars, was given since the end of the war.

The State Department also offers the lame excuse that it was necessary to help Chiang because "the Nationalist Government was the recognized government of a friendly power" and the Communists "were seeking to subvert and overthrow it." But the White Paper, by its very description of the National regime, clearly reveals that Chiang had even less right to continue to rule than did George III over the American colonies.

Contrary to the claim of the State Department, American revolutionary tradition was in direct conflict with support of a government where "reactionary influences continue to mold important policies." The Chinese masses, and not Washington, have followed in the tradition of the American colonists and all other peoples who have revolted against tyrants.

WHAT PERTURBS THEM

What really perturbs the State Department and its Big Business critics, is not that aid was given to Nationalist China, but that it was given to no avail. In answer to those who claim that insufficient U. S. help is responsible for the Stalinist triumph, Acheson reveals that the Nationalists received "approximately 2 billion dollars, an amount equivalent in value to more than 50% of the monetary expenditures of the Chinese Government and of proportionally greater magnitude in relation to the budget of that Government than the United States has provided to any other nation of Western Europe since the end of the war.

"In addition to these grants and credits, the United States has sold the Chinese Government large quantities of military and civilian war surplus property with a total procurement value of over 1 billion dollars for which the agreed realization to the United States was 232 million dollars."

IGNOMINIOUS FAILURE

Despite this tremendous aid to the cause of reaction, the most powerful imperialist country in the world is forced to admit ignominious failure. Neither money nor arms were sufficient to cope with the Chinese masses. The National regime fell of its own weight and completely disintegrated, leaving a void into which the Stalinists were able to

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Unions Must Launch All-Out Campaign for Adequate Aid

Millions of unemployed workers and their families face a winter of misery like those of Hoover depression days unless organized labor takes decisive action now to force Washington to enact immediately a program of adequate unemployment compensation and large-scale public works.

Even the Truman administration, which has been trying to minimize the unemployment situation, admits that the number of jobless has climbed past the four million mark, with millions of others reduced to half-time or less.

Reliable estimates place the actual number now seeking work at between five and six millions. The seasonal increase in agricultural employment is all that has kept total unemployment from rising at an even more rapid pace. Once the farm season is over and pre-Christmas buying is finished, then the full impact of the depression will hit. As the Aug. 6 **Business Week** warns: "Watch January!"

The wintry days of January are less than five months off. By that time at least half of those receiving unemployment compensation will have exhausted their allowable benefits. A third of all unemployed get no compensation at all under present regulations.

WASHINGTON "DO-NOTHING"

The Truman administration and Congress are acting as if mass unemployment doesn't exist. They are too busy pushing through the biggest military program in U. S. peace-time history and wrangling over how many billions of our money to spend for arming imperialists, monarchists and fascists abroad.

Once in a while we hear talk from Washington about "surveys" and "plans" for "building a shelf of blue-prints" for public works. But the jobless workers and their wives and kids can't eat statistics and blue-prints; they can't wear them and they can't use them as a roof when the sheriff comes around with an eviction order.

Those unemployed who manage to cut through the red-tape of "states rights" unemployment compensation laws receive an average of $20 a week for periods ranging from six to 26 weeks. When that is used up, they must starve or beg handouts from local "welfare" agencies.

A family can subsist only a few weeks on unemployment compensation worth less than a 1939 WPA laborer's wage in purchasing power. For most of those without jobs now — and their numbers will grow in the months to come — unemployment will be prolonged. Mass hunger will stalk

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Our Program on Unemployment

The following is the program of the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant to ensure decent living standards for the growing army of unemployed and their families:

1. For a federal system of unemployment compensation equal to full regular union wages for all unemployed and for the entire period of unemployment.

2. For full-scale public works of a socially-beneficial character, including government-built low-rent housing, hospitals, schools, etc., to provide jobs at union wages and to be financed by the billions now going for war preparations.

3. For a 30-hour week, six-hour day with no reductions in take-home pay.

4. For an all-out campaign for higher wages to raise mass purchasing power.

WARMAKERS GAIN AIMS IN 'REVISED' ARMS BILL

The Truman Administration will get exactly what it asked for in its new arms bill, with the sole exception of those provisions which invested Truman with sweeping powers unprecedented in this country's history. This has been made amply evident by the hearings on the revised version of the arms bill — before the joint Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees.

The text of this "revised" version has not been made public, but it is clear from the testimony of State Secretary Acheson, Defense Secretary Louis Johnson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the main aims of the original text will be accomplished. These aims may be summed up as follows:

1. To build up in peacetime the mightiest military machine the world has ever known, by far surpassing the military effort of World War II, in preparation for the planned atomic war of annihilation against the Soviet Union.

2. To completely untie the hands of the military in pumping more and more arms into Western Europe (including "Free Germany") and later other strategic areas (the Far East, Africa, Latin America).

3. To legalize the sending of American troops in unlimited numbers abroad, under the guise of "advisory and technical" bodies.

FAKE "OPPOSITION"

The Congressional "opposition," led by Senators Vandenberg, Taft and Dulles, relates merely to the form and not the substance of the Administration's proposals.

Vandenberg and his colleagues are anxious to continue working hand-in-hand with the warmakers as they have in the past. But they feel that the Administration is moving too obviously, crudely and prematurely. They want a slightly more subtle approach. That is the sum and substance of their "disagreements."

For example, Vandenberg and company are pressing for a "budgetary compromise" on the arms funds. This is simply a book-keeping arrangement under which the warmakers will get everything they ask for, while making it appear to the gullible

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CIO STEEL LOCALS JOIN LEGLESS VET'S DEFENSE

"When a man loses both legs while serving his country, and then receives such an outrageous deal as has James Kutcher, we begin to wonder whether or not Hitler was defeated," states a letter to Truman from Duluth Local 1028, CIO United Steel Workers, published in the current **Minnesota Labor**, official paper of the Minnesota State CIO Council.

This is but one of the numerous letters and resolutions sent Truman from unions across the country in protest against the firing of Kutcher from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

A number of other steel locals have recently joined the growing list of labor, veteran, Negro, and civil rights organizations which have rallied to the defense of the victimized Newark veteran, whose case has become the spearhead of the fight against the Truman-Clark "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist.

GROWING SUPPORT

Among the steel locals that have recently joined in Kutcher's defense are Local 1307, McDonald, Ohio; 1617, Youngstown, Ohio; 2118, Worcester, Mass.; 1208, Seattle, Wash.; 2601, Lackawanna, N. Y. Other CIO unions that have joined the protest movement are Marine & Shipbuilders Local 74, Camden, N. J.; United Auto Workers Local 70, Cleveland, Ohio; and Journeymen Tailors Local 71, Seattle.

In New York City, Meyer E. Stern, Director of District 6, CIO United Packinghouse Workers, last week sent a letter to all local affiliates informing them that both the International Executive Board and District Council have endorsed Kutcher's campaign and requesting them to give aid to the legless veteran's fight for justice.

The National Maritime Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and ten state CIO councils have voted support for Kutcher. Similar action has been taken by the American Veterans Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and American Civil Liberties Union, as well as local organizations from coast-to-coast too numerous to list.

'TURN TO YOUR OWN PARTY'

Duluth Local 1028's letter to Truman says, in part, that "we feel that this violation of civil liberties should not be left unchallenged." It adds:

"We would suggest, Mr. President, that you turn to your own Democratic party for material to use when compiling your next blacklist. Yes, we are referring to those Democrats who have utterly ignored that part of your party's platform which pledged the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. We believe that the names of those Democrats should be placed on the darkest list that can be found."

Kutcher is now in Los Angeles on the last stage of his West Coast tour to win support for his civil rights campaign. He has met enthusiastic response from labor and liberal groups wherever he has visited and spoken.

SWP Asks Probe in Tan-Malakka Murder

NEW YORK, Aug. 5 — The reported execution of Tan Malakka, Indonesian revolutionary leader, by the Republican government "has all the appearances of a cold-blooded political murder," Farreli Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today declared in a letter to L. N. Palar, chief Indonesian delegate to the United Nations Security Council.

Citing Tan Malakka's "long and honorable record as a fighter for the unconditional freedom of the Indonesian people," Dobbs asked if his execution was "calculated to remove opposition to the compromise now being negotiated with brutal Dutch imperialism."

INQUIRY AND PROTEST

"The Socialist Workers Party addresses this inquiry and protest to you as a consistent supporter of Indonesia's struggle for freedom," Dobbs wrote to Palar. "We now ask you, as the chief spokesman for your government in this country, to provide us the following information:

"Has Tan Malakka been executed by the Republican government? If so, what were the charges against him? Did he have a fair trial before a representative jury of the Indonesian people? What defense did he make?

"Have any of Tan Malakka's followers been imprisoned or executed? If so, on what charges and by what legal procedure? Has the party headed by Tan Malakka been suppressed? If so, on what grounds?"

Copies of Dobbs' letter have been sent to all sections of the labor and socialist movement throughout the world. The full text follows:

Mr. L. N. Palar
Chief Indonesian Delegate
United Nations Security Council
Room 6214 Empire State Building
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Palar:

We are informed that the Indonesian Information Service at New Delhi issued the following statement on June 6:

"Colonel Sungkono, Republican Military Governor and commander of Republican forces in East Java, confirmed the report . . . that he ordered the execution (near Blitar on April 16) of Tan Malakka, ultra-leftist leader."

If that report is true, and we have seen no official denial by your government, the execution of Tan Malakka has all the appearances of a cold-blooded political murder calculated to remove opposition to the compromise now being negotiated with brutal Dutch imperialism.

HONORABLE RECORD

Tan Malakka's long and honorable record as a fighter for the unconditional freedom of the Indonesian people is well known to the socialist and colonial independence movements throughout the world. For almost 40 years he was an active revolutionist. A founding member of the Indonesian Communist Party in Lenin's time, Tan Malakka rallied to the Trotskyist Left Opposition from the beginning of the 20-year struggle against treacherous Stalinism.

He was exiled from Indonesia by the Dutch imperialists in 1922, but he came back at the first opportunity in 1945 to become an outstanding fighter for Indonesian independence. A few months later Tan Malakka was jailed by the Republican government on the false charge that he had kidnapped the Social Democratic premier, Sutan Sjahrir.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

After spending two years in jail without a trial, he was released last fall when the Stalinists broke with the Republican government. At that time Mr. Hatta, president of the Council of the Republic, declared, "the inquiry in the Tan Malakka case had been closed for lack of any evidence, Tan Malakka not being guilty."

These peculiar circumstances strongly suggest that Tan Malakka had been framed up and jailed, and probably already marked for murder, at the behest of the Stalinists. Has he now been murdered for the benefit of the Dutch instead?

We have no information other than the curt statement that a Republican Military Governor "confirmed the report . . . that he ordered the execution of Tan Malakka." Not another word of enlightenment about the charges against him, the manner in which he was tried, or the nature of his defense. None of these vital questions are answered in the New Delhi dispatch.

These are not the irreproachable methods of genuine fighters for human freedom. These are the ruthless policies of predatory Dutch imperialism. Such monstrous conduct by the Republican government injures the Indonesian people, weakens the fight against Dutch imperialism and violates the rights of Indonesia's supporters throughout the world to know the whole truth.

CONSISTENT SUPPORT

The Socialist Workers Party addresses this inquiry and protest to you as a consistent

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What Cardinal Spellman Conceals

By Art Preis

Cardinal Spellman last week issued another statement purporting to give the Roman Catholic hierarchy's position on the use of public funds for parochial schools. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom the Cardinal had arrogantly and violently attacked for expressing her opposition to federal aid to religious schools, conciliatingly called it a "clarifying and fair statement."

It is just the opposite. It is a piece of misleading double-talk. Every word in it is carefully chosen to convey a false impression of the real aims of the Catholic hierarchy. Every sentence is so constructed as to permit of mental reservations on the part of the Cardinal.

"We are not asking for general public support of religious schools," said Spellman. "Under the Constitution we do not ask" for public funds for construction, maintainence or repair of parochial schools and payment of teachers. "Above all," he insists, "we ask that Congress guarantee the use of federal funds for health and transportation services to the 2,800,000 of America's children attending parochial schools if they guarantee federal funds for health and transportation services to other American children attending public schools."

He adds: "This in no way undermines 'the traditional American principle of separation of church and state.' We are asking only for what is constitutional and in accordance with America's previous policy and tradition."

JESUITICAL LANGUAGE

Every alert reader, even if not trained in the subtleties of Jesuitical language, can detect the implications of the underlined key words, "ask," "general" and "guarantee." The Cardinal chose them with deliberation.

The Cardinal may not be "asking" publicly and at this time for federal funds for more than so-called "auxiliary services" to parochial schools; but the Catholic hierarchy wants and is seeking at all times to break down the Constitutional obstacles to securing federal funds for overall support of Catholic educational institutions. If the Cardinal were telling the whole truth, he would say this.

The Cardinal may not be "asking" for "general" public aid to parochial schools; but he is seeking, through the device of pleading for "auxiliary services," to get more and more public funds for Catholic institutions by piecemeal concessions. The demand for "auxiliary services" funds is an attempt to raid the public treasury through the back door.

GIVES GAME AWAY

When Spellman "asks" that these federal funds for "auxiliary services" to Catholic schools be "guaranteed" he comes closest to giving his real game away.

There are many in Congress who, for reasons of political expediency, want to enact a federal aid-to-education bill that will conciliate the Catholic hierarchy. The Senate bill, for instance, would permit states whose laws provide payment of bus fares and non-religious text-books for parochial students to use federal funds for those purposes. But this bill would not compel any state to so use federal funds.

The U. S. Supreme Court five-to-four ruling in the Everson case -- the principal "constitutional" prop of the Catholic hierarchy's present public demands — did not hold that it was unconstitutional to deny public funds for bus fares to parochial pupils when such funds were provided public school children, as the Cardinal falsely implies. On the contrary, the

CARDINAL SPELLMAN

Supreme Court majority explicitly stated, in approving payment of bus fares of parochial students by state and local governments, that "we do not mean to intimate that a State could not provide transportation only to children attending public schools."

Cardinal Spellman, while using the Everson case for the hierarchy's own purposes, seeks to go beyond this particular Supreme Court ruling and to make it obligatory on the government to finance "auxiliary services" for parochial schools.

In short, it is the purpose of the Catholic hierarchy at this stage of its invasion of the public treasury to win a legal precedent that would place the Catholic religious schools on the same plane as the public non-sectarian schools. Let the hierarchy but compel the government to "guarantee" federal funds for "auxiliary services" and it will have opened wide the way for "guarantees" of public monies to parochial schools for all other purposes.

JUSTICES' WARNING

It was this very danger against which four Supreme Court justices warned in their dissenting opinion in the famous Everson case on Feb. 10, 1947. Attacking the majority ruling that it was "constitutional" for New Jersey to spend state funds for bus fares to transport children to and from parochial schools, the minority stated:

"Neither so high nor so impregnable today as yesterday is the wall raised between church and state by Virginia's great statute [first in this country to declare separation of church and state] and the first amendment [to the U. S. Constitution], now made applicable to all the states by the fourteenth [amendment]. **New Jersey's statute sustained is the first, if indeed it is not the second breach to be made by this Court's action. That a third, and a fourth, and still others will be attempted, we may be sure."**

The majority opinion claimed that in the case of Arch R. Everson against the Board of Education of Ewing Township, N. J., the application of the state law did "no more than provide a general program to help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools." They said that while the first amendment "has erected a wall between Church and State," the state of New Jersey "has not breached it here."

The dissenting justices disposed of the argument of "safety" by pointing out that paying Ewing County parents tax funds to reimburse them for sending a child to parochial school "has no effect on the child's safety or expedition in transit," since the child would ride the same public buses as he did before the state reimbursed his parents.

Moreover, they pointed out, the very act brought to the court in this case actually discriminated in favor of Catholic schools, because it permitted bus fares specifically for Catholic parochial children, while other children "are not allowed to be aided if they attend private secular schools or private religious schools of other faiths."

They argued further that transportation, where it is needed, "is as essential to education as any other element. Its cost is as much a part of the total expense, except at times in amount. . . **Nor is it any the less directly related, in a school giving religious instruction, to the primary religious objective all these essential items of cost are intended to achieve."**

BARS OTHER BREACHES

The Supreme Court, in the Everson case, by the narrowest of margins and with all sorts of qualifications, made a concession to Catholic pressure that opened a limited breach in the "wall separating church and State." But its ruling on March 8, 1948, in the case of Vashti McCollum against the Board of Education in Champaign County, Illinois, appeared to bar further breaches.

It denied the constitutionality of granting "released time" in public schools for religious instruction. "Here not only are the State's tax-supported public-school buildings used for the dissemination of religious doctrines," the court majority held, "but the State affords sectarian groups an invaluable aid in that it helps to provide pupils for their religious classes through use of the State's compulsory public-school machinery. This is not separation of church and state."

HIERARCHY OPENS FIRE

On Nov. 20, 1948, the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States — including Francis Cardinal Spellman as Archbishop of New York — issued a declaration, called "The Christian in Action," which bitterly assailed the Supreme Court for its "novel interpretation of the First Amendment" not only in the McCollum "released time" case but also in Everson bus-fare case.

The bishops attacked the traditional "secularism" of the public school system and the principle of separation of church and state which "has banned religion from tax-supported education and is now bent on destroying all cooperation between government and organized religion in the training of our future citizens."

This declaration signalled the launching of a furious campaign by the Catholic Church to advance the hierarchy's program in education. It is this declaration, issued ten months ago, that indicates what Spellman's real objectives are, rather than his latest opportunistic and misleading statements. The next article of this series will examine the bishops' attempts to misinterpret and falsify the meaning of "separation of church and state" and what they propose as a replacement for "secularism" in the public schools of America.

War Plotters Confer

(l.to r.) Chairman Millard Tydings (D., Md.), Senate Armed Services Committee; Defense Sec. Louis Johnson; Sec. of State Dean Acheson and Chairman Tom Connally (D., Tex.) of Senate Foreign Affairs Committee talk over the bill to arm foreign imperialists, monarchists and fascists which would give Truman sweeping powers to send military aid to other countries.

'WHITE PAPER' ON CHINA SHOWS IMPERIALIST ROLE

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stop without any appreciable opposition.

There were three courses open to Washington, as Acheson points out. He peremptorily dismisses the alternative that Washington "could have pulled out lock, stock and barrel." In other words, Acheson denies that the Chinese people have the right to decide their own fate. The reactionary character of present-day American diplomacy is thereby clearly revealed. On the other hand, the State Department had to rule out the plan to "intervene militarily on a major scale to assist the Nationalists to destroy the Communists." While Acheson noted that this policy "may look attractive theoretically," he glumly concedes that "the American people would not have sanctioned such a colossal commitment of our armies in 1945 or later."

There was perhaps another reason which called for caution. Washington knew that it could at any time come to terms with Stalin in exploiting the Chinese masses but it feared that intervention on a grand scale might have roused the Chinese as well as all the peoples of the Far East to take the path of revolution. **And against such a mighty force the American imperialists with all their vaunted strength could never have succeeded.**

The mood of the American soldiers so vividly portrayed in stirring demonstrations throughout the world might have then and there sealed the doom of the American monopolists. So Washington resorted to the third alternative of "assisting the Nationalists to assert their authority over as much of China as possible." It failed dismally because of the utter rottenness of the Chiang ruling clique.

CANNOT HIDE REAL FACTS

Despite all attempts to dress up American policy in the most favorable light the White Paper nevertheless cannot hide the cynical and brutal character of the American monopolists who guide the State Department.

Even the friendly Chiang Kai-shek was not notified of the stab in the back he received at Yalta. There Stalin received the blessing of the imperialist powers to exploit Manchuria paving the way for the despoliation of its industries which were dismantled and shipped into the Soviet Union. Again the State Department tried to suppress General Wedemeyer's report which called for the virtual partition of Manchuria among the U. S., Soviet Union, England and France, with the hope, undoubtedly, of getting the lion's share for American imperialism, as in the dismemberment of Germany. If Washington failed to follow Wedemeyer's recommendation it was because it knew the Chinese masses would never permit it.

U. S. IMPERIALIST POLICY

The failure of American policy in China does not, however, mean the abandonment of U. S. imperialist policy in the Far East. The five basic principles listed by Acheson, with the emphasis on continuation of the "Open Door" policy, show an unswerving determination to pursue the same imperialist goal. The real meaning of the "Open Door" has been the right of the American bankers and monopolists to dominate China's markets and industries.

Acheson's program in effect, extends the North Atlantic Pact to the Far East. The White Paper is a warning to Stalin and even more to the Chinese people and the masses of the Far East that if they take the path of revolution American imperialism will intervene with arms to stop them, even if it precipitates World War III. American monopoly profits must be protected at all costs.

Unemployed Need Action

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America this winter if the government does not take proper measures right now.

WHAT WE ADVOCATE

By "proper measures" we mean a guarantee of not less than a minimum decency income for all unemployed for the entire duration of their unemployment, whether through the provision of government jobs at union wages or unemployment compensation equal to union wages while working.

The unemployed are out of work through no fault of their own. They are victims of a brutal, anarchic profit system wracked by a crisis of its own making. Why should these victims demand less than a decent standard of living?

To assure minimum protection for the unemployed the Socialist Workers Party and **The Militant** advocate federal unemployment compensation for all unemployed for the entire duration of unemployment. This compensation must be equal to full regular union wages.

Millions of jobs must be made available by the government through socially-useful public works at union wages. The tens of billions which the capitalist government spends annually for the military machine and armaments must be used instead for low-rent public housing, schools, hospitals, clinics, health-research laboratories, reclamation projects, etc.

To reduce unemployment, the labor movement must revive its program of the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and make it a central fighting issue. The monopolists must not be allowed to get away with their policy of firing one group of workers and speeding up the rest at long hours. Nor must the corporations be allowed to slice production at the expense of laid-off workers.

Finally, we propose a genuine militant wage campaign to raise wages throughout industry and thus increase mass purchasing power. It is the inability of the workers to buy back what they produce that has caused the present decline of the market and glut of production which have led to increasing mass unemployment.

THE CIO PROGRAM

The CIO, which represents the bulk of workers in mass industry who are hardest hit by the current economic crisis, has advanced a program of demands to meet the unemployment situation. These demands, while not as adequate as what we propose, do represent a big step forward.

For instance, the CIO proposes the establishment of a national system of unemployment compensation to provide benefits up to 85% of earnings for an entire year. It calls for the start of immediate construction of public works both by the federal government and through federal grants to localities. Its member unions are engaged in campaigns for increased wages and security benefits, and some of them are demanding the shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay.

But no real, effective action is being undertaken by the CIO to win even these modest and indispensable demands. They are listed in the CIO publications, where, for the most part, they rest. At most, the CIO members are asked merely to voice by individual letter or telegram to Congress their support of the CIO legislative program on unemployment.

These methods won't move Congress an inch. These capitalist politicians respect the demands of labor only when millions of workers are mobilized in action.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Such action must start in the union locals. Every union local must establish an unemployed committee to deal with the problems of the local unemployed members, to mobilize them and represent them before the local unemployed agencies, unemployment compensation officials, etc.

The activities of these unemployed committees must be coordinated on a local and state scale to initiate and carry out mass actions — mass demonstrations, marches to state legislatures, etc. — to secure improved unemployment compensation, immediate public works and other measures to aid the jobless.

Finally, the whole labor movement must be united for a national campaign directed at Washington. A United Congress of Labor, with representation of the rank-and-file from all unions, must be called in Washington, D. C. This Congress of Labor would be the spearhead of a gigantic labor offensive to put through an adequate program on unemployment.

The critical situation of the economy, the growing suffering of the unemployed, the indifference of the White House and Congress demand such a program of action. The workers cannot live on hope and rosy-tinted assurances from government spokesmen. They dare not wait until the rigors of winter are here. The jobless millions need action — and results — NOW!

The Elections in Western Germany

By Charles Hanley

A Pastoral Letter has been read in the Catholic churches of Western Germany, telling Germans they must vote in support of "freedom of conscience of parents and the safeguarding of religious education for all children," and agitating against "forces which oppose Christian principles."

The Catholic hierarchy is one of the main allies of the German capitalists; the Christian Democrats have been since 1945 the German bourgeoisie's main political party, closely linked up with American imperialism and all that goes with it.

In Germany, the State and the Church have never been separated; the State subsidizes Catholic schools and other church institutions, and permits religion to be taught in public schools. Now the Social Democrats ask for a definite separation of church and state. They don't want religious instruction in public schools. They know that the Catholic hierarchy provides powerful ideological weapons for capitalist policies, and that the church's influence is directed against the workers' movement, even if bishops and priests often talk about "social progress" just to blind workers' eyes. Let us not forget that the Vatican is a big international financial trust and quite naturally defends capitalist interests under the banner of "Christian principles."

OPPOSES DE-NAZIFICATION

The Catholic hierarchy is against de-Nazification. So is the "Christian Democratic Union" (CDU). CDU's chief, Dr. Adenauer, said during the election campaign that de-Nazification is "ridiculous." Social Democratic leader Dr. Schumacher told his listeners that the occupying powers prefer to collaborate with former Nazis. De-Nazification is indeed ridiculous; not because fascists out to be protected — as Dr. Adenauer implies — but because numerous small Nazis were imprisoned while the big Nazi capitalists and their representatives are the honored collaborators and junior partners of the Western powers. Capitalist de-Nazification is a bad joke. The only force capable of de-Nazifying Germany is the German working class.

We have already explained that the German Social Democratic leaders have to consider the workers' opinions and feelings up to a certain point, because otherwise they would lose their hold on the working class. This holds fully for the present election campaign as well. The Social Democratic leaders are actually obliged to defend many of the fundamental principles of the workers' movement against capitalist arrogance and attacks.

The Christian Democrats are strongly opposed to nationalizations. So are the American occupiers. The latter have even refused to approve a works-councils law passed by the Parliament of the State of Greater-Hessen: this law simply revives a law of the Weimar Republic and it does not in any way infringe on the power of the capitalists!

CAPITAL-LABOR STRUGGLE

The Bundestag (Federal Parliament) elections of August 14, will be a contest between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the Social Democrats against the small Communist Party of Western Germany is secondary to their struggle against the Christian Democrats. Stalinist prestige is at a very low ebb in Western Germany and it is no serious threat to the Social Democratic Party with its 800,000 members.

Although the final outcome of this struggle will not be decided in Parliament, the Western German elections mark an important stage in the political evolution of the German masses.

Confronted with the totalitarian political aspirations of the Vatican, the failure of "de-Nazification," the partition of Germany and the strengthening of German capitalism by the American imperialists, the German workers are beginning to awaken. They are seeking to compel their Social Democratic leaders not to form any coalition government with the Catholic party.

After the tragic experience of the Weimar Republic (1918-33) the German working class has learned that coalitions between workers and capitalist parties are always bad for the workers. The struggle for Socialism is impossible without a clearcut separation of workers' policies from capitalist policies.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit Campaign For Subscriptions Forges Ahead

"Enclosed is $19 for 10 **Militant** subscriptions, 3 **Fourth International** subscriptions, and one combination renewal," writes Shirley Mason, in reporting the progress of the current **Detroit** subscription campaign. "Our total thus far is 26, including two subs sent in before the campaign officialy started. . . Although the subs are not coming in at a fast rate, the score proves that they can be obtained if enough effort is put into it. Fred R. and Ernie D. are tied for first place.

"As our past two mobilizations were not successful," continues Comrade Shirley, "we decided to try a different method for our neighborhood work. Instead of holding one mobilization during the week with the comrades meeting at the hall, we are holding three different mobilizations in three different neighborhoods where subs are concentrated. In this way comrades can pick the night preferable to them and also pick the neighborhood closest to where they live." Detroit has been able to get many comrades active in the campaign through the use of this mobilization method.

Having just returned from vacationing in a lumber area, Vivian H. of **Los Angeles** sends in a check for pamphlets and **Militant** subscriptions to be sent to friends in the area she visited. In an interesting letter describing her experiences, she reports that the union militants in one lumber company town have become so aroused over the lay-offs taking place, that they have thrown out some of the major bureaucrats in their AFL union in a recent election.

* * *

Grace Carlson, Organizer of the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party writes, "I know you will enjoy hearing about the success we are having in selling the August **Fourth International** and the last two issues of **The Militant**. Except for the fact that we are poor and don't want to run up big bills we would have trebled our orders of these papers."

She reports that one of the top CIO officials in Minneapolis sent his stenographer to the branch headquarters to get the last couple of copies of **The Militant**. It seems that he was particularly interested in the story about the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards in the August 1 issue.

* * *

Although James W. Connery of **Kewanee**, Illinois, just got out of a hospital he says that he felt well enough to go uptown on a **Saturday evening to get a one year Militant** renewal from a subscriber. We're very glad to hear that this active campaigner is up and around again.

* * *

Charles C. of **Buffalo** sends in a money order for five subscriptions to **The Militant**. He promises a letter from Sam outlining literature plans "in the next mail."

* * *

A street meeting organized by the youth group in **New York** netted several **Militant** and pamphlet sales. Johnny, Ben, Webster, Bob D. and Irving participated.

* * *

Comrade Winnie, who is **The Militant** and **Fourth International** agent in **St. Paul**, just got under the wire for this column with a $9 check covering a six months subscription to **The Militant** and two one year combination renewal subs.

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TROTSKY

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

LENIN

Who Framed Wahrhaftig?

Samuel Wahrhaftig of Brooklyn slugged it out for seven months with the Army witch-hunters and won a smashing victory. Thanks to this fighting 33-year-old ex-GI, the brass hats stand exposed as ruthless violators of democratic rights whose charges of "disloyalty" against victims of their thought-control purge are open to the deepest suspicion.

Wahrhaftig served as a political analyst with the Army in Germany. Last January he was ordered back to Washington "on suspicion of disloyalty." He was smeared in the press as "subversive," but the Army bluntly denied his demand for a bill of particulars and a hearing. He would be "investigated," they said, and when formally fired would be told of the charges against him.

On March 10 Wahrhaftig learned from the newspaper headlines that the Army had pronounced him guilty. He found himself unemployed and, as he quickly learned, virtually unemployable because of the Army smear campaign.

Three prominent lawyers, Thurman Arnold, Paul Porter and Abe Fortas, volunteered to defend Wahrhaftig free of charge. Wahrhaftig himself went to Germany at his own expense to collect affidavits in his defense. Finally on May 19 he got a hearing before the Army Review Board.

When the charges against him finally came to light, Wahrhaftig found himself accused of being both a Stalinist and a Trotskyist, a feat that could be accomplished only in the addled brain of a brass hat. He is, in fact, a liberal in his politics.

The so-called case against him blew sky-high right in the hearing room, but the Army still waited over two months to hand down a verdict. Wahrhaftig was finally exonerated on August 2 and ordered reinstated with back pay for time lost from his $7,000-a-year job.

Many serious questions remain unanswered in this sordid affair. Who framed Wahrhaftig? How many millions of the taxpayers' dollars are going to finance a network of military thought-control spies to inform against even the mildest critics of the dictatorial brass hats? How many other Wahrhaftigs have already been, or are ear-marked to be, framed up and fired like he was?

Not every victim will have the fortitude and the means to stand up and fight like Wahrhaftig did. They must have the aid of a broad movement, alert to defend all victims of the witch hunt, including innocent people framed up and publicly smeared by the brass hats. Every defeat of the military thought-control purgers is a blow at the witch hunt.

Yugoslavia and the Kremlin

From the outset of the Tito-Kremlin rift it was evident that so far as Stalin is concerned, the problem of Yugoslavia would be resolved by resort to brute force. Stalin has no other way of solving any major political problem.

When the machinations of his secret police network to purge the Yugoslav CP and Tito, were foiled, Stalin resorted to the Cominform, hoping through this channel to stir up an "internal uprising" against the Tito regime and thus to exterminate it. This plan also flopped. Tito's own secret police and his own stranglehold on the Yugoslav army, party and state apparatus proved more than adequate to cope with the situation.

Stalin must therefore move to crush the Tito regime from the outside, through the use of the satellite states or directly through Soviet armies, if need be. Careful preparations to this end have been on foot for some time. What Stalin needs right now is a political cover and justification for his projected physical onslaught on Yugoslavia.

Tito must at all costs be depicted as a "counter-revolutionist," as an "ally of Western imperialism," and the like.

The Kremlin has imposed an economic blockade on Yugoslavia, making it imperative for the latter to obtain trade agreements and loans from the West. Each step in this direction is immediately seized upon as "proof" of Tito's "sell-out" to the camp of American imperialism.

One need only pick up a current issue of the **Daily Worker** to see how deliberately the anti-Yugoslav campaign is being stepped up by the Kremlin, as part of the indispensable political preparation for the eventual assault upon the Yugoslavs.

Thus far Tito has been fighting the Kremlin with measures and weapons borrowed almost exclusively from the arsenal of Stalinism. If Stalin covers himself with the false claim of "building socialism" in the Soviet Union, then Tito has borrowed the same fraudulent "theory" for Yugoslavia. In his relations with American imperialism and the West European countries, Tito is conducting himself much in the same manner as has Stalin. He is making deals that the Kremlin itself has made in the past and is anxious to make again. Internally Tito uses the same bureaucratic police measures to safeguard his regime as the Kremlin employs.

Meanwhile the Kremlin has succeeded in exposing itself completely as the irreconcilable enemy of the Yugoslav people. The crisis of Stalinism, so graphically exemplified in the case of Yugoslavia, gives every indication of sharpening and deepening.

CIO and the Bridges Case

The attitude of the CIO leadership toward the government's latest indictment of Harry Bridges, head of the Stalinist-dominated CIO Longshoremen's union, is indicated in the Aug. 1 **CIO News**. A significant paragraph, at the very end of an article blasting Bridges for acceptance of a post with the World Federation of Trade Unions, reports with apparent approval that "the Los Angeles CIO Council and the California Nat'l CIO-PAC declared there was no civil liberties issue in the indictment of Bridges."

Evidently, the CIO top leaders are taking the position that Stalinists, or their fellow-travellers, have no civil rights, or at least none that the labor movement is bound to defend. In the case of Bridges, they would deny him defense even as a union leader who is obviously under attack by the government as part of its drive to smash the CIO longshore strike in Hawaii.

Ironically, the CIO leaders' attitude toward Bridges' defense imitates the very line used by the Stalinists to oppose civil rights for their political opponents in the labor movement. Almost the exact words are used by the CIO officialdom in refusing to defend Bridges as the Stalinists use to oppose defense of the civil rights of the Trotskyists and the legless veteran James Kutcher.

Just as the CIO leaders say "there is no civil liberties issue" in the Bridges case, so Howard Fast, Stalinist literary hack, declared in his recent letter published in the **Daily Compass**, that the pardon campaign for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO leaders imprisoned during the war under the Smith Act is "not a case of civil liberties." And the Stalinist **Daily People's World** declared that "the defense of Kutcher is outside the mainstream of the defense of civil liberties."

We stand second to none in condemning and exposing the crimes of Stalinism against the labor movement. Not the least of these crimes is Stalinism's poisonous policy of opposing civil rights for its workingclass political opponents and sabotaging labor solidarity in defending all victims of the witch-hunt.

We hold that it is the duty of the labor movement to restore the principle of labor solidarity in the defense of civil rights and not to ape the Stalinist policy of destroying such solidarity. Labor must defend Bridges and the 11 Stalinist leaders now under government prosecution, not out of any sympathy for them personally, but for the sake of the civil liberties of all labor.

Report from Bolivia on Miners Massacre

Letter by Juan Rojo

I am going to write at present only about the most recent events that have taken place in our country.

At the end of 1948 the miners unions of Catavi and Llallagua, affiliated to the Miners Trade Union Federation of Bolivia (FSTMB), presented a request to the mine owners for higher wages, better housing conditions and other less crucial social benefits. In accordance with the laws of Bolivia, this petition had to be considered first by the Board of Conciliation.

The representatives of the Patino Mines refused to participate in the deliberations of the Board alleging that the union lacked legal standing (notwithstanding the fact that this had already been granted by the federal government). The miners tried to put pressure upon the government to compel the arrogant company to recognize the union representatives. The Patino Mines answered by threatening to fire them. The miners in turn adopted a resolution to occupy the mines in case of a company lockout. The government thereupon declared marital law, as an opening gun in its campaign of repression and persecution of the miners.

FORM COMPANY UNION

During the legal hearings on the miners' demands, a block of governmental and owners representatives deliberately prolonged the discussions to give the Patino Mines an opportunity to organize a "free (company)-union." This company union was given official recognition by the government in flagrant violation of the General Law of Workers Rights. (Art. 103, reads: "A union cannot be formed with less than 20 workers, whether it be a craft or industrial union, NOR WITH LESS THAN FIFTY PER CENT OF THE WORKERS OF AN ENTERPRISE, IN THE CASE OF AN INDUSTRIAL UNION".) Patino's company union presented a petition of demands before the Board of Conciliation, cutting in half the demands of the Miners Federation.

At the same time, the feudal-bourgeoisie, through its press and radio started a ferocious campaign of slander on a national scale against the Miners Federation and its leaders. They even called for a "holy" civil war.

With the decree of martial law and at the request of the Patino Mines, the Cabinet, composed of political lackies of the feudal-bourgeoisie (Party of Republican Socialist Unity, Social Democratic Party, Liberal Party, etc.) mobilized army troops. Two thousand soldiers armed with rifles converted the Llallagua-Catavi mining regions into an outright concentration camp. The company hired more than a hundred provocateurs to incite conflicts, disorder and to commit criminal acts which could be ascribed to the miners and their leaders. Through bribery and threats, high government officials and Cabinet Ministers tried to get at the union leaders. In violation of the Constitution (Art. 128), the authorities persecuted, arrested and jailed the union leaders.

On top of this, the federal authorities prohibited representatives and Senators elected by workers from visiting the miners districts in violation of their Constitutional parliamentary immunity.

FAKE UP "PLOT"

At the same time, Secretary of Interior Alfredo Molinedo announced over the press and radio the "discovery" of a revolutionary plot, "implicating" leaders of the workers. This plot, cooked up in the private offices of the Secretary of Interior, alleged a "new revolution" engineered by "agitators" of the MNR (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement — a party of the middle class) and of the POR Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian Section of the Fourth International).

While the "scientific" elaboration of the "new" revolutionary plot was being prepared in the private offices of the Ministry of Interior, Patino Mines tried to fire 150 workers as "undesirables," again in violation of their Constitutional rights. This was blocked by the threat of a strike. The company found it necessary to temporize, while the government ordered out more troops.

PATINO REJECTS RULING

Five regiments from various branches of the Army carrying all types of arms were concentrated in these mining districts. The brass hats were placed at the service and orders of the management of the Patino Mines. In addition, in violation of all legality by holding back issuance of an order to arbitrate, the government official of the Department of Labor, avoided that possible way out of the conflict.

Such was the "democratic" situation under which the working masses lived up to last May.

At long last, the Board of Conciliation recognized both petitions: the petition of the "free company union" and that of the Miners Trade Union Federation.

The Patino Mines, bent upon destroying the miners' union, refused to recognize the decision of the Board, claiming that it was not constitutional since it couldn't officially recognize both unions, and therefore the rulings of the Board of Conciliation lacked a legal basis.

1,200 MASSACRED

This was the state of affairs, when on the night of May 28 the third massacre in the history of the Bolivian proletariat was staged in the Catavi-Llallagua mining centers. The massacre, according to official admission, took the lives of more than 1,200 miners. The army did not use rifles, but machine guns and mortars.

The working masses of Bolivia answered with a general strike, to which the impoverished sections of the middle class added their forces. The following participated in this general strike: Trade Union of the National Textile Workers (USTFM), Trade Union Federation of Railroad Workers of Bolivia (GSFB), Miners Trade Union Federation of Bolivia (FSTMB), Trade Union Confederation of Workers of Bolivia (CSTB), the University and Junior Colleges of Oruro, the Major University of Saint Simon and Junior Colleges of Cochabamba, the Chauffeurs and Drivers Union of La Paz and Cochabamba.

While the general strike spread in the urban centers, the miners, attempting to defend their lives, answered the army fire with dynamite blasts and by taking hostages. This state of emergency continued for five days (from Saturday, May 28, until Thursday, June 2). Then the general strike was broken when the Trade Union Federation of Railroad Workers and the Trade Union of National Textile Workers withdrew. The miners, left alone, had no alternative but to accept defeat.

MEANING OF THE STRUGGLE

The salient political features of these events may be summed up as follows:

1. **It was a spontaneous movement of the toiling people evoked, on the one hand, by the instinctive need of self-defense, and, on the other, by a confused but strong feeling of class solidarity against the murderous provocations of the government. In this connection let us note that this government, a tool of the mining magnates, is at the same time an agency of the Wall Street interests.**

2. The General Strike, a spontaneous movement of self-defense, suffered from the lack of both political leadership and clear objectives. These basic features remain unaltered by the fact that the middle-class nationalistic movement, the MNR, sought to exploit it for its own ends toward the end.

3. The General Strike had no coordinating national body. This alone gives the lie to the government claim of a "revolutionary" plot for the seizure of power, which was used as a pretext for the massacre.

ROLE OF THE PARTIES

Each of the main political groupings, with roots and connections in the labor movement, participated in the defensive struggle under its own political banner and for its own objectives.

The PIR (Party of Revolutionary Left), a Stalinist dominated middle class formation, conciliationist and "left" reformist in character, had no definite program. It was drawn into the struggle by the tremendous mass pressure. **It was the first to desert the General Strike, dealing it a blow through its control of the Railroad Confederation.**

The PIR has no roots whatever in the mining centers and is despised by the great mass of the miners for its direct participation in the 1947 massacre of the miners when the PIR was an organic part of the so-called Government of "National Unity."

The MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), which has some roots in the mining centers and among the factory workers, is a middle-class party with rightist reformist inclinations. It also participated in the struggle without any definite program, especially so far as the immediate democratic needs of the masses were concerned. Adventurist, putschist elements predominate in in its ranks.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (POR, Bolivian Section of the Fourth International) was the only party with a clear program. It advocated a concrete anti-imperialist struggle, as the only way of defending the immediate democratic rights and needs of the working people in their day-to-day fight for existence.

The General Strike failed. Nevertheless it is of enormous political significance because it lifted the defensive struggle of the toiling masses to the heights of an all-national action — the General Strike. Undoubtedly this is only the beginning. Other momentous struggles are bound to come!

Scene at Paris Shutdown

Paris police drag away a French aircraft worker who was participating in a demonstration in front of the Labor Ministry against the closure of the nationalized plants of Snecma. Thrown out of work, the men demanded that the plants be reopened.

Warmakers Gain Arms-Bill Aims

(Continued from Page 1)

as if drastic cuts have been made in the appropriations.

Congress would authorize immediately 50 to 60 per cent in cash for arms expenditures and grant the Army authority to make contracts for the remainder, which will be charged against the next fiscal year.

THE "DIFFERENCE"

One Republican Senator, who refused to allow his name to be used, pegged this "difference" as the "difference between giving your wife $20 to buy a hat and telling her to go to the store and charge one to your account."

Vandenberg has been holding out for a "fifty-fifty" budgeting. The Administration, playing this game, has countered with an offer of 60 per cent cash and 40 per cent "authorization."

The more funds they are able to pump abroad, all the easier will it be for the American imperialists to create the colossal military machine they have in mind. An integral part of this war machine is, of course, Western European armaments. And as Army General Omar Bradley, speaking for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, publicly announced, France is to be the main sector in Europe, at least in the initial stages.

Eight of the 11 signatory powers to the Atlantic Pact are already expending 5½ billion dollars for arms annually. American military expenditures are approximately three times as large. The new "foreign aid" expenditures will hike these astronomical figures still higher.

JOHNSON'S TESTIMONY

The warmakers want the initial sums set as high as possible in order to facilitate future boosts. This was coolly admitted by Defense Secretary Louis Johnson during his testimony before the Senate committes.

Senator Vandenberg chided Johnson for being too obvious and crude in his demands.

"I see," said Vandenberg, "where it is to your advantage to load everything possible into the first year, so that your comparisons [read: future demands] will be better for future years."

To this Johnson smugly replied, "I see you've got my point."

Like the original, the "revised" arms bill sets no limit whatever to the amount of "surplus arms" that could be sent abroad. Administration spokesmen have expressed themselves as "agreeable" to limitations. But what they have in mind may be gleaned from still another revelation made in passing by Defense Secretary Johnson.

"SURPLUS ARMS"

He disclosed that already earmarked for delivery abroad are half-a-billion dollars worth of "surplus arms" which will go free of cost except for "transportation and rehabilitation" charges. Johnson insisted that these "surplus" shipments must be authorized within the framework of any contemplated "limitations."

BEAT WAR DRUMS

Moreover, there is virtually no limit on the amount of arms the Administration may arrange to "sell" abroad. It thus turns out that the "minimum" one and a half billion dollar arms program is closer to double the amount.

Administration spokesmen have dropped the original pretext that nothing more than a "two year" project is involved. Acheson has deliberately shifted his emphasis from an "interim program" to the fact that it is "to be tied in with a longer range plan."

Johnson blandly testified that it will extend to four or five years, — that is, there are no time limitations whatever.

Once again the warmakers took the occasion of the Senate hearings to beat the war drums. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, who just returned from their junket to Western Europe, testified for four hours in secret session.

Defense Secretary Johnson painted Western Europe as a "military vacuum" which is of "extreme potential danger to the United States."

Acheson, in his testimony, added an invasion scare to the imaginary bugaboos already trotted out. The United States, said Acheson, "is open to attack on its own territory to a greater extent than ever before."

None of these imaginary dangers abroad are dangerous to the people of this country as these warmongers of the Truman Administration and all their co-conspirators and agents.

SWP DEMANDS PROBE IN TAN-MALAKKA DEATH

(Continued from page 1)

supporter of Indonesia's struggle for freedom. When the violent Dutch attack broke upon you in July 1947, we sent a strong protest to the Dutch government, picketed the Dutch consulate and demanded that the American government reclaim all lend-lease material then in Dutch hands.

Again in December 1948, we condemned the renewed Dutch onslaught against the Indonesian people and called upon President Truman to withdraw all aid from the Dutch and to extend full aid instead to the Indonesian freedom fighters.

QUESTIONS RAISED

In the same spirit of friendship toward the Indonesian people in their struggle for independence, we now ask you, as the chief spokesman for your government in this country, to provide us the following information:

Has Tan Malakka been executed by the Republican government? If so, what were the charges against him? Did he have a fair trial before a representative jury of the Indonesian people? What defense did he make?

Who authorized Colonel Sungkono to order the execution of Tan Malakka? Was he given the right to appeal Colonel Sungkono's order?

Have any of Tan Malakka's followers been imprisoned or executed? If so, on what charges and by what legal procedure? Has the party headed by Tan Malakka been suppressed? If so, on what grounds?

We request a reply from you at the earliest possible moment.

Copies of this letter are being sent to all sections of the labor and socialist movement throughout the world and to the press.

Sincerely yours,
Farrell Dobbs
National Chairman
Socialist Workers Party

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CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. D. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287.

NEW HAVEN—For information telephone 7-8780.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Friday, 8 p.m.

BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd; Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting. Fourth Tuesday, 8 p.m., Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 2.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII | MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 1949 | NUMBER 33

SWP in N.Y. Opens Petition Campaign in City Elections

NEW YORK, Aug. 8 — With almost 1100 signatures already secured on nominating petitions, the campaign of the four Socialist Workers Party candidates in the municipal elections is well under way. While the official requirement is 7,500 signatures, the party intends to obtain a far higher number in order to insure its place on the ballot.

The SWP is contesting the four major offices. Its candidates are:

Michael Bartell, New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, for Mayor;

Harry Ring, former UAW shop steward and leader in the Workers' Alliance, for Controller;

Gladys Barker, leading member of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants' Association, for Council President;

Harold Robbins, veteran of World War II, former City Housing Director of the American Veterans Committee, and active militant in Local 848 of the Painters Union District 9 (AFL), for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING

A city-wide membership meeting of the Socialist Workers Party enthusiastically launched the campaign last Thursday evening. There will be a fund drive to finance the printing of leaflets, preparation of street corner meetings, and other activities in a well-rounded plan of action. Over $400 was pledged at the meeting, with additional contributions assured from many unable to attend.

Emphasizing the need for independent political action by the labor movement, Comrade Bartell assailed the betrayers who are "selling labor down the river — or to be more precise, down three rivers."

Only the Socialist Workers Party candidates represent a true break from capitalist politics in this campaign, he declared.

"The Liberal Party headed by the Social Democrats backs the Republican-Fusion candidate for Mayor, and the Democrat Wagner for Manhattan Borough President, while internally it faces somewhat of a crisis over Antonini's links with strikebreaking Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer.

POLICIES OF BUREAUCRATS

"The majority of the CIO officialdom and the biggest section of the AFL, continue to back O'Dwyer in spite of all his crimes against the working class.

"The Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party runs its own candidate Marcantonio for Mayor, but scuttles all principles of independent labor politics today, as it did in 1945 when it supported O'Dwyer. It is openly looking for capitalist candidates to support for judgeships and other posts, in return for back-door deals.

ONLY POSITIVE ANSWER

"There is growing restlessness among the workers today as unemployment deepens. There is growing revulsion against the witch-hunts and the drift toward a police state in this country.

"In this election campaign the Socialist Workers Party gives them the only positive answer to the war danger, the threatening depression, and the invasions of civil rights. We will deepen and extend the work accomplished in our presidential campaign of 1948, making the traditions and the program of our party more widely known and winning new adherents to the cause of scientific socialism."

Irving Beinin, Election Campaign Director, presented plans for the petition work, publicity, and other aspects of the campaign.

Mobilizations will be held twice weekly, on Wednesday and Friday evenings at 7 p. m. to secure signatures on petitions as the first stage of the campaign. Readers and friends of The Militant are invited to join in these mobilizations at 116 University Place, or to write for petitions to circulate among friends and shop-mates.

The Colleagues

By Theodore Kovalesky

We three were sitting in a grimy little office off of one of the mills, Les, Roy, and myself, going over a batch of grievances that would be coming up for the third-step hearing. And, as men do, we had paused, pushed aside the pile of forms, and were leaning back in our chairs smoking and talking of this and that.

"Funny," I was musing, "I don't think I ever yet met a man in a shop who was doing the kind of work he wanted to."

"Damn well told," broke in Les, the tall, light-skinned Negro. "You know what I wanted to be? A doctor."

"No kidding!" said Roy, the youngest of us, "That's what I wanted to be, too."

I laughed. There were scores of professions, perhaps hundreds of good jobs and positions in the world that men might desire, and here were three of us, picked at random from a plant, who had aimed futilely at the same star. "Believe it or not," I said, "that's just what I wanted, too."

I rolled another cigarette. "I got the idea when I was a kid," I said. "Maybe I read one of those exposes about the terrible treatment the poor generally get in the state hospitals. I wanted to be a psychiatrist. Not one of those guys with a leather and chrome office charging twenty-five bucks a throw, but just an honest, hard-working guy trying to do some good for the poor devils in the insane asylums. I even started out on a pre-med course in night school, but I got through a couple of semesters — not even a full year — when my money ran out. I was supporting my mother, you know. She wasn't well, and I didn't have a very good job. . ."

"Well," said Roy, "you did what you could anyway, and you can't kick yourself like I've been doing for years. I could have been one, but I messed it up myself!"

Les and I looked at Roy like some strange animal. A man who could have been a doctor, digging in the red dirt, grubbing in the gray clay, sweating in the fires of the steel plant!

"My old man was a politician, you know, one of those king-pins of the Polish district, and he made real dough, one way or another. He wanted me to be a lawyer. Well, I argued him out of that. A doctor's good and respectable and makes plenty of money . . . if he's that kind."

"So what happened?" Les asked.

Roy laughed. "I guess I couldn't forget how I always used to shoot craps on the street corner when I was a kid, and got chased by the cops. I couldn't get over the idea of the rot-gut we used to get during prohibition and the other stuff after repeal. I got in a couple of jams and got expelled from college, and my old man kicked me out. Later on he was going to give me another chance, but he lost all his dough. Then the Administration changed, and he had to go back to the mill himself for a couple of years before he died.

"How'd you get fouled up?" he asked Les.

"What do you think? You can see my color."

"Don't give me that stuff," Roy said. "I'm no Georgia cracker. What's the story?"

"About the same as him," Les said, jerking a thumb my way. "I wanted to go to school the worst way, but couldn't make it. It takes that long green stuff. I wanted to be a brain surgeon. When I knew I couldn't make it, I even went to work in the foundry of a place that made surgical instruments. I went to school to learn precision machining so I could work in the shop making skull saws and scalpels and such, but I couldn't even do that. I couldn't get a transfer. They never had a colored man in the shop. . ."

We sat there silently for a few moments, smoking. Finally Les laughed and reached for the pile of grievances.

"Vell, mine colleagues," he burlesqued, "I haff here a strrrange case." He handed me the top grievance. "Vot do you make of it, Herr doktor?"

Egg & Butter Bonanza

By Henry Johnson

An egg these days costs a housewife from five to seven cents and there are many stores which soak more. This is close to last year's prices which set an all-time high. And this is the peak of the egg-laying season.

The excuse last year was the high price of chicken feed owing to a 1947 shortage of corn. But last year there was a bumper crop with another whopper ahead. Feed prices are down by 25 percent. Besides the hems have been laying better. More eggs are being produced with fewer hens. And on top of this, as jobless families increase, fewer eggs are sold.

Why then the price gouge? Part of the explanation is to be found in a huge cave in a hillside at Atchison, Kansas. In this cave there are more than a thousand carloads of dried eggs, in big barrels weighing up to 200 pounds each.

Your tax money and mine, more than 50 million dollars of it already, is paying for this new and most unnatural wonder — the cave of eggs in Kansas.

Truman and his master-minds have thought up this "program" and Mr. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, has been enthusiastically carrying it out. Last year the government had to buy up 85 million dozen eggs to keep prices at record levels. In the first 18 weeks of this year some 160 million dozen eggs have been broken up and turned into powder by big produce dealers who collect $1.26 a pound from the government for putting eggs beyond the reach of the poor.

Nobody knows what can or will be done with this cave-full of egg powder. It has been decided to store powdered eggs in a cave because it is cheaper than using warehouses, and, besides, an out-of-the-way cave attracts less public attention. Meanwhile, as of May 1, there were two-thirds less eggs in storage than there were a year ago, when stocks were the second smallest on record. They are betting in Washington that this ought to assure thumping prices for the egg speculators for the rest of 1949.

To match its cave of eggs, the government is now engaged in building up a pile of butter. At the end of July; the Department of Agriculture suddenly announced that its "seasonal price-boost" for butter — 3 cents a pound — originally scheduled for Sept. 1 would go into effect immediately.

Since then, in less than a week the government agencies have bought up almost 10 million pounds, nearly doubling government stocks of butter which now stand at 20,261,456 pounds, and are rapidly increasing.

This is lots and lots of butter. If it was compressed into cubes weighing 10¼ tons each and such cubes piled one on top of the other, you would have a pillar reaching several miles up in the air.

The benefit to the average dairy farmer is dubious inasmuch as the government buys only by the carload, or 10¼ tons at a time. The benefit to the big dealers, however, is quite obvious. They have been buying at the old "price floors" of 57 to 59 cents or less and are now unloading on the government at 60 to 62 cents a pound, or at a minimum profit of $750 per carload. And it goes without saying, each working family is now also paying from three to five cents a pound more, with the prospect of higher prices just around the corner.

What the government is going to do with this colossal pillar of butter is as indefinite as are its plans with regard to the cave of eggs.

But one thing is undeniable: the cave of eggs and the pillar of butter are a real bonanza for the big Butter-and-Egg Men.

Political Shifts in Japan

An outstanding feature of Japan's political life is the collapse of the middle parties. As a result of the last elections, the Stalinists have become the second strongest party in the Lower House; the Democrats and the Socialists are too hopelessly divided among themselves to be effective any longer.

The Liberal Party, which is in fact conservative and reactionary, is the majority party in the Diet. The existing economic conditions are strongly in favor of mass radicalization. The Stalinists have been the chief beneficiaries of this situation. They have been very active in various popular struggles and have thereby succeeded in creating a favorable impression among the masses.

The Stalinists could have made much greater headway than they have. One of the main obstacles in their way is the fact that hundreds of thousands of Japanese are still held as prisoners of war in the USSR. The Kremlin is very slow in repatriating them, because, according to various reports, they are among the best sources of labor now available in the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists in Japan themselves feel that they are obliged to do something about it. Sometime back, Tokuda, who is secretary general of the Japanese Stalinist party, sent a personal message to the Central Committee of the Russian CP urging them to arrange for the repatriation of the Japanese prisoners of war within this year. This is the first time that a prominent Stalinist leader has taken publicly a position which amounts to an implicit condemnation of the Kremlin's policy.

According to all reports, Tokuda appears to be less servile to the Kremlin than other native Stalinist leaders. Several months ago, when asked whether he would support the Soviet Army in case it invaded Japan, Tokuda replied that he would resist any invader whoever it may be, although he went on to qualify his statement with the remark that the Soviet Army would never do so. This is, of course, in keeping with the rabidly nationalistic line of the Japanese CP and its slogans of "racial independence."

Before long, interesting political developments are expected in Japan.

Notes from the News

FIRST CONVICTION — Two Negroes were the first persons to be charged and convicted under Alabama's new antimasking law, adopted as a measure against Ku Klux Klan terrorism. Tommie Johnson, 19, and Robert E. Lee Miller, 21, were sentenced for donning white sheets to frighten two girls.

* * *

SWP IN THE NEWS — The Buffalo Evening News carired an editorial on the action of the Stalinists at the Bill of Rights Conference voting down a resolution to back the pardon campaign for the 18 Socialist Workers Party members imprisoned during the war under the Smith Act. The same paper quoted Farrell Dobb's testimony, at the New York Board of Regents hearing, against the "subversive" list of teachers.

* * *

YOU PAY CORPORATE TAXES — Herbert Hoover, who should know, said in a speech last week, "It is easy to say increase corporation taxes. That is an illusion. The bulk of corporation taxes is passed on to the consumer — that is, to every family."

OMINOUS DECISION — Deciding against the CIO Packinghouse Workers in their fight with Wilson and Co., and NLRB trial examiner has ruled that a union may not strike during the life of a contract even when there is a wage reopening provision and where there is not a no-strike pledge.

* * *

STATUS OF RENT LAW — A judge in Chicago has decided the rent law is "unconstitutional." But it will continue to be enforced until the Supreme Court rules.

* * *

RUBBER DEFENSE FUND — The CIO United Rubber Workers executive board has voted to ask its members to give voluntary donations to a million dollar "special economic defense fund" to strengthen its wage and pension fight.

* * *

POLL TAX FOOTBALL — For the fifth time in less than a decade the House of Representatives has passed an anti-poll tax bill. But the Senate won't even vote on the question.

Stalinists Fail in Forcing Billings To Move Shop

We are glad to inform our readers and the labor movement generally that the Stalinist campaign of persecution and boycott against Warren K. Billings, great class war hero of American labor, has failed to force him out of his watch-repair business at 1095 Market Street, Room 205, San Francisco.

In describing the Communist Party's vicious campaign against Billings, who, with Tom Mooney, was railroaded to prison for 20 years because of his loyal defense of organized labor, last week's **Militant** erroneously reported that Billings had been forced to move his shop to Burlingame. **We have learned that the workers are still patronizing Billings' San Francisco shop, his sole source of livelihood, in defiance of the Stalinist boycott.**

Billings came under the venomous interdiction of the Communist Party last year when he accepted the chairmanship of a committee to defend the civil rights of Verne Smith, the former editor of the Stalinist **Peoples World** who had been cited for contempt by the California legislature's Tenney Committee on Un-American Activity. Smith had been expelled by the CP for assorted "deviations."

For daring to defend Smith from his capitalist persecutors, the Stalinist **Peoples World** cancelled Billings' ad, which it had been running for several years. CP members were threatened with expulsion if they patronized Billings' shop and a widespread slander campaign was launched against him.

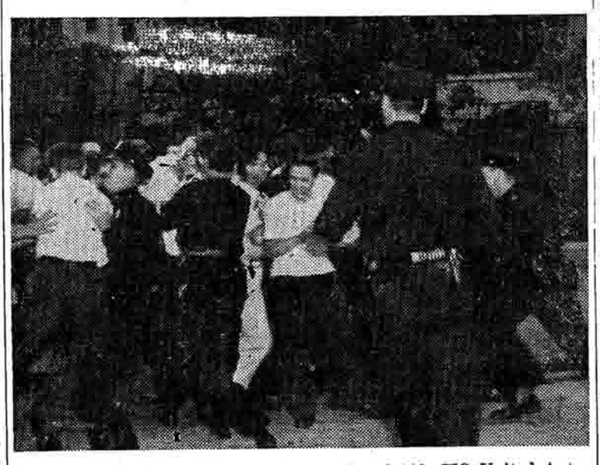
Illinois Negro Serves 25 Years For 'Sham' Crime

Twenty-five years ago James Montgomery, a 29-year-old-Negro, was convicted on a rape charge in Lake County Circuit Court, Waukegan, Illinois. The woman he supposedly assaulted was subsequently committed to a mental institution. Upon her death several years later, physical examination revealed that she was a virgin.

This evidence was in the hands of the Jim Crow prosecutor in Illinois at the time. He deliberately suppressed it, railroading Montgomery to prison for life. State courts turned down Montgomery's repeated pleas for freedom.

On Aug. 10 the prisoner, now 54 years old, was freed by Federal Judge Michael Igoe, who pronounced Montgomery's trial a "sham." The judge added that Montgomery had been "unjustly and unlawfully indicted, convicted and sentenced for an alleged crime which never occurred."

Police Violence in Brooklyn



When strike pickets, members of Local 116, CIO United Auto Workers, yelled "scab" at scabs attempting to break the three-month strike for higher wages at the American Machine & Foundry Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., Mayor O'Dwyer's police smashed into the picket lines with swinging clubs. Four strikers were arrested. Some 1,300 UAW members are striking.

AKRON LANDLORDS DRIVE TO LIFT RENT CONTROLS

AKRON — A concerted drive to end local rent controls is being staged by Akron landlords and real estate interests.

City Council has held public hearings on the question. From the first, the landlords took the offensive. They presented a parade of elderly landladies who related harrowing experiences with the Rent Control Office, and they quoted statistics purporting to prove, (a.) there is no housing shortage, and (b.) the present shortage will grow much worse if rent controls are not lifted immediately.

Spokesmen for tenants refuted these contradictory claims, but their efforts to present their case were seriously hampered by tactics of landlords and council members.

COUNCIL OBJECTS

A representative of the Communist Party was denied the floor on the grounds he was a "subversive." A detachment of police was called into the Chambers to enforce the ban on this minority group. Subsequently, the Council became allergic to even the mention of Communism. The very word was expunged from the record when used in an address by a tenant.

The mention of unemployment was also ordered deleted, until the speaker, in simple language, explained how the growing number of unemployed would be affected by skyrocketing rents.

Mention of the race question brought a similar demand that all reference to color be stricken from the record. Only three out of nine council men voted on whether to hear testimony on the Negro home-seekers plight. The vote was two to one against recording these facts.

The landlords attacked a survey made by the Post Office at the request of the Mayors Housing Commission. This survey showed only 11 rental units available. This survey had been requested by the landlords earlier in the year, but now, with such damning evidence against them, the landlords concluded a hasty survey of their own.

CIO COUNCIL ACTS

This was not completed at the time of the final hearing, but spokesmen for the Real Estate Board claimed to have uncovered 269 vacancies in 30% of the city. On what conditions and what rents he declined to say.

The whole series of hearings almost became academic when the City Council voted to defer all action until after constitutionality of the Amended Rent Control Law is tested in the courts. A last-minute reversal of this motion brought cheers from the landlords who saw renewed hope for speedy ending of controls.

The tenants have no organization of their own. Their best spokesman is the CIO council and its officers who have come out strongly for continuation of controls. Although the present city council is the product of a labor sweep in the last city election, workers and tenants cannot rely on that fact to assume continuation of rent control. Unless considerable mass pressure is exerted, the landlords may succeed in putting over their plans, as they have already done in over 80 cities.

Stalinists in Seattle Smear Kutcher Civil Rights Defense

SEATTLE, Aug. 6 — On a local scale there was a repetition here last week of the struggle that erupted at the recent Bill of Rights Conference in New York City, which the Stalinists blew up by their refusal to support the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, the same law under which the 12 Communist Party leaders are now being persecuted in Foley Square.

As a follow-up of the New York conference, the local Stalinists have scheduled a number of meetings with the two state delegates as reporters. Some 60 people attended the meeting on July 27 in this city, where T. Rabbitt, former Democratic state senator, was the main reporter. All the lies and slanders resorted to in New York were rehashed, with a few special "improvements," primarily relating to the Kutcher case.

ATTACK JAMES KUTCHER

A delegation of the Seattle Socialist Workers Party attended the July 27 meeting. Vigorously refuting the charges, demanding a Commission of Inquiry to sift these charges, and reiterating the call for united front action in defense of civil rights, Dan Roberts, local SWP organizer, supported the motion demanding the freeing of the Stalinist 12 and then proposed an amendment including the demand for restoration of civil rights to the 18 Trotskyists. The debate was limited to two speakers for each side. The Stalinists used their mechanical majority to shout down the sizable minority that supported Robert's amendment.

In the discussion, one John Dashbaugh, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, made a typical Trotsky-baiting attack, singling out James Kutcher, legless veteran victimized by the government "loyalty" purge, and his defenders. Dashbaugh repeated all the recent editorial slanders in the Northwest People's World, Stalinist paper.

This sheet, in a column run by Ace Allison, took the occasion on July 29, to repeat its previous lie to the effect that the "case of James Kutcher has nothing to do with civil rights." Allison then went on to add for good measure: "Yet these characters talk about wanting 'unity.' It would be unity alright. Unity with FBI stool-pigeons."

The same issue of the **People's World** devoted one-third of its coverage of the July 27 meeting here to slandering the Trotskyists, without making any reference either to the opposition at the Seattle meeting or to the body of prominent liberals who supported the SWP stand at the New York conference.

Here's what the **People's World** wrote:

"Robeson, the speakers said, branded the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites) as the 'finger-men for Franco and fascism.' This was the only instrument used by reaction, the delegates said, in an attempt to disrupt the conference.

"'The Trotskyites,' Rabbitt declared, 'tried to do a job for the Jusice Department in general and for the prosecution in the trial of the Communist leaders in particular by trying to equate Foley Square with the wartime conviction of 18 Socialist Workers party leaders.'

"The Trotskyites then refused to accept a compromise which called for repeal of the Smith Act and defense of all anti-Fascists prosecuted under it."

RABBIT REPEATS LIE

Ironically enough, Rabbitt himself reported that it was not alone the Trotskyists but also the majority of the Resolutions Committee at the New York Conference who rejected the "compromise" resolution, which as Prof. Emerson of Yale correctly pointed out at the time, was not a compromise at all. To top it off, Rabbitt also explained that he favored the "counter-proposal" inasmuch as it would exclude the Trotskyists who, he lied (as do all the Stalinists), are "not anti-fascist."

Trotsky Memorial Meetings

NEW YORK

SWP ELECTION RALLY

Hear the candidates:

Michael Bartell
for Mayor

HARRY RING
for Controller

GLADYS BARKER
for Pres., City Council

HAROLD ROBINS
Pres., Borough of Manhattan

Chairman: George Clarke

Cornish Arms Hotel
AIR COOLED!
311 West 23rd Street

Wednesday, August 24
8:00 PM

Admission 35 Cents

BAY AREA

Special Feature:

WIRE RECORDING
BY FARRELL DOBBS

Sunday, Augst 21
8:00 PM

1739 Fillmore Street, 4th floor

San Francisco

* * *

TWIN CITIES

Speaker:

Dorothy Schultz

Sunday, August 21
8:00 PM

10 South 4th Street

Minneapolis

All MILITANT readers are invited

LOS ANGELES

A Reply to the Stalinist Slander Campaign —

THE TRUTH ABOUT TROTSKYISM

Speakers:

Murry Weiss
James Kutcher

Film:

"CZAR TO LENIN"

Chairman: Myra Tanner Weiss

Embassy Auditorium
NORTH HALL
839 S. Grand Avenue

Sunday, August 21
8:00 PM

Admission 50 Cents