

ACLU Meeting Voices Alarm at Rising Reaction

By Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK — "The witch-hunt launched in Washington is spreading like a cancer throughout the country."

This warning by A. A. Heist of Los Angeles expressed the mounting alarm over the government's thought-control purge among the 300 delegates at the 29th annual conference of the American Civil Liberties Union in this city on Mar. 19.

Investigations into the ideas and beliefs of individuals were opposed by a big majority of the delegates. They demanded abolition of the House Un-American Committee and its carbon copies in the states, such as the Tenney Committee in California and the Canwell Committee in Washington State.

Professor Thomas L. Emerson of Yale denounced as "shameful" the firing of James Ketcher, legless war veteran, from his VA clerical job solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Professor Emerson branded the Department of Justice "subversive" list an attempt to license ideas.

A sharp debate occurred over proposals to require disclosure by all organizations of their aims, sources of funds, expenditures and names of their officers — commonly called "full disclosure."

Full disclosure was advocated in the October 1947 report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, of which Morris Ernst, ACLU general counsel, was a member. Legislation requiring such disclosure has been introduced in Congress through the revised Mundt-Nixon bill and the Ferguson bill.

Ernst vigorously upheld full disclosure in the conference debate. He was supported by James L. Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

Disclosure was strongly opposed by Roger Baldwin, ACLU national director, and John F. Finerty, a famous civil liberties lawyer. Another well-known civil liberties defender, Arthur Garfield Hayes, who was absent from the conference, attacked full disclosure as a "dangerous precedent" in The Nation of Jan. 29.

Ernst and Fly argued that all movements should be compelled to disclose their main backers, so the weight given an idea would rest on knowledge of the true author, thus enabling the "little man" to make an intelligent choice of ideas.

They contended no propaganda material should be permitted in the mails without knowing who's back of it. (The Rees bill now before Congress would require the Postmaster-General to prepare a blacklist of organizations whose mail would have to be labeled, "Communist Front Organization.")

Baldwin and Finerty replied that under full disclosure only ideas certified by the FBI would be permitted. The people, who are supposed to be sovereign over the government, would be subjected to censorship by political police.

Don't gag anybody, they demanded. Remove the grievances which lead to criticism of the government.

Fly asked in patronizing tones if the conference was "really" afraid the FBI might pry into everybody's affairs. He was taken aback when many delegates shouted, "Yes!"

ers just because they are Jews. He also cited cases in which Negroes and active unionists have been fired by official purges who were Negro haters and union-haters.

Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University related the story of a completely non-political medical journal, carrying reports on Soviet medical discoveries, whose circulation in Washington has dropped from 600 to 30 since the purge began.

K. R. Mather of Boston told of a heated panel discussion where he defended the whole "loyalty" purge and sought to minimize its evils by asserting that "only about 100" have been purged.

Heist refuted Ernst's alibi for the witch-hunt by describing how an anti-Semitic official has been purging Jewish government workers.



Guatamalan workers such as these are fighting mad over the union-busting tactics of the United Fruit Co. in their country. When the Guatamalan government refused to break a strike against the company, the U. S. monopoly imposed a blockade on the country's ports. After vast amounts of bananas and coffee were spoiled, the company reportedly settled — on union terms.

Minister Tells 'Militant' Why He Is Under Attack

(Continued from page 1)

March 18, the Council's chairman; he is still a member of its board of directors. The elder Melish was ordered deposed because he refused to oust his son for this "offense."

I commented that apart from his son's rights, his own case held an even more dangerous threat — the practice of declaring "guilt by association," of convicting one person for the actions of a friend or relative.

"Yes, in a sense that is so. But there have always been some people in the diocese who objected to my work," he explained. "I have always been interested in labor, and there are some who have always hated labor."

He spoke proudly of having joined the Central Labor Union back in 1906, when it had 70,000 members in Brooklyn. "I was in it as long as it existed, too. Then, when it dissolved, I became a member of the Central Labor Council of New York. Of course, I have not been very active for the past few years. I am growing a little old."

In the years that he has been its rector, the parish has attracted more and more working class members, including a large percentage of minority peoples. "The Negro people, the Spanish people, all know they are welcome in my church."

HIS OPPONENTS

But these and other signs of friendship for the oppressed have been resented by the wealthier parishioners. Afraid of his popularity, they waited to strike at him through his son. The first open attack came several months ago.

"I gave the invocation at the Wallace meeting at the Stadium. I was for Wallace. I couldn't do much more, but my son made a speech." That brought an outburst from a prominent Republican, Mrs. Bromley, whose husband has recently been appointed to New York judgeship. Dr. Melish replied. "Like a Republican congregation ought to have a Republican minister."

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Fly asked in patronizing tones if the conference was "really" afraid the FBI might pry into everybody's affairs. He was taken aback when many delegates shouted, "Yes!"

"But we have the support of the parish," he continued. "I would say that 90% of the members are for us."

His gentle voice became sharper as he explained the connections between his rich opponents. "Bishop De Wolfe," he said, "has become a rubber-stamp for the corporation lawyer Jackson A. Dyckman."

It is Dyckman who, as legal counsellor for the bishop, is handling the court charges against the Melishes.

"And I have fought Dyckman for 20 years. He has always opposed everything I stood for. I don't suppose that will help our court case," he admitted ruefully, "but we will carry it through to the end."

STATEMENT TO MILITANT

I asked him if he would like to make a statement for the readers of The Militant.

"You can say for me," he replied, "that I believe in all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and by the State of New York, including freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, and freedom from discrimination too."

He reached into his pocket. "Perhaps you would like to see this. It is the text of the sermon I delivered this morning."

It answered the Bishop's charges and with stinging wit dashed the would-be repressors. "We have an uninformed Bishop and an uninformed Stand-jell."

Next Week:

"The New Kensington Frame-up Case" by G. Mason. Three leaders of CIO United Steel Workers Local 302 railroaded to prison. Here are the shocking facts about the collusion between the company and Philip Murray's bureaucratic machine.

Our reports on Cardinal Spellman's strikebreaking burned the Labor Leader, N.Y. official mouthpiece of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Read Art Preis' crushing answer to their attack.

"The Socialist Call Stoops to Slander." Bert Cochran replies in his column to the Norman Thomas breed of moralists on the union elections in Buffalo.

James Ketcher appears before the Loyalty Review Board in New York on March 31. Read the full report in next week's Militant.

MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY

• Starvation Ahead? by A. Gilbert

The prophets of famine say that the world's food supply cannot keep up with population growth. Are they right? A. Gilbert calls attention to some vital facts these prophets overlooked.

• Stalin Switches Slogans by M. Pablo

A withering expose of the latest Kremlin propaganda turn. When Generalissimo Stalin jerked the theoretical rug, Moscow's apologists ended up anywhere but on their feet!

• Destruction of Indian Communal Democracy by William F. Warde

Another illuminating study of the primitive communist life of the Indians and the triumph of aristocracy in early America. If you liked "A Suppressed Chapter in the History of American Capitalism" in the January FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, you'll enjoy this contribution to the Marxist understanding of pioneer America. Facts which you won't find in the capitalist text books!

• The Filibuster: A Decisive Test

The editors assess the ignominious defeat of the Truman Administration by the Southern Bourbons. A revealing analysis of the new political line-ups and the role of the labor bureaucrats in the phony Senate fight.

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THE MILITANT

CULTURAL CONFERENCE PEDDLES STALINIST SHAM "PEACE PROGRAM"

(Continued from page 1)

such world famous names as Barbusse and Romain Rolland, staged their first "peace congress" in 1932, on the eve of Hitler's assumption of power in Germany. This 1932 congress was likewise convened in Paris; it, too, employed the screen of "culture and sciences"; it too, promised to assure peace.

EQUALLY VILE SHAM

Supplementing the sham conference at the Waldorf-Astoria there was just as vile a sham staged at Freedom House by Professor Sidney Hook and his Social Democratic colleagues. For every lie that was promoted in the interests of the Kremlin, the Freedom House spokesmen gave voice to equally vicious lies in the interests of American monopolists and war-mongers.

TROTSKY'S WARNINGS

Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers throughout the world denounced and exposed this sham at the time. They correctly pointed out that the roots of war are imbedded not in the minds of a few prominent individuals or reactionary groups but deep in the structure of capitalism itself. The struggle against war is therefore meaningless unless conducted through the revolutionary mobilization of the mass of the people for the institution of socialism.

"Peace congresses," Trotsky warned at the time, were not only futile and completely impotent, but actually played into the hands of the warmakers by lulling the people with illusions, diverting their energies, demoralizing and disillusioning them in the end. The fate of the 1932 "Peace Congress" proved this to the hilt.

But this did not deter the Stalinists. In 1933 they staged still another "world congress," this time against fascism. It proved just as futile.

But in the Thirties the Kremlin still had the possibility of maneuvering between rival imperialist blocs; there was also the possibility of building large mass movements — the "People's Fronts" — hand in hand with the Social Democrats and sections of the liberal bourgeoisie. It was primarily this that enabled the Kremlin to cover up the fraud and futility of all its "peace" masquerades.

The "American way of life" they were there to defend against "communism" was driving up to the Waldorf main entrance in limousines so long two cabs had to move out to make space for one of them. I figure a million dollars worth of diamonds and furs fluttered through that entrance in the time I watched.

IN THE EVENING

Early in the evening I returned to see the "20,000 to 50,000 real Americans" whom the heads of the Catholic War Veterans, the United Catholic Organizations for the Freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty and the "Peoples Committee for Freedom of Religion," a phony Catholic front, had said would mass for the opening session of the Stalinist conference that night.

By 8:30 P. M. I counted about 250 marchers on all sides of the Waldorf, two groups of about 75 each circling on each side of the main entrance on Park Avenue, and small rings of about 15 to 20 each at the two sides and rear.

The marchers included the popular young novelist, Norman Mailer, had the following to say:

"I had deliberated about coming here and speaking. I don't believe in peace conferences. They don't do any good. So long as there is capitalism, there is going to be war. Until you have a decent, equitable socialism, you can't have peace."

This is the truth. Norman Mailer

THE MILITANT ARMY

Happy There Is One Paper in America With Backbone'

V. L. of Allentown, Pa., wrote the following encouraging letter last week when he sent in for three extra copies of the Feb. 21 and Mar. 14 issues of THE MILITANT:

"I enjoyed reading the article concerning the Jehovah's Witness. I am a lover of democratic principles, freedom of speech, of the press and freedom from want and fear. I am happy to know that there is a newspaper in America that had enough backbone to make known to the public the death of a Jehovah's Witness in Greece when all other papers were practically mum on the subject."

"What is a renegade?" McGohey asked.

"A renegade," Budenz brazenly replied, "is a person who believes in peaceful social change."

Lenin, the unfaltering champion of socialist emancipation, who was the workers' man in every fiber of his being, has been put in the prisoners' dock here at Foley Square. There is nobody to address the jury in his defense.

The Stalinists who are on trial here have twisted, distorted and betrayed Lenin's program and his great party over and over again. They are not fit to defend Lenin, nor to champion the magnificent concepts of scientific socialism which represent mankind's only salvation from the endless cycle of wars and depressions under decaying capitalism.

THE MILITANT

please forward us 50 additional copies for a period of ten weeks."

Elaine Millar, Literature Agent of the Los Angeles Southside Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, describes how they are handling the extra copies they are getting during the election campaign: "We sold 14 Militants at the CIO Building March 18. This is a continuation of our regular Friday night distributions. While we were selling Militants outside, Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate for Mayor, was speaking to a Packinghouse Union meeting inside."

New York's score of sales for the week, according to Literature Director Harry Gold, was 45 Militants and 20 copies of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. These are sales on the campus, street corners and union meetings and do not take into account newsstand sales.

If money is not the sinews of a newspaper like ours, we must say that it certainly helps to lubricate the press. Most of our literature agents understand the importance of prompt, regular payments of bundle orders to keep THE MILITANT rolling smoothly from the time copy hits the editorial desk until it appears in print on newsstands and in subscribers' mail boxes. Many try to make it a habit to send payments in as promptly as bundles are received.

This month we express our appreciation to the following branches whose accounts, the records show, are paid right up to the end of February: Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, Newark, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Louis, Toledo and Worcester.

If any one is disqualified to criticize the "intellectual strait-jacket" of Stalinism it is an individual like Hook, one of the public promoters of thought-control in our colleges, let alone the country as a whole.

If anyone should be exposed as an enemy of truth, it is an individual like Hook who falsely identifies Stalinism with Leninism and the Stalinist regime with the whole of the Soviet Union itself, and who, incidentally, thereby helps strengthen Stalin's hand.

The attacks of such people on Stalinism help promote directly the cause of reaction and the preparations for the next war.

'Anti-Red' Mass Mobilization Against Conference Fizzles

(Continued from page 1)

Kind of Culture is Einstein Defense?" were forced to remove them. Somebody finally thought to produce a small, crudely-drawn sign, "The Protestants Are Also Being Persecuted." It didn't say whether in Eastern Europe or in Catholic Spain, Portugal and Argentina.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TOO

At 8:30, when the picket lines were starting to dwindle, there appeared sudden reinforcements. A small group with banners joined the phalanx. The banners proclaimed the support of the Social Democratic Federation. They had come to bolster the forces of the ultra-reactionary authoritarian Catholic action groups in the defense of "freedom" and "culture" against "totalitarian communism."

The banners and slogans shouted by the picketers were crudely displayed. Some discussed the real anti-democratic intent of the demonstration by proclaiming, "No Red School Teachers" and "Outlaw Communism by Law in the United States." Most of them were clear incitements for a "Holy War" against the Soviet Union by American imperialism.

The Catholic War Veterans distributed a leaflet containing the Bill of Rights of the Constitution and the Ten Commandments. This was supposed to show how democratic and 100% American the demonstrators and the Catholic hierarchy are, although the Roman Catholic priest-caste for many centuries has been the most deadly enemy of free thought and enlightenment — and certainly it is the mortal foe of the principle of separation of Church and State, the very first principle of the Bill of Rights.

But the demonstrators had at least one effective propaganda weapon — a weapon given them by Stalinism. They were able to make some capital of the well-known facts about "cultural freedom" in the Soviet Union with the Kremlin's dictation to and purges of scientists, writers, musicians, etc. The banners contained jeers at Shostakovich, the internationally-famous composer who has more than once been the victim of the Kremlin's "musical criticism" but was assigned the role of the Kremlin's chief showpiece and cultural apologist at the Stalinist conference.

SERVES A WARNING

Although the Catholic hierarchy failed this time to arouse the big demonstration against "communism" it had hoped for after weeks of lynch-incitation over the Mindszenty case among New York's more than 2,000,000 Catholics, its attempt serves warning on American workers and defenders of civil liberties that the Catholic Church is making a serious offer of its services in mobilizing storm troopers of capitalist reaction to suppress all who oppose Wall Street's war program against "atheistic Russia." It is of a piece with that other recent action of the hierarchy — Cardinal Spellman

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"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States (in the capitalist world) will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extirpate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

—Leon Trotsky, Third International After Lenin.

TROTSKY



LENIN

"Fair Deal"--For Rent Sharks

Another "Fair Deal" election pledge by Truman and the Democratic Party — to strengthen federal rent controls — has just been filed away under the heading of "Broken Promises." After blocking civil rights legislation with a Senate filibuster, the Democratic-controlled Congress has quickly followed up by enacting a "local option" rent decontrol bill that will place millions of tenants at the mercy of the rent sharks.

Under this law, all federal rent controls will end in 15 months, while state and local governments have the option of ending regulation in their own areas any time before then. In wide sections of the country, this new rent "control" law will mean almost immediate removal of all rent restrictions. Tenants will be asked to pay enormous rent increases or "get out."

Where local and state governments still retain rent regulations, the landlords are nevertheless guaranteed a "fair net operating income." In effect, this means there are no more rent ceilings. Rents will be fixed according to what the landlords and their political stooges determine is a "fair net operating income." In New York City, the real estate interests have launched a campaign to raise all rents ten to 30% for a "fair net operating income."

Thus, instead of improving the living standards of the people, the election of Truman and a Democratic majority to the Con-

gress has already led to another savage blow at living conditions. Rents, which rose an average of 10% in the past 12 months, are now expected to shoot up at an even more alarming rate — and at a time when unemployment and part-time employment are becoming a serious threat.

Fortunately, Truman can't palm this rent law off on the "Southern bloc," because every voting Democrat in the Senate and 196 Democrats in the House supported this bill that clearly violates the public pledge of Truman and his party. Truman has been forced to take political responsibility for it and to misrepresent it as "a crushing defeat for the real estate lobby" and "more effective protection for tenants" than the old law, as he stated when he signed the new bill. But the National Association of Real Estate Boards gave the lie to Truman, stating: "The new act is a positive decontrol measure in the intent of Congress."

This "positive decontrol measure" is further proof that Truman and the Democrats cannot and will not fight for the interests of the working people. Only an independent party of labor, built in struggle against the Democratic and Republican parties of Big Business, will battle uncompromisingly to protect the masses against the extortions of the landlords and a government-financed low-rent housing program that will end the housing scarcity that has been such a boon to the rent sharks.

New Issue of a Prophetic Pamphlet

"We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. We think they would only use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of fascism they can possibly get. . . Once they have deprived the workers of the right to strike on so-called patriotic pretexts, then the capitalist will begin squeezing down on wages and refusing concessions. . . The next thing that will probably appear on the horizon is attempts of these Sixty Families and their supporters to stop the popularizing of ideas inimical to the capitalist, and to check by legislation the organization of the workers. . . They will begin arresting people for expressing their honest opinions and putting them in jail, framing them up."

These prophetic words were spoken, on the very eve of U. S. entry into World War II, by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He uttered them under cross-examination as one of the 18 SWP and CIO defendants in the historic

Minneapolis Labor Trial in the fall of 1941. This issue of *The Militant* is largely devoted to sounding the alarm on the state of civil liberties today in the United States — a condition of affairs that remarkably confirms the predictions Comrade Cannon made on the witness stand eight years ago.

His full testimony — an illuminating exposition of Marxian Socialism as it applies to the United States — is now available in the newly issued third edition of *Socialism on Trial*, published by Pioneer Publishers.

In this most popular pamphlet ever issued by the American Trotskyist movement, Comrade Cannon not only predicted the trend of civil liberties, but explained in the most lucid fashion the forces at work in our society that have led to the present loyalty purge, thought control trials and witch-hunt laws, as well as the working class program that would combat and abolish them.

Readers of *The Militant* who have not yet read *Socialism on Trial* should do so as soon as they can. We know of no finer or more interesting introduction to the emancipating ideas of Marxism.

Persecution of Conscientious Objectors

(Continued from page 1) breaking with war means refusal to enlist in the armed forces; withdrawal from the armed forces for those now in them; refusal to register or render any service under the conscription act.

"The girl friends, sisters, mothers, fathers, Christian ministers, and fellow church members of these young men, should, we believe, support them openly." In the front ranks of this civil disobedience movement against war, stand Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary of the Peacemakers, a militant group of religious pacifists, and Dr. Cecil Hinshaw of William Penn College, a small Quaker school in Oskaloosa, Iowa.

Strong moral support is given the movement by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, another religious-pacifist organization formed during World War I, of which Rev. Muste is also secretary.

Denouncing the Truman administration for jailing CO's, the religious pacifists defy the government to arrest the 300 ministers, 1100 Peacemakers, 100,000 members of the Quaker Society of Friends, and "at least one million" others who have counseled

disobedience to the peacetime draft.

IMPORTANT CASES

But the government has chosen instead to victimize a few individuals, hoping thereby to scare the others into submission. In an interview with Rev. Muste, who has long been active in the labor and civil rights movements and doesn't scare easily, I learned the details of these cases.

Larry Gara, 26-year-old Bluffton (Ohio) College dean of men, has already been convicted on charges of counselling non-registration among students. His case will be appealed to the higher courts.

Dr. Wirt Warren of Wichita, Kansas, is now on trial in federal court, charged with advising his son not to register.

In Puerto Rico, the Truman administration has charged 12 men and women with "conspiracy" to counsel non-registration. Three are native Puerto Ricans. The others are government workers and Methodist teachers from the U. S. Their case has not yet come to trial.

Appeals from local board decisions classifying two other JW's 1-A are similarly pending. There has not been a full test of the JW claim to exemption as ministers, because machinery for appeal of classifications has not been fully established. So far none of the JW's has been ordered inducted, except in the Texas case

have registered for the draft, they have not yet come into serious conflict with the government. Hayden Covington, leading attorney for the JW's, told me their only case to date involved a young Texan who has already served a prison sentence under the wartime draft.

In accordance with JW policy, he had claimed exemption from the peacetime draft as a minister. The local draft board denied his claim. He refused to report for induction when called and was thereupon arrested.

When Covington learned the local board's decision had not been appealed, he went to General Hershey, selective service chief, and secured the young JW's release from arrest, pending an appeal of his draft classification.

We seek in the course of such mutually shared experience to convince a majority of the need to abolish capitalism and create a socialist society of peace, freedom, and plenty.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Workers Party upholds the democratic right of conscientious objectors to act according to their beliefs, and we will do everything we can to help defend them from persecution by the capitalist government.

Since the Jehovah's Witnesses, unlike other religious pacifists,

Restrictive Ballot Bill Opposed by SWP in Conn.

HARTFORD, March 29 — The Connecticut State Judiciary Committee held a hearing today on a bill to prohibit "members of subversive groups from . . . appearing on the ballot or holding office." Such persons would also be prohibited from holding any state or municipal jobs.

AGAINST BILL

Only State Senator Dodd (Dem.), former Nuremberg prosecutor, and spokesmen of the American Legion spoke in favor of this bill. Representatives of the CIO, AFL, IAM, Progressive Party, Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party spoke against the bill. Several individuals also spoke against it.

While most of the speakers tried to show that the bill was aimed solely at the Communist Party, Alvin Berman, the SWP representative, got a good round of applause when he pointed out that, "the bill is aimed at the entire labor movement."

OFFERS UNITED FRONT

Berman cited the James Kutcher case as "a practical illustration of how the proposed bill would work out in practice." The Stalinist functionaries in the hall squirmed when Berman declared that the Socialist Workers Party urged "a united front with the Communist Party on the question of civil liberties in spite of our fundamental political disagreements."

Sen. Dodd, the chief proponent of the bill, closed his remarks by admitting that his views were unpopular among the people in Connecticut right now. Assuredly, the labor and liberal representatives present in the Senate Chamber today will force capitalist politicians to think twice before enacting this bill.

Laski Barred from UCLA Talk



Harold J. Laski, British Labor Party leader and author of numerous political works, chats with his wife on board the Queen Mary as he prepares to disembark in New York. He learned on arrival that authorities of the University of California in Los Angeles had barred him from speaking there at a scheduled lecture. Laski, former head of the British Labor Party, is anti-Stalinist.

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Editor:

There is no doubt that James Kutcher's civil rights have been violated and I want to do all I can to defend and protect him. However, what about the civil rights of the thousands of other "James Kutchers" whose civil rights are being violated every day as the young men of our nation become 18 years of age and are threatened with imprisonment if they refuse or fail to sign away their God-given birth-right by registering for military service?

I am in favor of protecting and defending the civil rights of all humankind and especially the young men and boys whose age permits the criminal war-makers to draft them into military slavery and involuntary servitude.

Since our nation has been almost completely militarized, I wish to suggest that we organize all civil rights committees into "one big union" of civil rights for all people for all time to come, instead of this present haphazard way as we are now doing.

Railroader, Minnesota

Ed. Note: See Page 1 for articles dealing with the questions raised in this letter.

right to their political opinions and cannot be constitutionally disallowed for them.

MASKED BY SECRECY

The authors condemn the secrecy masking the Loyalty Board operations. "It is seldom that one encounters in public affairs such a blanket of darkness as covers the operation of the loyalty program." This begins with the establishment of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations which was fabricated without evidence, bill of particulars or judicial hearings.

It is carried forward by the Loyalty Boards where hearings are private and Anglo-American traditions of fair procedure are ignored by the failure to provide for complete notice of charges and full disclosure of the evidence upon which the decision is reached.

"Decisions of the Loyalty Boards consist solely of the final conclusions reached, there are no findings of fact, no analysis of the evidence, no statement of reasons." The authors note that the rule of "guilt by association" which is made absolute grounds for dismissal violates the fundamental legal principle that guilt must be personal. Moreover the loyalty purge makes no provision for any judicial review.

"One of the striking features of the Loyalty Order is that it does not define disloyalty," upon which the whole persecution hinges. This term can be stretched to mean any idea displeasing to the party in power or to the inquisitors at work. "This use of sweeping and undefined standards in loyalty cases carries with it grave dangers." Among them is the fact that the average government worker is under "constant pressure to conform to the conventional and safe."

"THE NEW LOYALTY"

The authors quote the noted Prof. Henry Steele Commager of New York University on this tendency:

"What is the new loyalty? It is, above all, conformity. It is the uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of America as it is — the political institutions, the social relationships, the economic practices. It rejects inquiry into the race question or socialized medicine, or public housing, or

religious and non-religious CO's will feel the full weight of unrestrained government persecution.

Although the Socialist Workers Party firmly opposes imperialist war and capitalist draft laws, we do not agree with the policy of non-registration, nor do we favor claiming exemption from military service on conscientious grounds.

So long as a majority of the people permit a capitalist government to rule over them and plunge them into war, we believe it is the duty of opponents of capitalism and its destructive wars to share with the majority all their dangers and hardships under capitalism.

We seek in the course of such mutually shared experience to convince a majority of the need to abolish capitalism and create a socialist society of peace, freedom, and plenty.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Workers Party upholds the democratic right of conscientious objectors to act according to their beliefs, and we will do everything we can to help defend them from persecution by the capitalist government.

Another Impotent Maneuver

Peace feelers and threats by Thorez, Togliatti, Grotewohl, William Z. Foster and the other Stalinist hacks are variations on a Moscow theme. A timely editorial on Stalin's latest attempt to cheat the class struggle. An other timely article in the April issue of the *Fourth International*.

AFL EDITOR TELLS WHY HE SUPPORTS KUTCHER DESPITE INTIMIDATION

CLEVELAND — At a recent meeting to rally local support for James Kutcher, Walter L. Davis revealed that he had been under pressure not to participate in the defense of the legless veteran, and told the audience why he was resisting such pressure. Davis, who is associate editor of the *Cleveland Citizen*, official publication of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, reprinted the text of this speech paper. It reads as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen. From the start, I think I should make quite clear to everyone that I speak for myself. Understand, I mean me — and me alone.

That preface rather sounds as though I have been intimidated somewhat — which is my way of saying that I have. So, let's stop kidding me — and maybe some other people in this room at this very moment. I'll admit it.

I'm here only because I believe in the basic principles back of the fight for James Kutcher. In this day and age it takes courage to be for right things such as Kutcher. And that's horribly ironical because I was a 4-F all during the course of the last war, and now I find myself in the position of having to be "courageous" to come to the defense of a man who got a couple of legs all blown to hell fighting MY part of OUR war. I ask myself — and you — should there ever come a time in history when it takes courage to defend a man like that?

A TERRIBLE FEAR

What's the big problem then? Well, you see, in my profession as a labor editor, in my union, in the American Federation of Labor which the *Cleveland Citizen* happens to represent, there are certain individuals who live in a mortal, dreadful, terrible fear of

being called a certain name — and I don't mean that Truman-Pearson business you might be thinking of. Honestly, that particular nomenclature doesn't worry me too much. But let's face it. The man we are apparently defending here tonight — as I understand it — is a believer in the principles advocated by Trotsky. Well, I don't agree with him. That doesn't make me very unique. I didn't agree with the philosophy advocated by Sacco and Vanzetti, either.

Frankly, I don't give two whoopeos in hell about what James Kutcher believes. He could even be a Republican and I would defend him. But I do care very much about what has happened to him. Because if James Kutcher can get kicked out of his job because he belongs to the Socialist Workers Party, I can get kicked out of mine because I bite my fingernails and pick my nose.

The question here — the real question, it seems to me — is one of liberty. I know this — and I speak with all the conviction within me — there is no way to take away just a little bit of liberty. I know this — and I speak with all the conviction within me — there is no way to take away just a little bit of liberty. There cannot be such a thing because no one has ever come up with a definition of what a "little bit" of liberty is. What I'm talking about, for example, is that there is no way — in this country of ours — of abolishing the Communist party, without taking away a little bit of liberty. I despise the Communist party, but I know very well that if it is abolished I can be next because I believe in national health insurance, real social security, unemployment compensation on a really sane and sensible basis, full employment, a real mental hygiene program and lots of other things.

BETTER ACT NOW

Liberals people had better act now and get down to cases about the presidential loyalty order. When we get to the point where a man can lose a couple of legs in defense of his country, and then be booted out of his government job on "disloyalty" charges, we haven't lost just a little bit of liberty. And if you can lose a "little," you can lose it all.

Unfortunately, the people who think right in this country on such matters as Kutcher are beginning to run for cover. And that's all part of a vicious circle, of course, because the right-thinking people are the ones who are most affected.

I say this: Let's not gamble with losing a little bit of liberty. Let's keep it all. And let's fight to keep it all.

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Walter White Apologizes

By Albert Parker

The Call, a Negro weekly published in Kansas City, Mo., printed an interesting dispatch from Washington on March 25 about the relations between the Negro leaders and the Democratic Party bosses after the Southern Democrats won the filibuster debate in the Senate.

On the previous Tuesday, the Call story reports, "a heated argument" took place in the Senate Office Building between Walter White, NAACP Secretary, and Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic Party. The argument broke out over a confidential letter sent to NAACP branch presidents during the filibuster, in which White accused McGrath of "turning tail before the Dixiecrats."

The letter charged that the Southern Democrats had "bluffed" the rest of the Senate with their filibuster and that "Democratic Senators from outside the South gave up and sold the civil rights program down the river."

"McGrath," White wrote, "is not 'right' on the question of Negro rights. He is a trader. He listens sympathetically to the Dixiecrats. Last spring in the Jim Crow regional college fight he was on the side of the Southerners. Since the election last November he has ducked and dodged every discussion of the civil rights program. He has never laid a card on the table. McGrath forgets that he is a victorious national chairman today, not because of the Dixiecrats, but because of the support his party got from Negroes on civil rights issues."

"That burned me up, and I told him off," said McGrath, who had got hold of a copy. He admitted using "strong language" on White. "It cuts deeply when people who know the record don't appreciate it but go out of the way to question our sincerity," he said with mock indignation.

Now everything White said about McGrath was not only the truth, but a mild version of it (and everything he said about McGrath also applied to Truman). If White had anything to apologize for, it was the fact that he kept these charges confidential during the filibuster fight

when it was essential for everyone to be aware of the double-dealing role of the Democratic Party.

But the story doesn't end there. McGrath reveals that a few hours later he got a letter from White saying he "attributed the unfortunate incident . . . to fatigue and the strain under which you have worked these last few days," and believed that McGrath had misinterpreted the remarks in the confidential letter. McGrath said that he appreciated this and would send White "a cordial answer." And he added: "I trust this will close the incident."

The incident may be closed, but in our opinion the moral of this incident should never be forgotten, because it really takes the cake. Here one of the chief leaders of the Democratic Party, after finishing a stab in the back to civil rights, has the nerve to bawl out the leader of the largest Negro organization in the country for telling part of the truth in a confidential letter, and this Negro leader answers with a humiliating apology for such arrogance and adds some hogwash about "misinterpretation."

No wonder the Democrats feel they can continue betraying their campaign promises and get away with it. What reason is there for them to change their hypocritical policy when the official representatives of the Negro people act in such a cowardly, cringing manner? What do the Democrats have to fear from leaders like Walter White when all they need do is give them a tongue-lashing to bring them meekly into line?

That's why we repeat what we've said before: Reliance on Negro and labor leaders who rely on Truman and other capitalist politicians will never bring victory in the civil rights fight. More than ever, we must try to arouse the Negro and labor organizations to organize a United Labor and Negro Congress on Civil Rights, with democratically-elected representatives from every city in the country going to Washington during the present session of Congress to demand the passage of civil rights legislation.

Our Reporter Makes News

The day before the prosecution presented its first witness in the trial of Stalinist leaders, the N. Y. Post printed a sensational rumor that the government's first witness would be Earl Browder. A N. Y. Sun reporter asked Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party chairman and Militant correspondent at the trial, his opinion of this rumor. Dobbs, as quoted in the Sun, said: "I think it's extremely unlikely that Browder will be a prosecution witness at all. I think he is being kept on ice by Moscow for a change of party line."

The next day Browder denounced the rumor and offered his services to the Stalinist defense. The government placed Louis Budenz on the stand.

This is one example of the way Farrell Dobbs is making news as well as writing it. Another is the interview with Dobbs in the March 17 N. Y. World-Telegram, written by its staff writer, Frederick Woltman. Militant readers will be interested in the impression Dobbs makes on other trial correspondents, as indicated by Woltman's article, headlined: "No. 1 Trotskyist Watches Red Trial."

There is a "studious-appearing man, whose youthful looks belie his 41 years" taking "copious notes and intently watching every development" at the trial, Woltman writes. "He has a very special interest in the case. He served 16 months in Sandstone Federal Prison, Minn., for violating the very same law (the Smith Act), following the only other prosecution in its history."

"He is Farrell Dobbs, 1948 Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party." He is well-known to the Stalinist defendants, says Woltman.

Crisis in the Workers Party

By George Breitman

Stalinism is in retreat and on the defensive, but that has not prevented the coming of hard times for two radical groups whose politics is distinguished above all by emphasis on anti-Stalinism—the Socialist Party led by Norman Thomas and the Workers Party led by Max Shachtman.

The papers of both are in financial difficulties, according to their own reports. By itself, that would not be decisive, because with present high printing costs all papers lacking substantial income from advertising are in financial straits. This is true not only of The Militant, but even of the Social Democratic New Leader, which has considerable support from a section of the trade union bureaucracy.

But in the case of the SP and WP press, there are many indications that their financial problems are reflections of deep political crisis, marked by dwindling membership and lack of confidence in their own future. Because the WP is holding a national convention as this is written, we will deal with it first, reserving a discussion of the SP crisis for another time.

RECOGNIZE FAILURE

The WP was formed nine years ago when its members split from the Socialist Workers Party. Condemning the "dogmatism," "sectarianism" and "bureaucratic conservatism" of the SWP, they set out to build a revolutionary socialist party by their own methods.

Now, as they meet in national convention after a long period of discussion, leaders and members alike recognize that they failed completely in this aim. Weaker in numbers than when their organization was founded, smaller in trade union forces than they were during the war, divided on almost every question confront-

ing them, united primarily by their hostility to "orthodox Trotskyism" as represented by the SWP, they face a bleak future, and they know it.

A number of the WP's prominent leaders and sympathizers have broken with it during the last year. James T. Farrell, a contributor to the WP press, publicly dissociated himself when the WP failed to take a clear-cut stand of critical support to the Marshall Plan. Albert Goldman, a member of the National Committee who objected to its 1948 election policy ("Vote socialist, vote for either the SP, SWP or SLP"), handed in his resignation last summer, allegedly so that he could actively support Norman Thomas' candidacy.

More recently Ernest Erber, another NC member, quit with a statement repudiating the "Leninist concept of the state, democracy and the road to power" and promising to support U.S. imperialism in a war against the Soviet Union because "the main enemy is abroad."

OPPORTUNIST TENDENCIES

The views of Farrell, Goldman and Erber are not incompatible with membership in the WP, and people sharing these and other Social Democratic, social-patriotic positions continue to remain in the organization, and to advance essentially the same arguments for supporting imperialism that the Social Democrats gave 35 years ago for supporting their capitalist governments in the first world war.

Also remaining as members are opportunists described by the "Trade Union Resolution" of the WP Political Committee as people who "accept relatively high offices in union and in area bodies" with the following results: "isolation from a mass base, tapering-off of our political propaganda, failure to recruit or even to establish a circle of worker sympathizers for the party, and alienation from the

party proper." While the Political Committee denounces this tendency, it does not give its direct source—namely, the role of the WP itself as a critical supporter of the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy.

While such tendencies continue and grow in the WP, enough members have quit so that the organization today is barely one-third of its 1940 size. The financial difficulties resulting from this situation are quite understandable.

As a partial solution, Hal Draper, editor of the WP monthly, New International, proposes that it be merged with the weekly Labor Action. Doing away with one WP periodical would save the pay of one editor at the very least, and solve the problem of insufficient copy for the WP press, Draper explains; at the same time the proposal provides a clue to the effectiveness of the WP press as a whole.

Here too the financial problem is not the main one. There is a sickness in this organization—a deep-rooted pessimism about revolutionary perspectives at home and abroad. The sickness manifests itself not only in the growth of social-patriotic tendencies which the leadership seems at a loss to check, but also in multiplying discord leading to the introduction of half a dozen positions on every question.

CHANGE OF NAME

How to cure this sick organization, pull it together and restore some morale? The WP leadership's main answer appears to be its resolution on "The Situation in the U.S. and Our Next Tasks." Bewailing the absence in this country of a mass Social Democratic Party which the WP could enter, it presents as a substitute the perspective of a mass labor-third-party movement. Without this, the resolution says, there can be no hope of growth for a socialist movement.

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100,000 in Strike Wave Against the Speedup in Auto

Railway Express Lockout



These neatly-parked Railway Express Agency trucks are idle as the result of a lockout of 12,000 workers instituted by the company as a reprisal against a "protest slowdown demonstration" by seven locals of the AFL Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in New York. The union charged the company with stalling in negotiations on a demand for a 40-hour week and a 25-cent hourly wage boost. On March 9, the company dismissed 3,000 workers and sent out dismissal notices, effective March 12, for 9,000 others, including 3,300 members of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters who drive the Agency's trucks.

Juries Convict Two in Seattle 'Contempt' Trials

By John Black

SEATTLE, March 25—Three of the six projected 'contempt' trials here are completed, except for sentencing and possible appeal.

Two were convicted, and one was acquitted, at trials which grew out of last year's thought-control investigations of "Un-American" activities by the Canwell Legislative Committee.

Convicted were Prof. Gundlach

and Mr. Ottenthaler, who is connected with the Repertory Playhouse of the campus. The judges in the trials repeatedly ruled out defense challenges of the constitutionality of the Canwell Committee itself.

The Canwell hearings had been run in the spirit of a lynch campaign. Burly state troopers stood on either side of "unfriendly" witnesses and frequently dragged them from the room. Attorneys for the witnesses were ejected repeatedly, and Canwell's gavel downed out all undesired answers.

Defense attorneys at the trials charged their clients had been deprived of counsel at the hearings, and claimed they had the right to refuse to testify on affiliation with the CP for fear of self-incrimination. They showed that at the hearings a number of so-called "experts" on the CP had labeled the CP as a criminal conspiracy.

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In two of the trials the judges ruled, however, that the defendants could not have claimed immunity under the law because it is not yet a crime to belong to the CP and no criminal proceedings could have resulted. The ironic thing is that the jury in effect found the defendants guilty because it is not a crime to belong to the CP!

Gundlach and Ottenthaler declared that it was impossible for them to answer yes or no to the crucial question because the Can-

well "experts" on the one hand had defined CP membership as implying a number of criminal activities, and on the other hand defined membership in the party as belonging to a number of "front" groups to which they readily admitted belonging.

CP DECLINES SWP OFFER

On the occasion of these trials the Socialist Workers Party here publicly invited the Communist Party to engage in "united action against the anti-red persecution as it has manifested itself in numerous civil right cases involving members or sympathizers of your party and ours."

The offer received consider-

able publicity in the local press,

and finally Henry Huff, state

chairman of the CP, gave the

press a statement saying his or-

ganization "has no intention now

or at any time in the future of

entering into any agreement"

with the SWP.

BEATEN INTO SUBMISSION

On this Reuther for his part has said little and is doing less.

Corporation spokesmen said, "It

does not seem possible the strikes

and slowdowns could occur on

such a large scale without organi-

zation, if not without leaders."

To this Reuther demagogically replied, "It happens every time

there is a radical change in car

models. Management tries to push

our members around and they

won't stand for it." These words

believe his lack of action to protect

the UAW members and the peace-

at-any-price policy of his admini-

stration.

Reuther has resisted all efforts

at fighting the speedup on an in-

dustry-wide basis. The pattern of

the corporation where production stand-

ards were raised 35% on the new

model, although it actually in-

volves few production changes.

For a month the company made

various pressure moves against

the men, such as sending them

home half a day for failure to

meet production standards. When

this failed to intimidate the men,

the company fired 12.

The affected department im-

mediately stopped work. Within

a few hours the entire plant of

7,000 was shut down. As a result

of this militant action, the 12

were reinstated the next morning.

Here we have two different

methods for fighting discharges

resulting from the speedup.

In the Midland Steel case the

plant will resume production

while 11 fired men walk the

streets. Each man in this shop is

under pressure. The company

simply tells them, "Meet our pro-

duction standards or you too will

be fired!" Even if the 11 are re-

instated, 11 others may be fired.

And then the International will

again try to force the members to

"follow the contract," go through

the corporation.

But the labor bureaucracy and

the middle class hangers-on had

different ideas. From the very

beginning they avoided setting

up an organized movement which

would bring all workers under one political roof. Instead they took over the hollow shell of an old political organization called the Oakland Voters League and turned it into a vehicle for the election victory. Not long afterwards they buried it without ceremony. One CIO union con-

tinued to send monthly contribu-