

By Farrell Dobbs

The N. Y. Times, a conservative capitalist paper that parades "liberal" on the civil rights issue, does not have an answer to this question, but it has plenty to say about what should NOT be done. In an editorial on March 16 it warns the Negro people not to get the idea that it will "take a revolution to correct abuses" and to beware "against pulling down the whole structure in order to get at the faulty parts." The Times wants the Negro people not to go "out of bounds" in the civil rights fight, to be patient — even if it takes another 300 years before they win equality.

Another self-styled "friend of the Negro people," the New Leader, a paper which speaks for Social Democrats, New Dealers and a part of the labor bureaucracy, on March 19 editorially congratulated the Negro leaders on the "fine statesmanship" they displayed in not demanding a "fight to the finish on the floor of the Senate." Why? Because then the rent-control law would have lapsed and everyone, including Negroes, would have suffered as a consequence. "It is too great a sacrifice to pay for such a victory. It will be better to get our social legislation now and deal with bi-partisan reactionaries two years hence." These are the words that Uncle Tom would have spoken if he had lived long enough, and unlike the New Leader, Uncle Tom never pretended to be a "democratic social-

The NAACP, through its secretary, Walter White, promises the fight for civil rights will go on. "We shall go to the people — the people who expressed their approval of civil rights legislation at the polls last November - and let them know how the majority of the senators, both Democratic and Republican, have defied their mandate. We shall urge them again to remember at the polls how their senators voted on this crucial issue." That's fine, but how much good will that do? The NAACP leaders are against the formation of a Labor Party. How will it help to replace Democrats with Republicans, or Republicans with Democrats, when both parties knife civil rights? Doesn't the Democratic 81st Congress, which replaced the Republican 80th Congress, once again prove the futility of such a course?

The common note in all this advice is a plea to sit tight for at least another two years. If such advice is followed, the Negro and white workers who want and need civil rights laws will end up in the same blind alley that it led them to this year. That's why we say: same blind alley that it led them to this year. That's why we say: Don't wait, the time to begin fighting is now, and the way to fight. is by militant mass action!

The trouble with the fight up to now is that there has been The trouble with the light up to now is that there has been the original between the original wagner Act were the original wagner Act were the original by farrell Dobbs, Na-This method couldn't work and it didn't work. Now is the time for applying pressure the tintervalue the through mass demonstrations and struggle, now is the time to show that our patience is thoroughly exhausted. Now - not two years from now - the fight can begin in real earnest by the convocation of a United Labor and Negro Congress for Civil Rights, to be held in Washington next door to the Congress, attended not only by the official labor and Negro leaders but also by the representatives of all the labor and Negro organizations pouring into the capital from all parts of the country to express their wrath and their determination to fight without quarter until follows: they obtain the passage of the civil rights bills promised by both capitalist parties.



To House Body MAR. 21 - Repeal of the Taft-

committed to go to war at the nod of one man, the President. None.

The pact was drafted in secret the present cold war into hot wars behind closed doors. It is being her satellites, (2) rebellious rushed through at break-neck speed so that there will be little if any opportunity for popular tries bound by the pact. discussion.

Those who will do the sacrificing, fighting and dying in the war being prepared by this pact, are the only ones by right who should have the power to decide the life-and-death question of war or peace.

This question is being decided for all of us, however, by a tiny professional militarists who dominate the Truman administration. It will be formally approved by a Senate oligarchy of reactionary Democrats and SWP Tells Stand Against T-H Act To House Body SWP Tells Stand Against T-H Act To House Body Republicans. Do they represent plutocracy of monopoly capital

that seeks to save its rule and

tries during the first week of April.

This pact marks the formal Yet what voice did the people establishment of a military "holy alliance" dominated by American mitment in American history? imperialism and designed to promote the transformation of against (1) the Soviet Union and

> workers and peasants seeking to establish socialism in the coun-This program, giving Wash-

ington a ring of advanced military bases around the Soviet Union, is presented to the world in the name of "international peace and security and justice" as a defense against "aggression." But how would it look if the Soviet Union had pressured Canada, Mexico and the rest of

Latin America into signing a pact which established Russian bases clique of Wall Street agents and in those countries, supplied them armed force, to restore and with arms and committed them to come to the aid of the Soviet

Union in any war in which it became involved? PACT'S MAIN CLAUSES Would such an act be any more aggressive than the one the U.S. 11 provides for the ratification of government is now committing the pact by individual members through the formation of the after it has been signed. Article strong-arm methods it used to least 20 years

drive several small European nations into line for the pact? Article 3 of the pact calls for a vast expansion in arms and



DEAN ACHESON

ecessary, including the use of maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." Article 9 establishes a council and a "defense committee" to implement the pact. Article 10 permits the inclusion of other European states by unanimous agreement. Article Atlantic Pact and the diplomatic 13 binds them to the pact for at

AGAINST REVOLUTION.

At a press conference on Mar. 18, the day the details of the

This is the exact opposite of what the "fine statesmen" advocate, but it is the only thing that capitalist politicians will have respect for and listen to. The Times would call such a move "revolutionary" but it is only by such mass action that the civil rights fight can be won.

Labor and Liberal Leaders In Detroit Urge Kutcher Aid

DETROIT, March 21 - George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, last night made a court injunctions; staggering stirring appeal on "The Case of the Legless Veteran" to more fines against striking unions;

nethods."

out penalty."

ment of the facts and issues in

the Kutcher case. "The cold war

Clampitt said, "We must fight

hose responsible for the many

hrough political action." Rev.

Hill called for solidarity against

undemocratic loyalty purges and

Arthur H. Fox. local secretary

of the Kutcher Civil Rights Com-

or the defense of Kutcher.

Station WDET, FM.

than a hundred unionists and civil

liberties defenders at a meeting CIO United Auto Workers; Rev. here sponsored by the Greater Charles A. Hill; George Schermer, Chairman of the Michigan Detroit and Wayne County Committee on Civil Rights; Dr. Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Joining in this appeal for the professor at Wayne University. defense of James Kutcher, who had lost both legs in action in Director of UAW Briggs Local Italy and was fired last summer 212, was chairman of the meetfrom his Veterans Administration | ing. job for membership in the Social-Novack gave a powerful state-

ist Workers Party, were a number of prominent speakers from labor, liberal and church groups.

against government workers re-They included Tom Clampitt, presented by the loyalty purges," personal representative of Emil he said, "is a threat to all work-Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the ers. These are police state

Next Week:

Farrell Dobbs, Art Preis and William F. Warde cover key sectors of the civil rights battlefront (in next week's issue.) American democracy comes with unclean hands-conscien-. tious objectors still being sentenced to prison four years after the war.

Civil libertarians divided over "full disclosure" - what happened at the American Civil Liberties Union conference. An AFL editor explains why intimidation failed to stop him from attending a Kutcher defense rally.

Send to The Militant for extra copies. Only 3c each in bundles of five or more.

Workers Party, in a statement victed under it in 1941, why did following the Teheran meeting filed today with the House sub- the government wait until 1948 committee considering the ad- to indict the Stalinists?" ministration's Thomas - Lesinski The government, I then exbill. The statement was sub- plained, got around that question mitted at the request of John by dating the charges from 1945, Lesinski, chairman of the House coincident with the expulsion of Labor Committee, and reads as Browder and the reorganization

of the Communist Party. Before that date no chore in the war-Mr. Chairman and members time service of the capitalist govof the Committee: ernment was too dirty for the

Speaking for the Socialist Work-Stalinists. So the government ers Party, I support conditionally naturally had no desire to use the Thomas-Lesinski Labor' Bill the Smith Act against them. to the extent that it repeals the In the opening statements to Taft-Hartley Act and restores the jury this week, the govern- and had voted unanimously for a unimpaired the original Wagner Act. I urge strengthening of the homas-Lesinski Bill to provide in 1945 of their previous intimate national unity." full and adequate safeguards of collaboration. The government

the right to strike, which has been denounced the Stalinists for gravely undermined during and breaking with the Browder line. Duclos letter condemning Browder since the war. While the Stalinists complained

Compulsory cooling-off periods; that the government has departed fendants, he went on, acting in from the Roosevelt line.

seizure of industries solely to PROSECUTION'S LINE break strikes; bans on strikes of (Continued on page 3) Gohey, described Stalinist policy

for capital investment. Would the American people, of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchof their own free will and con-

ill. He quoted Browder's pledge sent, go to war for the profit pact members, each of them will to subordinate the class struggle and privilege of these parasites take "such action as it deems to the Teheran program of coland exploiters? Never. That's

laboration between all social why the people have not been classes. He characterized as a "deliberate choice in fundamental consulted. That's why the warformation of the Communist Polithe direct influence of the tical Association.

people. McGohey related how the Stal-If the people do not assert inists now on trial had called their will, if they permit the Browder's program "inspiring" most crucial of all questionsment and the Stalinists gave their campaign to convince the capital- war or peace-to be decided by own explanations for the rupture ists they were "serious about the profit-seekers, the militarists

and their political stooges, the world will go down in blood and Then in April 1945, the prosecutor told the jury, came the ruin.

for revisionism. The present dethemselves decide the question of war or peace. Let the people obedience to Duclos, expelled vote on whether they are to be Browder, repudiated his program, The prosecutor, John F. X. Mc- and reconstituted the Communist plunged into a world blood-

(Continued on Page 2) bath once more.

the parties is threatened." Article 5 provides that in case of an "armed attack" on any of the

won't be long.

meant the council could take action in case of an internal revolution in any of the countries. Yes, there would be consulta-(Continued on page 2)

FASCISTS, COLONIAL DESPOTS aims" the dissolution in 1944 of making power has been usurped in NEW IMPERIALIST LINE-UP

By Art Preis

Among the fascist dictatorships and colonial despotisms that American imperialism is lining up or has already lined up in its military alliance for the "defense of democracy" in a third

world war, are Spain, Portugal intimation that the United States. and Holland. will seek to include Spain in the Fascist Spain, where daily executions of opponents of Franco's alliance. In reply to a question on Spain, he emphasized that the regime continue ten years after

the Civil War, has not vet been present parties to the pact "may We can stop it, if the people formally invited to join the invite any country with certain qualifications," and that the sec-"democracies" in preparing war tion of the pact describing the against the Soviet Union. But it "democratic" qualifications for

membership "wasn't a bar." Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in his press conference on POLICY SHIFT the Atlantic Pact, gave a strong

More explicitly, Assistant Secrecary of State Dean Rusk on March 12 indicated to a meeting of the American Association for the United Nations that the State Department is moving for a major shift in policy toward Spain.

"He strongly implied that the United States will give vigorous halted, the danger of war would pact. If there is any more doubt of peace." Like the Marshall the statutes of the United Nasupport to a move at the forthcoming session of the UN General and again, citing chapter and Assembly to repeal the antiverse, that the Pact is completely Franco resolution of 1946." in conformity with the charter (Christian Science Monitor, March-15.) Rusk "made it clear. that

many of his official associates frowned on any continuation of the world organization's anti-Franco policy as an unrealistic program . . . that officials in

Washington believed that Madrid's Like the League of Nations be- Nationalist regime no longer con-

them away from the only real It is obvious that as soon as the struggle against war, the strug- U.S. State Department can effect

masters in the Kremlin. With one both institutions, imperialist will be the honored recipient of to shift from opposition to sup- only in order to line up war arms from the United States to bolster his shaky regime and

the planned assault on the Soviet

"Washington's war prepara- be lessened, if not eliminated on this question, listen to the Plan, it will become part of tions. Acheson has stated over completely, and the need for State Department White Paper "CIO Policy." STALINIST LIES engineer of the pact, who is also The Trotskyists were the only of the UN. Despite their vehement credited with being the author of

the Marshall Plan: "The North tendency who spoke the truth on denunciations of the Atlantic ers must oppose the Marshall ment, you accepted this version Atlantic Pact is a necessary com- the Marshall Plan, who predicted not depict the localistic accuracy its military aims and evolution. of Acheson's remarks. The North not denied the legalistic accuracy The Stalinists, principal opponents Atlantic Pact is the ripe fruit of of the plan in the unions, were the United Nations.

not less deceptive and misleading in opposition than their bureau- fore it, the UN has been nothing stituted a threat to the peace of cratic rivals were in support. The but a world swindle to deceive the world." (N. Y. Times, March Stalinists were against the plan war-weary people and to turn 13.) was accessible to those who want-

of the State Department were the diplomatic game of their gle against capitalism. Within a UN whitewash of Franco, he line up the labor movement be- amendment they were prepared powers jockeyed for positions an invitation to accept money and port: that is, that funds for alliances.

leaves little room for argument. It is clear as crystal today that change their position now that through the United Nations in-Union.

nittee, appealed for financial aid Marshall Plan was the club of the Plan have been so plainly re- the State Department. Why the don't trust the con-men in the Meanwhile, Wall Street has althe starving peoples of Europe. military alliance. Norway and vealed? That could be expected United Nations? Because, they ranks of labor who paint up the ready anticipated Washington's Novack spoke on the Kutcher By showering the good things Denmark were the latest to feel of honest men. But it can be lied again and again, it was the martial weapons and institutions approval and support of Franco case March 19 over UAW Radio of America on the needy masses, this impact of economic pressure. predicted that the labor leaders instrument for world peace. of the enemies of mankind as through the private loan of \$25 the Marshall Planners argued, the The thinly-disguised condition for will soon be ballyhooing the North Yet the North Atlantic Pact "instruments of peace." (Continued on page 2)



By George Clarke

tions and plans cover the entire globe. The ECA is simply a part large-scale rearmament would be issued by Acheson, the chief of U. S. imperialist economic, removed.

diplomatic and military interven-If you were in the labor movetion abroad. . . American work-

Plan no less vigorously than the of the Marshall Plan - or else. plement to the broad economic Taft-Hartley Law. Support of

The CIO became the scene of a coordination now proceeding the Marshall Plan would only fierce internal struggle which under the European Recovery strengthen the monopolists in victims of the loyalty purges their onslaught on American labor ended with purges and splits

aimed at ridding the unions of and their march to war." those who would not bind them-The statement above is taken selves to the elaborate war Marquart told his fellow-unionists from the resolution of the 13th preparations embodied in the Marshall Plan. You accepted the hat "if Kutcher can lose his job, National Convention of the Sowho is going to be next?" cialist Workers Party, held in lies of Murray, Reuther and Co. Schermer expressed his support July 1948. It was written at a or you were out of line with "CIO of Kutcher's defense, saying, time when the ears of American Policy."

'We must defend a man's right workers were ringing with the PACT AS "COMPLEMENT" to belong to an organization with-alibis and arguments of labor

leaders, Social Democrats and liberals in defense of the Marleaves little room for argument. shall Plan. To believe them, it was nothing but an elaborate relief program designed to feed

Program." None of this is new, as the resolution of the SWP Convention clearly indicates. The truth

ed to find it. But the lackeys only because it did not fit in with confuse and deceive - orders to hind American imperialism.

Will Murray, Reuther and Co. economic aid should be directed Once again the lesson has been provide another military base for behind the relief "carrot" of the the real aims of the Marshall stead of the agency set up by



The North Atlantic Pact now

Page Two

THE MILITANT

Labor Union Trends

KNOLL VS. REUTHER ON POLITICAL ACTION

By Bert Cochran

There are deep political currents at work today in the Amer- tion of Marxism-Leninism as a ican labor movement. The 1948 elections produced an impact doctrine of unrestrained violence, on the thinking of the workers that is far more profound than culminating in the physical exmany imagine. The ordinary rank 9-

and file unionist suddenly woke of the CIO's determination to up to the fact that the working | maintain an independent political class, if it willed, could put its | course, Mr. Kroll reported that people into the seats of govern- he had asked the CIO to send mental power. The broad mass of formal letters of commendation workers never believed that to 49 Republicans in the House possible before. of Representatives for joining

While Roosevelt was alive his with the Democratic majority in magnetic personality dominated voting to curb the powers of the the political field and obscured House Rules Committee." the class forces at work. Nobody As against this traditional CIO was sure who had the winning policy, Andrew J. Biemiller, New deck of cards. Truman's medio- Deal Democratic Congressman crity was the very thing that from Wisconsin, elected with DEFENSE PRESENTATION removed the scales from the PAC backing, urged the conworkingman's eyes. ference that labor go whole hog secretary, who has elected to

After the election, Truman remarked to newspapermen that election proved," he opined, "that made the main opening argument there were one million people in a genuine, liberal, non-communist for the Stalinists. He countered the United States who could do labor party is not necessary. . . McGoney's complaint that the line a better job as President than It proved that the Democratic Stalin agreed to at Teheran had he. Many people felt that, if Party has become the party to been broken, by accusing Truman anything, this was an under- which intelligent union men and of repudiating the line Roosevelt estimation. So, if labor could win women can and will rally." with Truman, it followed that it | REUTHER'S POSITION could win with pretty near any-The Times correspondent goes body.

Labor's prowess in getting out made it clear that they were not criticism of the administration's the vote and the effectiveness of in full accord with either Mr. domestic policy. But his main its quasi-political organizations, Kroll or Representative Biemil- complaint was directed against BUDENZ FIRST WITNESS the CIO-PAC and the AFL-LLPE, ler . . . there was a strong belief Truman's refusal to make a deal have convinced the labor bureau- among the UAW leadership that with Stalin and "build a strong cracy that they are pretty im- persistent efforts should be made, portant people and that the poli- in cooperation with the ADA and ticians had better start treating other labor and liberal organiza- deal is made the Stalinists will Party when it fused with the them with a little more attention tions, to win control of the make peace with Truman on the Trotskyist movement in December and respect, if they want to con- Democratic Party and force out domestic front, when he reminded its States' Rights wing. If this the government that they suptinue getting labor's support. The AFL and CIO big shots drive failed, increased attention ported Roosevelt for re-election have grounds for this cockiness. would have to be given to form- in 1944. They stand today at the pinnacle ing a coalition capable of startof their power. They head the two ing a 'third party."

most effective national vote-This position of Walter Reuthproducing political machines. | er's is the slant of the whole They are partners, in the for- Social Democratic wing of the midable alliance of the labor bureaucracy. This same thought movement and the New Deal is expressed even more clearly politicos inside the Democratic in a "Round Table Conference" Party. For years, these synthetic held Jan. 15 at the Hotel Carlton It was a set of circumstances heroes used to call themselves in Washington, D. C., attended such as we had here in 1947 that "labor statesmen." Now they acby various dignitaries of the brought about the labor parties tually are beginning to believe it. AFL, CIO, NAACP and the New in the other countries. The reac-

NUANCE OF DIFFERENCE Their very success in November, 1948 now puts the question to them most insistently: What to do next? Where do we go from here? The masses who voted for the Democratic Party expect the Democratic Party long enough!" promises to be carried out, they expect to see the victory translated into understandable terms of dollars and cents. The labor fakers know in their hearts that the title of "Political Director" it." this is easier said than done. Hence, the squirming, the soulsearching, the many gabby seminars and round-table discussions of the labor bureaucrats and the New Dealers to try to

Stalinists on Trial Plead War Role ATLANTIC PACT'S AIMS

(Continued from page 1) |"enemies" were, but the record@ Party to "advocate Marxismis clear enough on that score. Leninism.

THE CP's ENEMIES "Remember that phrase, Marx-The Stalinists defended the ism-Leninism!" McGohey warned government against the "enemy" the jury; whereupon he launched coal miners, fighting to smash into a typical prosecutor's descripthe wage - freezing Little Steel formula. They finked on the 'enemy" auto, rubber, packing and other workers, fighting as termination of all opponents. McGohey's description of Marxbest they could against the nostrike pledge and the speedup. ism-Leninism isn't the only false Dennis and his gang supported picture he gave the jury. It is the jailing of thousands of conequally false to refer to the scientious objectors opposed to leaders of the Communist Party the draft. They sabotaged the as Marxists-Leninists. They are Stalinists, who at all times serve struggle of the Negro people for social, economic and political the interests of the Kremlin. equality. regardless of the cost to the

The Stalinists cheered when workers. While true Marxist-Leninists at all times serve the the government jailed 18 Trotinterests of the working people skyists in the first thought-control prosecution under the Smith and no other interests. Act. They slandered the Trotskyists as "agents of Hitler" for Eugene Dennis, CP general saying that the war would not bring peace to the world, that into the Democratic Party. "The defend himself without a lawyer, t would be used by the capitalists to undermine living standards

and attack civil rights. All these and many more acts of treachery against the labor movement have been committed by the Stalinists in their collaboration with the capitalist gov-

Dennis sought to garnish his ernment. But the judge told Denprotest against Truman's foreign nis, "You can't explain away the on to report that "UAW leaders policy with the current Stalinist charges against you by telling of all the good things you did." Louis F. Budenz, the first government witness, is now on the stand. Budenz was a leading mem-United Nations organization." He intimated that if such a ber of the American Workers 1934. Here is James P. Cannon's succinct description of Budenz in the History of American Trotkyism:

"On April 1, 1945 we were all-"He had been a social worker to begin with. His interest in the out in support of the government against the Axis," Dennis whined. labor movement for years was the Stalinists before a grand We upheld the government that of student - observer and publisher of a subsidized magazine committee, or in the courts. against its domestic as well as

which gave advice to the workers its foreign enemies." He didn't but represented no organized Budenz to testify against Wilexplain who those domestic movement. Eventually, through liam Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, the medium of the Conference

for Progressive Labor Action, he and to introduce in evidence the became engaged for the first time in the mass movement for which he unquestionably had consider-Deal crowd. Joseph Lash, re- tionaries got in, and the labor able talents. presenting the New Republic, people felt the only solution was

"Mass work is hard work and favored the same kind of policy to go into politics and elect it devours many people. By 1934 as Biemiller: "It is about time candidates in order to impose that the liberal groups and labor | their point of view. All of us background or education, was a groups married the girl. They are committed to the free enter-100 percent patriot, three-fourths a Stalinist, tired and somewhat have been going out with the prise system. We like it, but if the Democratic Party does not sick and looking for a chance to In reply to Lash, Gus Tyler, realize that it has a responsibility, sell out."

remembered by some as a former then you are going to have a In 1935 Budenz joined the Com-'militant" of the Norman Thomas | labor party [horror of horrors!] munist Party and during the next Socialist Party and now gracing and everything that goes with ten years held posts as labor editor of the Daily Worker; editor of the International Ladies Gar-| The younger, more pushy crew of the Midwest Daily Record, ment Workers, presented the of bureaucrats associated with Stalinism's "gift" to the peoples' of Washington's backing for the position of Dubinsky and the ILG Walter Reuther are putting their front; and finally as managing hierarchy: "Labor does not wish amended CIO policy into practice. editor of the Daily Worker. to tie its future up irrevocably In Michigan, the CIO is trying-



The army disregarded this Hands Off-Army Brass sign and forcibly smashed a stay-in strike of 143 members of the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards on the Marine Jumper. The strike was in protest against Truman's directive transferring 11 ships to army control under which the unions are out and 3,000 seamen are losing their jobs.

framed up and eventually mur- Record folded up from loss of side direction" formula, could be dered all the surviving members circulation soon after the Stalin- done in France or Italy or any of Lenin's Central Committee. Hitler pact was signed. A big other country where the majority In his book, This Is My Story, argument followed as to whether of the people rebelled against Budenz tells how he aided Stalin's secret police when they were bearing on the indictment. Mc- to establish a workers and farmpreparing to assassinate Leon Trotsky in Mexico. line at the time of the pact dis-He stayed with the Stalinists proved Dennis' sweeping claim while they were all-out for the that the Stalinists had conwar, but finally broke with them sistently supported Roosevelt with in October 1945 after the ex-"criticism on some points." pulsion of Browder.

The prosecutor has read to the Thereafter he joined the jury page after page of the 'atholic Church and now teaches program of the Sixth Congress, economics at Fordham University, which is crammed full of the when he isn't testifying against ultra-leftist phraseology of "Third Period" Stalinism.

jury, loyalty board, Congressional There was more than a touch So far the prosecutor has used of irony when McGohey read passages on united front tactics as I sat within a few feet of the Jack Stachel and Gilbert Green, Stalinists, who have rejected the Socialist Workers Party's offer of program adopted by the Sixth a united front to fight for repeal Congress of the Communist Inof the Smith Act and in defense

Budenz said the Midwest Daily of its latest victims.



12 Nation, "Portuguese rebels (Continued from page 1) million recently extended him by cisappear more discreetly the Chase National Bank, with doomed to a slow death on islands other loans under negotiation. of which people outside of Por-This is a risk no American bank | tugal have never heard."

would take without the certainty Early this year, Salazar decided bankrupt Franco regime.

"democracy" to give Washington Another fascist dictatorship a basis for justifying Portugal's the Congress alone has the power that has been every bit as bestial membership in the United Nations to declare war."

tion, Acheson replied. In his actions in the pact council and opinion, "purely internal revolutionary activity would not be regarded as an armed attack; a greater weight in initiating war revolutionary activity inspired, armed, directed from outside, nowever, was a different matter," The important thing here is

not the diplomatic reservation pact. about revolutionary activity from this pact the participating governments assume the power to infrom "outside.")

Article 4, Greece, if it was a send armed forces there to put down the opponents of the regime. The same thing, under the "out- participating in the decision.

the Stalin-Hitler pact had any their capitalist rulers and sought Gohev asserted that the Stalinist ers government. And even if all the pact members would not intervene in such situations, it is obvious that the governments getting arms from the U.S. will use them against

> "purely internal" revolutionary movements at home, or in their colonies. 'FREEDOM OF THE AIR" Equally ominous were Acheson's ticularly about the conditions could be initiated. A reporter asked if "an attack on aircraft lying over Soviet territory into

> > of the pact.

make any difference where it occurred. United States entry into World Wars I and II was hastened by the assertion of her right to "freedom of the seas"to send ships wherever she pleased. The same thing is of "freedom of the air."

The pact pays its respects to Acheson took special pains to stress that it would not commit to put up enough of a show of the U.S. to "automatic" war

The only ones who can block because "under our constitution, the war drive are the people of the United States and Europethe workers and farmers who will

-- WAR, DICTATORSHIPS (Continued from page 1) and the State Department, whose

whose power to send U. S. troops abroad would have twenty times than a subsequent decision by Congress, which could only have a rubber-stamp character because of the "obligations" under the

Support of two-thirds of the 'outside," but the fact that under Senators voting will be needed for U. S. ratification of the pact. (Thus a smaller proportion of the tervene when revolutions threaten Senate is required to approve a or take place. "Purely internal" fateful decision to drag the Amerrevolutions usually are, can, and ican people into atomic war than under this pact surely will be is needed to stop a filibuster denounced as foreign-instigated. against civil rights legislation -(Remember, for example, that where a two-thirds vote of the when the Dutch imperialists at- entire Senate is now needed.) tacked the Indonesian Republic a There is little doubt that the few months ago, they called it necessary votes for the pact will communist movement instigated be forthcoming in short order. (War is far more popular in the Acheson also noted that under 81st Congress than civil rights.) The members of Congress seem nember of the pact, could ask for quite willing to grant the warhelp and the other members could making powers to the White House, provided they can retain the face-saving formality of

ARMS PLAN NEXT

The pact itself contains no provisions on when or how or how much U. S. aid will be given to expansion of European armaments and military forces. But, is Acheson explained, the U.S. is the only power with the resources to rearm western Europe, and 'therefore, we expect to ask the Congress to supply our European partners some of the weapons and equipment. . . " Estimated costs for the first year are over one billion dollars.

This move is not as popular in Congress as the pact itself. That eplies to other questions, par- is why the arms plan has been separated from the pact; as a under which a third world war separate measure only a majority vote will be needed for its enactment. But after all, sending the arms is a logical consequence of Berlin" would be considered an the pact, just as the pact itself is armed attack within the meaning a logical consequence of the Marshall Plan, and it is highly It would, Acheson answered, unlikely that the present bi-

emphasizing that it wouldn't partisan Congress would do anything to block it. WHO CAN BLOCK WAR? Capitalist politicians certainly. cannot be depended on to oppose either the pact or its consequences pecause in the last analysis all threatened by this new assertion of them are committed to a war

tc preserve or restore the capitalist system throughout the world. constitutional processes" and and all of them support increased armament production as a means of staving off a catastrophic cepression at home.

be sweated to pay for the whole

figure out what to do. This uneasiness about what the future holds has already produced a small rift. a nuance of difference inside the top ranks of the labor bureaucracy itself.

The National PAC leadership under the direction of Philip Murray wants to continue doing CAN THEY RESTRAIN business in the same old way at LABOR? the same old stand. Jack Kroll.

The capitalist propagand-

ists say there is no military

defense against the atom

bomb. They picture America's

cities levelled to radioactive

ruins in the war now being

prepared.

with the still amorphous Demo- not without success-to capture cratic Party. A considerable sec- the Democratic Party. The Feb. tion of labor believes that if the 28 Detroit Free Press gives the Democratic Party does not deliver | new Reuther strategy a big front - in terms of legislative per- page write-up under the title, formance — then there will be a "Gus Scholle Holds Reins in worthwhile movement in the CIO's Bid for Political Power; direction of a new party."

Joseph Keenan, Director of the National PAC Director, outlined AFL Labor's League for Polithe policy most recently before tical Education, whose position is the UAW Education Conference the same as that of Kroll and held a few weeks ago in Mil- Murray, expressed the fear of the waukee. As reported in the Jan. bureaucracy that they may not 22 N. Y. Times, he declared "that be able to hold the labor ranks the CIO would not try to to the present line. At the capture either the Democratic "Round Table" he stated: "You or Republican Party. . . As proof have only to go back to Europe.

THERE IS A DEFENSE

AGAINST THE BOMB!

Victory of Governor Williams Gives 'Operation Scholle' Fast Start." (Scholle is President of

agreed to at Yalta.

the Michigan CIO and Reuther's henchman in state politics.) "Many CIO leaders," the article reports, "believe Scholle may have hit on the magic formula to bring them a string of victories." And what is this magic formula? "It's Scholle's unqualified avowal that hereafter he will work exclusively within the Democratic Party and

will back only Democrats for

office." The article further states that the National CIO apparently told Reuther - what else could they do? - to go ahead with his scheme in Michigan. "After the purge [of the Stalinists]," we are informed, "Scholle served his ultimatum on Kroll. Kroll and CIO President Murray finally told Scholle to go ahead and marry

to be tried in other states." What does all this add up to? Let us keep in mind that the labor movement possesses right here and now the organizational structure for a mass labor party; that if the leaders wanted to, they could give the word today, and no additional organizational effort would be required to set up a big party of the working class. The Reuther policy of infiltrating the Democratic Party and throwing labor's weight around in more aggressive fashion is simply hastening an irreparable cleavage inside the Democratic Party between the Peoples Front liberallabor coalition and the traditional political servitors of Big Business. And as the superbly organized American working class becomes disillusioned with Democratic Party politics and begins moving massively to the next political stage, the very least Reuther and the other bureaucrats and all their New Deal hangers-on - in order to maintain their leadership may even have to hitch their star to a new political party plenty lavish in its promises of a better world for the working masses.

Upon joining th signed a statement denouncing as Franco's and, in fact, provided and inclusion in the forthcoming Trotskyism with all the conven- him with a model, has already Atlantic Pact. He permitted optional Stalinist slanders. He re- been invited to join Washington's position to himself in an election lated today how the defendant, war alliance. That is the clerical Jack Stachel, took him to task fascist regime of Dictator Salazar enormous response to the liberal because his statement did not of Portugal. Since 1926, when Salazar's coup

ternational in 1928.

praise sufficiently the "beloved leader and teacher," Stalin. abolished the democratic parlia-

That little session with Stachel mentary system, the Portuguese was only the first step in his people have lived under the iron Stalinist education that was to heel. The U. S. capitalist press states that Salazar was so scared prepare him for his present has given little publicity to at first, he was preparing to services to the Washington-Salazar's crimes - and Salazar retire, but was advised against Vatican alliance. has not gone in for the spectacle

Fourth

Contents for April

Marxism and Democracy.....by Ernest Germain

Budenz defended the Moscow of public executions, as in Spain. Frials through which Stalin As Del Vayo wrote in the March

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM But, he added immediately, the for the first time in 23 years. The

opposition candidate, 82-year old General Norton de Mattos, so frightened Salazar that he "persuaded" Mattos to withdraw the day before the election. Del Vayo in carrying out treaties."

this by the American embassy in Lisbon. "His friends in the embassy are said to have convinced him that this was no time for democratic experiments in a country of such great strategic importance to the Western powers," reports Del Vayo. Imperialist Holland, butcher of the Indonesian Republic, is an original member of the Atlantic Pact. Dutch officials have expressed their satisfaction with the pact, particularly that section the signatory governments against internal revolutionary activity "inspired from outside." A spokesman for Foreign Minister D. U. Stikker revealed that "wide latitude purposely was given in the wording of this article 'because you never know where danger will crop up'." (N. Y.

Times, March 19.) 6 The Dutch monarchy has already received or had earmarked for it more than \$900 million in U. S. funds and arms under the ERP. Even the American capitalist press was forced to criticize the use of these funds for the bloody assault on Indonesia, particularly after the Dutch govtion. G. H. reports that four comernment renewed its war against the Indonesians fighting for naand got six subscriptions. "We tional independence. Now the Dutch imperialists are the beneficiaries of a pact that assures them a great increase in American arms and the promise of direct military aid in the event of sure that at least 200 delegates "attack" both from the outside got copies of The Militant. Durand "internal revolution . . . ining the meeting many delegates spired from the outside."

'were calling each other's atten-The inclusion of Holland in the tion to things it said, and this pact, the invitation to Portugal, continued in some cases while and the preparations to invite Walter Reuther was making his Spain are three clear tokens of speech." the true aims of this new military alliance — an alliance not copies of the March 7 issue and Buffalo who contributed \$5 to to bring peace and democracy 10 of the March 14, the ones "con- | help repair the damage caused by to the world, but to crush it taining Bert Cochran's analysis of the fire a few weeks ago in our under capitalist dictatorship. the United Electrical Workers offices.

project through higher taxes; U. S. would be "bound to take promptly the action which we their butter if they permit the who will have to give up some of ieemed necessary to restore and capitalists to build more guns; maintain security in the North who will be asked to surrender Atlantic area. . . This is not a more and more of their liberties legalistic question. It is a question if the ruling class is permitted we have frequently faced, the to have its way in dictating the question of faith and principle conditions of political life to the

whole world; and who in the end Acheson was talking out of will be ordered to serve as cannonboth sides of his mouth - one of fodder in a war they never wanted the specialties of capitalist and were never consulted about. diplomacy — but he cannot cover Their voice must be raised now. up the fact that by approving the their energies aroused, to prevent pact, Congress would in effect mass murder and reaction on a transfer the real war - making scale never before witnessed in powers into the hands of Truman human affairs.



which provides for U. S. aid to Agents Report Plans Union," G. W. specifies. To Increase Number the Socialist Workers Party **Of 'Militant' Readers** R. B., our literature agent in Boston, writes that "all the com-

als begins next week.

Milwaukee is like-

good faith."

sales." rades are enthusiastic about the New York's Literature Agent, recent issues of The Harry Gold, reports that 70 Mili-Militant. We are considering a sub tants were sold in the past week. 48 of them on college campuses. drive to get more In addition, 13 copies of Fourth readers locally." International, the monthly maga-J. C. of Flint inzine of American Trotskyism. forms us that "Our were sold. campaign for renew-

W. N. writes us from St. Paul that a member of the Jehovah's Here is one to show Witnesses called "to get as many copies as we had left" of the issue telling about the murder of wise moving into acone of their members by the Greek rades went out over the week end government because his religious beliefs barred him from fighting are just getting started again to in the armed forces. "He declined distribute the paper at local un- a sub to The Militant, however. ion meetings." At a UAW-CIO He said, 'The things you stand Educational Conference held in for are all right, but isn't it fool-Milwaukee in January, L. G. made | ish to work so hard for something you'll never get?' Our representative in headquarters answered him that if this were true, 'you're just as foolish, because you're swimming against the stream too.'

Joy C. of Chicago writes that

branch there is moving to the

Loop, the center of town, and ex-

pects a resulting "increase of

And thanks to Jack L. of New York who sent us \$1 to help pub-Pittsburgh ordered 10 extra lish The Militant; and to C. M. of

Democracy by William F. Warde Wobbly Apostate (Book Review). . by V. R. Dunne



"The Talented Tenth" Negro Leadership and Civil Rights.by J. Meyer Starvation Ahead? An Answer to the Prophets of Famine by A. Gilbert The Meaning of Hegel by George Plekhanov Destruction of Indian Communal Stalin Switches Slogans by N. Pablo

> Editorials: Filibuster: "Fair Deal's" First Test The North Atlantic Pact Stalin Shuffles the Command Another Impotent Maneuver A "Suppressed" Document

months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

Name City State...... State.....

🗇 \$1 Six months. 🗋 \$2 Full year. 📋 \$4 in combination with Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. (Fourth International alone is \$2.50. You save 50c.)



Now on Sale International the Democratic Party. . . If it succeeds in Michigan, it's bound

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1914 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar.

Vol. XIII - No. 13

TROTSKY

THE MILITA Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Monday, March 28, 1949

LENIN

editorials.

Bundle Orders (5 or more

copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c

each in foreign countries.

tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its

Signed articles by contribu-

"There is no epoch in human history so saturated with antagonisms as ours. Under a too high tension of class and international animosities, the 'fuses' of democracy 'blow out.' Hence the short circuits of dictatorship. Naturally the weakest 'interrupters' are the first to give way. But the force of internal and world controversies does not weaken: it grows. It is doubtful if it is destined to calm down, given that the process has so far taken hold of the periphery of the capitalist world. Gout begins in the little fingere of a hand or in the big toe, but once on the way it goes right to the heart."

Leon Trotsky, Article in New Republic, 1929

Truman's Weird Alibis

Truman has offered some weird alibis about the beating his promised "Fair Deal" program is taking in Congress. Everybody's to blame; it seems; but the Democrats.

Take the question of rent control. Who's responsible for the crippling amendments already passed by the House and the Senate?

The "real estate lobby," says Truman, in the only "explanation" he has offered to date. Now, it's true that the landlords and rent sharks are putting a lot of heat on down in Washington. But they don't do the voting.

When the House voted 246 to 31 to write into the rent law a guarantee of a "reasonable return" on the "reasonable value" of a landlord's property, that vote included an overwhelming majority of Democrats, North and South. The House amendment to empower state and local governments to abolish rent controls in their areas passed 227 to 188and it was the vote of 77 registered Democrats that was decisive in passing this amendment to virtually destroy federal rent control. In

them Southerners either-cast the decisive votes to give local governments power, with the consent of their state governors, to remove controls. Thus, a majority or substantial minority of the Democrats has/approved every action so far in Congress to destroy rent controls. As for the debacle of the administration's

the Senate, 19 Democrats-and not all of

attempts to halt the anti-civil rights filibuster, did good dues-paying Democrats have anything to do with that? No, that's all the fault of "state's righters" who have "imposed a third party system on the country," says Truman .The records show, however, that 29 out of 44 voting Democrats supported the "compromise" closure rule that now makes it more difficult than ever to halt a Senate filibuster. And that's clear majority.

The Democrats as a party, whom Truman leads, bear the chief responsibility for what's happening to the "Fair Deal."

Devotedly Yours in Christ"

Francis Cardinal Spellman, the Roman Catholic Prince of strikebreakers, last week spent \$17,875 for a special act of Christian Charity. He sent individual checks of \$65 as "gifts to the families" of 275 Catholic cemetery workers whose strike for a 40-hour week he had smashed by personally mobilizing and directing seminary students as strikebreakers.

His Eminence, in a form letter to the defeated strikers, expressed the view that "undoubtedly" the eight weeks they had been on strike had caused them "many hardships" which so touched his heart that he was enclosing a check for the amount of a week's pay. He invoked God's blessing on them "this Eastertide" and signed himself "devotedly yours in Christ."

The publicity the Cardinal got for this gesture of forgiveness and Christian Charity was easily worth twice the price-although he got bigger headlines for nothing when he was demonstrating to employers how to improve their strikebreaking technique by doing

posed on them when he broke their strike? Will scab-herder Cardinal Spellman purchase their gratitude for \$65? Or will it remind them of the hardship and suffering they and their families were forced to endure for eight weeks because of the greedy, reactionary stand of the Catholic hierarchy? Let the voice of the April Catholic Worker, publication of the small liberal Catholic Worker Movement, speak for these men:

"It is all yesterday's news now, those strikers who had to drop their life insurance because they couldn't meet payments, the ones with savings dissipated, the rent owed, the vacation money laboriously put by and now swallowed up in the paying of bills owed to the butcher and the grocer. The striker whose only child, a boy of sixteen was dying of a chronic kidney complaint, too ill to be moved to the hospital and who needed money desperately for food, medicine, doctor bills, rent, who still stuck with his union and refused to scab. The striker with seven hungry children who said to us, 'In the name of God. how can they keep saying that burying the dead is a work of mercy and we should be satisfied to take less and I've got seven kids to feed? Feeding my kids is work of mercy enough for me and it takes more than what they're giving me to do it on.' And the shamefaced seminarians, surrounded by heavy police guards, who drove through the picket line to help break the strike, past signs in the hands of the strikers that read, 'Is Calvary the Graveyard of Catholic Social Lustice?" No, \$65 won't pay the men and their families for this, nor buy for strikebreaker Spellman and the Catholic hierarchy the respect of decent men and women. For selfrespecting working people, his "Christian charity" is neither Christian nor charitable. It is the final insulting cruelty-the salt rubbed on the raw wound,

TO

The Unknown Soldier and the Legless Vet

By Theodore Kovalesky

Looking toward the Potomac, it stands white and simple. Into its marble are cut words. "Here rests in honored glory an American soldier known but to God."

They gathered his ruined bones. from a grave in France that bore sion barges and bullets and no name. They crated him and bombs. Always the feeling, first shipped him back, and generals poignant, then dull: "Is my name and admirals and politicians made on the next one? Then Italy and more invasion

speeches and said the Unknown barges. More steel and iron split-Soldier had died to make the world safe for democracy, for freedom ting its way through the air, gouging furrows and pits in the land, splashing explosions of

They took Jimmy Kutcher spray out of the ocean. (How ("From the President of the Unitmany will get it this time? Whose d States, Greetings: ... ") and names are on these?) What did he think? Jimmy

they put a uniform on him and Kutcher was drafted into the war gave him a gun and taught him to kill. They jammed him onto a of imperialism, but he was a volship with a thousand, five thouunteer in the class struggle. The army took him, with ten million sand others (he never counted others and wrenched him out of hem, they were everywhere, on the life he knew, tore him from the decks, in the head, down in the fight he loved. He was there the dark, stinking holes where with ten million others. . . but they slept packed together)' and what a lot of them wondered took him where the killing was about, he knew. He knew why the good. war was being fought. He knew

Jimmy Kutcher didn't want to go. He was like a million other it was a contest between rival men who didn't want to go. He groups of capitalists, that the workers would suffer and die and didn't want to kill anybody. (Today they say he wants to overbe oppressed no matter which side throw the government by "force won. He knew that his fight was not the imperialist struggle but and violence," but he hated war, he hated force and violence, and the class struggle. they took him and they taught

Would he ever again see his comrades? Would he once more nim force and violence like ten million other men, and they made take his place with them, organizing, building, fighting for a him go.) He was a Socialist, he better world, the world of Sobelonged to the Socialist Workers cialism? Or would there be a Party and believed in the brothergrave for him far from home hood of man. He believed in the solidarity of workers of all lands. a letter to his parents?

But they drafted him, and when they called his number, he went. Fort Bragg, Algiers, Sicily, Italy He told his parents goodbye. . . San Pietro. . . You're born He sweated through basic trainwith legs. You walk. You run. ing. He learned what they had to When you crack your shin or teach him. (You don't just kill a sprain your ankle, then you know man. You don't just decide to do you've got legs. But otherwise it and then go ahead. You have to you never give them a thought. know how to hold the gun. You You've got them. You're supposed don't pull the trigger, you squeeze to have them, so you walk and it. When you sight, you suck in you run, and you never give them your breath, let out a little, then hold it so you're steady. You have ed and ran at home. He walked, to know your bayonet drill.) Then he ran at Fort Bragg, in Algiers, walked and ran. Dreams were that after a while they packed him in Sicily and up into Italy... up onto a ship to take him where to San Pietro. But that was where fused to get used to a body with- idly in a world of racial oppreshe could use the knowledge he he stopped. That was where he ad gained. left his legs. * * *

What is there to say? How First there was the invasion of describe it? The shock, the sud- to wear for dress. Then they sent | warfare. So the brass hat lieuten-Algiers. Then Sicily, more inva- den wild force, the human body him home again, because he ants of the capitalists struck at

The Liberals Help or

Reader Criticizes Our Attitude to **Liberal Politicians** Editor:

useless condemning and slander- Administration are out to fool placed by socialism. Imperialist ing of innocent people, and to the Negroes and any politician wars must be opposed. Eighteen change its strategy. Send some who does not make that clear is of our leaders went to jail for of your committees to Washing- fooling the Negroes too. ton and confer with Adam Powell POWELL AND TRUMAN and other liberal - minded. Con-

As one who has studied Social- gressmen and help to pass some Vito Marcantonio and Henry ism and also the present social of the bills the people need. If Wallace said that very thing in and sharecroppers, the Negroes, bring even greater tyranny. Yours conditions pertaining to the Negro you do this, the people will come the last election and sought votes to know you and your program for a new party. Mr. Banks can't youth. The workers must lead it. a straight civil answer from your better and in the next election have it both ways. If Vito Mar-

this during the last war. These capitalist parties must be re-But, Mr. Banks may point out. placed by a great mass party of the workers, the small farmers tion to prevent it, tomorrow will

Without legs you don't just

him, tried to break his spirit.

threw him out of his job. Jimmy Kutcher had dangerous ideas, dangerous thoughts. He didn't deny that he believed all men are born equal and have certain inalienable rights, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He believed in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And therefore he believed in revolution. (It was a "crime" to fight for freedom in 1776, and it's a "crime" in 1949: that's why they fired Jimmy Kutcher.)

So what has the grateful government done for the man who lost his legs in the burst of a mortar shell? They have given him a hearing or two. They let him present his case. But their minds were made up. Attorney General Tom Clarke had decreed that the Socialist Workers Party, the party of Jim Kutcher, the party of all of today's freedom fighters, was subversive. (A veteran of their war? Lost his legs? Ribbons, battle stars, and a Purple Heart? So what? The man has dangerous thoughts. So give him his walking papers - and out with him!)

In 1921 they bundled together few sticks of dusty rot that used to be a man and placed them in a gleaming tomb looking toward the smooth Potomac, as a souvenir of World War I.

They tried to make the Unknown Soldier the symbol of the First World War. . . and if death and the destruction of youthful bodies was what they meant, they succeeded.

They never intended to make Jimmy Kutcher a symbol of today. . . but they've done that anyway. For by throwing Jimmy Kutcher out of a job for his political beliefs they have thrown a glaring light like a railroad flare onto the darkness, oppression and persecution, tyranny and reaction that is America today in 1949. James Kutcher, formerly of the United States Army, lately of the Veterans Administration, is a warning, an alarm signal. In his speech and in his silence, limping from place to place on artificial limbs, leaning on two canes, or lying on a hospital cot, he is a hundering voice that cries out to all the workers, all the poor:

"Beware of what is happening o the last shreds of freedom you till think you have. The day is here when your political freedoms are going and even your freedom of thought and conscience is being torn from you. The government machinery reaches even into your mind and seeks to punish you for what it finds there. And unless you act with courage and resoluis the power to create a world of liberty. If you do not use this power, you will awaken one bright

fectant and death and the sounds walk into a place and go to work. of pain and death, and the realiza-The steel plants, the shops, the tion that he no longer had legs. shippers and truckers don't want (Phantom feet under the flattened legless men. So the grateful govblanket, cold, uncomfortable feet ernment found him a job as a \$40 that weren't there but felt cold all a week file clerk in the Veterans the same. And dreams at night Administration. when he walked and ran and was Only that's not the end of the a thought. Jimmy Kutcher walk- just another man, just a man like story. Jimmy Kutcher was a vetany of the other ten million that eran, but he wasn't a Republican way a long time: the mind re- or a Democrat. He didn't stand by

out legs.) A grateful government

laws of gravity, the agony, the 1945.

hospital with the smell of disin-

sion without lifting his voice. He wouldn't go his way silently while thanked him, gave him another Wall Street laid plans for atomic ribbon for his chest and a medal





JAMES KUTCHER

grown light and flung beyond the | wasn't useful any more. That was

it in the name of "religion" and "Christian morality," particularly the Roman Catholic hierarchy's variety.

Does the bread on the tables of the cemetery workers taste sweeter now that it is flavored with this honey of Christian Charity? Or does it taste bitter from the gall of the thought that the one who forced them to strike, who caused them the loss of eight weeks' pay, is now tossing them a crust in "mercy?" Does it choke in their throats when they think how the Cardinal has made a good bargain in exchanging \$65 worth of Christian Charity for the time-and-a-half pay on Saturdays of which he has deprived them every week and which would have brought their weekly pay to \$77 instead of the \$64.35 they now receive for the straighttime 48-hour week which the Cardinal im-

STAND

(Continued from page 1)

principles of Marx and Lenin and thousand votes. your views on certain political leaders of the fight to help the minority groups and the masses

in general. To begin with, for the past six months your paper has continually denounced and slandered Really Stand For such outstanding militant fighters as Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Henry Wallace and a few others.

Now if Lenin was living today, behalf of the Negro, why should in the name of good common sense I just can't imagine him fighting against outstanding men as these who have made sacrifices to defend the peoples' rights. Even if Lenin could not accept them politically, he would speak do, and our central argument is a good word for them and give as simple as Banks'. We believe writes as a man acquainted with them credit for what they have and we can show that the total radical politics. He must know done.

Take Henry Wallace, a man who went into the Southland and tion for the President to invoke interpretation, then dangerous fought the Dixiecrats word for government employees; threats to his claim of "inherent power" to precedents will have been estab- word and took the worst of in-

> rates, hours of work and general Take Vito Marcantonio, a man the ban may be extended to all St. hear him expose and condemn race haters and labor haters in Congress and defend and help the To secure full protection of the Puerto Ricans and Negroes of his paper says he is?

the original Wagner Act with the Take Congressman Adam Powell. A few weeks ago your people have been betrayed once perialism. Where do you stand, paper, branded him in the most more. 1. There shall be no restrichumiliating way and said he was

people in Harlem. Do you know collectively, strike and picket. fought for many anti-Jim Crow 2. It shall be unlawful for any agency of government to restrict, restrain or deny the right to

3. If a corporation in any basic tics and economic affairs. I do industry or public utility should not agree with him on just every- shouts, the more often he gets a that is so, then the first thing is

E. Banks.

Answer Shows What Powell and Wallace The central argument of E.

Banks is simple. Inasmuch as Congressman Powell, Congressman Marcantonio and Henry Wallace are fighting actively on the Trotskyists "denounce" and VITAL WAR QUESTION

"slander" them? To begin with, the Trotskyists do not slander anyone. But denounce" them we certainly Where do they stand on a vital effect of the political activities Vito Marcantonio is a stooge of of people like Powell, Marcan- the Communist Party and the tonio and Wallace is harmful to Kremlin. When Hitler and Stalin the Negro people.

For proof, take the present cantonio denounced Britain and situation of civil rights. A sub- the United States as imperialist stantial majority of the people and tried to stir up the American in the United States today are masses against the government. ready to support civil rights bills As soon as Hitler attacked for Negroes. But Congress, Demo- Stalin, Marcantonio changed and crats, Republicans and the Tru- denounced all who opposed the man administration are playing war. Now today Marcantonio is politics with civil rights and the once more denouncing American filibuster. Congress and the imperialism because it is mobiliz-Roosevelt administration did the ing for war against the Soviet same. The Chicago Defender, the Union. Wallace, on the other Amsterdam News, and the Pitts- hand, denounces American im-Walter White are now bitterly when the war begins he will be bewailing the fact that the Negro on the side of American im-

Mr. Banks? Now the Trotskyists say this: We can tell you where a conspirator against the Negro that any politician who claims stand: we denounce American im-

to represent the Negro people and perialism, and we say that any this man has introduced and the masses and does not tell them war upon which it enters is a openly and bluntly that this reactionary war, helping to and pro-labor bills in Congress? capitalist Congress and the destroy civilization and bringing Adam Powell cannot do more capitalist administration are play- torment and ruin to tens of milthan he has done. Harlem is not ing politics with Negro rights lions. And all who say otherwise an organized community and only and will always play politics with we denounce. You say that only a small section of the people are Negro rights, is a misleader of a small section of the people have active and civic - conscious and the people, and we shall denounce any understanding in politics and have any understanding of poli- him as such, day in or day out. economics. We don't think you In fact, the more loudly he are correct, but at any rate, if the people and deserves much the more dangerous he is. He those who tell them otherwise.

about fundamental things. This we learned from Lenin. The Democratic Party, the First things come first. The SWP to do is just stop so much Republican Party, the Truman capitalist system must be re-

paper on the relation between the you might get more than a few cantonio and Henry Wallace are to these interminable wars, right because they say that the guarantee workers' rights, Negro rights. And who ever tries to tell Democratic Party and the Repu-Harlem, N. Y. blican Party are fooling the workers and Negroes that they Negroes, then he has got to will get their rights otherwise 'denounce" Congressman Powell. we denounce as a fool or a faker. For either Congressman Powell That is Trotskyism. That is not all we say. Trotdoes not know that the Democratic Party and President Truman are skyists support a federal anti- to the hell-holes of fascism, with fooling the people, and if this is lynching bill, we support a na-

so he is unfit to represent the tional FEPC, we are for the Negro masses; or else Congress- abolition of Jim Crow, root and man Powell knows this and does branch, we are for the abolition There is no other choice." not say so, which means that he of Taft - Hartley. Whoever is is equally unfit to represent the seriously fighting for these Negroes, in Harlem or anywhere. things, with them we will fight. whether they agree with us on

fundamentals or not. As a regular Now about Congressman Marreader of our paper, Mr. Banks cantonio and Henry Wallace. knows that. But the Trotskyists will denounce and combat all who question such as war? Mr. Banks write and speak lies and nonsense about fundamental questions, such as war, or tell the people that Congress and the Truman administration will abolish Jim Crow. That is where we stand were allies in the last war, Mar-Mr. Banks. Where do you stand J. Meyer,

morning and find yourselves in a hell of despotism that you cannot today imagine. What has happened to me will happen to you and then to others. First, thought control; n e x t, concentration camps. First, firing; next, firing squads. We have come to a fork in the road. One direction leads its secret police and tyranny; the other will take us to the sunny fields and clean cities of Socialism.

Available in French La Verite - Feb. 15, 1949 - 10c Latest issue La Verite - March 1, 1949 - 10c Quatrieme Internationale Jan.-Feb. 50c E. Germain: Two Years of Eastern Europe P. Frank: Evolution of Centrism in France — and others. Order from **Pioneer Publishers** 116 University Place

New York, N. Y.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY NEW HAVEN - 6 Church St., Room

AKRON - 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m. 311. Telephone; 7-8780. Open Wed. an Fri., 8-10:30 p. m. Literature available.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m. BALTIMORE-1121 E. Baltimore St. 3rd floor, front. Phone WOIfe 9321M, Open daily 5-9 p.m. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale. BIgel NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)-116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149, LAST SIDE-251 E. Houston St. BOSTON-Workers Educational Center. 30 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m., Wed. 7-10 p. m. BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main 1st fl. HARLEM-103 W. 110 St., Rm. 22 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion

tt., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every

Friday, 8 p. m. BRONX-1034 Prospect Ave., 1st ft CHICAGO-777 W. Adams (corner Hal-sted). Phone Dearborn 2-4767. Daily ex-cept Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for hone LU. 9-0101, BROOKLYN-635 Fulton St. Phon appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. S2nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 P. M. DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone FY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m FLINT-Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings. LOS ANGELES-Militant Publ. Assn. Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke

Room 8061. SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacific 214.

LYNN, (Mass.)-Militant Pub'l Ass'n, 44 Centrel Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m.

7:30-9:30 p. m. MILWAUKEE-917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun, through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.
MINNEAPOLIS-10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)-Militant Dis-cussion Group very Fri. 7:30 p.m. Mili-tant Labor Club. 185 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

CHELSEA-130 W. 23rd St. Pl OAKLAND (Cal.) - 1408 Webster, PHILADELPHIA -- 1303-05 W. Girard Bhone Stevenson 4-5820. PHILADELL III Nee, 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820, open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m. PITTSBURGH-1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl.

ues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m., forums, in., 4 p. m.

Sun., 4 p. m.
SAN FRANCISCO-1739 Fillmore Avs., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
SEATTIE-MAWNARD Bids., 1st Ave., 8. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278.
Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Brandh meeting, Frl., 8 p. m. Library, bookstors.
ST. LOUIS-1023 N. Grand Bivd., Rm. 312 Milliont Forums Thurs. 7.90.10 acc.

12. Militant Forums, Thurs., 7-30-10 p.m.

ST. PAUL-540 Cedar St. Phone Gar-deld 1137. Open daily. Bookstore; TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Rm. 5.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For informa-tion write P.O. Box 554, Wordester, YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal S., Phone S-1855, Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:20 M

draft strikers into the armed go to the courts for strikebreak- lished for a later attempt to order sults to defend the rights of the ing injunctions. Title III should compulsory arbitration of wage Negro people. forces-all these and other devices be eliminated in its entirety. of compulsion have been used by Title I, Section 108, would make working conditions. If today who on the night before election government to restrict, restrain it an "unfair labor practice" to secondary boycotts are banned had a street meeting of 15,000 and deny the right to strike. A new and most serious attack terminate or modify collective- in jurisdiction disputes, tomorrow people at Lexington Ave. and 116 on the right to strike has arisen bargaining contracts without 30

T-H

TOLD

through President Truman's claim days prior notice to the United boycotts. Title I, Section 106, of "inherent power" to break States Conciliation Service. Here should be eliminated. strikes by injunction. If per- again government compulsion is introduced to restrict free ex- rights of the working people, I district to get the right to vote. mitted to stand unchallenged; the President's sweeping assertion of ercise of collective bargaining and urge total repeal of the Taft- Can this man be as bad as your burgh Courier, the NAACP and perialism but he says that if and strikebreaking powers would the right to strike. Title I, Section Hartley Act and restoration of render null and void any act of 108, should be eliminated. Congress lifting present restric-Another infringement of the following supplementary saferight to strike is the declaration guards: tions on the right to strike. It is

ON

therefore necessary for the Conunder Title II, Section 205, that it shall be the "public" policy of tion whatever on the rights of gress to enact legislation specifically forbidding the President the United States" to demand all workers, including government arbitration of disputes growing employees, to organize, bargain to break strikes by injunction. The right to strike is similarly out of the interpretation or, apsubject to attack under certain plication of collective-bargaining provisions of the Thomas-Lesinski agreement. That provision means Bill. the full weight of government

Title III empowers the President to proclaim a national emergency in major labor disputes, appoint an emergency

board to investigate the dispute, be stricken from the bill. and ask postponement of strike Compulsory arbitration of jurisaction for 30 days. That provision would impair the right to strike and a ban on secondary boycotts ing a lockout, or by precipitating speaker and tells the facts to a bill on bus-traffic passed there, things like war and denounce because the full weight of govern- in such disputes is provided under a strike thru refusal to bargain ment condemnation would auto- Title I, Section 106. If the gov- equitably with its employees, such credit for what he has done and gets more prestige, and therefore That is what the Trotskyists do. matically be brought to bear ernment orders compulsory ar- corporation shall be nationalized therefore I defend and support is more able to fool the people WHAT WE DENOUNCE against workers who might decline bitration of jurisdiction disputes, by the government and its facili- him 100%. to stay on the job for 30 days. and strongly advocates arbitra- ties operated under the democratic I say the smart thing for the And it constitutes an open invita- tion of disputes over contract control of its employees,

pressure would be used to impose strike and picket, by injunction, compulsory arbitration in an imby seizure of struck facilities portant area of collective bargainsolely to break strikes, or by any ing. Title II, Section 205, should other means. diction disputes between unions cause public hardship by institut-thing, but he is a courageous little school-bill passed here, or to tell them the truth about

Representative Government?

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1949

By Joseph Keller

There is a popular assumption, constantly reinforced by the capitalist propaganda of the state, school, church and press, that the American people enjoy representative and democratic government. We are supposed to govern ourselves through officials we have freely elected to represent the will and interests of the majority.

It has come as a shock to many people, therefore, to see how a minority of Senators, through the use of the filibuster, can block any measure no matter how much desired by the people. And the "right" of such a Senatorial minority to obstruct indefinitely the passage of bills mandated by the people has just been upheld by a majority vote of the entire Senate.

The undemocratic procedure of the filibuster is but one aspect of the undemocratic and unrepresentative nature of the Senate as such. For the Senate was designed from its very founding as a means for frustrating the popular will.

Most of the constitutional founders were not convinced democrats. A majority of them were wealthy land-owners and merchants. They therefore established two federal legislative bodies, with an "upper chamber," the Senate, as a "check and balance" on the "lower chamber," the House of Representatives. While the number of Representatives is based, in part, on the proportional population of the states, the Senate is elected on a strict geographic basis, two from each state regardless of size.

Today, six Southern poll-tax states — Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia — with a combined population about equal to that of New York state, have a total of 12 Senators to New York's two. The seven polltax states, including Texas, because of the polltax restriction on voting cast a total vote in the 1948 presidential elections of 2,911,305, as compared to New York's 6,111,530. A similar proportion holds in the voting for Senators. Thus, the 14 Senators from the seven poll-tax states who spearheaded the recent filibuster against civil rights legislation were elected by less than half the votes cast for just two Senators from New York. Over 50% of New Yorkers voted, as against the 10 to 15% permitted to vote in the poll-tax states. The Southern Senators literally represent a minority of a minority.

We can see how unrepresentative the Senate

You may have read occasional newspaper stories

about some wretch who steals pennies from news-

boys or blind men. My vote for the "meanest man

of the month," however, goes to the Right Rev.

Monsignor John O'Grady, who in the name of

charity wants to deprive millions of kids of relief

O'Grady is the secretary of the National Con-

ference of Catholic Charities. As its spokesman,

he went to Washington on March 13 to tell the

House Ways and Means Committee to stop the

hierarchy wasn't worried because the federal re-

lief program is too small to help all the unfor-

tunates who need aid under capitalism. Oh, no!

He's against it because he's afraid it will put

"How can we maintain our spirit of Christian

charity, our spirit of brotherhood, without the

appeal of the great institutions for the care of

Keep the kids hungry, so that the O'Gradys

can know the joy of pitying them! And so, that

his own charity racket right out of business.

This great-hearted spokesman of the Catholic

proposed federal assistance program.

and medical care.

children?" he wailed.

ment.

is when we consider that Nevada, the smallest state with 110,247 population, has the same number of Senators as New York, with 125 times as ber of Senators as New York, with 125 thirds as many people. The two Nevada Senators have just as much power as the two from New York, and if they have been in the Senate longer they can wield even greater power, because they are in better position to succeed to the powerful committee posts, whose chairmen are selected by seniority. The Southern Senators, because of the virtual one-party system in most Southern states, are almost irremovable. Some have held their seats Deliganna Forecasts Absurd

almost irremovable. Some have held their seats for decades. A number of the most important committee posts this session are held by the aged chair-warmers from the Bourbon South who are able to keep themselves longest in Senatorial **Courier's View** office through the poll-tax and terrorism against office through the poll-tax and terrorism against the Negro people. As heads of committees, these **On the Filibuster** Southern Senators are in position to bottle up most legislation they oppose.

Two-thirds of the Senators who held forth in the 80th Congress still remain in the Senate. They are elected for six-year terms and even though the people voiced their mandate for social reforms in the election of Truman, they could not touch the two out of every three Senators who were not up for re-election. Senators elected on a sixyear basis are far less responsive to popular demands than Representatives who come up for reelection every two years.

Some political commentators have called the Senate "Our House of Lords." But the British House of Lords, while based on inherited titles the GOP won't pass it. It conof nobility, is far less powerful than the U.S. Senate. The House of Commons in England, similar to our House of Representatives, can pass any measure over the adverse vote of the House of Lords. The 96 long-term Senators - or even a filibustering minority of them - can indefinitely block any bill.

But if, by some miracle, they do pass a bill in the interests of the people, there is still another "check and balance" - the Supreme Court. This appointed body of nine who hold office for life can set aside any law passed by Congress. Between them, the 96-man Senate and the nine-man Supreme Court constitute an oligarchy of government standing completely above the will of the people.

VOLUME XIII

A significant reaction to the filibuster comes from the Pittsburgh Courier, largest Negro weekly, which backed Dewey last year and then thought a new and better day in race relations had dawned with Truman's inauguration.

In a front page editorial on March 12, the Courier finds a great dilemma facing Negroes because the Democratic Party .can't pass civil rights legislation, and cludes:

"In national elections Negroes are orphans of the political storm raging about them, and neither the Democratic nor Republican party is a safe haven. There is talk of Walter Reuther and other labor chiefs establishing a labor

party which would eventually break up the Democratic solidarity of the South. Maybe this will. in time, offer an alternative from the 'great dilemma' now facing the Negro people."

Talked Civil Rights to Death

Republican Senate leaders William F. Knowland (Calif.) and Kenneth S. Wherry (Neb.), who teamed up with southern Democrats in 3-week filibuster, confer with Senate majority leader Scott Lucas (D., Ill.) just before successful conclusion of their campaign to bury civil rights legislation. They also adopted new rule making it even more difficult to halt future filibusters.

By John G. Wright

Highly optimistic economic forecasts for 1949 continue to emanate from Washington, with Mr. Nourse, chairman of Tru-

NUMBER 13

man's economic brain trust, cast in the role of Pollyanna.

Nourse's latest assurances are no dards have been lowered since more well-founded than were the November.

earlier predictions this year that How is it possible to sell as by mid-March there would be an much in 1949 as before when the upswing in employment. Even main sections of the population New York railways, it will be are able to buy only less and less? recalled, in announcing their lay- This obvious impossibility is only offs, promised that they would another of the many vicious circles created by "free enterstart rehiring by March 16. Instead there have been further prise."

layoffs. Unemployment is now SIGN OF WEAKNESS officially admitted to be "around The officially admitted fact that 3,500,000," with the actual total this country's economic life hinges being larger by at least another today directly on what happens million. As serious as spreading to auto and metals is thus not a unemployment are the continued sign of strength but of weakness. cut-backs in production, with It is, of course, beyond anyone's workers in one industry after anability to predict how soon these other working fewer shifts and two closely interrelated industries less hours weekly per shift. will collide head on against the Outweighing all the Pollyanna limits of the shrinking home orecasts is the admission by the markets. Commerce Department that metals and auto remain today as

props of industry. What the Commerce Departnent omits to say is that this has been true since last November. Moreover, it refrains from taking into account that developments in metals and auto are not sealed off hermetically from what is taking place in the rest of the conomy. And these afford least grounds for optimism.

MOUNTING INVENTORIES factors in the existing situation

which are bound to play a decisive part in the months ahead. First is the top-heavy condition of busiinventories continue to pile up. by large retailers have simply resulted in swelling the inven-

tories in the hands of wholealers and manufacurers. Officially these inventories are estimated at the 55 billion dollar mark. How large they really are

to one knows. By means primarily of credit

manipulations, large-scale liquida-By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, March 23 -As unemployment rose to a seven-

sion jitters" and general uncer-

tainty have become the rule. Only

a few months ago there was a

spirit of cautious optimism. To-

day, with many tens of thousands

walking the streets and with short

weeks, downgradings, and rate-

"depres-

By Ruth Johnson Let private, religious, and local organizations handle relief, he demands. For the federal government to "guarantee every family what it needs on a budget basis," O'Grady laments, is nothing less than "national control of family life."

Will the powerful Catholic hierarchy, with its vast treasury from contributions and business investments, fill the desperate needs of the people and thus "save" them from the threat of government aid? Not at all! O'Grady flatly opposes more funds for the underprivileged, from any source:

"We had always expected that aid to dependent children would solve many of the problems of child dependency and delinquency, but we have been disillusioned." Instead, he says - like all who excuse their greed by slandering their own victims - the Catholic hierarchy found "wholesale neglect" of children whose families received its aid.

So what to do? Clearly, he leaves one course: let the children come humbly begging alms at the door of the resplendent Catholic dignitaries. Let them kneel in desperation before the well-fed and righteous clerics, who can dispense or withhold

By Lois Saunders LOS ANGELES, March 20 -With elections only a few days off, Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, this week was issuing an

appeal to workers to go to the polls April 5 and express their opposition to employer-controlled politics by voting for the only working class candidate running for the highest administrative office of the city.

"Capitalist class politicians whether so-called liberal or outright reactionary — inevitably serve the interests of that class which they represent," states Comrade Weiss. "Capitalists," she continues, "are interested primarily in profits, regardless of the misery and despair that their greed for enrichment brings to rs, who pro WO

Big Weiss Vote Sought As Mayoralty Race Ends representatives who place work- | bringing her socialist program to ever-widening circles. ers' needs above employers' prof-

> "I urge you to vote for me for mayor on April 5 as an expression of your opposition to continued unemployment, inadequate housing and lowered living standards, and as a positive affirmation that you are prepared to struggle de-E. Patterson. terminedly for your needs, your rights and your share of the na-

tional wealth which you produce." ONLY SOCIALIST CANDIDATE Comrade Weiss, meanwhile, was continuing her energetic campaign; confronting her capitalist class opponents face to face and

Final L. A. Rally Will mental needs of the workers. Be Held on April 3

In this election for mayor of Los Angeles, she is pitted against eight other candidates, all representatives of the capitalists, including incumbent Mayor Bowron, who was supported by the CIO in 1945, and the present choice of the "leftists" and liberals, Ellis

Evidence is mounting that increasingly large numbers of workers, and significantly Stalinist workers, are growing weary of everlastingly chasing after "liberal" capitalist candidates, only to find in the end that they turn out to be "liberals," that is, on every key question they support the employers against the funda-

This past week, a sound truck, with banners urging workers to instances. But how long can such a highly unstable condition last? vote for Myra Tanner Weiss, has

Nevertheless, it is already evident that these industries have the only two relatively strong likewise passed their peaks. First signs of weakness are becoming manifest here as well. This is particularly true of metals, where the market for steel scrap, lead, copper and zinc has turned shaky. As for the auto market, it too

has become "soft" in relation to higher priced cars and the critical test for the lower priced models still lies directly ahead. The optimism of Nourse and

his colleagues rests in actuality Suffice it to single out two on the arbitrary assumption that metals and auto will continue to hold up. But a sharp break in both auto and metals, far from being excluded this year, looms, ness inventories. Despite produc- in the existing circumstances, as tion cut-backs, stepped up sales the direst threat of all. And such and generally lower prices, these a culmination, barring a sudden shift to full-scale war production, The reductions recently effected would unfailingly bring to a close the prevailing transitional economic phase and usher in a new stage — the definitive downswing



tion of inventories has thus far been avoided, except in isolated

Seven-Year Peak

Catholic hierarchy can keep on collecting vast funds from others whose sympathy is less cynical, whose generosity is touched by the plight of suffering children!

the wealth poured into their coffers for charity In a word, let there be "control of family life"

by the Catholic hierarchy, or no life at all for the children of the poor!

the vulgar red-baiters and the

phoney "left" allies of the Reuth-

demonstrated in their campaign

anonymous leaflet surreptitiously

handed out at the plant which

contained an alleged list of SWP

members and "fellow travelers"

which included practically every

militant and activist in the local.

The phoney "leftists," on the

other hand, carried out their side

of the attack against the mili-

tants with more subtle but equally

poisonous red-baiting: "The party

line of the SWP is largely

CIO;" militant opposition against

tical line of the Socialist Work-

ers Party as contained in its of-

combined efforts of the reptile

press, the company and the un-

scrupulous alliance of the local

finger-men and shoe-shine boys

however, even under this un-

mony in the fact that the most ac-

BUFFALO UAW LOCAL PROGRESSIVES DEFEATED BY SINISTER CONSPIRACY

The Meanest Man of the Mont

BUFFALO, March 21 - The pany, and the local Reutherite motion presented by the addefeat of the progressive ad- bureaucracy in alliance with the ministration to condemn the News ministration in the recent UAW most anti-union elements in the for its red-baiting and inter-Bell Aircraft Local elections has plant. ference in the internal affairs of astonished the local labor movethe local.

Just before the elections the The Socialist Party adherents.

Buffalo Evening News, reaction-Bell Aircraft Local 501, under ary mouthpiece for local financial who control the sub-regional ofthe leadership of a group of tried and industrial interests, suddenly fice of the UAW, voted AGAINST and tested militants for three opened a violent Trotsky-baiting successive years, has achieved attack against the Bell leadersuccesses which made the local ship, the like of which had not its brazen attempt to decide the one of the best in the entire been seen in Buffalo. Indulging local elections! Even more igno-UAW. in an orgy of vilification, finger-

This administration not only pointing, hounding and characterous Shachtmanite supporter and won the union shop, liberal vaca- assassination, the News singled undeviating Reuther henchman, tion allowances, paid holidays. out for attack each and every one who didn't have the courage to publicly vote against the motion They were the trail-blazers in of the prominent progressive and shamefacedly abstained. securing company-financed health leaders. The division of labor between

insurance, hospitalization, sever-With "information" supplied by ance pay and many other so- Reutherite stool-pigeons, it linked called "fringe" issues for which these leaders with attendance at other UAW locals are only now "Trotskyist meetings held at 629 er bureaucracy was further beginning to fight. In addition Main Street." From alleged atthey secured the highest wage tendance at Trotskyist meetings, material. The former issued an rates in the airframe industry it neatly inferred "outside domiand certainly the best in the nation and control by the SWP." Buffalo area. To this, each of the News articles

The internal life of the local invariably added the usual smear was a model of democracy. Local against the SWP as a "subversive 501 became a symbol for pro- crganization which seeks to alter gressive labor action, militant | the form of government by unpolicies and aggressive struggle constitutional means." for the improvement of the lot

The suddenness and virulence of the workers. of the News attack, coming as it All the greater is the amaze- | did in the midst of a general anti-

ment at this administration's red hysteria, operated to unnerve developed - outside the UAWdefeat in the recent local elec- and confuse the Bell workers and tions by a group of corrupt, in- stampede them into the arms of competent and lazy office seekers the discredited' Reutherite clique - utterly destitute of any devo- whom they had consistently retion to the most elementary trade jected in previous years. This union principles and lacking the was facilitated by the nature of slightest urge to fight on behalf the plant, which thrives solely of the workers; in a word, a on war orders and is thoroughly group of bankrupts with nothing ridden with Army and Navy but the heaviest dose of reac- Brass.

tionary prejudices to qualify them This reactionary attack might for union office. still have been repulsed were it Up until the eve of the elec- not for the treacherous support in the SP and WP. The sizable the action of the AFL Building breeds and fosters discrimination.

tions, it was taken for granted given to the opposition by the that the incumbent officers would phoney "left" allies of the be returned to office with the Reutherite bureaucracy. The most same or an even greater majority shameless exhibition of rank opthan in previous years. But no vortunism and cowardly boot- tive members of the union still one reckoned with the sinister licking by supporters of the So- want a militant leadership and campaign. Royball is an Ameri- the road to improving the lot of conspiracy hatched between the cialist Party and the Shacht- that the present defeat is a tem-Buffalo capitalist press, the com- manites was displayed on a porary one.

wealth.

"In times of growing unemployment, even in the face of continued high prices, the employers ruthlessly point to the growing lines of jobless outside the factory gates to threaten those still on the job, in an endeavor to decrease the already inadequate wages and increase still further the backbreaking speed-up.

"The politicians who serve their interests provide them with the laws necessary to carry out their capitalist class aims.

"To protect working class interests, workers must have their own representatives in office.

equalities.

The victory of the reactionary of late years has virtually ment.

cans, as well as Negroes.

forces was made possible by the ignored the mounting injustices

Reutherite bureaucracy and their CHAUVINIST ATTACK

LOS ANGELES - The final toured the city streets daily, and election rally for "Myra Tanwill continue to bring the Socialner Weiss for Mayor" will be ist Workers Party views to the held Sunday evening, April 3, voters until election time. at 8 P. M., at the North Hall of the Embassy Auditorium, 9th

BUSY SCHEDULE

and Grand. Speakers will include Comrade Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate, and Murry Weiss. The meeting will deal primarily with the socialist answer to the growing unemployment crisis and the need for workers to elect their own representatives to government of-

During the week, also, Comrade Weiss addressed a number of meetings, including one sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action, which Mayor Bowron also addressed. She made a 15-minute presentation. On Sunday evening she was cheduled to speak on the Mayors'

Day program of the Elks club on Central Avenue, and at 10:30 P. M. to give a nine-minute talk over radio station KNX on its "Meet Your Mayor" broadcast.

Other meetings where she will peak during the last days of the campaign include the League of Women Voters Candidates Night at the Los Angeles High School, the Lincoln Heights Community Service Organization, the Boyle Heights Community Service Organization, AFL Carpenters' Local 1976, and the Socialist Workers Party final pre-election rally, Sunday night, April 3.

Local meetings are being held weekly in four working class sections of the city, and Comrade Weiss' platform is being widely distributed, especially in front of the California Employment Service, where it is receiving exceptionally sympathetic response. Unemployed workers, as well as those still in the party, are showing deep interest in Comrade Weiss' appeal to "Vote Socialist April 5th!" Vote for Myra Tanner

ANNUAL SPRING DANCE many times been elected to office heartedly that it is high time Friday, April 8 - 9 PM ficial paper, The Militant," etc. as a "liberal," but who, especially they had a voice in city govern-**Caravan Hall** The Socialist Workers Party, 110 East 59th Street - N. Y. C in the way of police brutality and however, is critical of the nature Music by the drumming star discrimination visited upon Mexi- of Royball's program on the of the famed Art Hodes Trio grounds that he, like Christensen, bases himself on preservation of Freddy Moore Even more to be condemned is the capitalist system, which -and-His Blue Note Recording Band vote for the progressive leaders, Trades, which is carrying on a His program does not touch the Direct from his engagement at chauvinistic attack against Roy- fundamental issue of the need Jimmy Ryan's Nite Club Subscription \$1.20, incl. tax Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

On the other hand, liquidation of year high in this area, such huge inventories can prove nothing short of catastrophic. They can't hold on and they don't dare let go - such is the vicious circle in which many businesses now find themselves.

PURCHASING POWER SAGS cutting affecting far greater numbers, the workers are taking a sec-The second key factor is the ond — and closer — look at the teadily dwindling purchasing situation. power of the mass of the people. Pessimism as to the economic

Inability to buy necessities has for some time now found its expression in declining retail sales. Nourse and his colleagues coninue to cite imposing figures of 'national income." Meanwhile, high living costs combined with spreading unemployment and shorter work weeks have slashed still more savagely into mass

purchasing power. No official statistics are kept on this score. But we may get an to eat — and you can't support a inkling from such items as sales family on \$25 a week." of staples like meat. According of beef, pork, veal and lamb, used

outlook for the immediate future has become so rife that the term "Prophet of Doom" is no longer used as an epithet. "Get rich quick" rackets, among them Pyramid Clubs, flourish as the squeeze of continuing high prices is intensified by reduced incomes. The current crime wave is gen-

erally blamed by workers directly upon the unemployment situation. "A man's out of work, he still has

The solution most frequently to Business Week, March 19, as discussed here is the 30-hour week recently as last November, when at 40 hours pay in order to spread prices were higher, weekly sales out the work available. Also one meets occasionally with the opinto average 330 million pounds, ion that "a war would provide but in recent weeks these sales plenty of jobs," but it does not have dropped to 290 million get an enthusiastic reception. Too pounds. In this decline we get a many families have experienced hint of how sharply living stan- other effects of this "solution."

MORE EDUCATORS, RELIGIOUS the Stalinists, both dissidents and LEADERS BACK KUTCHER CASE

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reported this week that two more educators at the University of Minnesota and Weiss for Mayor of Los Angeles. four relgious leaders in Minneapolis have associated themselves with the statement asking justice

for the legless veteran issued last for better conditions in their own week by seven professors at the way. We recognize that the same university. forces which have brought abcut

The new signers of the state-Kutcher's dismissal and the perment are Starke Hathaway, prosecution of his party can, if not fessor of psychology; Mitchell V. stopped, curb the freedom of ac-Charnley, professor of journal-ism; Rev. E. S. Hjortland, pastor tion of the League, and of all groups sincerely fighting in the of Central Lutheran Church; Rev. interests of the working people." James Claypool, pastor of Grace Additional support to the KCRC Lutheran Church; Rev. Carl A. was reported last week from three Storm, First Unitarian Society; UE-CIO locals, 112 in Easton, Pa., 501 in E. Pittsburgh, and Arthur Sternberg, Fellowship of Reconciliation. 623 in Pittsburgh. Also, United In New York the Lenox-Fifth | Steelworkers Local 1330, Youngs-

Ave. Tenants League donated town; UAW Local 14, Toledo; \$10.10 collected at a meeting to UAW Local 581, Flint; CIO Fur help Kutcher's fight. Its secre-Worker's Local 30, Philadelphia; tary, Jean Bennett, stated: "The Window Cleaners Union Local 2, Tenants League has its own seri- New York; Rubber Workers Loous housing problems. But we cal 135; Grand Island, N. Y.; AFL have seen in this case a threat Service Emplyoees Local 329, to the security of all who fight | Chicago (second donation).

precedented onslaught, is testi- ball, on the grounds that he is for socialism. His election, how-"Mexican," and that he is ever, in the opinion of the SWP, running a "Mexican nationalist" would be a much-needed step on

the motion - a motion to condemn the Hearst-like gutter press for SWP Supports Candidate of local elections! Even more igno-national was the role of a vocifer-ous Shachtmanita supporter and Mexican Community in L. A

fice.

LOS ANGELES. March 20 - For the first time in recent history, a representative of the Mexican community has a better-than-even chance to be elected to the Los Angeles City Council in the April 5 elections.

Edward Royball, running for campaign, as claimed, but one office in the 9th councilmanic dis- designed to combat disabilities trict, is seeking election on the encountered here by members of basis that it is essential that the Mexican and other minority the large minority population communities.

The Communist Party (Stalinshould have a voice in city government, there to combat wide- ist) has as yet given no endorsespread discrimination and in- ment to either candidate. They have for years supported Royball has the enthusiastic Christensen, but in view of his backing of the entire Mexican co-nothing policy and the present community, which he represents. clamor on the part of the He has also been endorsed by Mexicans for their own reprethe CIO-PAC, a welcome recogni- sentative, they are still hesitat-

tion on the part of organized ing and giving no leadership. abor of the unity of interests of The Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) is giving Royball workers and minorities. In contrast, the AFL Voters critical support. Its members are League has endorsed Royball's working energetically for his Reuther is "inspired by the poli- opponent, the incumbent Parley election, agreeing with him and the Mexican community whole-Parker Christensen, who has