

## NEED TO REFORM LAWS ON MARRIAGE, DIVORCE

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# THE MILITANT

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## Truman Liberals On Display--The Humphrey Dinner

By Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—Tonight I sweated out the speaking program at a testimonial dinner here in the Roosevelt Hotel in honor of Hubert Humphrey, senator-elect from Minnesota. It was held under the auspices

of the Reunion of Old Timers and the League for Industrial Democracy, an intellectual front organization for the Socialist Party, of which Norman Thomas is a director.

I went there as a reporter for *The Militant*, not to pay tribute to Humphrey.

When I said over the CBS network on Nov. 2 that "The Socialist Workers Party . . . will not cooperate with the new administration which will be the servant of Big Business just as the old one was," I meant Humphrey, Chester Bowles and their kind, as well as Truman, Rankin and all other political stripes in the Democratic Party.

I arrived just as the guests were finishing their meal—at \$12.50 per plate. But the price presented no problem since most of those present draw fat salaries and usually have swindle sheets

to which such little incidentals may be charged.

The roster of guests was made up primarily of old socialist and social-democratic functionaries and union bureaucrats, such as Abraham Beckerman, Nathaniel Minkoff and the ex-socialist judges, Jacob Panken and Samuel Orr.

There was also a liberal sprinkling of representatives of the younger generation of the same breed—Gus Tyler, Max Delson and others—who dabbled with left-wing socialism for a brief period during the 1930's.

At specially designated tables sat the officials of a long list of New York unions—International Ladies Garment Workers, Cap Makers, etc.—which at one time constituted the union base of a flourishing socialist movement.

William H. Davis, former chairman of the War Labor Board, and Leon Henderson, ex-OPA administrator, were among those on the dais.

In the main the assemblage was a melange of former socialist lawyers, functionaries and union bureaucrats who in the course of their evolution have renounced independent class politics and settled for a place on the liberal fringe of the Democratic Party. They are now going to school to a pair of newly arisen messiahs of liberal capitalism, Hubert Humphrey and Chester Bowles.

A. F. Whitney of the Railway Trainmen, David Dubinsky of the ILGWU and Walter White of the NAACP led off with laudatory speeches about the "great statesmen," Humphrey and Bowles, who are leading a "campaign for righteousness."

Bowles followed with a few

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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

## Layoffs Reported by Press: Jobless Figures Show Rise

In the wake of the continuing pre-Christmas decline in national retail sales come the first press reports of layoffs from various parts of the country.

The Census Bureau reports that unemployment in November rose to 1,731,000 nationally, 189,000 above October and 210,000 higher than in November 1947. In New York state, unemployment rose 10.2% in November over October.

As yet the reports of layoffs are scattered, but they cover different sections of the country and numerous industries. While it is too early to say whether this is the beginning of a definite "slump," business observers and commentators are taking public note of the fact that November employment figures fell below 60 million for the first time in six months.

The Business Section of the Sunday N. Y. Times, Dec. 12, runs a considerable article on the "wave of layoffs" in the Stamford-Greenwich area of Connecticut "serious enough" to bring a call for a meeting of "community and state leaders, manufacturers and labor chiefs." Other items disclose layoffs at Consolidated Vultee in San Diego, California, and Westinghouse Electric in Lima, Ohio.

John G. Forrest, financial editor of the Times, speaks of "the increasing number of lay-offs now extending into the heart of the industrial Midwest."

Citing the Connecticut community as a "typical industrial area," the Times stated that "conditions there indicate some consumer goods pipelines are being filled up, some deferments of orders are taking place and some permanent readjustment levels are being made by companies whose production has caught up with their back orders."

In short, the typical glut of

# U.S. Speeds Global Military Alliance in Secret Sessions



## SWP Leaders to Speak At Anniversary Meeting

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—The Twentieth Anniversary of American Trotskyism will be celebrated by members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City on Sunday evening, Dec. 26.

As speakers the program will feature founders and present leaders of the SWP—National Secretary James P. Cannon, National Labor Secretary Vincent R. Dunne, Arne Swabeck, George Clarke and others.

In addition to summing up the significance and effectiveness of the role played by the Trotskyist movement in this country during the last two decades, the speakers will also examine the perspectives of the SWP, the place that it occupies in the class struggle and the relation it has to all the other parties and movements competing for the allegiance of militant workers, Negroes and youth.

Among the topics to be discussed will be the launching of the Trotskyist movement in 1928, when a Left Opposition com-

bating the bureaucratization of the Communist Party was organized and *The Militant* appeared for the first time; the decision to build an independent revolutionary party after the Stalinist capitulation to Hitler in 1933; the formation of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938; the Roosevelt administration's persecution of the SWP for opposing

the second imperialist war; the inspiring first presidential campaign of the SWP in 1948; and the problems facing the labor movement as a result of the recent elections.

Before the speeches, a tasty buffet dinner will be served. The affair will begin at 6 P.M. on Dec. 26 at the Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Pla. and 15th St.

## Miners to Demand 30-Hour Week; High Stockpiles Cause Work Loss

Soft coal stockpiles are now so high that the six-day work week has been ended in most mines. A majority of Virginia and Kentucky miners are working only three or four days a week, while surface diggings in these states and Pennsylvania have been shut down for 30 to 60 days.

As a result, the United Mine Workers is expected to demand a basic 30-hour week, six-hour day when new contract negotiations begin in the spring. Under the "willing and able" clause of their present contract, due to expire July 1, the miners may take an extended "holiday," it is reported.

## Why Their Silence On Kutcher Case?

The British Daily Worker, discussing the witch-hunt in America, referred to the case of James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from the V.A., as an example of the lengths to which the current government purge is going. However, the British Stalinist paper omitted mention of the fact that Kutcher is a Trotskyist and was fired solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Even more despicable is the position of the American Daily Worker. It not only refuses to support Kutcher's fight against the subversive list under which the Stalinists too are being persecuted, but has the distinction of being one of the few papers in the country that has not even mentioned the case.

## Firing of Kutcher Unconstitutional, Says Lawyer Guild

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—The National Lawyers Guild considers James Kutcher's discharge from his job in the Veterans Administration "a violation of his constitutional rights," according to Arthur G. Silverman, executive secretary of the Guild's New York City Chapter. At the same time, two prominent members of this chapter have joined the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. They are Murray Baron, New York County chairman of the Liberal Party, and Paul O'Dwyer, a vice-president of the New York Guild chapter.

The Kutcher defense committee had asked the Lawyers Guild of this city to take a position on the case of the legless veteran who was fired solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. In reply, Silverman called attention to a resolution on the government purge adopted unanimously by the National Lawyers Guild at its convention in Chicago earlier this year, and added:

"The National Lawyers Guild therefore regards the proceedings instituted against Mr. Kutcher as having been unauthorized and void and his discharge from Government service a violation of his constitutional rights."

The Guild convention resolution takes a forthright stand against the whole loyalty purge system. It declares:

"... The test oath has always been abhorrent in the United States. So the Supreme Court has stated. Yet the Executive Branch of the Federal Government and several States in emulation, have

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## Rearming of Japan Implied In Gen. MacArthur's Report

The most far-reaching and ominous military alliance in history is nearing completion in Washington. Meeting in secret under auspices of the U. S. State Department, top diplomatic and military representatives of

Great Britain, Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and other countries are drawing up an "Atlantic Pact" which aims at uniting the world's major capitalist powers under leadership of American imperialism for a vast coalition war against the Soviet Union.

The pact will eventually include not only the war-like industrial giants of the Atlantic basin but also the smaller, traditionally neutral countries such as Eire, Portugal, Denmark and Norway. Its ramifications will extend to Greece, Turkey and Iran as well as Spain and the former Axis powers who were the "enemy" powers of World War II. The Latin American countries are not included because under the recently ratified Rio Pact they are already committed to participation in the projected war.

The State Department has clamped a news blackout on the talks. What secret commitments are being made can only be guessed at; but the main lines and meaning of this sinister design for war are fully apparent. Under some legalistic device to get around the U. S. Constitution, the Atlantic Pact will commit America in advance to armed conflict with the USSR when the pretext is given.

Even before submission of the Atlantic Pact to the Senate for rubber-stamp approval, Truman has opened a drive for new dictatorial powers to facilitate war mobilization. The National Security Resources Board, composed of the President and top brass, has drawn up a proposed "Emergency Powers Act" for Congressional enactment that includes establishment of war facilities, authority to seize plants, requisition, renegotiate contracts, establish import and export con-



GENERAL MACARTHUR

tional defense and international programs, and the work of nearly all the major units of our government bears an intimate relation to mobilization problems."

The Atlantic Pact is the military capstone to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The Truman Doctrine constituted a declaration of "cold" war on the Soviet Union. The Marshall Plan pumped life-saving plasma into the drained arteries of Wall Street's capitalist allies in Europe. Now, with the Atlantic Pact, war preparations get down to armaments, air bases, recruitment of armies, disposition of troops and assignment of definite military role to the various powers.

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## CURRAN WIDENS PURGE OF STALINISTS IN NMU

A by-product of the recent CIO convention was exhibited last week in the National Maritime Union when President Joseph Curran, upon his return

from Portland, initiated a sweeping purge of his Stalinist opponents in the union.

A list of Stalinists was published in the union paper with instructions to officials not to accept their dues or accord them the privileges of members until their "constitutional position has been clarified by the union."

The reference to "constitutional position" refers to the provision in the union constitution defining the status of members. Members ashore over ninety days, without acceptable excuse, are considered "inactive" and are required to retire their union books until they decide to become "active" again.

### RUSE CHARGED

While it is conceded that most of those listed are "inactive" the Stalinists contend that included in the purge list are a number of "active" seamen, several of whom are now on ships. They charge Curran with employing this ruse to deprive members of a hearing before a trial committee whose decision must be ratified by the membership.

Following their defeat in the union elections a number of Stalinist leaders were expelled from the union on charges brought by officials of the Curran group. In recent cases, however, the membership rejected trial committee decisions against prominent Stalinists thus indicat-

## A Hotbed of Jim Crow--Washington, D. C.

The national capital itself, Washington, D. C., is one of the "worst examples" of racial discrimination and segregation in this Jim-Crow country, states a sensational report, based on a two-year survey, released Dec. 10 by the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital.

Setting the pattern for what the report calls "shocking" conditions and a "blot on the nation," are the federal government itself, the business interests and the churches, both Protestant and Catholic.

### "GOOD BUSINESS"

Although the conditions cited in the report have long been known, its special significance lies in its findings that Jim Crow in Washington—and by implication, everywhere else in the United States—is deliberately fostered and "planned as a matter of good business."

The report, sponsored by a com-

mittee of 90 prominent liberals headed by Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, New York, charges "dominant real estate interests, commercial and financial interests" with "planning the segregation of Negroes in housing, jobs, theatres, restaurants, parks and playgrounds."

Racial difficulties arise in Washington, says the report, not in the "field of spontaneous relations," but "on a high policy level where the segregation of the Negro is planned as a matter of good business, and investments are made in the denial of his equal right to own property."

### HOW PATTERN IS SET

"It is not the poor whites who set the pattern, but men of acknowledged culture and refinement, the leaders of the community."

Racial discrimination and segregation have grown steadily worse in Washington over the past 50 years and have reached their culmination in the past 16 years of

the Democratic Administration, the facts of the report demonstrate.

Dissecting the "anatomy of discrimination in the Federal Government," the survey discloses that racial abuses prevail in all government departments "as a matter of accepted practice." While "Jim Crow seems to have been first recognized" in the Republican administration of William Howard Taft, it became "general government policy" under the "New Freedom" administration of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, when the government "set about putting the Negro 'in his place'."

Today, the State and Justice Departments, the Budget Bureau, the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Reserve Board consistently refuse to hire Negroes except for "menial jobs that whites will not accept." Other agencies hire large numbers of Negroes, but only for the lowest-paid jobs, where they are segregated into separate units.

Even the churches have been turned into agencies for "white supremacy." The report states that "one of the most disturbing aspects of segregation" is the "exclusion of Negro Catholics from 'white' Catholic Churches."

Thus, "a devout Catholic from Panama entered a Catholic Church in Washington. As he knelt at prayer, a priest approached and handed him a slip of paper. On the paper was the address of a Negro Catholic Church. The priest explained that there were special churches for Negro Catholics and that he would be welcome there."

"Inside the largest churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, visitors are made unwelcome on account of color. Segregation is the public policy of such Christian organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association."

So complete is the pattern of segregation fostered by political, business and religious leaders in Washington that "it has reached

the place . . . where a dog cemetery has erected a bar against the burial of dogs belonging to colored people."

Negro patients and doctors are barred from "white" hospitals. Colored children are barred from "white" public schools. Negroes are barred from jobs in the telephone company, large stores, etc.

### SHORTER LIFE-SPAN

Despite the recent Supreme Court ruling against judicial enforcement of racial covenants, the Washington Real Estate Board's code provides that no property outside of the narrow "Black Belt" area should ever be "sold, rented, advertised or offered to colored people."

Thus, 260,000 Negro people, more than a quarter of Washington's population, are jammed into some of the "ugliest slums in America," where their life expectancy is 12 years lower on the average than for white Washingtonians.



# Can Liberals Be Trusted in Civil Rights Fight?

By Albert Parker

The struggle to win democratic rights for the Negro people will enter a new climactic stage when the 81st Congress meets next month. In order to gain victory in this struggle, the enemies of Jim Crow must have a clear understanding of the strategy that will be employed against us.

The struggle for Negro equality is no longer a problem restricted only to the Negro community and the radical movement. One evidence of its new position was the prominence of the civil rights issue in the recent election campaign. Another evidence is the stream of documents on various aspects of the problem — the most famous being the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the latest being the report on segregation in Washington. (See details on Page 1.)

These documents testify to the rising strength, militancy and stubborn effectiveness of the Negro struggle as well as to the dynamic economic and social changes in the Negro's status made by the unification of the mass industries and the continued Negro urbanization during the last decade and a half.

## TALK AND ACTION

But there is another aspect of these reports — a dangerous aspect — to which insufficient attention has been paid. And that is the prestige which they create for their sponsors and signers as "progressives" who can be looked to for leadership in the fight against Jim Crow.

If talk is cheap, then signing reports is cheap too. Put your name to some document on the Negro question and overnight you can become a champion of Negro rights, hailed for your courage and liberalism. The more radical the document sounds and the more insistently it repeats charges that have been made a thousand times, the more heroic you are.

Many an enviable reputation has been built in this way by people who never lifted a finger to abolish the Jim Crow system. Hubert Humphrey, the Senator-elect from Minnesota who got national fame for pushing the civil rights plank at the Democratic convention, is a case in point. And there are many labor leaders whose progressive reputations on the Negro question are not always justified by their actions as distinguished by their talk. For an example, (see the item about Philip Murray in Notes from the News on Page 4.)

This does not mean that the Trumanite liberals and labor leaders are going to confine themselves to talk on the Negro question when Congress meets. If they did, their progressive reputations would wither away as fast as they grew up, and they know it. They know that the time for mere talk and declarations and reports is reaching its end because the Negro people have had enough of such tricks, see through them and will not be satisfied unless action is taken. The liberal-labor coalition leaders know also that the Negro struggle acts as a ferment, stirring the working class into struggle, and they want, if possible, to quiet it down. For all these reasons we can expect that they will carry on a noisy campaign for certain reforms, and that changes will be made.

Yes, changes will be made. Negroes will be appointed to additional posts in the government. Truman may set up a few interracial units in the armed forces. Congress may pass some watered-down version of an anti-lynching or FEPC bill. Some action will

probably be taken to ease up on the pattern of strict segregation in the nation's capital, which embarrasses the government in its international relations.

The purpose of these moves will be to convince the Negro people that a real change in race relations is being undertaken, that the way to achieve equality is through the "gradual" process of parliamentary reform, that Negroes can and must rely on the Democratic politicians, and especially the Trumanite liberals, to lead them to the promised land. All this is false to the core. Negroes who fall for this deception will experience the effects that follow the eating of soft-soap.

It is false because all of the changes envisioned by the liberals remain within the Jim Crow framework. Like unscrupulous landlords, they will replace some of the broken windows and lay on a new coat of paint, but the rotten Jim Crow structure itself will remain standing. They don't want and are incapable of making fundamental changes, no matter how radical their talk becomes.

The report on segregation in Washington is as radical as such documents can ever be. "It is not the poor whites who set the pattern, but men of acknowledged culture and refinement, the leaders of the community," says the report. Furthermore, the "dominant real estate, commercial and financial interests" are responsible for planning segregation "as a matter of good business," and the government for practicing discrimination in all departments.

Hubert Humphrey, Philip Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther, among others, sponsored this report. The question that must now be put to them is this: Do they propose to deprive the "dominant real estate, commercial and financial interests" of the political and economic power that these interests are able to use against the Negroes? The answer is obviously No, as we can observe from their political behavior during the 1948 campaign when they worked to preserve the capitalist two-party system and to return to office the Democratic administration under which these evils have continued

or grown worse during the last 16 years.

## NO HALF-WAY THING

Naturally, it is necessary to fight for minor changes while engaging in the battle for the basic changes. But never forget this: Equality cannot be a half-way thing. Either you have it in all spheres or you don't really have it at all. And if you don't have it in all spheres, then whatever gains you may make in any sphere, far from being secure and lasting, will be subject to sudden loss at the hands of the ruling class. That was the bitter story of the Jewish people in Germany, and the danger exists, if we don't abolish the capitalist cause of race oppression, that it will be repeated on a larger and bloodier scale with regard to Negroes in the U. S.

The reformist theory of "gradual" gains, which the liberals want substituted for the fight for full equality, is not a new one. It has a long and instructive history, beginning with Booker T. Washington, and has had ample opportunity for over half a century to prove its value in action. And yet the report on Washington admits that segregation there is worse today than it was 50 years ago. If Negroes continue to follow such a program, the grandchildren of the present Humphreys and Murphys will undoubtedly sponsor another report in 1998, saying substantially the same thing.

Full economic, political and social equality in our time — not in some far distant future — must remain the unswerving demand of militant Negroes and white workers. We can accept the support of liberals for specific measures in line with our main objective (FEPC, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax bills, etc.). But we dare not yield the leadership of the Negro struggle to these liberals or to place an ounce of political credit in them, because their final objective is quite different from ours and because we will have to fight them as well as the conservative supporters of capitalism when we launch upon the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government which alone can institute true equality for all races and colors.

## Truman Liberals on Display

(Continued from Page 1)

remarks about the need for some "hard thinking" to cook up a "new New Deal," and the stage was set for the guest of honor.

Humphrey is hailed as a boy wonder, having landed in the U. S. Senate at the age of 37 after a short career in politics. He is called not only a "friend" but even a "champion" of labor. Everything in this description is stood on its head.

Until 1945, Humphrey had spent his time as a professor of political science at Macalester College and in holding down petty jobs gained through political patronage. He never even got his feet wet in the labor movement and actually knows little about it. He remained a political nobody until the powerful Minneapolis unions picked him out of obscurity and backed him for mayor of that city in 1945.

In other words, Humphrey's spectacular rise to high public office is in reality a demonstration of the great political power of the unions, reflected through him.

Humphrey's main contributions were a glib tongue and a capacity for opportunism, that is, a callous disregard for the rights and welfare of those to whom he is obligated in order to seize opportunities to advance his personal interests.

Although he owes everything to the working people, Humphrey has nevertheless decided to cast his lot with the Big Business-dominated Democratic Party and to serve the labor movement only insofar as it may coincide with his own ambitious plans for a political career.

In his speech, Humphrey stayed strictly within the framework of the Democratic election platform,

advocating repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and that the government "do something" about housing, inflation, civil rights, soil conservation, etc.

His most radical statement was a proposal to let the Dixiecrats stay out of the Democratic Party. He didn't really warm up until he got around to denouncing the "iniquity of communism." However, he didn't have a word to say about the outrageous witch hunt led by the Democratic administration which has already victimized thousands of people.

He went right down the line on the bipartisan war program, calling for a tough policy against the Soviet Union and repeating the Douglas proposal for a corps of "labor diplomats" to sell American imperialism to the workers of the world.

Humphrey, who peddles this treacherous line, is a typical representative of the extreme left wing of the Democratic Party. Such is the party within which the union officials and social democrats propose to organize a new American version of the "Peoples Front."

They are placing themselves and they seek to place the working people at the service of American imperialism in its program of world conquest for the price of a few paltry concessions on the domestic front. They don't care what happens to the peoples of the world. When they say "the people" they really mean themselves.

We will fight against this betrayal by the union officials and social democrats with all our strength. As I said on Nov. 2 over CBS, "The Socialist Workers Party will continue the same uncompromising struggle against the bipartisan policy of war, high price, Taft-Hartleyism, race prejudice and witch hunting. We will persevere in our major objective: the education of the American workers to the need for forming an Independent Labor Party and establishing a Workers and Farmers Government."

## MILITANT INCREASES RATE JAN. 1

	USA	Foreign
The MILITANT		
one year	\$2.00	\$3.50
six months	\$1.00	\$2.00
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL		
12 issues	\$2.50	\$3.00
COMBINATION		
one year	\$4.00	\$6.00
Bundle rates unchanged		

## Hands Across the Sea



A contingent of Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n (AFL) members led by Pres. Joseph P. Ryan (C, wearing hat) was on hand when the British liner Queen Elizabeth docked in N. Y., to greet crew members and thank them for their support in the recent east coast dockers' strike. The Queen's sailing was delayed 14 days when the crew refused to ship to a strikebound port. (Federated Pix)

## CLEVELAND AFL EDITOR DISCUSSES CASE OF LEGLESS VET OVER RADIO

CLEVELAND — The Kutcher case is "a dramatic symbol of the way in which certain interests can institute witch hunts in America," said A. I. Davey Jr., editor of the weekly AFL paper, Cleveland Citizen, in his recent radio talk for the program, Labor News and Views, which is heard every Sunday over Station WSRP. Most of this program was devoted to a discussion of the issues in the Kutcher case.

Davey began his talk by recalling that when the loyalty purge system was initiated, he had stated over the radio that "there was serious question in my mind whether anything in the hands of a political group, no matter what party affiliations it might have, could be completely devoid of the machinations of a party hack."

"My fears, it seems, were well-founded. Today that loyalty board has pulled so many screw stunts that to pick any one in particular is like picking one bad egg out of a barrel of them."

Davey then referred to the purge in the Cleveland Post Office, where many employees, particularly Negroes, have been suspended or fired for alleged communist associations.

"I don't know enough about it to speak intelligently on the overall picture. Yet I do know some of the individuals concerned and all I can say is that if they are Communists, then I am queen of the May. They may not agree with the Postmaster or even with the President of the United States—I know that some of them certainly do not agree with me—but believe me, that is no crime, for they are certainly not in select company."

## EVEN MORE CLEAR-CUT

"But there has been another case developing that I think is even a more clear-cut example of the absolute insanity of the governmental procedure. There is a man by the name of James Kutcher, a member of the AVC who lives in Newark, New Jersey. He has been removed from his position as a clerk with the Veterans Administration by the Loyalty Board because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

Kutcher replied that he did belong to that party and agreed with its views, but he challenged the administration's right to take away his job because of his political opinions.

"There is no issue of national security involved, as Kutcher held only a clerical position and had access only to wage information. Nor is there any issue of allegiance to a foreign power, any more than there is to Norman Thomas or any one of a good many other respected Americans who do not quite feel that they can go along with the thinking of most of us. Let's get one thing straight first. I don't agree with Kutcher's political beliefs. I think he is wrong and so do a lot of other people. But that has nothing to do with it. I am only interested in what is right or wrong in the treatment of an American citizen."

"The basis for Kutcher's dismissal is President Truman's

order denying federal employment to anyone belonging to or associating with members of organizations listed as 'subversive.' The subversive blacklist was issued by the Department of Justice without hearings, without any specification of charges or submission of evidence. When the political party involved demanded a public hearing to secure its removal from the subversive list, the Department of Justice refused on the grounds that the Presidential order does not provide for any hearings."

"Rather a travesty that our own Department of Justice should operate in such a way, isn't it? And yet those are the facts."

"Here is a dramatic symbol of the way in which certain interests can institute witch hunts in America. If a man or woman can be hounded as 'disloyal' by government officials and fired from his job solely because of his political beliefs, who is safe from persecution? How do we know but that the next step would not

be a bunch of crackpot Democrats who would turn the same techniques on certain Republicans, or vice versa? Where do such operations end?

## VIOLATION OF RIGHTS

"While one might not necessarily agree with the views held by James Kutcher and the party of which he is a member, it is still obvious that the right of free speech, the right of unrestricted political activity within the confines of our Constitution, and the right to hold private or public employment, regardless of belief, must be upheld. All these rights are being violated in this particular instance."

"Just think about this case a moment. It doesn't make sense to me and it does indicate all too clearly what can happen with these rabid 'investigators,' these self-styled '100 per cent Americans' who will crucify anyone with whom they might disagree on any point."

## Kutcher Ouster Held Illegal By National Lawyers Guild

(Continued from page 1)

evolved a perhaps even more iniquitous mechanism for policing political thought and action of public servants — the Loyalty Order. While the Government may utilize proper safeguards against disloyal action by its employees, such safeguards are already on the statute books. The Loyalty Order, as worded, is unconstitutional under the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

"Among the most egregious violations of the Loyalty Order is that denying accused employees 'trials' conducted with due process of law. Employees are given no assurances of being informed fully and specifically of the charges against them, and they are denied the right to be confronted by their accusers, or even to know who these accusers are, to cross-examine them, or to demand the production of documentary evidence underlying the charges."

## THE SUBVERSIVE LIST

"Equally offensive and dangerous is the provision in the Order which, despite pious declarations to the contrary provides for a determination of an employee's guilt on the basis of his association with other individuals or membership in organizations determined by the Attorney General, on an ex parte basis, to be subversive."

"The President's Loyalty Order has generated a poison which is seeping down to State and local governmental bodies, is being utilized by private employers to get rid of militant union members and, in Illinois, has reached such a stage that the Chairman of a local Rent Advisory Board recently refused to permit the Board to transact its business until each member had sworn he was not a Communist."

"The publication by the Attorney General, pursuant to the 'Loyalty Order,' of a list of organiza-

tions which he characterizes as disloyal, is a direct attack on the rights of freedom of association and expression protected by the First Amendment. There is no ascertainable source of power for this action. It is clear that constitutionally no sanctions may be imposed upon political beliefs. The Loyalty Order itself recognizes this limitation by conceding that no action can be taken against government employees on the mere ground of membership in such organizations."

"The purpose of the publication of the list must therefore be recognized as an attempt to frighten and intimidate persons from joining these organizations, and thus, in practical effect to interfere with their freedom of association by arousing public disapprobation and censure."

"The Constitution forbids direct assault upon this freedom and its related freedoms of press, speech, assembly, religion and petition. The invasion of these rights by the device authorized by the Loyalty Order is no less repugnant to the Constitution merely because it is done indirectly."

"The Guild urges that the President rescind Executive Order 9835."

## NEW YORK NEW YEAR'S EVE AFFAIR

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## World Events

By Joseph Hansen

## Washington Prepares Tactical Shift in Chinese Civil War

The Truman Administration, it appears, is nearing a decision on what to do next in the Chinese civil war.

The policy of trying to bolster the ultra-reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek has ended in disaster. Few voices in the capitalist press still insist on an all-out effort to keep this despot in power. Virtually all are forced to confess that the Chinese people will have no more of this hated regime and that a change is imperative.

That is why Madame Chiang Kai-shek, sent here to plead for guns, dollars and moral support, received a studiously cold reception. This was designed to show the disappointment of the Truman Administration in Chiang and its readiness to make a tactical change in policy toward China.

Already Washington is extending feelers to the Chinese Stalinists. This was the meaning of the Dec. 13 declaration in Shanghai of Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administration chief, that in case the Chiang regime falls the United States will support a new government provided it is a coalition government and not a completely Stalinist Government.

The State Department, of course, denied that Hoffman's declaration represents official policy and the press explained it as a "blunder." This is the usual routine in handling a trial balloon.

The Kuomintang officialdom immediately interpreted Hoffman's declaration as a sign that Washington has written off Chiang. Rumors circulated that high-ranking Kuomintang figures are pressing for Chiang's resignation and trying to negotiate with the Chinese Stalinists.

The line of Hoffman's proposal is not a new one. When Marshall was in China after the war, he pressed Chiang to set up a coalition regime with the Stalinists. Marshall's obvious objective was to gain time, postpone the civil war, strengthen Chiang's position, undermine that of the Stalinists, and when the time became ripe crush them.

In Europe this flexible tactic paid big dividends to the European capitalists and their American backers. They welcomed the Stalinists in office as the masses in Italy and France and other countries surged forward. In the coalition governments the Stalinists used their key posts to push back the revolutionary-minded workers and thus saved capitalism from going down.

American imperialism used the breathing space to rush aid to their beleaguered class brothers abroad. When reaction became sufficiently strong, then the Stalinists were booted out of office.

A coalition government today in China would probably give the Stalinists more favorable posts than one formed when Marshall first proposed it; but it would still give American imperialism the point of support it seeks. Moreover Washington's terms undoubtedly include limitation of reforms in China and particularly the safeguarding of foreign in-

vestments. As the Dec. 17 U. S. News phrases it, "Over the longer term, the big problem is whether the Communists, if they win out, will expropriate private companies and especially foreign companies."

Washington hopes, with good reason, that the Chinese Stalinists will not carry out a program of revolutionary socialism, but will safeguard capitalism in China. On that condition, the Truman Administration appears ready to make a deal with the Chinese Stalinists.

## Dutch Despots Poised For All-Out Assault Against Indonesians

The monarchist Netherlands government has abruptly broken off negotiations with the Republic of Indonesia as a preliminary to launching a full-scale war of conquest to crush the young Republic and reimpose full colonial status on the Indonesian fighters for national independence.

In a Dec. 10 note to the United Nations Good Offices committee, the Dutch Cabinet indicated that it had a choice of withdrawing from Indonesia or "fight it out," states N. Y. Times correspondent David Anderson. "The latter course has been accepted."

The Dutch imperialists, while pretending to negotiate with the Indonesian Republic, have been systematically strengthening their beachheads and military forces in Indonesia preparatory to opening their offensive whenever they feel the time is ripe.

So extensive are these preparations, that the Netherlands government is begging off from supplying its share of troops to the newly-created Western Union military alliance. David Anderson reported in the Time of Nov. 8 that "heavy military commitments in Indonesia will absorb the manpower of this small country until 1952, perhaps even longer—unless there is an evacuation of Java before that year."

The Dutch cabinet is planning to introduce a supplementary budget plan to cover military outlays in connection with its western European commitments. Its present "normal" budget of 500 million guilders \$188,500,000 for 1948 will be continued for 1949 "because of the continued crisis in Java."

It is no secret that the United States, through the Marshall Plan, is supplying the war-ridden Netherlands with the finances and materiel required for the imperialist invasion of Indonesia. Senator George W. Malone, interviewed in New Delhi, India, on Dec. 15 after a trip to the Dutch East Indies, flatly charged that U. S. money through the Marshall Plan is supporting the wars of colonial oppression against freedom movements in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Refuting the claim that the Netherlands imperialists are battling "communism," Senator Malone said of the Indonesian freedom fighters, "If the only army they can join to fight for freedom is the Communist army, they will join it. The Indonesian Republicans recently gave the Communists a licking, but if we keep on financing the Netherlands there is no telling what movement the Republicans will join to get rid of the Dutch."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Phila. Does Fine Job In Sub Renewals

Once more Philadelphia tops all branches — turning in 39 renewals and three new subs from two Sunday mobilizations. Most of the renewals, 32, were originally special election subs, at 25c. Eight were renewed for a full year and the rest for six months except one that was a two-year combination renewal including 24 issues of Fourth International.

We welcome these new readers as more permanent subscribers and congratulate Philadelphia branch on its fine work. Literature Agent George LeCompte reported that on the first Sunday 20 comrades participated, some working until 4 p. m. in their enthusiasm. Besides subscriptions, they sold pamphlets and received a cordial response for the most part.

All but one of the renewals were obtained from readers who were still getting the paper, although three of their subs had expired. Most of the first renewals were of subs that would not expire until January. Thus they get in under the 1948 low rates. Philadelphia is right on the job.

San Francisco sent \$35 proceeds from a Militant 20th anniversary social. A feature of the event was an educational skit depicting the milestones in The Militant's

history. We are sure it was a social and political success, as well as financial. It will certainly help cut The Militant's weekly deficit.

S. B. of New York met a friend whose Militant sub was soon to expire and who gave \$10 to help The Militant, saying, "Keep up the good work. At this season I have no time to go anywhere or do any outside work, but I always take time to read The Militant. I know you can make good use of money."

From Santa Monica, Calif.: "Enclosed please find \$1 for my 1949 subscription to your paper. It really tells the working people the truth, if only more of them would wake up."

Very few "shopping days" are left for Militant subs at 1948 rates. After Jan. 1 it will be \$2 a year, but until then \$1 still buys 52 issues — even if it doesn't half pay for them at current high costs of publishing.

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Monday, December 20, 1948



TROTSKY

"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at the turn, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. That is now the proletarian, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

—Leon Trotsky, The Death Agony of Capitalism, 1938.



LENIN

## What the Vote Tabulation Shows

The final tabulation of last month's presidential vote, as published by the Associated Press, reveals several significant facts obscured and ignored by the Trumanite labor leaders in their hurrahs for the Truman "landslide."

First, the total vote for state, county and local candidates was higher than the total for president. 688,382 who balloted for other candidates, did not vote for president.

Second, only 51.2% of eligible voters cast presidential ballots this year, compared to 59.5% in 1940 and 56.4% in 1944. Thus, 14% less people, in proportion to population, voted for president in 1948 than eight years ago.

Third, for the first time since 1912 a president was elected by less than a majority of all votes cast. Truman received only 49.5% of the popular vote. He had merely a plurality; the combined votes of his opponents were 50.5% of the total.

These facts, taken together, are very revealing. They show that nearly 700,000 people who took the trouble to go to the polls did not find either Truman or Dewey worthy of support. To these must be added the eight million voters who should have voted—but didn't—if the normal proportion of voters had turned out last Nov. 2.

Here is a huge block of voters and poten-

tial voters so disgusted with the politics of both major parties of the capitalist class, Democratic and Republican, that they either stayed home or refrained from voting for either Truman or Dewey. And Truman won not by a "popular outpouring" or "landslide" but with a majority of the popular vote against him.

All these facts reveal a vast reservoir of protest against the dominant political machines. Had this reservoir been tapped by a new aggressive party of labor, together with the millions of workers who were corralled by the union leaders into unenthusiastic support once more for the "lesser evil" candidate, a tremendous new political force would have been set in motion.

But this potential political force remains. The Truman Administration, with its program of militarism and war preparations, in the next years will discredit itself utterly with the popular masses and prove to new millions the folly and fallacy of the politics of the "lesser evil."

The people are going to demand a new broom that will really sweep clean. The pressure from the workers for a party of their own will become overwhelming. Those labor militants who advocate a labor party will not lack for a responsive audience in the days to come.

## The Profits Hearing in Washington

Corporation profits for 1948 will exceed \$20 billion, an all-time high, almost doubling the war-time profits peak of \$12 billion in 1944. This plundering of the national income by Big Business has become so scandalous that a joint Senate-House committee is now going through the motions of investigating to see if profits are "excessive."

So far in the hearings a spokesman for the food trust, an accountant and two college professors have testified in support of the profits swindle. They argued that corporation profits have been "overstated" (meaning the accountants didn't doctor the books enough) and that the capitalist is actually today's "forgotten man," picked on by everybody.

Opposing arguments were heard from AFL and CIO economists and a third college professor. All contended that corporation profits are exorbitant. The AFL spokesman characterized the vicious price-gouging of the capitalists as "taxation by corporation without representation."

The Congressional "investigators" are confining themselves to gathering nothing but opinions about corporation profits, as though the facts were as far out of reach as the planet Mars. Yet the facts are readily obtainable. They can be found in the books of the monopoly corporations and banking syndicates.

Once they are pried open, these books will

reveal proof of collusion to corner markets; adulteration of products; tax dodging; stock swindles; fantastic executive salaries and bonuses; and even greater profits than those reported.

Close scrutiny will disclose huge expenditures for anti-labor propaganda; payrolls for industrial spies; lavish expenditures for lobbying; large contributions to the Democratic and Republican parties; funds used to corrupt public officials; and numerous other devices for controlling the government, press and radio in order to more ruthlessly plunder the population.

But the working people cannot depend upon the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties to dig into the books of the capitalists and reveal these sordid facts. Even if these politicians made the pretense of such an investigation of the books, they would give the capitalists a clean bill of health, just as they will do at the end of the present hearings in Washington.

The corporation books must be investigated by committees of industrial workers, white collar workers, veterans, farmers, professional people—those whose standard of living is being undermined and whose economic security is gravely threatened by the profit hogs. They won't cover up for monopoly capitalism. They want to know the true facts.

## Labor Must Prepare Now

Sooner or later the economic "boom" is going to "bust." That is an iron law of capitalism. Since the end of the war, the question that has troubled everyone is not "Will it come?" but "When?"

The continued unstable and "dull" state of the stock market has reflected the uncertainties of Wall Street itself about the prospects of long staving off the inevitable crisis of overproduction and unemployment.

Up to now the government has been able to prop up the profit system with huge expenditures for armaments and subsidies to commodity producers. But the measures so far taken have had only a limited and temporary effect. The American capitalist economy is far from being as healthy as its supporters claim.

What may be the first signs of a serious crisis have appeared. Consumer purchasing power has so far outlasted production and prices that retail sales before Christmas have sagged for six weeks. And even more ominous for the workers are the layoffs—numerous and widespread enough to make news items and cause uneasy speculation in the daily press.

While no one can say, absolutely we are now heading into the "bust," it is equally true that no one can say with certainty that this is not the beginning, or that it won't come in six months or a year. What is most important for the workers to remember is that it would

be a costly error to wait until millions are already walking the streets without jobs. COME IT MUST—SOONER OR LATER—AND LABOR MUST PREPARE NOW.

Almost the entire labor movement is agreed on the immediate answer to mass unemployment. For the past ten years the AFL, CIO and most of the independent unions have been on record for the 30-hour week and six-hour day. The basic work-week and work-day must be reduced with no reductions in weekly take-home pay so that available work is spread among the greatest number with no loss in income.

The report that the United Mine Workers, which has taken the lead in many crucial struggles, is planning to wage a serious fight this spring for the reduced work-week and work-day should be a signal to the whole labor movement. It is time for all the unions to take the slogan of the 30-hour week and six-hour day out of storage and to push it with all the vigor and means at their command.

Mass unemployment is no remote or academic issue. The employers are already using the threat of cutbacks and layoffs to counter fourth-round wage demands. Foresight dictates that labor must meet the coming challenge with a militant, united, nationwide campaign for the 30-Hour Week, Six-Hour Day with No Reduction in Take-Home Pay.

# Probe of New York Divorce Racket Stirs Public Interest in Model Law

By Paul Abbott

When a married couple decides that their love for each other has gone and they can no longer live happily together, it would seem that no fair-minded person could challenge their right to a divorce, whether by mutual agreement or the wish of either one. Yet this basic human right is not recognized in the marriage laws of the 48 states. In fact, most laws are designed to compel married people to continue living together whether they like it or not.

Public interest in this question is high at present in New York because of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's current investigation into some 22,000 New York County divorce proceedings. In this state only "adultery" is recognized as legal grounds for divorce. Consequently people who decide to part are forced to prove that one of them is guilty of adultery if they wish to make the divorce legal.

### RICH AND POOR

Rich people, of course, go to Reno or some other place where the requirements are not so reactionary. The poor just separate without benefit of the law. In between these groups are many who cannot leave New York and yet wish a legal divorce.

These people get around the law by outright perjury or by staging a fake scene of adultery that can be presented to the court as evidence. So widespread is this practice that about 90 percent of unchallenged divorces in New York are estimated to be fraudulent.

When a professional ring of lawyers and detectives who arrange adulterous scenes was recently exposed, New York's scandalous divorce laws made headlines and Hogan started his probe into the divorce proceedings of the past five years.

The liberals have taken the occasion to press for reform of New York's divorce laws. They point to the evil effects of universal hypocrisy and the collusion of the courts in getting around unworkable legislation. They decry the sordidness of forcing honest people to bear the stigma of adultery. They point out that the law does not lessen divorce or save marriages. They propose widening the grounds for divorce.

None of them, however, suggest recognizing the fundamental right of a person to a divorce on the grounds of personal desire.

The Catholic hierarchy has thrown its weight into the controversy. Msgr. Robert E. McCormick, presiding judge of the Archdiocesan Tribunal of New York issued a blast Dec. 11, demanding that the legislature "correct the present sad condition by banning divorce entirely."

It is solely in deference to this ultra-reactionary view that the divorce laws of New York still remain among the most backward in the country.

The Stalinist reaction to this current public interest in this important social question is a curious one. At first they tried to link the detective involved in the divorce mill with the detective accused of making an illegal entry into the home of Stalinist State Chairman Robert Thomson. It appears that the two detectives had offices only a few doors apart in the crowded New York skyscraper area.

Later, The Worker printed a scandalous article that hoped the scandal might stimulate a demand to transform the New York divorce law "from the most backward to the most advanced in the 48 states." But the Stalinists did not say what kind of law they considered the "most advanced." Perhaps this is because they are vulnerable on the question.

When the Soviet Union was founded, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky re-wrote Russian marriage legislation. Here's a sample clause: "The mutual consent of the husband and wife or the desire of either of them to obtain a divorce shall be considered a ground for divorce."

All the legislation on marriage was written in this spirit. Two big objectives were in mind: to protect the children and to safeguard the right of people to happiness in their personal lives. The Bolsheviks did not consider these laws the final word. They held that these laws were only transitional in character, and that they contained concessions, necessary at the time, to capitalist marriage institutions. Eventually, the Bolsheviks hoped, marriage and divorce would become completely voluntary with no interference from the state.

The marriage laws have changed in the Soviet Union since then, but in precisely the opposite direction from that hoped by the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin, the general degeneration affected this

sphere too, so that it is now far more difficult for a poor person to obtain a divorce than in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. Instead of going forward, legislation in this field retrogressed. That is why the Stalinists cannot point to Soviet law today as a model.

In America the marriage laws no longer reflect the real status of relationships among the mass of people. In 1890 the divorce rate was one to every 13 marriages. In 1920 it was one to six. Today it is one to three. It is clear that the people themselves are working toward a new pattern of family life.

What that pattern will finally be, particularly after America goes socialist, cannot yet be foretold, although it is certain that married life will become far happier in general than is the case with most marriages today.

Socialism will guarantee that economic security and freedom from worry which is essential to joy in married life. On this foundation the promise foreshadowed in the early Soviet legislation of no government interference in private affairs can be fully realized.

## Their Season's Greetings: An Eviction Notice



Christmas spirit in the Irwin, Pa., home of Mr. and Mrs. James Rain was brutally extinguished by an eviction notice ordering the family, which includes 10 children, to vacate the one-room apt. The father has a temporary job in W. Virginia. (Federated Pictures)

# Workers Forum

## Chinese Stalinist Program Discussed By Far East Expert

Editor:

In The Militant of Dec. 6, in the article "New Defeats Hit Chiang Regime," the writer concludes his interpretation of the events in China with the flat statement that "the Chinese Stalinists continue to score successes not because of their own policies but despite them." This is in contradiction to the facts.

The peasants are flocking to the Stalinist banners by the millions because of the current land program which the Stalinists are putting into effect. Tens of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers are turning over to the "Red" armies because they agree with this program and, being peasants themselves, are able to recognize where their interests lie. Let me, for the benefit of our readers, quote from the Basic Program on Chinese Agrarian Law promulgated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Oct. 10, 1947.

"Article 1. The agrarian system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation is abolished and the agrarian system of Land to the Tiller is to be realized.

"Article 2. Land ownership rights of all landlords are abolished.

"Article 3. Land ownership of all ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, schools, institutions and organizations is abolished.

"Article 4. All debts incurred by the peasants—LFPJ prior to the reform of the agrarian system are cancelled.

"Article 6. Except as provided in Article 9, Section b [referring to forests, mines, lakes, etc.—LFPJ] all land in the villages owned by landlords, and all public land shall be taken over by the village peasants' unions, and together with all other village land, in accordance with the total population of the village irrespective of sex or age, shall be unified and equally distributed; with regard to quantity, surplus land shall be taken to relieve dearths, and with regard to quality, fertile land shall be taken to supplement infertile, so that all village inhabitants shall equally share the land, and it shall be the individual property of each person.

"Article 10. Section d. Landlords and their families shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants. Section e: All families of Kuomintang military officers and soldiers, government officials and personnel, party members and other enemy personnel, whose homes are in rural areas, shall be given land and properties equivalent to that of the peasants.

"Article 11. The government shall issue to the people deeds of ownership of the land, and moreover, recognize their rights to free management, trading, and under specially determined conditions, to renting their land. All land deeds and all notes on debts contracted prior to the reform of the agrarian system shall be turned in and shall be declared null and void.

"Article 12. The property and

legal operation of industrial and commercial elements shall be protected from encroachment."

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize the tremendous attractive power which this program has for the land-hungry, debt-ridden peasants of China, and also for the Kuomintang soldiery. Except for Article 12, which considerations of space will not allow me to discuss here, the program is drastic, radical, yes, revolutionary. I doubt if a Trotskyist government would proceed very differently in tackling the land problem in the initial stages. It certainly is not the case that the Stalinists are winning successes in spite of this obviously revolutionary program.

The land question, of course, is only one side of the Chinese problem, and the Stalinist program is decidedly one-sided. They offer nothing to the city proletariat except a continuation of wage-slavery in industries owned by capitalists, with whom they hope to forge a coalition government after they have conquered China. This contemptuous disregard of the needs and interests of the most revolutionary class is dictated by bureaucratic self-interest, a desire to hold the revolution within "safe" limits. The Stalinists hope to rule China, in coalition with the bourgeoisie, with a satisfied peasantry as their class base.

But Chinese agriculture cannot be reorganized and made to yield higher living standards without collectivization and mechanization. For this the development of industry is necessary. The belated and feeble Chinese bourgeoisie cannot develop industry. It can only retard and strangle it. Moreover, unless the bourgeoisie is stripped of its property, it can and will, at some future unfavorable turn of events, become the base and spearhead of a counter-revolution which will nullify the land reforms now being put into effect.

It is in its one-sidedness, its opportunism, its cynical disregard of the interests of the Chinese revolution considered as a whole, that the Chinese Stalinist program is false, illusory and treacherous. This does not alter the fact that this program is rallying millions to struggle against the Kuomintang and that the Stalinists are winning because of it, not in spite of it.

Li Fu-Jen

Los Angeles, Calif.

## Claims Many Votes For SWP Were Not Counted in Flint

Editor:

An examination of the election returns from 69 precincts in Flint indicates that little effort was made to tabulate the vote for Farrell Dobbs, Grace Carlson and the other Socialist Workers Party candidates in this city. In 13 precincts gross errors have been uncovered. The precincts in question are 13, 18, 26, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 48, 49, 52 and 53. The official record of the County Clerk's office accredits the SWP standard bearers with a vote of 56 in the city. All indications

point to a much higher vote. A comparison of the vote of members and close sympathizers of the party with those recorded in the precinct brings the errors into the open.

In precinct 53, situated in the Negro neighborhood, William Yancey, SWP candidate for Secretary of State, is given seven votes. A challenger for the Democratic Party in this precinct reported to the SWP that Yancey received many times this number.

In precinct 49, where several members and sympathizers maintain residence, two of the party candidates didn't get credit for a single vote. Only two of the four votes of relatives of one of the candidates is recorded in precinct 48.

In one precinct a sympathizer worked on the election board. Her own vote for SWP state candidates went unrecorded in the final tabulations.

There is no way to measure the actual vote of the party without a recount. And a recount is excluded by the prohibitive fees demanded.

While the real strength of the SWP at the polls remains to be seen, it is indisputable that in the last election campaign the ideas of the party penetrated deeper into the working class of this city than ever before.

Emmett Moore

Flint, Mich.

ED. NOTE: Similar reports from other sections of the country indicate that in many places election boards and officials "did not bother" to count votes cast for the SWP candidates. When we recall how often election officials are proved guilty of fraudulent counting of ballots involving the capitalist parties, we need not be surprised to discover that fraud is likewise practiced against minority parties, who are especially vulnerable because

they usually don't have the strength to provide tellers at each voting district.

On Dec. 10 the Associated Press distributed a list of figures on the final election results, compiled from the official canvassing boards in the 48 states. It credited Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President, with a total of 13,007 votes in 11 states.

Dobbs and Carlson were on the ballot in 10 of these 11 states. For some reason, the AP shows them to have received no votes in Connecticut, although they were on the ballot there, and newspapers in a number of Connecticut municipalities already have shown they received several hundred votes there.

For California, where Dobbs and Carlson were not on the ballot, the AP credits them with 133 votes. Thus, write-in votes for the SWP were counted in at least part of California. But if the AP report is accurate, they were not counted anywhere else in the country, nor even in such states as Ohio and Illinois, where relatively strong SWP branches appealed for write-in votes.

From this it is evident that the SWP actually gathered considerably more support than is shown by the 13,007 votes officially credited to Dobbs and Carlson. It is equally evident, to put it most mildly, that there are some serious defects in the highly-touted "democratic way" prevailing in the United States.

These facts do not in any way alter the accuracy of the general estimate of the election vote made by George Clarke in last week's Militant. And as Emmett Moore points out, the capitalist politicians were able to prevent an honest count of our votes in this election, but they were unable to prevent our campaign from reaching large numbers of workers with the message of revolutionary socialism.

## Visit your local headquarters of the

# SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Mil-

tant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

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



# 'Hire' Learning in America

By Art Preis

America's colleges and universities are often called institutions of "hire" education. Most of them are controlled by boards of trustees who are largely wealthy businessmen and corporation executives. They govern the funds—which means they dictate salaries, promotions, selection of personnel, hiring and firing. It is their views on matters economic, social and political that are pumped into the heads of students.

In recent years the ties of higher education to the capitalist profit system have been greatly strengthened. A large number of leading colleges and universities are investing endowment funds in private businesses—ranging from Rockefeller Center to a spaghetti factory—whose profits are used to maintain these educational institutions.

A nation-wide study reported by Benjamin Fine in the Dec. 13 N. Y. Times reveals that of the \$2½ billion of endowments held by the country's colleges and universities "about \$1 billion, or 40 per cent, is invested in real property, business or commodities. Before the war less than 20 per cent was so invested, the rest being in government bonds or gilt-edged securities."

Last year 455 colleges and universities, including such giants as Columbia and New York University, reported they owned or operated private-profit enterprises whose products were sold to outside persons. The profits from this billion-dollar investment totaled \$150,492,583—all tax-exempt.

A large part of this investment is in speculative real estate "which then usually is leased to the original owner or operated by the institution itself." Another financial device is "establishment by alumni and friends of holding companies, organized to own and operate businesses, the in-

come of which goes to the university." An important source of profit is the "creation of research and patent-holding companies."

New York University has acquired in the last few years four different types of businesses, namely, the C. F. Mueller spaghetti company; the Ramsey Corp., making pistons; American Limoges China, Inc.; and Howes Leather Co., a \$35 million outfit that nets two to three millions profit yearly. The tax savings on profits of these four firms—since they are used for "educational purposes"—amounts to \$1½ million a year.

The country's largest university, Columbia, in addition to \$16,471,685 invested in apartment houses and similar real estate, owns a \$28,230,311 slice of Rockefeller Center—which indicates how much say Standard Oil and Chase National Bank have in the directing of "hire" learning in the United States.

Many businessmen and corporations are eager to encourage this method of financing universities, because it provides a means of dodging the 38% corporate-profits tax. "Almost all the major institutions," reports Fine, "are besieged by offers from business organizations to 'buy out' their buildings and then lease them back."

Dr. Carter Davidson, president of Union College which a year ago acquired the real estate, store building and warehouse of Abraham Straus & Co., Brooklyn department store, conceded that "some institutions have abused their privilege somewhat in buying factories and then claiming tax exemption for these corporations."

At any rate, it's easy to see why higher education in America is devoted to "shielding" the youth from the ideas of Marxian socialism.

# THE MILITANT

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## G. L. K. Smith Hard Pressed To Keep Fascist Party Going

Lynch Victim's Widow Accuses Klansmen

By Joseph Hansen

In 1946 the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, who hopes some day to be fascist dictator of America, made a national tour to speed the growth of his sinister "Christian Nationalist" movement. It will be recalled that he ran into more than he had bargained for.

Crowds of working people, angered over Smith's efforts to bring fascism to power in this country, picketed his meetings in city after city. Demonstrators in many places expressed their indignation over Smith's "Crusade" in such militant fashion that police had difficulty protecting the demagogue.

Credit for ringing the alarm that aroused the militants in such places as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and Minneapolis belongs to the Socialist Workers Party. It was the SWP that called for action to stop this American imitator of Hitler before his movement could gain momentum.

Smith decided that the picket-line response to his campaign was doing him no good. He discreetly moved out of the spotlight. Since then, to judge from his latest "confidential" circulars, the Christian Nationalist Crusade has fallen on evil days.

In his October circular Smith dates his troubles from 1946: "Two years ago I was almost killed in Minneapolis. A mob of 1000 to 2000 Jews broke up our meeting, tore up the furniture at Beamington Hotel, while virtually enjoying the cooperation of the police department and the smiling approval of the Jew-controlled city administration."

### SMITH GUILTY

The truth, of course, was that Smith's invasion of Minneapolis was bound to arouse emphatic protest in a city of such militant union traditions. If the chairs suffered at the fascist rally, full responsibility rested on Smith and the handful of fascists who had the temerity and bad judgment to attack the people that came down to voice their indignation.

Smith has not found it too easy to win friends and influence people in other parts of the country if we are to believe his "confidential" report to the fascist faithful. "I escaped assassination by a narrow margin last fall when I visited Denver, Colorado. I was given a deadly potion of arsenic, which cost me three months in bed at death's door plus three months of convalescence."

The demagogue does not reveal how he happened to get rat exterminator mixed with his biscuits.

### FINANCIAL CRISIS

Membership in the "Christian Nationalist Crusade" appears to be at a low ebb. Even worse, however, is the financial crisis afflicting the Smith organization: "There are some who will receive this letter who are fully able to make a donation running to thousands of dollars. You could sell a piece of real estate. You could cash some bonds. Your contribution would lift a burden from my shoulders and release a flood of literature that would electrify the Nation. Please, O God, if there is such a person reading this letter, move him to help us. Oh, how we need help. Oh, how alone we feel at times. To the small giver, I say, please don't quit."

Smith's fascist band is in a bad way for a number of reasons. First of all, the setback their leader received two years ago injured the illusion of invincibility necessary for a fascist demagogue to forge rapidly ahead. It demonstrated the readiness of advanced sections of the working class to fight any attempt to build fascism in America and thereby gave pause to those who might otherwise have been prepared to pour big money into the Smith movement.

### SOIL UNFAVORABLE

Smith's failure to attract a wide following in his first post-war rally showed that the soil for fascism is not favorable. Big Business as yet feels no pressing necessity to turn to a fascist regime to maintain its rule. The politicians of the two-party system are still able to deliver the goods. On top of this, American imperialism feels that there is a big future for the Prussian-type military caste which it is now building on massive scale. Already we see what a powerful

role militarism plays in Washington and how the militarists have taken over the conduct of foreign policy.

In these circumstances, the would-be fascist dictators find the going none too easy. Their followers lose heart. The morale of Smith's crew, for instance, appears very low. To pick up their spirits just before election with hope of better days to come, the Reverend outlined the fascist perspective. After a "terrific crash" in 1949 or 1950, "Unemployment will sweep the Nation, distress and chaos will prevail. . . Murder, bloodshed, rioting, street fighting will be on every hand."

Then will come the day of victory for the fascist Christian Nationalists if they are "ready with a strong, thoroughly disciplined, air-tight organization."

### AFTER THE ELECTION

The election results added to Smith's woes. He interpreted the evidence of labor's political power as an ill omen. "The Darkness Falls—Only the Courageous Can Survive," he titled his "confidential" post-election circular.

The ousting of Taft-Hartleyites from Congress deeply depressed the Christian Nationalist leader: "The defeat of certain constructive-minded men in Congress who were sucked down into defeat by a weak Dewey creates our greatest crisis. You . . . had better pray as you have never prayed before. . . The left wing elements have tasted blood. . . You can expect to see terrible times. . . You can expect to see a flood of left-wing Jews move into Washington unless an alerted public mind moves to correct such a situation. . . We must salvage our resources in Washington and prepare for what lies ahead. . ."

The election results did not raise Smith's hopes of solving his financial problem. "This is a crisis letter," he confessed pleading for a contribution from the "small giver." "I beg of you to stand with us. We approach the holidays when it will be easy for the weaker ones to forget and to neglect us. I must depend on the stronger ones to sustain us, to stand by us and to support us."



GERALD L. K. SMITH

Since a bleak perspective of continued setbacks and defeats will scarcely loosen fascist purse strings, Smith tried to find some cheer in the outcome of the election for American fascism:

"I believe . . . that our Cause will grow more rapidly than ever. We can accomplish this victory. We can fulfill our destiny. With the Republican Party wrecked and the Truman administration about to expose its dereliction, we can be ready for the beginning of triumphal victories in 1949, 1950 and 1952."

Whether or not American fascism scores "triumphal victories" in the days to come depends in the main on what the labor movement does with its political power. If continued support is given the two-party system, then the soil can become favorable for the swift growth of fascism. If the trade unions break from the Democratic and Republican Parties, however, and set out on the road of independent political action leading to establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, then the Christian Nationalist movement and similar native fascist formations will find the going exceedingly difficult even though Wall Street begins pumping unlimited funds into their treasuries.

## New Leads in Tresca Case

NEW YORK CITY — Fresh hope of a solution of the 1943 murder of Carlo Tresca, Italian journalist, was voiced today by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, in view of new leads now being investigated by the office of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"Recently," Thomas said, "we wrote to Mr. Hogan concerning statements about the Tresca killing and the Juliet Stuart Poyntz disappearance, made in a new book by Benjamin Gitlow, former secretary-general of the Communist Party of America. We suggested that those statements would justify his [Gitlow] being asked to appear before the county Grand Jury, to discover what tangible evidence exists to support his story about both cases."

"Mr. Gitlow, in his book, The Whole of Their Lives, tells of a feud between Tresca and Enea Sormenti, now said to be head of the Cominform in Trieste, which ended with Tresca's murder. He ascribes that slaying to two factors: that Tresca 'dared to buck the IGPU [Stalinist secret police] on the Poyntz case'; and that Tresca 'tried to foil Stalin's plans in Italy by keeping the Communists out of the Italian-American Victory Council.'"

"Tresca testified before a federal Grand Jury here in 1938, accusing the Communists of kidnapping and murdering Miss Poyntz. At that time, Mr. Gitlow avers, 'there was open talk in Communist circles that Tresca would pay with his life for his treachery.'"

"The feud with Sormenti began, the Gitlow book says, after a close friend of Tresca was murdered in Spain. We know that Tresca devoted the whole front page of his journal Il Martello (The Hammer) in May, 1942, to an attack on Sormenti, assailing him as a 'commandant of spies, thieves, and assassins' during the Spanish Civil War."

"Mr. Gitlow records that Tresca told him, shortly before he was killed, that he knew Sormenti was in New York. It was then that he also told several other friends about seeing Sormenti here, and remarked: 'Where he is I smell murder. I wonder who will be the next victim?'"

"In writing Mr. Hogan I pointed out that Mr. Gitlow's statements about the two cases appeared to have much more solidity than those of Louis F. Budenz, ex-editor of the Communist Daily Worker, in his autobiography last year. (The manner of Mr. Gitlow's writing (the manner of one with information from sources close to the facts) I felt that there was good reason to hope that he could be more helpful in solving both the Tresca and Poyntz cases than was Mr. Budenz. "Our committee, however, has always kept an open mind about the guilty in the Tresca case. From the start fingers of suspicion have pointed toward both Fascists and Communists."

"Tresca was shot down in the dim-out at Fifth Avenue and 16th Street in 1943. Friends will honor him on the sixth anniversary of his death, Tuesday, Jan. 11, at 8 p. m., at a meeting sponsored by the Tresca Memorial Committee in the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St.

Mrs. Amy Mallard swears out a warrant identifying Wm. L. Howell (r) as one of the mob of hooded white men who shot and killed her husband on a dark Georgia road Nov. 20. The lynchers halted the Mallard car, in which Mrs. Mallard and two young cousins were riding. Georgia police took no action following Mrs. Mallard's charges until the day of her husband's funeral, when they arrested the widow and charged her with the murder. While protests forced the dropping of this absurd charge, the two teen-age cousins are being held in jail as material witnesses. (Federated Pix)

## WHY STALINIST MACHINE IN TWU WAS CRUSHED AFTER 14-YEAR RULE

Last March the Stalinists held an iron grip on the CIO Transport Workers Union. For 14 years they had ruled almost undisputed. Long-standing members or supporters of the Communist Party held all posts, from president on down.

Today, the Stalinist machine

in the TWU is smashed. One section of the machine, under President Michael Quill, has deserted to the official CIO bureaucracy headed by Philip Murray. The other, which continued to serve the Stalinist line, has been driven out of all posts and offices.

### STALINIST ALIBI

The CP leaders try to attribute their latest debacle in the CIO solely to the general red-baiting drive, the "treachery" and bureaucratic methods of Quill, the "backwardness" of the TWU members, the intervention of the Catholic hierarchy, etc. These factors exist, no doubt.

They might explain why a minority opposition fighting the entrenched leadership of a union, or the leadership of a local union bucking the international, could suffer defeat. But they don't explain how a long-entrenched, professedly "progressive" leadership of an international union can be wiped out almost overnight by red-baiting opponents.

It speaks volumes that the Stalinist leaders who "educated" the TWU members over 14 years could become the victims of a crude red-baiting campaign, with a majority of the membership either applauding the red-baiting attacks or indifferent to the methods used in ousting their long-time leaders.

### QUILL'S SCHOOL

Quill introduced nothing new into the TWU in running roughshod over the Stalinists or in using the most reactionary red-baiting against them. For more than a decade he'd been doing the very same thing, in the same post, against TWU militants and opponents of the Stalinist machine.

The Stalinist leaders crushed every voice of opposition or even mild criticism for 14 years. They red-baited militant workers as "Trotskyites." They, with Quill as their chief instrument, ruled with bureaucratic terror.

In the last stages of their desperate fight to hold onto their posts, the Stalinist leaders demagogically accused Quill of selling out the New York workers to the city bondholders by agreeing to a doubling of the subway fare in order to get a wage concession for the subway workers. But Quill was simply continuing the policy originally advanced by the Stalinist machine itself.

For the sake of the political alliance of the Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party with the Tammany Hall Democrats, the Stalinist leaders again and again sold out the TWU membership. Way back before the war, the

Stalinist TWU leaders made a political deal with the late Mayor La Guardia. They continued this alliance with the ruling city politicians, who serve the bankers, until this year. Then, it was not they, but Mayor O'Dwyer who broke the alliance in line with the broader interests of the Democratic Party and Truman's foreign policy. Quill, minus the Stalinists, merely recanted his alliance with City Hall.

Brought up in the Stalinist school of bureaucracy, opportunism and support of capitalist politics, Quill and his clique

found it easy to swing over to the Murray machine and the Truman-Marshall Doctrine. As a Stalinist, Quill had never fought a principled fight. When Murray cracked the whip, Quill leaped into the traces of the stronger bureaucracy.

The Stalinists might have survived the desertion of Quill. But they could not survive the desertion of the TWU membership, who in the main had nothing but hostility or indifference toward the Stalinist leaders after 14 years of bureaucracy and betrayal.

## U.S. Speeds Global Military Alliance in Secret Sessions

(Continued from page 1)

Great Britain has already begun rearming, standardizing armaments in accordance with the master blueprints in Washington right down to the threads on nuts and bolts.

Canada is getting ready. Defense Minister Brooke Claxton announced Oct. 25 that Canada's armaments "are being coordinated with those of the other Western powers so they will fit into a North Atlantic security pact."

France too is rearming. According to a Nov. 4 dispatch from Germany, "The United States has secretly revitalized three French divisions with new military equipment to help boost Western Europe's armed strength."

Terrific pressure is being placed on the Scandinavian countries to join the pact. The aim openly avowed by Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times, is to secure strategic military bases. "We already have the right to the use of airfields in Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, England, Germany, Tripoli and Morocco; the other countries of the pact will probably extend us similar privileges quietly after signing."

Fascist Spain, in one way or another, will be integrated into the gigantic coalition. As Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (S.C.) put it, "We must help people we know we can trust."

### AXIS POWERS TOO

The former Axis powers rate as allies. Washington is said to be insisting on open inclusion of Italy in the pact. Chief of Staff Omar Bradley sent his plane to bring Italian Chief of Staff Gen. Elio Maras to Washington to discuss Italy's role.

As for Western Germany, Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall gave substance to widespread speculation about German remilitarization by admitting

"there has been some discussion of a necessary police force."

From Japan, Gen. MacArthur sent a lengthy analysis on reviving Japanese militarism. The report has been kept secret so far, but Hanson W. Baldwin disclosed that "Some Japanese leaders—and a good many of our own—have quietly broached the subject of limited Japanese rearmament despite the fact that the new postwar Japanese Constitution 'renounces forever' armed forces for Japan." However, says Baldwin, "the establishment of a Japanese army is still merely in the discussion stage."

### ARMS BUDGET RISING

The enormous cost of Wall Street's war preparations is being minimized by the Truman Administration. For the fiscal year of 1950 Truman is said to have set an arms budget "ceiling" of \$15 billions. This compares with some \$10 billions for 1948 and an estimated \$12 billions for 1949.

But the \$15 billions is actually a minimum, since Truman's proposal contains an "escape" clause permitting higher expenditures if "further evaluation" calls for them. Projects already approved by Congress reach close to \$18 billions. This does not take into account indirect costs which likewise reach astronomical figures.

Big as these amounts are, they do not cover the Atlantic Pact. The cost of financing this inter-continental alliance is additional. Minimum estimates run between \$15 billions and \$20 billions for the next four or five years.

### DEADLINE FOR ADS

All branches wishing to place ads in The Militant must have the copy in the Editorial office no later than Tuesday morning of the issue going to press the following Thursday.

## Notes from the News

MURRAY ON BIAS — George F. McCray of the Associated Negro Press reports that at the recent CIO convention Philip Murray "talked in proud language about the strong anti-discrimination which the steel workers had just put into operation. Few delegates knew, and perhaps President Murray himself did not know, that the steel workers anti-discrimination committee, which was appointed as far back as June, has not even organized itself for work."

"BACK-TO-TRUMAN" MOVEMENT — Robert Kenny, former Attorney General of California, has broken with the Wallace movement and is calling for a return of Wallace to the Democratic Party. Kenny has his eye on the post of Mayor of Los Angeles, for which there will be an election next spring.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS — To Jimmy Kutcher of Newark, who will be 36 the day after Christmas. Return of his civil rights and recovery of his job would be the best present of all. We can't promise them for his birthday but we'll do our best to help him win the battle against the bi-partisan witch-hunters.

OLD-AGE SLIDING SCALE — M. Moran Weston, labor columnist of the N. Y. Amsterdam News, advocates a sliding scale of benefits for old age insurance: "A provision should be included to require adjustment of payments, up or down, whenever changes in the cost of living as computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics went up or down more than a specified number of points."

ADA HEAD QUILTS — Leon Henderson has resigned as national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action because of "pressure of private business." A new chairman will be chosen at the ADA national convention in Chicago next April.

CIO CRACKDOWN PROCEEDS — The national CIO has continued the way for its crackdown on Stalinist-dominated CIO internationals by taking jurisdiction in the retail clerks field away from the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers. Meanwhile, leaders of the Farm Equipment Workers have refused to act on the demand that they dissolve into the United Auto Workers until the FEW convention in February.

D. C. REPORT AVAILABLE — The report of the National Committee on Segregation in Washington, may be obtained from the committee's headquarters at 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago.

JAPAN WAGE CURB — MacArthur has told the Japanese government to put a ceiling on wages if it wants "maximum American financial help."

DANGEROUS BALLYHOO — The so-called "reform" of court-martial procedure is subjected to justified criticism by the committee on military justice of the New York County Lawyers Association. The ballyhoo about the value of the surface changes made so far is dangerous, says the committee, because it reduces "the possibility of further Congressional action to effect the real reforms which are still lacking."