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All Labor Must Rally to Aid Of Coal Miners!

By The Editors

The failure of the trade union leaders to support the miners, who are fighting with their backs to the wall against the whole wolf-pack of Big Business and government, borders on open treachery to American labor.

True enough, CIO President Philip Murray has made a minor gesture by his offer of legal aid to the United Mine Workers in fighting Denham's Taft-Hartley injunction. But more legal assistance is the least the UMW needs against the concerted attack of the capitalist class and government.

If Murray, AFL President William Green and the rest of the union leaders had a real sense of loyalty and responsibility to the American workers, they would have gone in a body to Truman weeks ago and advised him in no uncertain terms not to interfere with the miners. They would have held him publicly accountable for any move by any government agency to invoke the infamous Taft-Hartley Act against the coal workers.

And they would have done more than pound on Truman's desk. They would have opened their treasuries to the miners — just as the miners last October proposed to the AFL to contribute a joint fund of millions of dollars a week to the striking steel workers. They would have summoned every local, state and national labor body to extend full moral and material aid to the miners. They would have rallied meetings and mass demonstrations everywhere to thunder into the White House and the halls of Congress: "Hands off the miners!"

How strangely their silence and inaction in the miners' struggle contrasts with the fury of their activity in conducting witch-hunts against critics and oppositionists within their own unions. The Murray machine in the CIO spends money like water to conduct its "cold war" against the Stalinists, to purge and expel whole international unions.

This is what the corporations and government labor-baiters want them to do — to tear up their unions from within while remaining quiescent and unresisting to attacks on labor from without.

Covering Up for Truman

It is easy to fathom the motives for the scandalous — the treacherous — conduct of these union leaders. They fear to expose Truman's real role in the mine struggle and thereby jeopardize their dirty political alliance with him. A genuine campaign in defense of the miners would rip the "friend of labor" mask from Truman and show him up as the true author of the move to shackle the miners with a Taft-Hartley injunction while he uses Denham as his front-man to evade personal responsibility. The Murphys and Greens are determined to cover up for Truman at no matter what cost to the miners and the organized labor movement.

Their behavior is all the more indefensible because the developments in the mine conflict give them a wonderful opportunity to strike a powerful blow against the Taft-Hartley Act. If they would concentrate some real heat on Truman and force him to remove Denham, they could nullify the whole move to use the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners. Murray himself admitted last week that Denham is Truman's appointee and the President has "ample power" to remove him. But Murray and Green don't want to put up the kind of fight on the Denham issue that would "embarrass" Truman.

Moreover, there is reason to suspect other sordid motives in their conduct. Do they nourish the hope that they can make a bit of capital for themselves out of a defeat for Lewis and the miners? Perhaps they think that by currying favor with the "Hate Lewis" mob, they can keep the corporations from turning on them after the miners are "dealt with." What a vain and dangerous illusion!

Miners Only First Target

The very reason why Big Business and its political henchmen are so determined to crush the miners is to open the way for an effective attack on the rest of organized labor. The miners have been the biggest single obstacle to the plans of the employers to undermine the massive American trade union movement. The miners are a pillar of strength to all labor. They were the backbone of the CIO in its formative stage. During the past decade they have been the shock troops who have opened the way for one gain after another by all organized labor.

For its own protection, the labor movement must step in and call a halt to the Big Business-government assault on the miners. It is clear the CIO and AFL leaders will not act effectively unless forced to do so by the rank and file. The initiative must come from below, in every local union.

Vote full support to the miners. Send resolutions to Truman demanding that he remove Denham and halt the Taft-Hartley injunction proceedings. Call on your top union leaders for immediate nationwide mass action and all-out material aid to help the embattled miners.

Tito Regime Announces New Important Reforms

A number of reforms have been introduced in the current session of the Yugoslav Parliament which may have a far-reaching influence on the evolution of the Tito regime. The most important of these reforms is the proposal to "de-centralize" major branches of industry, turning their management and operation over to local authorities and giving the workers in government-owned enterprises a voice in policy and management through the creation of workers' councils.

The electoral laws have likewise been liberalized, allowing candidates apart from the official slate, to run in any constituency where they can obtain signatures of 100 voters. At the same time the number of constituencies in the Lower Chamber has been increased from 364 to 444, or one to every 40,000 inhabitants.

Previously the Central Committee of the Yugoslav party introduced a reform in the field of education.

CONTRAST WITH PURGES

On the whole the projected Yugoslav reforms constitute concessions to the mass of the people. These concessions stand in sharp contrast to the intensification of repressions in the other countries of Eastern Europe and inside the Soviet Union itself. Bulgaria points up the mounting purge that has been engulfing the Krenalin's satellites. One member of the Bulgarian Political Bureau and six members of its Central Committee have just been lopped

off and another "treason trial" is rumored in preparation. In Moscow the death penalty has been restored.

The economic reform in Yugoslavia envisages a break with the system of rigorous centralization, patterned after the regime instituted under Stalin. Under the new set-up the mining industry, all light industries, the production of electrical energy, part of the chemical industry and certain branches of the transport system will be turned over to the governments of the six constituent republics of the Yugoslav state, and they will have full responsibility for the operation of all these enterprises.

A component part of this "de-centralization" program is the creation of workers' councils in each state-run factory. "These councils," states the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, Jan. 19, "will function as advisory bodies on production and other plans, and will make proposals to improve organization and efficiency in factories."

These new bodies will be set up autonomously alongside the trade unions. "Members will be elected for one year and are subject to recall by the workers," Tanjug correctly points out

Says Steel's Steel Not Big Enough

Ben Moreell, president of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., which is also owner of strike-bound "captive" coal mines, on Jan. 25 told the Senate committee investigating the recent steel price rise that the \$4 a ton increase "are not so high as they should be."

He said he thinks steel prices ought to be raised at least another \$17 a ton and "just as soon as competition will permit it, damned if I'm not going to do it."

90,000 STRIKE AT CHRYSLER

JAN. 26 — A nation-wide strike of 90,000 workers at the 25 plants of the Chrysler Corporation began last night after the breakdown of negotiations between the CIO United Auto Workers and the third largest auto corporation.

In an effort to avoid a strike the union negotiating committee headed by President Walter Reuther, had reduced its demand from 11½ to 10 cents an hour leaving it up to the corporation to decide for itself whether it should be granted in the form of a wage increase or a pension-insurance program.

But the corporation refused to compromise on its own offer, which was to assume pensions of \$160 a month to 65-year old workers with 25 years' service by paying the difference between social security allowances and the \$100 figure.

The Chrysler negotiators insisted that this miserable offer was comparable to the recent welfare settlements of the Steel, Glass and Rubber Workers unions. But the UAW replied that the Chrysler offer amounted to an increase of only 3 cents an hour.

The strike, which will affect many other companies supplying Chrysler, illustrates the growing toughness of the employers in their relations with the unions. It also shows that last year's inadequate welfare settlement with Ford, instead of setting a pattern for the industry, merely established the maximum that the UAW would demand — and even that it cannot get without putting up a hard fight.

Labor-Haters Gang Up On Embattled Miners

He Needs Our Help



Trumanites in Congress Stall Action on FEPC

By Joseph Keller

The Truman Administration and its supporters in the House last Monday deliberately knifed the bill to set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission to investigate and prosecute cases of job discrimination against Negroes and other minorities.

Speaker Sam Rayburn's refusal to recognize Rep. Lesinski, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, prevented Lesinski from calling up the FEPC bill for immediate House

action. The bill will be stalled at least until Feb. 27 before Lesinski can call it up once more.

The entire decision on whether the FEPC bill would be called up rested with Truman and his chief lieutenant in the House, Rayburn. After a Monday morning conference in the White House, Rayburn announced that it would cause too much "strife" to bring the FEPC bill up at this "early" date.

TRUMAN CLAMS UP

Rayburn still tried to cover up for Truman by blandly informing the press: "The President didn't order me what to do, as some folks were saying he would. What we are going to do in the House today was not discussed."

Rayburn did not attempt to explain this alleged sudden reticence of Truman to speak out at the decisive moment on the test issue of his whole 10-point civil rights program. Only the week before Truman had twice intervened to demand that the House defeat the proposal to restore the power of the House Rules Committee to indefinitely bottle up legislation.

From start to finish, Truman has played a shady game of maneuver to prevent action on FEPC, while making it appear that the responsibility for blocking FEPC rested solely with the

Southern Democrats and Republicans.

THE FIRST MANEUVER

The first big maneuver came on the issue of restoring to the House Rules Committee its former power to pigeonhole legislation, a move by Southern Democrats and a group of Republicans to bury FEPC and other progressive legislation.

By a change of rules voted on Jan. 3, 1949, the Rules Committee could hold up bills only 21 days, after which the chairman of other committees, on the 2nd and 4th Mondays of each month, could call up bills under their jurisdiction, but only with the recognition and consent of the Speaker of the House. Thus, the new rule was no more democratic than the old — it merely transferred to one person, the Speaker, the power previously exercised by a committee.

On Jan. 20, three days before the next special Monday when bills could be called up on the House floor, a motion was placed in the House to restore the old rules. The Trumanites could have blocked this motion until after the following Monday, when the FEPC bill could have been called up. But they chose to let the rules motion come to a vote, un-

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White House Ready to Come To Aid of Coal Operators

By Art Preis

JAN. 26 — Truman is preparing to intervene personally and directly against the militant coal miners, who have been battling courageously for eight months for wage increases, a strengthened welfare and pension program, and the retention of union security safeguards.

The pretext for the threatened intervention, which may take the form of a Taft-Hartley injunction under the "national emergency" clause, is the refusal of some 70,000 soft coal miners, primarily in the mines of the steel corporations, to discontinue their strike against the stalling of the operators.

CLEARED WITH TRUMAN

Through a statement by Dr. James Boyd, Director of the Bureau of Mines, to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee yesterday, the Truman administration laid the basis for Taft-Hartley action by claiming that coal production has declined to the point where "the national economy, health and welfare is now or soon will be imperilled."

Boyd's statement, reported the N. Y. Times, "was first cleared at the White House." It is further reported that Truman may offer the United Mine Workers the choice of submitting the miners' demands to the mercies of a "fact-finding" board hand-picked by Truman and accepting a 60-day "truce," or being clubbed with an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction.

When the latest strike of the miners began on Jan. 9, the capitalist press and coal operators had gleefully hailed it as a "revolt" against John L. Lewis and the UMW. Lewis himself twice "suggested" that the miners return to the pits. But by last week, the bought press and the



ROBERT N. DENHAM

owners were yelling that the strikes were a "plot" by Lewis and demanding louder than ever that Truman crack down with the Slave Labor Law.

The only revolt the miners are staging is against the continued stalling of the operators who hope the government will force the miners into submission; against the move by Truman's NLRB General Counsel Denham to tie up the UMW with a T-H "unfair labor practices" injunction; against the \$9-million "damage" suit brought by the operators in Ohio; against the mine owners' halting of payments into the union welfare fund; against legislative moves by House and Senate Democrats to

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JUDGE RYAN CALLS FBI WIRETAPS "UNLAWFUL"

Federal Judge Sylvester J. Ryan has given the lie to the claim of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath that wiretapping is somehow "legal" when it is "authorized" by the head of the Department of Justice.

"STILL THE LAW"

The judge in the Coplon-Gubitchev case, ruling on the admissibility of evidence secured by wiretapping, declared on Jan. 20: "Such authorization did not clothe with legality the unlawful activities of the wiretappers nor detract at all from the interdiction of the Supreme Court on evidence secured by this type of investigation."

Pointing out that the Federal Communications Act prohibits wiretapping and wiretap evidence, and makes telephonic interception and use or divulgence of information so obtained a felony, Judge Ryan ruled: "This is still the law. It has not been repealed or modified, it contains no exemptions as to any individual and no exceptions as to investigation of any particular type of crime, irrespective of how heinous or dangerous to national safety and security. . . . The fact that these interceptions were carried on under written authorization of the Attorney General imparts no sanctity to them; they remain unlawful and prohibited."

Nevertheless, Judge Ryan ordered the case to trial on the grounds that the government "has shown to my satisfaction" that it has "independent proof" of the facts obtained by illegal interception.

Although admitting that the FBI has engaged in criminal acts by wiretapping, Judge Ryan did not propose that the FBI agents and their superiors — former Attorney General (now Justice) Tom Clark, McGrath and Hoover who "authorized" FBI violations of the law — be brought to trial for their crimes. Nor did he call for proceedings against the FBI agents for numerous perjuries in court regarding their wiretap activities.

Judge Ryan's affirmation that these top officials of the highest federal law enforcement agency are themselves guilty of gross violation of criminal law, gives added weight to the demand: Remove Clark, McGrath and Hoover!

Washington Aims to Save Franco

For a long time Washington has been carefully preparing public opinion in this country for a resumption of "normal relations" with the fascist Franco. Now, to the great consternation of Truman's liberal supporters, the decision has now been made to pass from preparations to action.

Washington's official line on Spain is set down in a letter to Senator Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the text of which was released on Jan. 19 by Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Dropping all previous pretences, Acheson announces that the Truman administration will move in the United Nations General Assembly to rescind the 1946 resolution which directed participating members to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid.

This will "leave members free

to send an ambassador or minister to Spain, if they so choose." Coolly asserting that the previous action of the UN had only "served to strengthen the position of Franco, Acheson goes on to claim that the resumption of diplomatic relations "would in no sense signify approval of the regime in Spain."

PROMISES ECONOMIC AID

In flagrant contradiction to these disavowals is Acheson's direct invitation to the Spanish dictator to apply immediately for economic aid. "Spain is free to apply to and consult with the Export-Import Bank for credits for specific projects on the same basis as any other country. . . . It (the U. S. government) is quite prepared to acquiesce in the extension of credits to Spain covering specific and economically justifiable projects."

It is an open secret that the

Franco regime finds itself in the throes of a paralyzing economic crisis. Madrid has been publicly admitting that it must have half a million tons of wheat immediately in order to avert famine.

The N. Y. Times Madrid correspondent, Sam Brewer, cabled on Jan. 21 that the Franco regime "has taken the astonishing step of advertising for offers of grain on practically any terms."

The same correspondent reports that Franco's Spain "is virtually bankrupt and to all intents and purposes is living on capital — selling the bonds to buy tomorrow's lunch or, in this particular case, mortgaging the national gold reserve to buy enough wheat to tide it over between harvests."

POPULATION STARVING

The mass of the population have been on starvation rations.

Per capita wheat consumption, the staple diet of the people, has dropped to two-thirds of the pre-war level when it was at the meager level of 343 pounds per person a year. According to Brewer, "the skilled worker, a foreman bricklayer or plasterer — on higher-paid levels gets \$1.20 daily. His hod carrier gets approximately half that, and it is difficult to understand how they feed themselves and their families on it."

It is quite clear that unless immediate assistance is forthcoming, the prospects of the Franco regime are bleak. It is precisely at this juncture that the Truman administration proposes to prop the tottering dictator in Spain — politically, by resuming full diplomatic relations; and economically, by opening up "credits."

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swaback

Atoms have now become a subject of universal interest. This is quite natural, for atoms are everywhere. Everything in the world is made up of atoms, our eyeballs as well as the blacksmith's anvil, trees, plants, the air we breathe, and even the dollar bills that come so hard and slip so easily out of our hands.

The atom is the fundamental unit of which all elements are composed. And since there are 92 different natural elements there are 92 different kinds of atoms.

The atoms of different elements have different characteristics. Each type has a characteristic weight, size and chemical behavior which is different from other atomic types. Chemical combination of elements is actually the joining together of different kinds of atoms to form tightly-bound composite particles, which are then the units of a new substance.

A simple example of this formation of a new substance by the joining together of two kinds of atoms is that of water. Two atoms of the hydrogen gas join with one atom of the oxygen gas to form a liquid molecule of water. These atoms are linked together by their electrons. Atoms of the element carbon, which combine with atoms of other elements to form an infinite variety of substances such as foods and fuels, etc., have the extraordinary characteristic of being able to join together in chains and rings.

But the elements combine according to the structure of the atoms. When this became known, science undertook a painstaking study of these infinitesimal particles which cannot be seen nor are ever likely to be seen through any microscope. Many of the atom's mysteries are still unveiled but its basic structure is known.

RESEMBLES SOLAR SYSTEM

The modern theory of this structure suggests a picture resembling the solar system, that is, the sun and the planets revolving around it. The atom consists of a central body called the nucleus which corresponds in a rough way to the sun, and a number of small particles called electrons, corresponding roughly to the planets, which revolve in concentric orbits at various distances from the nucleus.

The bulk of the weight of the atom is concentrated in the nucleus; the weight of the electrons is insignificant in comparison. The nucleus, although only about one ten-thousandth of an atom's diameter, contains about 99 percent of its weight. The



atomic nucleus is the heart of all matter, but all its secrets are far from known. Known, however, are two of the important particles of which all the atomic nuclei are made up except that of the normal hydrogen atom. These two particles are protons and neutrons.

EMPTINESS OF ATOMS

The electrons are separated from the nucleus and from each other by relatively enormous distances. If the nucleus were the size of a baseball, on the same scale an electron would be a speck 2,000 feet away. According to this view the atom is mostly empty space. How can this be? A blacksmith's anvil, for example, appears eminently solid; and yet it consists of many times more empty space than what is actually solid.

The physicist Niels Bohr is authority for the statement that if iron could be reduced to its actual solids, that is, if all the empty space within the iron atoms could be eliminated, it would take the combined tonnage of at least 20 normal-sized freighters to carry iron solids the size of a marble, across the Atlantic Ocean.

How can this emptiness be explained? The answer is fairly simple. When the blades of an electric fan are rotating rapidly it becomes difficult to differentiate between the blades and the spaces between them, the faster the rotation the closer do the blades approach a uniform disc. The electrons in the atom whirl around the nucleus — and at a

speed of probably hundreds of thousands of miles an hour; thereby they produce from this emptiness — solidity.

STOREHOUSE OF ELECTRIC ENERGY

These incredibly small units, the atoms, are a veritable storehouse of electric energy. Both the nucleus and the electrons rotating about it are electrically charged. The protons of the atomic nucleus have a positive electric charge while the neutrons have no charge and are neutral. Electrons, on the other hand, are negatively charged. The number of protons and electrons are the same within each atom.

Thus the atoms of element number 1 (hydrogen) have 1 proton and 1 electron. Atoms of element number 2 (helium) have 2 protons and 2 electrons, and so on up the scale to the atoms of element 92 (uranium) which have 92 protons and 92 electrons. It follows, therefore, from the point of view of this equality of opposite electric charges that the symmetry of the atoms is perfectly balanced.

Moreover, it is the attraction of these opposite electric charges which holds the atoms together; it prevents the rapidly whirling electrons from flying into space. On the other hand, it is clear also that it is the momentum of the rapid motion of the electrons which prevents them from falling into the nucleus and keeps them in rotation.

However, since similar electric charges repel each other the question arises: what keeps the protons so tightly bound together within the atomic nucleus? Very little is known as yet about these mysterious binding forces although their strength has been calculated.

EQUIVALENT TO BOULDER DAM

Professor Bethe, who developed the first acceptable theory of the nuclear transformations by which the sun produces its energy, estimates that these forces are many million times stronger than the forces which hold together a lump of iron. On the basis of Einstein's law of the equivalence of mass and energy — which showed that a very small amount of matter is the equivalent of a tremendous amount of energy — Bethe further estimates that one ounce of nuclear mass is equivalent to the energy output of the great power plant at Boulder Dam for a whole month.

In this sense the term atomic energy is far broader than the mere release of energy in chemical reaction. In the burning of coal, for instance, the atoms of carbon interact with atoms of oxygen in the air to form a new substance (carbon dioxide), and in the process some of the energy of the rotating electrons is released in the form of heat and light. But the energy of the atomic nucleus is of a far higher order.

In pursuing the study of nuclear energy scientists noted an interesting phenomenon among the very largest and heaviest atoms, where there are very many protons and neutrons packed together in the nucleus. The forces that hold the nucleus together are inadequate and these atoms are unstable. They are continually breaking down, or exploding of themselves and expelling particles of matter, simultaneously being transformed to atoms of different elements. This phenomenon is called radioactivity.

Natural radio-active materials have been found to emit three kinds of rays: alpha rays, beta rays and gamma rays. The alpha ray particles are positively charged and further study has shown them to be the nuclei of helium atoms (2 protons and 2 neutrons) moving at high speeds. Beta ray particles are electrons also moving at high speeds, and gamma rays are electromagnetic waves but with very short wave-lengths.

DISCOVERIES BY THE Curies

At the turn of the century Pierre and Marie Curie, striving the element radium, noted its continual breaking down or exploding at a slow, uniform rate, expelling with great force streams of particles identified as electrons and helium nuclei as well as radiation of such intensity that it penetrates thick metal and destroys living tissues. In so doing the radium atoms become transformed into atoms of different and slightly lighter elements which are also unstable and radio-active, and which in turn break down further and are converted into still other elements. The process ends with a final trans-



Posing together at a Waldorf-Astoria luncheon in New York are (left to right) the three top men of General Motors Corporation, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.; Charles E. Wilson; and Charles F. Kettering. They're happy because GM made record profits of more than \$1.6 million a day in 1949, after taxes.

LABOR-HATERS GANG UP ON EMBATTLED MINERS

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remove unions from the exemption of the anti-trust laws and restrain the miners' union as a "monopoly."

These are just part of the ferocious assaults which the government, in cahoots with the steel corporations and other owners of coal mines, has launched against the United Mine Workers. Whether with or without Lewis' direction, the miners have determined to fight this assault tooth and nail.

This is far from the kind of "revolt" the press had previously tried to manufacture. Recklessly, the N. Y. Times of Jan. 22 admits, "The surest way to get a punch in the nose in any of the centers of the current 'insurrection' is to tell a miner that the UMW ought to find itself a new president."

HIDING BEHIND DENHAM

Up to now, Truman has preferred to exert pressure on the miners indirectly. For reasons of political expediency, he has refrained from using the Taft-Hartley Act, although he has repeatedly stated he would not hesitate to do so whenever he considered that the coal struggle had reached a stage of "national emergency."

He let Denham, his appointee, take responsibility for the first open move to invoke the Taft-Hartley Law. At the behest of the coal operators, and with no objections from Truman, Denham filed with a federal court for an injunction to forbid the miners from taking any action, whether maintaining a three-day week or striking, in support of what Denham calls "unfair" and "illegal" demands.

Truman subsequently informed the press that he "had nothing to

do" with Denham's action, but that Denham "had the right to take such steps as the law provided," and that it is not Truman's business to "bless" or "unbless" the action Denham has taken. In this way, Truman sought to continue the fiction that Denham is a free agent, acting entirely independently of the White House.

Although he has continued to cover up for Truman, CIO President Philip Murray was constrained to admit in a statement calling for Denham's removal: "During the CIO Convention, I issued a statement calling upon President Truman to remove Denham. . . . The President possesses ample power to take this action."

Murray also made the welcome step of publicly defending the UMW against Denham's injunction proceedings, although he offered nothing but legal aid in the way of material support to the miners. "In the proceedings against the UMW," said Murray, "Denham is seeking to enjoin a work stoppage which is entirely lawful under the express provisions of the last collective bargaining agreement negotiated between the coal operators and the mine workers union."

TIGHTEST BATTLE YET

The United Mine Workers is in the toughest battle it has faced in more than two decades. The coal operators, backed by the whole capitalist class and the government, are determined to beat the UMW down. The owners have huge reserves of profits and a tremendous coal stockpile to fall back on. But many of the miners were working only one and two days a week even before the series of strikes and the three-day week began. Last week, the coal company stores, like those of U. S. Steel's H. C. Frick Coke Co., began to cut off the miners' credit. It is a tribute to the miners' union loyalty and spirit, that in the face of these odds they are still full of fight, defiant as ever and ready for even greater sacrifices.

The greatest weakness of the miners is their isolation. They are being forced to carry on single-handed a battle against the combined forces of the American plutocracy and its government. They are holding the fort for all American labor, but they are beleaguered and their resources are dwindling.

So far Lewis and the UMW leaders have chosen to continue the battle alone. In the past they were able to do this successfully. But despite their commendable aggressiveness and their readiness to lead the miners in struggle, their chances for success are far less favorable than in past years. The miners need and must have the help of the whole labor movement.

An appeal by the UMW to the entire labor movement for moral support and material aid would electrify the whole American working class. Union workers of every affiliation know the great debt of gratitude they owe the miners, who have led the way year after year in labor's battle for a decent life. They will respond eagerly and gladly.

Let Lewis but speak and millions will respond. They will call on their own leaders for action. They will send resolutions to Truman to keep hands off the miners. They will make the miners' fight the fight of all labor.

Harry Greene, Militant Negro Unionist, Dies

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 21 — A mass union-conducted funeral was held here today for Harry Greene, veteran union militant of the CIO Steelworkers. Greene died of a heart attack at the age of 61 a few hours after returning from the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization at Washington, D. C., which he attended as one of the delegates from Local 1336, United Steelworkers of America.

The main funeral address was delivered by Sam Camens, President of Local 1336, close friend and union co-worker of the deceased member. In a moving speech, Camens portrayed the character and work of Harry Greene, a man who "grew younger in spirit as he aged in years, a man who would not buckle under the powers that be." Seasoned and hard-bitten union fighters wept openly as Camens spoke the last farewell to the fallen fighter.

To the time of his death, Harry Greene had served as zone grievance committeeman at the Carnegie-Illinois Ohio Works plant here. He had held that position for eight years. He had also served as chairman of the labor committee of the local NAACP, and as President of the NAACP Credit Union. A man of unquestioned integrity and incisive power in negotiations and debate, he was a tower of strength in the local labor movement. The Buckeye Review, local Negro paper, devoted its main headline to the news of his death, saying: "HARRY GREENE SUCCEEDS FROM HEART ATTACK." "Funeral Saturday For Man Who Played Dynamic Role As Leader." But the Youngstown Vindicator, the city's only daily capitalist paper, jam-crowded even his obituary in an item in the "Colored News Notes."

The chief arrangements for the funeral were made by the union members of his local, in accordance with a testament left by Brother Greene. Union men served as pallbearers and turned out for the funeral in large numbers coming from many locals in the city labor movement.

A poem left by Greene for reading at his funeral said towards its closing: "I lived the only life I knew."

Yugoslavs Report Important Reforms In Their Regime

(Continued from page 1) common with the falsifications of Stalinism—must, if it is seriously meant and consistent, lead to the legalization of the works of Leon Trotsky in Yugoslavia. Such a legalization has not yet taken place.

Actually there are no books more needed by the Yugoslav communists in their struggle against the Kremlin and against imperialism than those of Leon Trotsky who initiated in 1923 the struggle against Stalinism, who demonstrated its counter-revolutionary character and laid bare the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the paralyzing, parasitic growth on the organism of the Soviet state.

Simultaneously with the announcement of the projected reforms, the Yugoslav CP has called for the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy. The whole point is whether this, too, is seriously meant by the Tito regime or is only a maneuver aimed at rallying support and silencing discontent and criticism at home.

The Tito regime cannot conduct a successful struggle against the Kremlin and against the imperialists unless it rests solidly upon the Yugoslav workers and the poor peasants. It is therefore compelled to take into account their resistance to and their hatred of the bureaucratic methods and rule. Bureaucratism cannot be "reformed"; it must be completely rooted out. And this can be done only with a genuine return to the internationalist essence of Marxism and with the maximum participation of the masses in all spheres of social and political life.



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Workers Forum

A Criticism of Yamashita Review

Editor:

The feature article in The Militant, Jan. 9, "The Strange Case of Yamashita" by John G. Wright will have the effect of muddying the whole issue of civil liberties.

Marxists have the obligation to cut through the jungle of bourgeois law in order to demonstrate the class nature of the state. We must explain tirelessly that "democracy" in a capitalist country is measured solely by the amount of freedom exercised by workers and workers' organizations.

The fight for civil liberties is fundamentally a fight of the workers against the bourgeois state which seeks to restrict our freedom to the fullest extent that they can get away with. Oppression intensifies as workers' resistance is impaired. Mis-education can do as much damage as misleadership. That is why the entire American educational system is geared to perpetuate the myth of "abstract justice" and the "same law for all."

When we understand the above, we can understand that "The Strange Case of Yamashita" (the Japanese militarist who fell out with Tojo and MacArthur) has nothing whatsoever to do with the Minneapolis case, the eleven CP leaders, the Kutcher case, or any other atrocity of the American bourgeoisie.

Comrade Wright's article states that General Yamashita was "in no way connected with . . . the Tatan death march of 1942" that "Yamashita's testimony stood up under grueling cross-examination . . ." etc.

This is indeed a strange, misplaced sympathy that appears in a workers' paper. Are we to assist in the anti-Japanese "atrocity" propaganda that sees the Bataan incident as morally worse than the rest of the bloody shambles? Consult any veteran of the hell of the Pacific war for an expert opinion on this! All the generals are to be held guilty for their role as the slaughter-supervisors for their capitalist masters! When they have a falling-out among themselves and treat each other roughly, it is not our concern to equate the defense of the weaker gangster to the defense of workers and workers' leaders.

Comrade Wright concludes by connecting Yamashita's case to those of the victims of the loyalty purge and witch-hunt in the U.S. Few illusions can do more damage to the successful defense of our civil liberties. Precedents have been proven to mean almost nothing in case after case decided by the US Supreme Court and lower courts. The relationship of forces between classes at the moment always determines the outcome of a given case, even though it is often well hidden behind the solemn legal facade that all sections of polite society play their part in.

This letter is not designed to imply that we can take no advantage of legal formalisms in the tactical conduct of the struggle. If I appear to have over-sim-

plified the content of bourgeois law, it is only because "The Strange Case of Yamashita" is a simple expression of an empirical, petty-bourgeois and completely incorrect concept.

B. Lens
New York

— And an Answer

B. Lens' comments about the nature of capitalist democracy, the operation of its law courts and the bestial role of all militarists, Japanese and native alike, are all factually illustrated in the "Strange Case of General Yamashita." That is the main reason why I reviewed the book. Far from affording sympathy for any militarist, the case history of Yamashita is an annihilating exposure of them all, in particular Gen. MacArthur.

It is at the same time a striking disclosure of flagrant frame-ups perpetrated by "democratic" courts and condoned by the Supreme Court. The main point is not the question of responsibility for "atrocities" but of the workings of the US judicial system.

Perhaps Lens' misunderstanding of the purpose of my review was the insufficient stress I placed on the role of the Supreme Court in the judicial frame-up of Yamashita by MacArthur and Co. I take this opportunity to emphasize the fact that it was the Supreme Court, that "palladium of justice, law and the constitution," that placed its seal of approval on what transpired in the case of Yamashita. This decision — even though it involved a Japanese imperialist — has set a sinister precedent which can be applied against real opponents of the imperialists.

The struggle for civil rights does not take place in a vacuum but within the existing juridical framework. It is not enough to talk about the class struggle in general, it is first necessary to develop it. Vicious precedents cannot be ignored but must be seized upon as one of the starting points for such a struggle. To dismiss judicial precedents as lightly as Lens does is to overlook entirely that the struggle for democratic rights has as one of its objectives precisely the setting (and upsetting) of precedents.

The capitalists who understand this very well are hacking away at the Bill of Rights, and all the "precedents" connected with it using the courts as one of the main instruments. It is the duty of Marxists to arouse the workers to this dire reality.

To be sure there is no direct connection between the Yamashita case and the struggle for civil rights. But it would be folly to dismiss the indirect connection. I sought to stress this point in the review, namely, the workings of militarists and witch-hunters, who are becoming more and more dominant in the life of this country, and, in particular, in the operation of its courts and other "law enforcement" agencies — up to and including the Supreme Court.

John G. Wright

"THAT LITTLE PAPER"



"We'll never forget the way that little paper defended us during the war when everyone else was against us." That's what one of the district officials of the United Mine Workers said recently about The Militant.

Behind these simple, affectionate words there's a big story. The miners took the lead during the war in labor's struggle for decent wages and conditions. They were hounded and persecuted by the big corporations and their government agents. The entire reactionary press from The Wall Street Journal to the St. Paul Daily Worker screamed at the striking miners. Only The Militant backed them up 100% in their progressive actions.

Like the miners on the economic front, the Trotskyist movement took the lead on labor's political front during the war. The Militant, as the weekly paper of the American Trotskyists, opposed the imperialist war and called for a socialist world of enduring peace, boundless plenty and the brotherhood of man.

The evil forces that attacked the miners also raised their clubs against the Trotskyists. Eighteen of our leaders were railroaded to federal prison during the war as the first victims of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. The second-class mailing rights of The Militant were threatened. Harsh blows fell on us from all sides. But the cause of socialism is the kind that builds courage and stout hearts. Like the miners we did not give in.

Today The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly, the most respected and authoritative voice in the radical political wing of the labor movement. It has earned its solid reputation for telling the truth no matter what the consequences.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Comrade Frank has been doing an outstanding job in Philadelphia selling The Militant. Two weeks ago he sold 35 copies on Temple campus. Last week he raised his score to 44 on the campus and sold 31 more elsewhere. In addition he has placed the paper on newsstands.

Selling regularly at union meetings, NAACP meetings and on the campus, Comrade Frank has found sales brisker at present among students.

From his experience of what helps sales, Comrade Frank gave us his opinion of the headlines in The Militant. He feels that often they do not measure up to the high standard of the articles below them and so do not "pull" as well as they should.

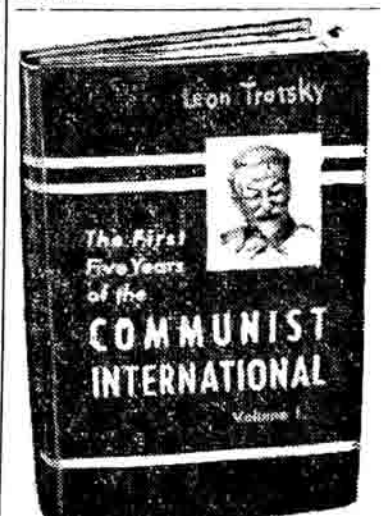
Going through back issues, Comrade Frank selected a number of headlines and rated them. For example, "Steel Workers Answer Corporation's Challenge," got an "excellent." But "FBI Wiretappers, Perjurers Break Law, Get Away With It," rated "terrible."

Our headlines, he believes, should be "(1) dramatic, (2) of interest to the materialistic needs and desires of the working class, (3) as brief as possible."

Constructive criticism such as this from members of The Militant Army who know from practical experience what difference headlines can make in sales is really appreciated by the staff.

Such criticism helps keep our contact with all the many different layers and sections of the working people fresh and alive.

Winifred Nelson, Literature Agent for St. Paul, writes that The Militant "continues excellent" — especially the last issue with the lead article on FBI wiretapping. We had no trouble disposing of our bundle; in fact, I barely salvaged a copy for the file! Other articles were equally good if not quite so dramatic; for instance, Truman's State of the Union message, with the war costs played up (which the capitalist press played down); the Stalinist agreement to a wage cut for the fur workers; and of course the in-fill-and-on-time wonderful news on the Party Building Fund. Keep up the good work!



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TROTSKY

"According to Marx, the government is the executive committee of the ruling class. Today monopolists are the strongest section of the ruling class. The government is in no position to fight against monopoly in general, i.e. against the class by whose will it rules. While attacking one phase of monopoly, it is obliged to seek an ally in another phase of monopoly. In union with banks and light industry it can deliver occasional heavy blows against the trusts of heavy industry, which, by the way, do not stop earning fantastic profits because of that."

— Leon Trotsky, Marxism in the United States, 1939.



LENIN

Cure for the "Sick" Coal Industry

The coal miners made their biggest gains during the war, when the exceptional demand for fuel briefly lifted the coal industry out of its state of chronic "sickness." Under the aggressive leadership of John L. Lewis, the United Mine Workers were able to take advantage of the favorable economic situation and by militant action won the highest wages and best social improvements in all industry.

But the enormous increase in the miners' productivity and the big decline in the demand for coal has once more reduced coal mining to its normal status as a "sick industry." Long before the miners themselves instituted a general three-day work week, the mine owners had reduced scores of thousands to a "no day" week and other scores of thousands to part-time employment.

That doesn't mean that the profits of the mine owners are "sick" too. These have continued at a fantastic level, despite the decline in the market. The operators have cut production, fired miners and raised prices to keep their profits flowing in at the same rate as ever. The current United Mine Workers Journal points out that while the UMW's new wage and welfare demands would add only 23 cents a ton to the previous cost of coal, "the operators are already collecting from coal consumers an additional 50 cents per ton over previous contract prices."

And the Journal also notes that while

the government moves to "illegalize" the miners' three-day week designed to spread available work, "the miners have often been subjected to a two- or three-day week by the coal operators without any threat of punitive action by the Government against the operators."

Today, the miners find that despite all their magnificent struggles of the war and post-war years, the ill-managed, chaotic, profiteer-ridden coal industry gives them only insecurity and growing poverty and exacts higher and higher robber prices from the consuming public. And all their efforts to "stabilize" the industry come to grief on the intractable opposition of the mine profiteers.

The "sickness" of the coal industry — which is merely a more advanced stage of the "sickness" of capitalist industry generally — is not inherent in the nature of the industry itself. The germ of the disease is private ownership for profit. The cure is the removal of the industry from the hands of the parasites who control it for their own exclusive benefit, its nationalization and its operation under the control of the mine workers themselves.

If the mines were operated under a rational, cooperative, national plan, the miners would probably not have to work at their arduous, hazardous jobs for more than three days a week and would still make higher wages and enjoy more security than today. And the consumers would get cheaper coal.

By John G. Wright

Last year Senator Edwin C. Johnson, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, blabbed in public that a super-bomb was being developed at least a thousand times more powerful than the A-bomb. President Truman, obviously displeased with such an indiscretion, refused to comment, as he has continued to do since then. Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Litchfield denounced the talkative Senator for leaking information of "military importance," and has likewise remained mum on the subject of the H-Bomb. But it has been in the air ever since.

The dailies, the weeklies, from the most conservative to the most sensational, have picked it up, discussing, with a fraudulent air of impartiality, the pros and cons under the general heading "Shall U.S. Make the Bomb or Not?"

NOT IDLE SPECULATION

This public debate is far from being as innocently speculative and harmless as it is made to appear. On the contrary, it is part of a deliberate campaign to psychologize the American people for proceeding as quickly as possible with the manufacture of H-Bombs, on top of the already huge stockpile of A-bombs.

There is of course no secret whatever about the possibility of building a bomb that could wipe out in a single blast any city in the world through the use of hydrogen. This was established theoretically through basic scientific research in the late Twenties and early Thirties. The development of the A-bomb and of the technology of atomic explosives makes the manufacture of such a super-bomb today primarily a technical problem.

The real secret therefore is: How far have such practical preparations advanced? The U.S. News & World Report (Jan. 13), a weekly reputed to have pipelines to high circles in Washington, blandly asserts that all preliminary preparations are completed. The project is already in its blue-print stage, "now on U.S. drawing boards." Even the

initial costs have been estimated: they are "2 to 4 billion dollars, plants for a whole new atom industry," which would have absolutely "no peacetime use."

CAN OBLITERATE CITIES

There is no known limit to the size of the blast that can be produced by this new hydrogen bomb. A "weak" one can obliterate from 50 to 100 square miles, as against the approximately one-mile radius of the Hiroshima bomb. Hydrogen bomb blasts of 1,000 square miles and even more are just as feasible.

Uranium and plutonium bombs inflict civilian casualties in the hundreds of thousands; the new super-bomb can wipe out New York City and its entire population. The radioactive after-effects of A-bomb blasts, especially under-water ones, are known to be more lethal and lasting than the direct effects of the explosion itself; this holds true in geometric proportion for the H-bomb. Large areas of our planet may not only be depopulated by it but also rendered uninhabitable for a long time to come.

In brief, the H-Bomb will render the already stockpiled atomic explosives as "obsolete" as the bow and arrow, more accurately their use will be most effective as "detonators" for the H-Bomb. It is a direct threat to destroy our civilization and mankind itself. This may appear unthinkable, but that is the actual road ahead, and the worst of illusions is to dismiss it as the least likely variant of what the future really holds in the shape of the H-Bomb.

NO PEACETIME ATOMS

The A-bomb project was launched in wartime, in deepest secrecy and behind the backs of all the peoples. The American people were promised that peacetime uses of atomic energy would follow slowly but surely. Above all, we were told, it was necessary to assure American "monopoly" of the A-bomb. It would take decades for others, especially the Russians, to develop it.

In the five postwar years, our

atomic plants have been more than doubled in size, with over 4 billion dollars officially acknowledged as expended. The experimental peacetime atomic power plant has not yet even gone into operation. Civilian benefits of the greatest scientific discovery and advance yet recorded in history have remained "potential," that is, literally nil. But out of it all has come instead — the HELL BOMB.

The people of this country and of the world thus did not have to wait for the outbreak of war itself to discover what the development of atomic energy could and would bring under the auspices of capitalist politicians, militarists and billionaire monopolists. There has been — as there will be — a tremendous development, exclusively in the domain of destruction, exclusively in the production of weapons each more "absolute" than the one before. Capitalist society is incapable of steering any other course.

WILL H-BOMB BE BUILT?

Will the Hell Bomb actually be built and stockpiled as a standing invitation to the American people and the rest of the world to commit global suicide?

If the decision remains in the same hands as before, the answer is: Of course, it will. The American people are now being told that if "we" don't do it, the Russians surely will. "Military considerations" alone demand that the Russians be "beaten to the punch" and so on.

The first imperialist world war was a signal that if mankind was to live and civilization to flourish, capitalism had to die. The second world war repeated this warning in an even more menacing way. The A-bomb, and now the H-Bomb leave no room for doubt whatever. Humanity has been placed on the brink of the abyss face to face with the choice of plunging to destruction with the imperialists and their Hell Bomb or of abolishing the capitalist system and building the socialist society.

Trumanites Stall FEPC

(Continued from page 1)

doubtedly in the belief that it would be passed and they would then have an excuse to blame the Southern Democrats and Republicans if the FEPC bill were buried in the Rules Committee.

Much to the Trumanites' consternation, 64 Republicans joined them to provide the majority needed to defeat the rules motion by a vote of 236 to 183. This left it squarely up to the Trumanites to decide whether they would call up FEPC on the following Monday.

All that was needed was for Lesinski to ask for the floor and for Rayburn to recognize him. If the bill had come to a vote, it would most likely have passed, because there were enough Republican votes assured for FEPC to offset the votes of Southern Democrats and Republicans opposed to FEPC. This was the strange time Truman chose for silence.

Both Lesinski and Chairman Peterson (D-Fla.) of the Public Lands Committee shouted for the floor when the moment came to call for the "discharge" of bills on Monday. Truman's right-hand man, Rayburn, deliberately chose to recognize Peterson, who introduced a resolution to take a vote the following day on the question of statehood for Alaska.

RAYBURN'S FILIBUSTER

Then followed a series of maneuvers to keep the Alaska resolution on the floor all day and prevent Lesinski from getting the floor before adjournment. Six times Rayburn recognized enemies of FEPC who stalled by calling for quorum votes — a roll call of the members to see if enough were present to make up the minimum legal voting strength.



SAM RAYBURN

But at 4:25 p.m., there was no way to stall the vote on the Alaska resolution any further. It was passed. Then Rayburn recognized a spokesman for a companion motion on Hawaiian statehood, and this was passed. Lesinski was the only chairman of a committee left who could call up a bill.

As he rose to ask for the floor, Democratic Majority Leader McCormack, of Massachusetts, hastily put a preferential motion for adjournment. McCormack's motion passed 167 to 109, thus saving

Rayburn from having to recognize Lesinski. Since the next "discharge day" is Feb. 13, when the House will adjourn to celebrate Lincoln's Birthday, the earliest date the FEPC bill can be called up is Feb. 27.

The Truman Administration clearly proved that it has no real desire to pass its promised civil rights program, including FEPC, and that it is using these promises only to get votes. Truman is eager to patch up his differences with the Southern Democrats, not to antagonize them. That is why he is going through all his tricky maneuvers to stall FEPC, while pretending he will fight "all summer" to get it passed.

The Truman machine's calculated moves to keep FEPC off the House floor came as a direct slap in the face to the millions of Negro people and unionists who were represented by the 4,000 delegates to the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization which had convened in Washington on the eve of the latest FEPC fight to demand immediate passage of civil rights legislation. The leaders of the NECRM had converted the conference largely into a demonstration of support for Truman and to "help" him pass his promised program. It didn't take a week for Truman and the Democrats to show that the only help they want is in sneaking their moves to block FEPC and other civil rights legislation.

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ADAMIC'S IMPRESSIONS OF HIS YUGOSLAV TRIP

The Early Spring issue of Louis Adamic's magazine (Trends & Tides, Milford, N. J., 50 cents a copy. Subscription rates: \$2 for 6 or more issues in 1950) contains first-hand observations of conditions in Yugoslavia during the author's recent six-month visit to that country. Adamic gives his views on such questions as the underlying reasons for the Tito-Stalin split, the popularity of the regime, the extent of democracy prevailing in the country, industrialization, and the standard of living.

Shortly after his arrival in Yugoslavia, Adamic had a number of long "off-the-record" talks with Tito and other top leaders. He gives his impressions of the basis of the split with the Cominform in a letter written on January 30-31, 1949, from Yugoslavia to a friend in the US, which is reprinted in the current issue of T&T.

"[It [the break with Stalin] is very fundamental, with beginnings already back in 1942, and to my view, beyond settlement in the near future. Tito and his co-leaders are coming to realize this. If they had yielded to the Cominform, to Soviet pressure, to Stalin personally, they would have to reverse much of the Yugoslav revolution, and I would be now witnessing counter-revolution in my native land, rather than an energetic and planned straining toward a collective economy and culture."

Behind this resistance, says Adamic, is "a tremendous new dynamic... loose in the country. It was loosed by the war of liberation, and has grown stronger by the minute after 1945. Tito could not stand against it had he wanted to. He could not listen to Stalin's Cominform when it ordered him to stop industrializing Yugoslavia and keep it a peasant land."

Democratic Rights in Yugoslavia Today

Replying to accusations in the American press that Tito is a dictator and rules by terror, Adamic writes in his letter that "Tito, or rather the Communist Party of which he is general secretary, or rather the central committee or the politburo within that central committee... have a revolutionary mandate from a tremendous element of the people of the country, and they are executing that mandate as leaders rather than dictators, firmly but without brutality, seeing to it that liberty prevails to a greater and ever-increasing degree for more people than ever before, and that welfare is spread evenly through the country regardless of the resources and development of the various regions."

In his preliminary impressions, Adamic declares that "no 'terror' — nothing that could be called that is apparent to these more or less practised eyes. There is a secret police system, but it is at least as unobvious as the secret police system in the US."

During trips in his native Slovenia (a constituent republic of Yugoslavia) Adamic "engaged in, or listened to, long discussions with and among all manner of people in and out of the government." From these, he observes that "there is complete freedom of discussion for those loyal to the new revolutionary development, regardless of the width of differences among them. Differences to be tolerated or respected, must be honest on the part of persons known to be honest and loyal..."

Claims Differences Openly Expressed

In these discussions, Adamic says, "there are wide differences not only as between Communists and non-Communists, but among Communists who are 100% united on current policies and tactics. Nearly all discussions that I have heard of or participated in were marked by humor, even uproarious humor, much of it directed against top leaders — except Tito who is something special in present-day Yugoslav mentality: something hard, perhaps impossible, to understand in America. I think I am on the trail of its mysteries, and I will try to write about them in my subsequent letter."

In unravelling the "mystery," Adamic will have to explain why there was no such problem regarding Lenin and Trotsky, who were not considered "special" cases to be spared from criticism during the first years of the Soviet regime.

Opposition to the regime comes mainly from "former upper class people" whose properties were nationalized, from well-to-do peasants who cannot get cheap labor because the supply is drained off by new factories and expresses itself in attempts to withhold farm produce from the government. Among the masses of the people, there is "general acceptance" of the Tito program. Dissatisfaction is expressed here with "the tempo of production and frequent blunders with distribution on local levels."

Adamic believes that no one is hungry in Yugoslavia, that people in the big cities are better dressed than before the war although he noted many peasants in rags in Belgrade. This he explains by the influx from the country to the city which is proceeding at a faster pace than can be provided for by the country's industrial plant. Contrary to the pre-war situation, foods and textiles are not over-abundant in the big cities and scarce on the countryside but are now spread by the government "evenly over the country as a whole, favoring the extremely backward regions which formerly had next to nothing."

Differences in the Standard of Living

"The ordinary worker," Adamic writes, "whose performance at his job barely meets the norm, or even misses it, gets just enough ration points to maintain his strength. But if he eats in the shop or factory mess-hall he gets at least one substantial meal a day — usually a pretty dull meal but pretty substantial."

On the other hand skilled workers and coal miners get as much as "18 to 20 thousand dinars (about \$400) a month and all the ration points they can handle: more than ministers of the government." The ministers, however, "live in better houses — partly because they, being better educated, etc., know how to live in better houses; partly because top men in government just naturally had the first call on the best villas; and partly because they are obliged to entertain a great deal, often foreigners who come officially on commercial and other missions. Ministers and heads of various academies, rectors of universities, etc., have access to an institution called Warehouse A (Magazine A), from which presumably they can draw as much food, wine, mineral water, etc., as they think they need. This privilege is abused by some..."

Army Officers, Security Police Favored

There are, in addition, two other "favored or privileged groups. Army officers are... favored when it comes to food rations, as are members of the security police. The theory is that these five groups contribute most to the safety and future development of the new order; and since there is not quite enough food and clothing to satisfy everyone, they have the first call on available supplies."

Writers, artists, scientists, etc., "get less than the skilled worker in the mines and factories and the ministers and heads of important institutions, but more than the average person." In another place, however, Adamic writes that this group is "being especially favored, I think far too much. They get very large salaries and/or honoraria. The man who wrote the scenario for the first Slovenian film... got something like 30,000 dinars — \$60,000 according to the official rate of exchange, though in real value only \$30,000. But even this latter sum is something that would have been beyond the wildest dreams of any writer — and that of course ain't hay even in the Good Old Yu-Esso-Ay."

Besides Adamic's two letters from Yugoslavia, T&T contains an article by a "dissident" Stalinist on the CP trial and one by a novelist, R. V. Cassil, on the future of American radicalism. We will comment on these articles in a coming issue of The Militant. There are two articles by Carey McWilliams, one a lengthy discussion, "Of Tito and Heresy" and another on Congressman George Dondero's witch-hunt against art and artists. Howard Griffin writes on "The Non-Violent Individual." Finally there are a number of press clippings and letters to the editor.

The Hiss Verdict

The conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury has spread fear and consternation among the liberals and left-wing Democrats while jubilation reigns on the extreme right. These sharply contrasting reactions to the verdict cast light on the political significance of the Hiss case.

It is often forgotten that the idea of a "loyalty" probe of government employees was first projected by the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities in 1939 to expose "Communist" agents and influences masked as New Dealers. It was explicitly aimed against Secretaries Ickes, Perkins and Wallace in Roosevelt's cabinet.

When Truman took over the "loyalty" program as his own, his close associates declared he had stolen the thunder of his Republican opponents. Now, the lightning of the purge has struck at the administration itself. On trial with Hiss was the prestige of the Roosevelt regime, the New Deal and Truman's reputation. That accounts for the widespread sympathy and support given Hiss by Supreme Court Justices and top administration officials.

It likewise accounts for the rejoicing on the extreme right, which construes

the Hiss verdict as proof of its accusations that the New Deal was "Communist-inspired." The Republicans have grabbed it as an anti-Truman issue and are demanding Acheson's resignation for siding with Hiss.

Its immediate effect, writes I. F. Stone, is to give a green light to the most reactionary forces in Washington and "break down what little resistance there still remains to Government by slander, snoop and wiretap."

But the main lesson to be drawn from the Hiss trial is that the loyalty purge cannot be limited. Once started, it sets into motion forces which can boomerang even against its own sponsors. Truman persecuted Stalinists, Trotskyists, and others. But this was only a beginning.

Now the wolf-pack is howling for heads of the witch-hunting administration itself. The monopolists, militarists, labor haters and race-baiters behind the witch-hunt will not be satisfied until they wipe out even the memory of liberal thought and clamp a police-state upon the American people. And they will spare no one — and stop at nothing — to carry through their conspiracy.

Myth of the "Fair" Profit

One of the cruder gags that propagandists against socialism used to repeat was, "A socialist is a man who wants something, he doesn't know what he wants, but still he wants you to give it to him." With a lot more truth, we can paraphrase this: "A capitalist is a man who wants a 'fair' profit on his capital, he can't say what a 'fair' profit is, but still he wants the workers to give it to him."

That description fits Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, according to his own testimony before the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report investigating the basis for the recent big increase in the price of steel.

At the hearing on Jan. 24 in Washington, Fairless said the \$4 a ton price hike last Dec. 15 was "modest" and "no mystery." The steel monopoly, which made the biggest profits in its history last year, just couldn't "absorb" the meager costs of the welfare and pension plan won by the CIO Steelworkers. Why, said Fairless, U. S. Steel "has not made a fair return either on its sales or investment at any time during the last 20 years."

Senator O'Mahoney cited figures showing that U. S. Steel had made six percent net profits on its investment, even during "the years of the depression." "What would you consider a fair return?" O'Mahoney asked. Fairless hedged: "There are too many variables involved. It's very involved... I would say the figure must remain flexible."

All Fairless wants is a "fair" profit that he can't define, except that it's "flexible" — but never "flexible" downward. In fact, no matter how high this "flexible" profit goes, it's still not "fair," according to the capitalists. When they get 6%, they want 7%; and when they get 7%, they want 8%. They want all the profits they can sweat and swindle out of the workers — and they still would not call it a "fair return."

Over a hundred years ago, Karl Marx exposed the myth of the "fair" profit. All profit, he proved, comes from the labor of the workers. There is only "unfair" profit — that is, the surplus value created by labor that the capitalists steal for themselves.

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"Welfare" in New York

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, Jan. 22 — While Mayor O'Dwyer basks in the Florida sun enjoying his \$15,000 raise, 320,000 needy people of this city face desperate hunger and quick eviction. Relief payments were slashed on January 16.

There were more than a hundred worried men and women at today's protest meeting in the Wayside Casino, 100 West 116th Street, called by the Better Harlem Association.

The meeting opened with the wistful prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." It closed more than two hours later with ringing denunciations of the Democratic City Administration and the Republican State Administration which had united to take the bread from their mouths.

"There has been no appreciable decline in food prices to warrant the cuts made," said a petition addressed by the meeting to the Mayor, the Governor, and the Department of Welfare. "The extra-large reduction of special-diet allowances makes it practically impossible for those on said diets to provide the necessary food, and thus exposes them to undue and unnecessary hardships and sufferings, and even to premature death."

It cited the many expenses not provided for in relief budgets, which must be paid out of the miserable food allotment: "Insurance premiums on policies approved by the Welfare Dept.; recreation, especially for children; carfare to travel to and from welfare centers and for essential traveling; money for haircuts, especially where there are several boys in the family."

Mrs. Katherine White, 10 West 112th Street, told me that carfare and lunch money alone for her two high school children costs \$5.00 a week. That comes out of the food money. So does \$2 a month to make up the balance of her rent; the Welfare Department considers her rent of \$25 a month excessive, and allows her only \$23.

"I don't know how we can manage," she said. "They cut my check \$8 a month. I was getting \$113 a month altogether, for myself and my three children. I pay \$11 every two months for gas, because I have to use the gas oven to help heat

the apartment, it's so cold. I have to buy all the children's clothes, too.

"I am separated from my husband. He was sending me \$3 a week for each child, but my oldest boy was 16 years old last month, so the court stopped his allowance from his father. But I want him to finish school."

Like others in the audience around me, she was determined not to let her family suffer in silence.

"I hope that your paper will say something about the meeting. I wish everybody could know what is happening. But the daily newspapers care more about crime stories than us!"

There was applause when John Brown, representing the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants' League, urged united action to prevent evictions and restore the previous scale.

"It is true that we in Harlem are the last to be hired and the first to be fired," Brown said. "It is true that relief cuts hit us hardest of all. But there will be unrest in other parts of the city, too. Perhaps we can be the spark that will set off a big protest all over the city, and that is what I think we should try to do. I am going back to my organization with the recommendation that we cooperate with you to see what can be done."

Welcoming the support of the Tenants' League, Joseph E. Ritzberg, chairman of the Better Harlem Association, issued a warning to all who live on near-starvation incomes.

"It is not only the men and women on relief today who are hit by this cut," he declared. "Everyone whose income is close to the relief level is endangered. People getting supplementary relief, those whose wages did not even come up to the old relief standard, used to get a few extra dollars to help pay their bills. Now their wages may be above the new scale, and they will lose that money too. Remember also, that you who are not on relief today, do not know that you will not be tomorrow."

They Can Dream, Can't They?

By Sidney Crabbe

BOSTON — The newspapers here have not let up on the headlines about the one-and-a-half million dollar robbery of Brink's counting-house. The first day after the robbery there was a rash of solemn, indignant editorials. The governor issued a statement that the forces of law and order would prevail and the criminals would be brought to justice.

J. Edgar Hoover, the well-known wiretapper, saw this as a wonderful opportunity to direct attention away from the recently-revealed illegal activity of his FBI, and the newspapers heralded his triumphal entrance into the city.

The whole town was excited as the reporters took to the streets, asking as many of us as cared to answer, what did we think of the hold-up? The response astounded the editors, though they should have known better.

The hold-up was smooth, no one was hurt, the getaway was perfect, and Brink's and the insurance companies were out a million and a half. The city was really gleeful. There were a few people who gave advice to the police on capturing the bandits, such as: "The cops ought to take the first train to Hialeah, because boys with that kind of luck are sure to be at the track doubling their money." These advisors to the police department were in a minority.

Most people were eager to give the crooks advice on how to hold on to the money. "If those boys are as smart as they seem, they will lay low and retire for the rest of their lives." "I don't approve of robbery, but if I had that kind of dough..." Everyone was talking about it, mostly with commendation and a sort of why-didn't-I-think-of-it-first wonder in his eyes. Nearly everyone wished them long, peaceful years of enjoyment of their haul.

Why should there have been any different reaction? In other parts of the country the 19th century myth of Boston's civic purity and social

and educational progress still exists. The myth is cultivated by the newspapers and textbooks.

Workers here, however, see convicted crooks running for office and being elected with the connivance of leaders of established capitalist enterprises. They see, headlined below the Brink's robbery, the announcement of 65 millions of dollars in real estate tax refunds while the tax rate on small homes is expected to exceed \$85 per thousand.

They see themselves in a metropolitan area of 1,700,000 people divided into 22 cities and townships, each with its expensive and corrupt political machine dominating the antique school, health, fire departments. They see the decay of municipal services and the development of racetracks for horses, dogs, trotters and stock cars, the growth of treasury tickets, numbers, pools, pin games and shuffle-alley, and the church monopoly of beano, bingo, penny sales and lotteries.

They see their governor, endorsed by AFL and CIO leadership and swept into office on the pledge not to raise fares, travel to Europe while his henchmen increase fares from 10 to 20 cents. But most of all they know how hard it is to make a buck.

"Everything is a racket," is one of the most commonly expressed sentiments. A widespread and deep-going cynicism pervades the working class in this conservative, church-ridden, low-wage area, and sometimes a trivial incident like a million-and-a-half-dollar robbery brings it to the surface for even the blind — and the editors — to see.

Thus, later editorials adopted the tone of "We know the city is amused by the stick-up, but do not forget the sanctity of private property, law and order." Yet the simple truth is that few besides the cops, the editors, and the insurance executives were disturbed about this "expropriation" of private capital.

Convictions Without Trial

By Fred Hart

The Supreme Court, by a 4 to 3 decision, has declared it perfectly legal for the Attorney General and the FBI to convict people on anonymous charges without any trial, to keep both the identity of the accuser and the nature of the charge secret even from the courts, to deprive the accused of a hearing, and even of the right to be released on bail pending final decision.

All these issues were involved in the case of a refugee war bride of German-Jewish origin who came to join her husband, Kurt Knauff of Ozone Park, N. Y.

Mrs. Knauff came into this country in August 1948 and was immediately locked up on Ellis Island, without a hearing. She was then denied release on bail and finally, again without a hearing, ordered deported because in the opinion of the FBI she would be a "hazard to security."

The identity of her accuser and the nature of the charges against her remain a secret today as they were when the FBI first placed her under arrest. Mrs. Knauff's own record proved of no avail. She fled from Hitler to Czechoslovakia from where she went to England where she served for three years as a flight sergeant in the Royal Airforce in wartime. After an honorable dis-

charge she returned to Germany as a civilian employee of the American Military Government since 1948.

She married Knauff with the permission of military authorities and came to this country only to be tried, convicted and ordered deported in the manner already described. All this was authorized by the then Attorney General Tom Clark, who now sits in the Supreme Court.

This whole procedure and the majority decision is so raw that Justice Jackson, speaking for the dissenting minority, used language seldom heard in the Supreme Court. He denounced the denial of a hearing to Mrs. Knauff as "arbitrary and brutal." Attacking the government for its brazen contention that "not even a court can find out why this girl is excluded," Justice Jackson concluded: "The menace to the security of this country, be it as great as it may, from this girl's admission is as nothing compared to the menace to free institutions inherent in procedures of this pattern."

He might have added that these are the "procedures" and "patterns" of a police state which is being imposed step by step on the American people.

Notes from the News

TRUMAN'S CHOICE as Democratic candidate for US Senator in his home state of Missouri, Emory W. Allison, was the man who appointed and served on the Missouri Senate Committee which for eight months refused to report out a bill to give Negroes equal education rights.

FIVE SHOP STEWARDS of Local 1154 of the United Electrical Workers, who were given ten days penalty to "think over" their refusal to sign "loyalty" statements prepared by the company, were fired on Jan. 11 by the Stewart-Warner Corporation in Chicago. The victimized unionists declared that the corporation officials "are not concerned with oaths; they want the Un-American right to make employees toe a political and non-union line both on and off the job."

AN INNOVATION in strike tactics was suggested by Joseph Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America, CIO, last week when he proposed that the public use automatic equipment as much as possible in case of a strike in the telephone industry. He especially appealed to

the 6 million CIO members to help jam the automatic phones.

STUDENTS AT WAYNE UNIVERSITY in Detroit have organized a committee to raise funds for relief to striking Pennsylvania coal miners, who are being denied credit by corporation-owned stores.

CIO PRESIDENT MURRAY, moving forward with his own "loyalty" purge, has expelled the California State CIO Council, long controlled by the Stalinists. He has instructed his national representative, Richard Leonard, to set up a new state council in its place.

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL of New York has accused his fellow-Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. of fouling up the effort to force a vote on FEPC to further his "personal political ambition" to become governor of New York. Young Roosevelt circulated a rival petition to Powell's in order to bring the bill to a vote in the House.

Dunne Flays Role Of Union Officials In Rights Fight

NEW HAVEN, Jan. 20 — Before a sizeable audience of workers, Negroes, students and professionals, V. R. Dunne, demonstrated the links between the labor bureaucracy and the State Department, and between the cowardly attitude of this leadership and the government's assault on democratic rights.

"The CIO bureaucracy," said Dunne, "has expelled 500,000 workers. Murray now plans to kick out another million. All this means loss of dues and reducing his organization. How can this serve Murray's interests? In no way whatever. Whose interest does it serve? When we remember that Murray made the test of affiliation to the CIO support or non-support of the Marshall Plan, then clearly this proves Murray is acting for the State Department in the CIO."

In contrast to its attitude to Murray and Green, Dunne pointed out, the government is determined to crush the United Mine Workers. The independent actions of this union constitute a threat to the State Department's plans to tie the labor movement to the war machine and spread the idea of resisting Washington's attacks against labor's rights and living standards.

The real aim of the witch-hunt, Dunne said, was not merely the suppression of radical parties but an attempt to paralyze the whole labor movement to a point where it is incapable of defending itself against the monopolists' attacks on working conditions and living standards. By bringing the witch-hunt into the labor movement, Murray and Green are exposing it to great danger. But at the same time, they are arousing increasing hostility against their policies and leadership in the ranks.

Dunne predicted that American labor, sooner than we think, will rid itself of such spineless and craven leaders and raise up a new leadership capable of mobilizing the working class for new mighty struggles and victories.

The meeting continued informally after the conclusion of the address and a generous donation by the audience.

Dunne was also interviewed over radio stations WNHG and WYBC, the latter operated by Yale University. A news broadcast over WELI devoted a few minutes comment to the Dunne meeting.

Large Meeting Held in Boston

BOSTON, Jan. 16 — "The campaign to preserve and extend our civil rights can be the key issue to rally millions of workers in a progressive fight against the dictatorial plans of Washington and Wall Street," declared Vincent R. Dunne in an address at Socialist Workers Party headquarters.

Before the largest audience to hear an SWP speaker in recent years in Boston, Dunne analyzed the desertion of the fight for labor's rights by the official leadership of the AFL and CIO. He demonstrated that the trade union officialdom with one or two exceptions is following the pattern set by the government and business in conducting loyalty purges within the unions. The Murrays and the Greens hope thus to gain political and economic favors from the bosses and, at the same time, strengthen their own control over their membership.

OPPOSITION GROWING

Government purges, firings of so-called subversives from private industry on orders from army and navy bureaucrats, FBI Gestapo methods, destruction of reputations by Congressional committees, he stated, will hit more and more people and create widespread resentment.

Even now, when the witch-hunt is just beginning, workers throughout the country are suspicious and conscious that the real purpose is not to catch communists but to terrorize militant fighters for labor, weaken the unions internally, and prepare the country for another war.

Dunne reported that there are many signs that the ranks of the labor movement and leading liberals and intellectuals are prepared to resist these encroachments on their rights. This is indicated in the support that has rallied around James Kutcher and John Mahoney, expelled from the Sailor's Union of the Pacific for opposing the Lundeberg gang, and in the outcry that has gone up over the law-breaking activities of the FBI.

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Strikers' Families Evicted



Failing to crush the spirit of CIO Woodworkers on strike for the past eight months, the owners of Bond Bros. railroad tie plant got a court order evicting families from company-owned houses. Here a mother and four children watch their furniture being moved out.

KUTCHER APPEAL WILL BE FILED IN 2 WEEKS

The filing of James Kutcher's suit against his discharge, scheduled for the week of Jan. 23 in the Federal District Court at Washington, D. C., has been postponed for two weeks until Feb. 8.

This delay was necessitated by the substitution of new Washington counsel on the legal staff preparing and handling Kutcher's case. The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has secured as co-counsel with M. J. Myer of Chicago, the services of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., one of the outstanding labor and civil liberties attorneys in the nation's capital.

Rauh is a former secretary of Justice Felix Frankfurter and is at present head of the Americans for Democratic Action in Washington, D. C. His firm acts as official counsel for the International UAW-CIO and other unions in Washington.

Rauh is not only a vigorous defender of civil rights, but has had considerable experience in handling cases arising out of the operations of the "loyalty" purge. Best-known is his work in the Remington case which he won.

NEWARK — New Jersey labor, Negro and religious leaders will honor James Kutcher, the legless veteran, with a testimonial banquet Jan. 29 at the Cadillac Restaurant in Kutcher's home town.

The speakers' list includes Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey CIO; Charles Allen, president of the Newark AFL Teachers Union; Harry Hazelwood, president of the Newark branch of the NAACP; and the Reverend C. Hodgson, executive officer of the Methodist Conference on Social Action. The chairman will be George Novack, secretary of the national Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

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Group to Picket at Spanish Consulate

A three-day demonstration against Franco's terror and the murder of workers in Spain is being organized by the Libertarian Committee for a Free Spain. The demonstration will be held in front of the Spanish Consulate on February 8, 9 and 10 between the hours of 11 A.M. and 1 P.M. and will be followed by a mass meeting on February 10, 8 P.M. in the Labor Temple.

NEW YORK

Public Meeting on:

LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS

"Only United Mass Action Will Save Civil Rights"

Hear

Vincent Ray Dunne

First Victim of the Smith "Gag" Act, in the Minneapolis Labor Case

James Kutcher

The Legless Veteran, No. 1 Victim of the Loyalty Purge

Chairman:

James P. Cannon

National Secretary of the SWP

Adelphi Hall

74 Fifth Avenue (bet. 13th and 14th Streets)

Friday, February 3 — 8 PM — donation 35 Cents

Curran Machine Continues Purge Of Opponents

The surge of oppositionists continued full blast in the National Maritime Union as Vice President Jack Lawrenson was placed on charges and two rank and file members

were expelled from the union at a meeting on Jan. 19. Another member was suspended for one year and fined \$100.

All were charged with activities arising from the resistance by the New York membership to President Joseph Curran's recent arbitrary ouster of 15 elected Port officials. In the intimidating witch-hunt atmosphere, accompanied by the crooked vote-counting of Curran's hand-picked master-at-arms, the great majority of those present abstained from voting on any of the cases.

PACKED TRIAL COMMITTEE

Charges against Lawrenson brought by Neal Hanley, National Secretary, repeated the well-worn pattern of "inciting to riot," "creating a dual and hostile organization," etc. Lawrenson will be "tried" by a fifteen-man trial committee of Curran supporters. What its "findings" will be is not hard to predict.

George Irwin, charged with refusing to recognize the authority of two Curran appointees and distributing anti-Curran literature aboard his ship, stated in his defense that he was guilty only of backing up the legally-elected officials. Eladio Paula, refusing similar charges, also took occasion to deny present or past membership in the Communist Party as a matter of record.

This provided John Reaves, newly appointed machine official, with the opportunity to "explain" that actual membership in the CP was not the important thing; it was necessary to root out all those who by their actions gave aid and comfort to the "Party."

SPIKE A PURGE MOTIVE

Expelled along with Paula was Morris Weiner, a Stalinist, selected for his participation in defense activities against Curran's illegal coup. Irwin received the fine and suspension. Motives of vengeance and spite, characteristic of witch-hunts and purges, offer

"New Leader" Exposes SIU Officials' Attacks on SWP

The anti-Trotskyist hysteria fomented by Paul Hall and Harry Lundeberg, heads of the AFL seamen's union to cover up their dictatorial rule and strike-breaking

policies, is too raw even for social democrats. In the Jan. 21, New Leader, which is the Number One apologist for the trade union bureaucracy, the following item appears in Daniel Seligman's column, "Spitting at Labor" which we reprint, despite its whitewash of Curran, for the information of readers of The Militant:

"Hard on the heels of the anti-Trotskyist campaign in the National Maritime Union come the reports of a purge of Trotskyites in the AFL Seafarers International Union. As is usual in such cases, the reporting on both sides is fragmentary and violently partisan, so we shall make no attempt to judge the merits of the fight. Several facts are obvious, however.

"First, the Trotskyites in the SIU are a pitifully small group and do not constitute a remote menace to Harry Lundeberg's administration. (Whereas Curran's rule very definitely was menaced for a time in the NMU.)

"Second, the bill of particulars against the Socialist Workers Party is vague in the extreme. The resolution which was circulated through Atlantic and Gulf branches, and unanimously passed, charges the Trotskyites with 'using the trade union movement for their own ends' and with possessing a 'disruptive record on the waterfront.'

"The only specific charge involves the beating of an SIU dispatcher, but the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which is cited in corroboration, merely reported that the dispatcher said his assailants 'were supporters of former members who had been expelled from the union.' (Since the writing of Seligman's article it was proved in a court hearing in Seattle that no-one but the dispatcher and another seaman was involved in the brawl. Both men were sentenced by the judge.)

"Third, the expulsion resolution is directed not only against

an explanation why the above three were singled out first for reprisal from the hundreds who participated in the struggle.

Several days before the membership meeting, National Officers Stone and Hanley announced that the dictatorial and "anti-Communist" constitutional amendments sponsored by the administration, had carried in a referendum vote. This is being interpreted by the head-chopping bureaucrats as a mandate for their anti-union purge program. It was during the very course of this 30 day vote that Curran and Co. were systematically smashing all opposition!

PILOT MIRRORS TERROR

The Jan. 12 issue of the NMU Pilot is indicative of the present state of affairs within the union. In his personal column Curran calls for mobilization to eliminate the "disruptive element." Elsewhere in the paper he cynically explains that "it takes time and there must be clear cut cases before any man may be brought to trial... democracy moves slowly." (Curran's emphasis!)

Symbolic of this Curran-type democracy are the recantations, confessions and expressions of fealty to the "Great Leader" splattered throughout the paper. Worried and intimidated members hope thereby to escape the spreading purge. Under the heading "CORRECTION" one member writes that a previous critical letter bearing his signature "was due to confusion and carelessness."

Another letter, written in behalf of a ship's crew and advocating "the ousting of Communists from amongst our ranks" goes on to blurt out a few lines later that "many a man criticizing or protesting the present policy of our leadership is labelled Communist and swept along in the same wave and carried overboard. Private opinion and voice of opinion now seems a crime in our democratic union."

1 Out of Every 9 Jobless in Germany

Unemployment, rising steadily, has become the No. 1 problem of the puppet government in Western Germany. The officially admitted number of jobless workers is now 1,783,142, according to a dispatch from Frankfurt in the Jan. 24 N. Y. Times.

This represents more than 11% of the working force. Almost a quarter-million workers lost their jobs during the first two weeks of this month alone.

The official figures do not include an estimated 100,000 other workers who have lost their employment but have not thought it worthwhile to register at government offices.

This explosive economic situation, reminiscent of the period in which Hitler rose to power, is certain to have important political repercussions. Either it will spur the revival of militancy among the workers, or it will serve as the breeding ground for the growth of the fascists, who are already operating in the open and reuniting their forces with increasing boldness.

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