

Starts This Issue

ATOMIC ENERGY AND CAPITALIST SOCIETY

By Arne Swabeck

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Vol. XIV - No. 3

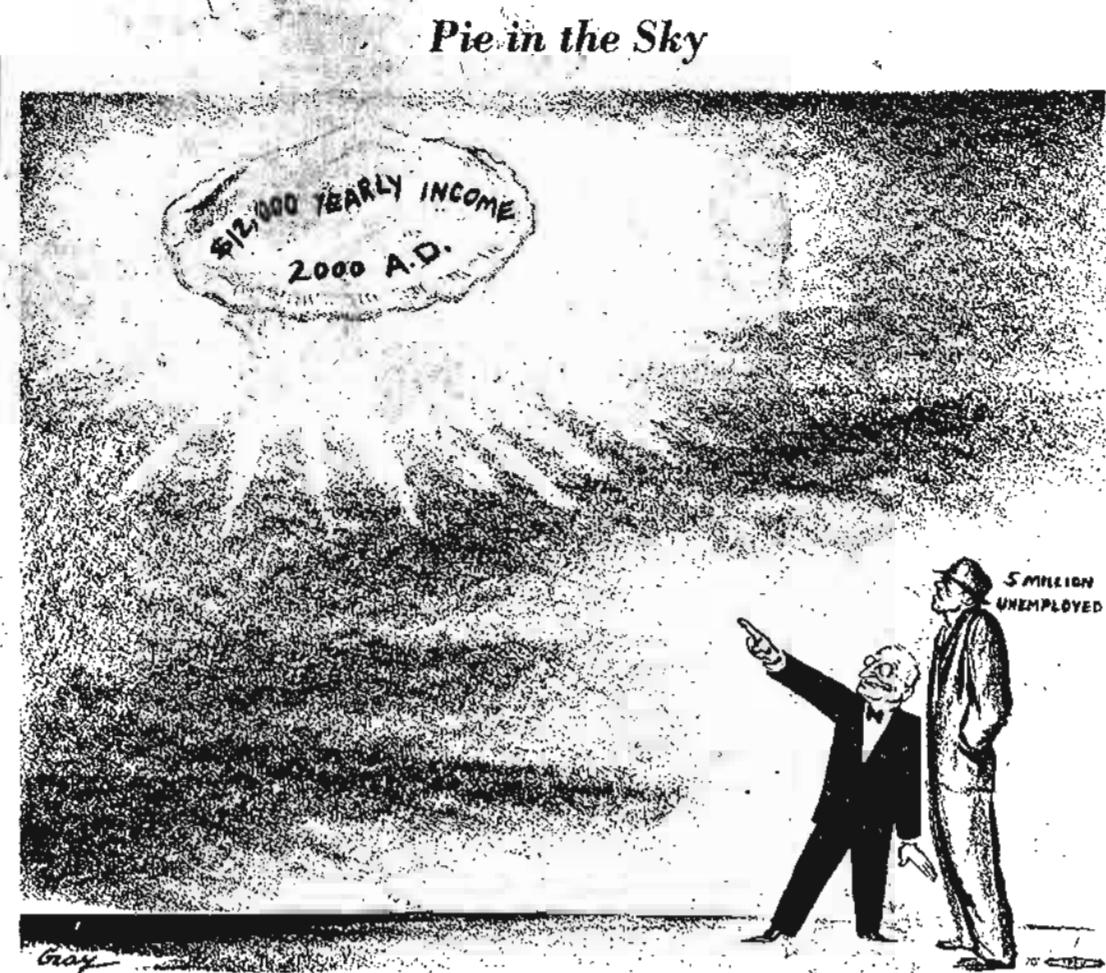
Public Protests Mounting Against FBI Lawbreaking

By George Breitman

The FBI's violations of the law in the Coplon-Gubitshev case are so flagrant and shocking that a former Cabinet member has called for the abolition of the FBI, a former high government official has asked for a congressional investigation, a U. S. Senator has announced that he is considering an inquiry by the Judiciary Committee, and the U. S. Attorney General has found it necessary to explain publicly that he has "reviewed" the situation but does not intend to do anything about it.

As last week's *Militant* reported in detail, the pre-trial hearing in New York on the Coplon-Gubitshev case has revealed three scandalous practices by the FBI, all of them in violation of specific provisions in the law: 1. Wiretapping. 2. Use of leads obtained through wiretapping as evidence introduced by the government at the first Coplon trial in Washington last spring. 3. Perjury by FBI agents who swore at that trial that they had "no knowledge" of wiretapping in the Coplon case although some of them have since admitted that they not only knew about it but helped to get it and used it.

When the evidence about these crimes began to pile up in the New York court where Judge Sylvester Ryan had permitted defense counsel to ask questions about them, it was revealed that the FBI had not only planted a microphone in Miss Coplon's of-



Japanese CP Rejects Kremlin Order for Purge

Revolt against the arbitrary domination of the Kremlin which flared in Yugoslavia twenty months ago has now spread to the Far East where the Japanese Communist Party has flouted the Cominform directives for a purge of its leadership and has instead expelled one of the leaders who publicly backed the Cominform.

The chief target of Cominform attack is the Japanese CP leader Sanzo Nosaka. The charges against him allege that he is a "deceiver of the Japanese people" who maintains that Japan "can attain Socialism under the occupation rule" of the U. S. Nosaka is also denounced for claiming that he has achieved "the naturalization of Marxism-Leninism on Japanese soil." Other unnamed Japanese leaders are coupled in these attacks with Nosaka.

The Cominform charges have received the backing of the Moscow *Pravda*, Stalin's personal Russian daily, which has denounced Nosaka as "anti-democratic," "anti-socialistic," and "anti-Japanese." These charges and attacks are reminiscent of the tone of the Cominform's original denunciations of the Yugoslav CP leadership.

Nosaka is said to have issued no public reply as yet to the attacks against him, amounting to orders for his immediate purge. Instead he has acted to purge Cominform supporters.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, Jan. 10, this counter-purge has struck Ko Nakanishi, a veteran Japanese Stalinist, who is a member of the Japanese Parliament.

Harold L. Ickes

(Continued on page 3)

ICKES URGES AMERICAN PEOPLE TO ABOLISH FBI

"If the FBI so disregards legal propriety — to say nothing of common decency — as to tap telephone wires in order to hear what a lawyer and a client may say to each other, then it is time for a free people who never have and it may be hoped, never will tolerate a secret police, to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds," writes ex-Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in the Jan. 9 *New Republic*.

Ickes expresses great shock to learn that FBI agents tapped phone conversations between Judith Coplon and her lawyer, Archibald Palmer: "This was a treacherous and cowardly blow at the liberties we hold so dear. Neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor Franco, nor the Soviet Politburo, has ever sunk lower."

"The relationship between client and lawyer is highly privileged," he continues. "Only the confessional is more sacred. The FBI has no more right to intercept a conversation between a lawyer and his client, like a sneak thief, than it would have to hide a dictograph in a confessional. Such debased behavior is even worse than the third degree in which policemen sometimes indulge to force the admission of a crime."

Taking note of the defense council's charge that the FBI had 81 agents on her trial and of the government's reply that it had "only" 40, Ickes observes: "Even if the lower figure is correct, it will be seen that, quite aside from the ethics and morals involved, it has cost the tax-payers a pretty penny to pay for the FBI's cynical breach of the

Coal Miners Need Aid of All Labor

By Joseph Keller

Probing for a vital spot in the mine owners' solid front, the coal miners on Jan. 9 began striking at the "captive" pits of the major steel companies which have been the main hold-outs in the seven-month battle of the United Mine Workers for a new and improved contract.

In spite of their magnificent solidarity and militancy, the miners have so far failed to make any significant breach in the operators' line. They are now concentrating pressure on the steel companies, which are operating at close to capacity, in the hope that they can force a settlement before their depleted resources reach exhaustion.

The long struggle appears headed for a showdown. The mine owners, backed by the whole capitalist class and government, are plainly seeking to impose a crushing defeat on the coal miners.

Since the first of the year, the offensive against the miners has been mounting in intensity. They the T-H Law.

now face a two-pronged threat of court action — a federal injunction and ruinous damage suits.

Last week all sections of the industry joined with the Southern operators in petitioning Truman's National Labor Relations Board to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction to halt the miners' three-day week and to forbid action — including strike — that the NLRB says is intended to enforce "unfair labor practices." At this writing, the NLRB is "studying" the issue.

PRESSURE MOUNTING

From all sections of Congress, including his own supporters like Democratic majority leader Senator Scott Lucas and Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, pressure is being brought to bear on Truman to intervene against the miners. He can do this under cover of his hand-picked NLRB and avoid the direct presidential action required in invoking the "national emergency" clause of

the UMW for \$8,000,000 "double damages" under an old state law forbidding any group or association from "interfering" with the production of any commodity. This law was originally designed to halt price-fixing, production quotas and other monopoly practices of the corporations.

The "Hate-Lewis" mob has scented blood. They are evidently convinced the time is ripe to break the UMW as an effective fighting union. Washington correspondent Louis Stark points out in the Jan. 8 N. Y. Times that federal officials and mine operators are hopefully recalling the 1927 struggle, when the decline in the coal industry and the failure of Lewis' strategy to crack the companies' front resulted in a terrible defeat from which the UMW did not recover for almost a decade.

Today the entire Big Business class has a greater incentive than ever to smash the miners. The

corporations have never made their peace with the mighty industrial union movement that has grown up in the past 15 years. They recall that it was Lewis and the miners who were the greatest source of strength to the early CIO. And today the miners are the most aggressive union in the country.

MINERS PIONEERED

Time and again in the past decade the miners have pioneered far-reaching demands, like company-financed pensions, which have inspired the struggles of other sections of labor. Time and again their militant methods have won gains that have spurred the rest of labor to action. Above all, the miners have relied on their own strength rather than on the government for their gains.

The employing class knows that if it can smash the miners it will have cleared the main road-block to a direct offensive against the other industrial unions, whose leaders are weak, yielding and confused all the delegates and discussed many.

The minutes of the Board of Business Agents were read. These included a recommendation to

DEBATE IN AFL

Meany answered Finegan and asked the delegates to take no action until they had heard the Transit Union's side. He excoriated the Mayor and defended the union, pointing out that his union was democratic as well as autonomous. After Meany spoke, supporters for both points of view took the floor and engaged in a heated discussion for three hours. What followed after that confused all the delegates and discussed many.

The minutes of the Board of Business Agents were read. These included a recommendation to

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Truman Asks More for War In New Budget

Human Needs Sacrificed to Militarism

By Art Preis

More than seven times as much for direct war preparations as for social welfare, health and security — that's what Truman's "Fair Deal" program adds up to in cold dollars, according to his proposed federal budget for the next fiscal year.

Direct military expenditures, "cold war" foreign aid and the atom bomb total \$19,178,000,000 (that's billions) — or about 47% of the whole budget of \$42,438,767,406. Social welfare, health and security get only 6% — or \$2,713,000,000.

Truman's promised military "economy" turns out to be an increase for the army, navy and air force. These will get \$13,544,000,000, or \$397-million more than in this year's budget. Development of bigger and better atom bombs — listed under the non-military item, "natural resources not primarily agriculture" — will cost the American people \$817 million next year compared to \$673 million this year.

FOREIGN ARMS

Only the item "international affairs and finances" shows a reduction, from \$5,964,000,000 to \$4,711,000,000. This is mainly a proposed cut in spending for "international recovery and relief."

But "foreign military assistance" — arms for war against the Soviet Union and to slaughter rebellious workers and colonial peoples — gets an increase from \$365-million to \$465-million.

Added to the cost of preparing for future war is the cost of the past war. This includes veterans benefits and interest on the national debt. Aid to veterans will be slashed \$874-million, to \$6,079,000,000. The capitalists will collect \$5,825,000,000 in interest on blood-money lent the government, which Truman's budget message explains, "represents predominantly the cost of financing the last war."

Here and there in the budget report you can find minute increases proposed for social benefits or for new social legislation. Most of the new measures are confidently expected by Truman not to be passed by Congress anyway.

SOCIAL APPROPRIATIONS

Thus, he proposes \$250-million for operation of a health insurance fund, \$328-million more for housing and \$312-million for school aid. All three together are about equal to what will be spent on atom-bomb development — besides which there is little prospect that the Democratic-controlled Congress will approve them. A proposed increased expenditure of \$1,200,000,000 for old-age pensions will be no gift — it will come out of a further increase in payroll taxes.

War, past and planned, will cost the American people 30-billion dollars, "or about 71 per cent of the total budget," Truman admits. And he stresses that this monumental burden of imperialist militarism and war will not abate in the foreseeable future.

Specifically, the largest item in the budget, national defense expenditures, is expected to approximate the 1951 level in the next few years," Truman emphasized. This is the real perspective of Truman's "Fair Deal," not his glib forecast that average income will rise \$1,000 per year by 1955.

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swabek

The announcement by President Truman that an atomic explosion had taken place in the USSR set into motion a veritable chain reaction of conjectures, based on both reality and fancy. It reverberated on frayed nerves in the Pentagon. The feed of brass hats and gold bards over global military strategy grew more tense.

Armchair strategists began painting horrid pictures of V-2 Rockets, with ranges of thousands of miles, propelled by atomic power and carrying atom bombs in the heads, equipped with proximity fuses and accurate enough to hit a city of 100,000, coming over the Polar Sea where less radar detection and fewer ships, or bases, are capable of intervening. Nightmarish conjectures appeared of such unheard of things as deadly radioactive ray barrages. Dr. Leo Szilard, an atomic scientist, actually suggested as a possibility a new poison gas, made of neutrons, that might kill a human being within a radius of one kilometer.

Prior to this announcement the most zealous adherents of the cult of air power, disciples of Douhet, Mitchell and Seversky, had projected the idea of thirty day blitz on Russia. It was all to be very simple. Seventy major Russian cities were earmarked for atomic destruction; this would result in shattering of civilian morale and paralysis of the economy, it would be a quick and decisive knock-out war. The United States was in sole possession of the bomb, zealously guarding its "secret."

SITUATION CHANGES

Now such tempers are somewhat cooled off. It is assumed that Russia also has the bomb. Reports now describe her large fleet of jet fighters, with long range jet bombers, going into mass production. Generally it is now conceded that what the United States can do to Russia in atomic warfare, Russia can do to the United States.

Assuredly it would be fatal to harbor the slightest doubts that the Kremlin oligarchy will be just as ruthless as the American imperialists.

Speculations on the advantages of a head start in bomb manufacture, size of stockpile, or available natural raw materials, do not bring great comfort to military planners. It is known that there are rich uranium deposits in the Central Asian provinces of Russia. Moreover, there have also been reports that Soviet scientists have pursued their studies in the direction of two atomic mixtures for the manufacture of bombs. These are: uranium 235 plus plutonium, which is the American bomb material, and thorium, which can also be transmuted into fissionable material.

Enormous reserves of thorium are said to have been discovered in the Manhattan Engineering District, as it was named.

GREETINGS

To the Civil Rights Mobilization
Delegates

We hope you enjoy this copy of The Militant and find it both informative and thought-provoking. Our aim is to consider the most important current events in the light of the long-range interests of the working people of all races, colors and nationalities. The struggle for full equality is in our opinion, inseparably linked with labor's great historic task of ending capitalist reaction and establishing socialism, a new way of living that can assure a world of peace, plenty and the brotherhood of mankind.

The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly. We have no connection with the purge regime of Washington or the police regime of Moscow. We have no high-paying advertisers or wealthy backers like the capitalist press. We represent native American socialism in the great fighting tradition of Eugene V. Debs. Our funds come from working people who understand the need for an uncompromising Marxist newspaper to stand up against the moneyed interests and the bigots.

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The writer of these articles wishes to acknowledge the collaboration of Comrade Roy Brown, whose assistance in the presentation of the strictly scientific data has proved invaluable. Roy Brown is an industrial chemist who has attained his bachelor's degree and is now continuing research for his master's degree.

Took over 59,000 acres in Tennessee to build the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, erected at a cost of \$500 million; one of the greatest technological projects of all time got under way. The central part of this huge plant, erected for the diffusion process of separating uranium 235 from the slightly heavier uranium 238, was called K-25. A partial description of this plant was given in Fortune magazine as follows:

"Heart of K-25 is a gigantic U-shaped building, each wing about 400 feet wide and half a mile long. Inside, uranium hexafluoride, a gas, is pumped a distance of some eleven miles through thousands of porous barriers, each perforated by billions of holes smaller than two millihths of an inch. Gas molecules containing U-235 move slightly faster than molecules containing heavier U-238 and thus find their way through the barriers slightly more easily. Acres of barriers were mass produced by Houdaille-Hershey Corp., thousands of novel pumps, some whirling at velocities above the speed of sound, were built by Allis-Chalmers, over 100,000 control instruments were provided by Taylor Instrument Companies to make the prodigious operation go."

The second largest atomic fissile material plant, the Hanford Works, in the state of Washington, was erected at a cost of \$850 million. It was the first nuclear chemical factory in the world. Within this plant, in immensely large "ovens," with walls three feet thick, atomic "fires" are built as part of the process of transmuting U-238 into plutonium. This is called the atomic pile.

The nature and the purpose of these atomic "fires" will be described later. Suffice it to say here that these "fires" can generate a heat intensity of hitherto unthinkable proportions, having a potential heat intensity of millions of degrees.

Such are the descriptions of but a part of the gigantic technological and engineering developments inaugurated by the atomic age. These examples are taken, of course, from the most industrially advanced nation in the world. However the atomic explosion in the Soviet Union would indicate a technological development, for this particular purpose, certainly approaching what has been described above. Once again this brings home an important lesson to the working class.

A couple of examples of what is required for the production of atomic fission material will suffice to illustrate this.

THE NEW ATOMIC AGE

When the Manhattan Engineering District, as it was named,

THE MILITANT

Unemployment Victim



George Fisher of San Francisco is out of work. His wife and youngest child need hospital care. Unable to raise the needed money, he has offered one of his eyes for sale. Here he poses with his family, waiting for a customer.

Dunne Flays Witch-Hunters At Meetings in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 7 — "We must nail the two big lies of modern times," Vincent R. Dunne told a gathering of steelworkers and others here tonight. "The first lie is that Stalin and the Kremlin

gang represent socialism, the second is that the rulers of America represent democracy. We must nail these two lies and spread the truth."

Dunne spoke here in the course of a two-day stop in Youngstown as part of his current national tour. Earlier in the day he presented a similar speech on "Labor and Civil Rights" to a smaller gathering of steelworkers who were prevented by their working shift from attending this evening's meeting. Both meetings were held in the Socialist Workers Party hall.

RADIO INTERVIEW

During the afternoon, V. R. Dunne was interviewed by the Program Director of radio station WBBW. In response to questions, Comrade Dunne outlined the fundamental causes of the past world war, the war now in preparation, and the attacks against civil liberties. He labelled the United Nations as a tool of

STRIKEBREAKING ACTION STIRS
CONFLICT IN CLEVELAND AFL

(Cont. from page 1) suspend Meany as a delegate to the Federation, until he gave a satisfactory explanation of his actions as a strike leader. A motion to accept the minutes was made and seconded. The question was then raised: Did approving the minutes mean accepting the recommendation? Burns, chairman, ruled yes. A. J. Davey, vice-president of the Cleveland Federation and editor of the Cleveland Citizen, Federation weekly paper, denied this, stating that the recommendation would have to be voted on separately.

It seemed at that point, as though Burns changed his opinion and agreed. The minutes were accepted and discussion began on suspensions. Davey took issue with the method of discipline, claiming it didn't conform to Federation laws which called for the filing of charges and a hearing. Numerous other delegates, including Louis Friend, secretary of the ILGWU Joint Council, agreed on this point. Finegan's backers interpreted the issue as one of supporting or rejecting the policies of the AFL officers.

A motion was then made to suspend Meany for ninety days. It was resoundingly defeated. Finegan rose and shouted "Thanks for the slap in the puss." The meeting then adjourned. It was the longest in many years and the first time in six years that

Its discovery and further development pose questions directly affecting the fate of mankind. The alternative of barbarism or socialism becomes more definite and more concrete.

In order to appreciate fully the fateful implications of this alternative we must attempt to understand all that the layman is permitted to know about this terrifying atomic power that was first demonstrated in the explosion at Hiroshima and is now heard as an echo out of the Soviet Union. We must attempt especially to understand the meaning of the atomic age in its present-day social context.

[The second article in this series will appear next week.]

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A Letter from Australia On the Recent Elections

SYDNEY, Dec. 13 — All the shouting is over now. The Australian petty-bourgeois has given his vote to the parties of Big Business. He will regret this within the next few years, but in the meantime the Australian worker, who hung on to the Labor Party, will suffer too. Actually the problem of winning elections here is that of winning the petty-bourgeois, who sways between the camps of the capitalists and workers. If he cannot find a solution for his problems under the leadership of the workers, he will look for it in the camp of Big Business. It is true that in his present frame of mind he is scared of "socialization" but this is only due to the fact that he has not seen any genuine socialization at work and identifies it with regimentation, shortages and high taxation which are in reality, concomitants of a decaying capitalist system.

NEED TO PREPARE NOW

Now is the time to rally all socialist forces. Within the Australian Labor Party differentiation is bound to occur in spite of the apathy which follows a

Given a condition of relative social stability the see-saw game between Labor and the Tories may continue indefinitely. But social stability is not safeguarded by decaying capitalism. The bosses will find that while they could no longer afford the luxury of letting Labor governments prop up their moribund system, the outmoded Tory machine will be completely inadequate to cope with the situation; and if by that time there is no genuine socialist party to lead the people towards a reconstruction of society, then fascism will make its bid.

A concerted effort must be

made to defend the socialist objective against all attempts to emasculate it. It must be linked up with day-to-day demands of the masses. All those who have been fooled by the capitalist scare propaganda will become aware of the brutal truth about "free enterprise" by their own bitter experience.

They will turn to Socialism as the only solution to their problems. Socialists must

prepare now.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

The Fate of Tan Malaka

The fate of Tan Malaka, revolutionary leader of the Indonesian masses, remains shrouded in mystery. A recent bulletin by the Republic of Indonesia of New York repeats the report that he was murdered by Republican forces last April 14 just two days after the resumption of the Sukarno-Hatta negotiations with the Dutch imperialists — apparently as part of the price demanded by the imperialists for a settlement in Indonesia.

But there have also been discrepancies from Indonesia since last April mentioning Tan Malaka as a living political figure, active and in opposition to the present government. To clarify the situation, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland (Trotskyist) addressed several inquiries to Premier Hatta and the Indonesian delegation at the Hague, reminding them of the RCP's incessant activity for Indonesian independence and requesting the courtesy of a reply.

On Oct. 16 Dr. Darmasetiawan finally answered in the name of Minister-President M. Hatta. We cite the following astonishing excerpt from this letter, printed in the Nov. 6 De Tribune:

"... I acknowledge with surprise our deep interest in the alleged death of Tan Malaka, a person who is currently disfavored by the Soviet Union and held to be a renegade... As I understand that your sympathies are extended toward the Soviet Union and this individual is designated as a deviationist, I must ask you in all seriousness how you expect to answer for that. More especially my attention is drawn to the question of what retaliatory measures the Soviet Union would take against you were you very strange attitude on this matter to become known."

The above excerpt alone is sufficient to indicate not only the amazing ignorance of the new statesmen of Indonesia but something far more important, namely, their intention to use the dastardly repression against Tan Malaka and his revolutionary fighters as a bargaining point, not only with the Dutch colonial interests and their overlords in Wall Street, but also with Stalin's GPU.

It is still not clear if Tan Malaka was murdered. But the whole episode casts sufficient light on the criminal character of Sukarno-Hatta's police methods for all those forces who have supported Indonesia's fight for independence in the past to raise their voices and demand a full and unambiguous explanation on this score from the new government of the United States of Indonesia.

Greek Centrists in Marshall Plan Camp

A national conference was held in Athens on Oct. 16 and 17 by an organization known as the

Revolutionary Centrists in Marshall Plan Camp.

The POUM organ La Batalla of Nov. 30 publishes a communiqué on this conference sent by the Archio-Marxist leader Witte, dressed up as to give the impression that this organization is fighting against the present regime in Greece and against American imperialism.

Does La Batalla know that this conference was legal, that is, authorized by the Athens Government, which imposes complete illegality not only upon the Stalinists but also upon the Trotskyists?

Is the POUM aware that this conference sent congratulations to the army of the Greek Royalists assassins on its victories against the guerrillas?

Is it aware that the Archio-Marxist organization has shamefully betrayed its one-time revolutionary banner under the cloak of becoming a "neo-socialist" tendency in Greece "fighting under the conditions of legality," that it really serves as a left cover for the bloody Athens butchers?

An answer from the POUM would be interesting, and so would a comment from their friends and supporters.



BRONX

Hear
John G. Wrighton
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Monday, January 16, 1950

"The elimination of competition by monopoly marks the beginning of the disintegration of capitalist society. Competition was the creative mainspring of capitalism and the historical justification of the capitalist. By the same token the elimination of competition marks the transformation of stockholders into social parasites. Competition had to have certain liberties, a liberal atmosphere, a regime of democracy, of commercial cosmopolitanism. Monopoly needs as authoritative a government as possible, tariff walls, "its own" sources of raw materials and arenas of marketing (colonies). The last word in the disintegration of monopolistic capital is Fascism."

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

TROTSKY



LENIN

Don't Rely on the Courts

An important victory for civil liberties was won when the New Jersey Supreme Court on Jan. 10 declared the Mehorter-Tumulty "loyalty" oath law unconstitutional. This law, passed in 1949, required candidates for public office within the state to swear that they do not believe, advocate or advise the violent overthrow of the government nor belong to any organization so believing, advocating or advancing.

Credit must go to James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for governor last November, and 29 other PP candidates, for taking the initiative in challenging the law and carrying an appeal against it to the highest state court. The appeal was backed by numerous organizations and the court's decision was a response to popular hostility to "loyalty" oaths and other forms of thought-control.

However, Imbrie subsequently did the cause of civil rights a distinct disservice when he hailed the state court's ruling as "a great victory for constitutional government" which "shows the folly of the all too frequent attacks by the far-left against our judiciary."

This can only spread the dangerous illusion that the courts are dependable guardians of the rights of the people and that we can rely on them to halt encroachments on civil rights.

We have only to examine the record of the courts to see that for every instance where an isolated court or judge renders a decision favorable to the people's rights, there are a hundred cases where the courts have trampled upon and nullified them. Within the last few weeks, the U. S. Supreme Court itself has shown

how little the judiciary can be relied on to safeguard civil rights — and on the very issue of "loyalty" oaths. By a shyster resort to technicalities, it refused to review a key test case involving the "loyalty" oath law for public employees in Los Angeles County. At the same time, it also ducked a review of the appeal by two CIO unions against the non-communist oath of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

The true nature of the U. S. Supreme Court was glaringly revealed by its two vindictive rulings that upheld anti-strike injunctions and huge fines for "contempt" against the United Mine Workers.

And we recall, in connection with the recent frame-up trial and conviction of 11 Stalinist leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act, that the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the constitutionality of that act in the similar case of the 18 Trotskyists who were railroaded to prison in 1944.

The courts as an institution function to uphold the interests of the ruling class, that is, the capitalist class. They are political and reflect the views and aims of those in power. And, generally speaking, they lean to the most conservative and even reactionary politics.

The real safeguard of the people's rights is the organized power and action of the people themselves. It was their mass pressure, their opposition and protest that at bottom determined the ruling of the New Jersey court on the "loyalty" oath law. Imbrie should know that, inasmuch as the action of his own organization and other groups was responsible for that act in the similar case of the 18 Trotskyists who were railroaded to prison in 1944.

We have only to examine the record of the courts to see that for every instance where an isolated court or judge renders a decision favorable to the people's rights, there are a hundred cases where the courts have trampled upon and nullified them. Within the last few weeks, the U. S. Supreme Court itself has shown

Truth About Economic 'State of the Union'

By John G. Wright

The universal spirit of optimism which now pervades the entire business community found, as was to be expected, its most exaggerated expression in the economic section of President Truman's annual "state of the union" message.

Without a single dissenting voice, the economic forecasters, government and civilian alike, see nothing but "smooth sailing" for the first six months of 1950, with many holding their fingers crossed about the developments in the second half of the year. But the general expectation is that the year as a whole will approximate the levels of 1949 without any real trouble in store.

Truman, expressed confidence not merely for 1950 but for the next five years, predicting an "expanding economy" which will be

sure, within 5 years, lift this country to a gross output of \$300 billion a year; raise the purchasing power of each family by \$1,000; with all the rosy tints that such a prospect implies. All this is, of course, an indispensable part of the "Fair Deal" demagogic.

REGAIN HALF OF LOSSES

However, the general business optimism, unlike the pretenses early last year, is this time grounded in something more than mere wishful thinking.

In the first place, there is the fact that in the second part of last year, the economy recovered from the tailspin into which it appeared earlier to be heading.

By the year's end, production was up 9% compared with the low set in July, or had recovered approximately half of its losses.

They had expected the classic pattern of a bust and were naturally more than relieved that it turned out to be — for 1949 — only a "moderate recession."

The strongest sector of the economy, the auto industry, instead of glutting the market, had its banner year, attaining the peak production of 6,200,000 vehicles. This acted to bolster up the sagging metals, lifting them, specially steel, from the doldrums.

There was, in addition, a pick-up in the badly hit light industries, in the first instance textiles and leather, and this could not fail to add to the growing spirit of optimism.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The current year will see the distribution of approximately 3 billion dollars in GI insurance benefits. For the next six months the domestic market will have injected into it an average of half a billion dollars a month. No one knows how much of this money has been already spent or will go to pay debts previously contracted. But on the whole, it is quite a shot in the arm.

In addition, government spending will continue on virtually the same scale as before, with another huge deficit piling up.

There are important indica-

tions that 1950 will provide the acid test for the domestic market.

It can be said with certainty that the economy as a whole is not

stronger but much weaker today than it was at the beginning of last year.

To list only a few of the

weaknesses: There is stiffer com-

petition and there are fewer

outlets in the world markets

where a trade war is now in-

progress. The tendency of U. S.

exports will be to decline,

especially with drastic reduc-

tions in Marshall aid.

Unlike the beginning of 1949, when the purchasing power of the farmers was only slightly impaired, this year begins with the farm income slashed by one-fifth, and more, and further cuts — by one-third and more — seem unavoidable. Agricultural sur- pluses are a fact, not a prospect. The government already holds almost half a billion bushels of

surplus, two-thirds of a billion bushels of corn, 5 million bales of cotton, and a huge quantity of other farm produce. Further gigantic surpluses loom. Truman has the Brannan plan as the sole solution, and appears to be stuck with it, since there is little likelihood of its passage through Con-

gress.

Deficit government spending at a rate of 5 to 6 billion dollars annually is indeed a strong inflationary dose — a highly artificial stimulant for the economy but a temporary one nonetheless.

All these factors are new in the situation and must be taken into account. The situation is not at all the same as it was six months ago. It is foolish to pretend as do the hacks of the Daily Worker that the depression or crisis is already here, and that we are merely passing through a minor and meaningless fluctuation. On the other hand, it is just as false to pretend, as do Truman and the capitalists generally, that the postwar "readjustment" is definitely over and that a long period of stabilization lies ahead.

STILL TRANSITIONAL

The economy is still in its transitional phases. Last year marked the first head-on collision of the hugely expanded productive forces against the limits set by constricting markets at home and abroad. The sharp fluctuation of 1949 is more accurately the violent paroxysm, demonstrated that, while gravely dislocated, the domestic market, propped up by huge arms expenditures, was still strong enough to sustain the economy temporarily on reduced but relatively high levels. Such has been the case for the last six months. Can this last for another six months? It is impossible to give the answer in advance.

One of the unknowns in the situation is the auto industry. How many more cars will be able to sell in the next period? The Department of Commerce estimates six million at 5 to 5½ million, or 10 to 20% below 1949. Only an actual test will show how good or bad this guess is. Should the decline prove worse, auto instead of retaining a grip on the economy will help it down.

There are important indications that 1950 will provide the acid test for the domestic market (now amounting to \$18 billion!) can easily turn from factors of temporary stimulants into those of acute fiscal and credit disturbances. International currency crises — which are by no means over — can enter here as a most serious aggravating element.

MAIN DIFFICULTIES AHEAD

From all this, we conclude that the current phase of relative stabilization is highly unstable and vulnerable. Abrupt turns in developments are just as inherent in the situation as is the prospect of six more months of relatively high production. The trends, as matters stand, cannot be gauged in terms of six months or a year, but literally on a week-to-week, if not day-to-day, basis. In short, the major postwar economic difficulties lie not behind but still ahead so far as American capitalism is concerned.

Finally, the growing government deficits and consumer debts (now amounting to \$18 billion!) can easily turn from factors of temporary stimulants into those of acute fiscal and credit disturbances. International currency crises — which are by no means over — can enter here as a most serious aggravating element.

WE FIGHT IN A GLORIOUS TRADITION

Now we are in a somewhat comparable situation. The loyalty order is typical of the problems with which we are now faced. We are here to protest the discharge of James Kutter, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, discharged merely because he was a member of that party. Recently a case in New Haven came to my attention whereby a stenographer was discharged from a government position on the ground, among others, that she played Paul Robeson records. In another case of a government employee in Detroit, when her loyalty proceeding came before the board, on of the relevant pieces of evidence was that her mother, 17 years before, voted the Socialist ticket in New Haven!

So when we meet here tonight we are fighting in a tradition that has been a glory in this country for 150 years. It is important to realize this. This sort of meeting is nothing new. True American citizens, those devoted to the highest principles of democracy, have been holding meetings like this for a century and a half and for more. In part we have been victorious in these fights. The prosecution of Matthew Lyon, the attacks on the Catholic Postmaster-General, the Palmer raids, the expulsion of the five Socialists from the New York Legislature, these things are considered today disgraceful performances, unworthy of American citizens. I am con-

vinced that the time will come also when the Kutter case will be considered equally shameful, equally unworthy of America.

Prof. Emerson's Speech on Kutter and Bill of Rights

[The Militant is pleased to print the following extracts from the speech made by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School at the New York City meeting of the Kutter Civil Rights Committee on Dec. 15, the anniversary of the Bill of Rights.]

It was 158 years ago today that the State of Virginia ratified the first ten amendments, thereby being the eleventh state to do so, and the Bill of Rights became effective as part of our Constitution. The Bill of Rights was hardly incorporated in the Constitution, however, when it was subjected to a severe test in the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Alien and Sedition Laws were directed to a large extent against the French. But I think it is interesting to note also that in large part they were directed against the Irish immigrants, because the winds of revolution were blowing at that time both from France and from Ireland.

These laws prohibited the publication of any false, scandalous or malicious writing against the government and attached the criminal penalties. The first person prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Laws was Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, and he was convicted for having referred to President Adams and saying that President Adams had demonstrated an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice. That was Matthew Lyon's crime. Old-fashioned words, perhaps, but they have a certain current application and some of us may want to use the same sentiments some day.

There were others convicted of similar offenses under the Alien and Sedition acts, mostly editors of newspapers that supported the Jeffersonian Party. Fortunately the country rose in protest against the Alien and Sedition Laws and in the election of 1800 the Federalists who had sponsored them were decisively beaten; Jefferson and his party came in; those who had been convicted were pardoned and eventually they were compensated for any fines they had paid.

Another period of hysteria arose somewhat later, during the 1830's and 1840's. This time it was an anti-Catholic hysteria. For instance, when President Pierce appointed a Catholic to be Postmaster-General, the outcry was tremendous. It was asserted that Catholics in the Post Office would become members of a spy ring for the Pope and it was solemnly claimed that Catholic immigrants could not and would not be loyal to the nation. This eventually mostly disappeared.

A Continuing Struggle for Free Speech

Then we come to the period where in the South it was impossible for anyone to utter any opinions or views in opposition to the institution of slavery. It took a Civil War to dispose of that problem and during the Civil War there were suppressions of civil rights which were kept in check by the wise and tolerant statesmanship of President Lincoln.

And then we come to the first World War. Under the Espionage Acts which were passed during the first World War there were nearly two thousand prosecutions and of those there were 877 convictions. People were convicted under those acts for having advocated the subversive idea that the war ought to be financed by taxation and not by Liberty Bonds, or that there was some doubt, before the Supreme Court passed on the issue, about the constitutionality of the Draft Act, or even for saying that there should have been a referendum before the war was started.

Not only were there federal Espionage Acts but there were similar acts passed in the states, and here abuses of the same sort occurred. There is one case in Minnesota, for instance, in which a woman was convicted under those acts for having advocated the subversive idea that the war ought to be financed by taxation and not by Liberty Bonds, or that there was some doubt, before the Supreme Court passed on the issue, about the constitutionality of the Draft Act, or even for saying that there should have been a referendum before the war was started.

It was not only Espionage Acts. That was a period of the Lusk Committee, of teachers' oaths, of laws that prohibited the display of red banners. There were suggestions that laws prohibit the wearing of red neckties. It was the era of the Palmer raids, it was the era when Victor Berger, elected on the Socialist ticket, was denied a seat in Congress on the ground that he didn't support the war.

It was also the time when five members of the New York State Legislature, elected on the Socialist ticket were refused their seats in the State Legislature. The grounds for refusal were: "The Socialist Party is not a real political party but in reality a subversive organization which adheres to revolutionary principles of Soviet Russia." A familiar ring!

We Fight in a Glorious Tradition

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Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — For information, write P.O. Box 1842.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 109 St. Mary St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADison 3-9600. Every Thursday night at 8:30 p.m.

CHICAGO — 106 W. Washington Street, 312-514. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND — Every Sunday, 3 p.m., 1440 Euclid Ave., 10th fl. Wade Park Ave.) Liberty 5-8155.

DETROIT — 2108 Linwood Ave., 215 East, Ninth Street. Phone: 2-4298. Open House Sunday evenings.

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NEW YORK CITY (H.Q.) — 116 University Place, Phone GR 5-8149.

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BRONX — Fortune Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd.; Room 26, Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

BRONX — 1220 Kingsbridge Avenue, Bronx 3, meets every Thurs. evening at 8:30 p.m.

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The Fredric March Case

By Ruth Johnson

Actor Fredric March and his wife Florence Eldridge have finally forced the slander sheet Counterattack to retract a charge that they are "communists." We're glad to see them chalk up a score against the red-baiters, but there is no victory in sight to cheer about. By far the most significant part of the "apology" published Dec. 23 is the ominous concluding statement: "Counterattack's information confirms the Marches' testimony that they are no longer active in any organization deemed subversive."

What "information" is Counterattack talking about? Has it access to the secret files of the FBI? Are all the thousands of stooges and informers hired by Washington also put at the service of this professional smear sheet? On the evidence of the March case, it seems not at all unlikely! The false charges hurled at the Hollywood stars by Counterattack early in 1948 were produced in court in the Coplon case a year and a half later, when they became the most notorious example of the FBI at work. Counterattack, a 4-page "newsletter" published weekly by the "American Business Consultants, Inc.," claims to be a collection of "Facts to Combat Communism." It covers all fields, from movies to local trade unions, and from national magazines to hotels that rent meeting-rooms to "subversive" organizations. The scope of its information also indicates that behind it somewhere are some of the same forces that have imposed a vast network of "anti-red" ferrets on this country.

What recourse has the average victim of this obviously powerful outfit? It took Fredric March and his wife nearly two years, with expensive legal help and the filing of a \$500,000 libel suit, to make their reply heard. No worker can afford such a suit. And even the Marches by no means won a clear decision. They dropped their suit and signed a non-communist oath, in return for a public statement restoring them to the good graces of the red-baiters. Counterattack was able to retreat with all guns blazing furiously at the "red menace."

"Up to a couple of years or so ago," said the Counterattack retraction, "the Marches publicly supported a number of organizations which United States Attorney Generals have declared subversive and totalitarian." But now, it adds, the stars have signed an oath that proves them thoroughly red-white-and-blue.

"We condemn the Russian regime and its agent, the Communist Party of the United States, as a totalitarian system, and we condemn the totalitarian practices of their leader Joseph Stalin," the March statement says in part. "We believe deeply in the Constitution of the United States and in our system of government. . . . We believe in the system of free enterprise. . . . We shall continue in the future as we have in the past to try to preserve our democracy by exposing and attempting to eradicate its weaknesses and by extolling and practising its virtues."

One of the ways in which Fredric March and Florence Eldridge could really help "to preserve democracy" now would be for them to begin "exposing and attempting to eradicate" such outfit as Counterattack by making public their experiences and the information they have gained in the course of the two-year legal fray.

Truman on Formosa

By Joseph Hansen

One of the curiosities of the marine world is the squid. When embarrassed it lets fly a discharge that thoroughly inks up the water and so permits it to retire gracefully from the scene.

This happy method of defense is not confined to the squid. It can be observed among the vertebrates too. Thus the typical capitalist politician caught in a spot that does him no good with the voters will at once let loose a resounding statement about principles, lofty aims, noble intentions and how it wasn't him anyway — at least not right now.

For instance, take Truman's statement Jan. 5 on Formosa where ex-dictator Chiang Kai-shek, after being run off the mainland by the Chinese people, is now bidding for more American arms and dollars. China was one of the big prizes for which the imperialist powers fought World War II. But peasant uprisings spoiled Wall Street's dream of shortly running up its house flags from Shanghai to the Gobi desert. Then when Britain and other junior partners and satellites of American imperialism started recognizing the Mao regime, Truman felt the irresistible urge.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory," he said. What were all those U.S. troops doing in China at the end of World War II? Does it take bayonets to convince the Chinese people that American imperialism has no predatory designs?

"The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time," Truman continued. A short time ago, Truman had the desire it seems to establish military bases on Formosa. "At this time" he doesn't desire it, perhaps because his military and political advisers

don't think Chiang can last long on Formosa and they couldn't get away with an American expeditionary force "at this time." Later on, things may look up again for the American militarists. Then Truman can say that the old colonial powers may have had "predatory designs" but all Wall Street wants "at this time" is special rights, privileges and military bases.

"Now does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation," continued the head of the Democratic Party. A few days after this pious pronouncement about intentions in the "present situation," it was revealed that Chiang is still buying arms — at bargain rates — in America with dollars handed him from the U.S. Treasury. All Army markings are being scrupulously "painted out" on the engines of death so that it's a sale, you see, not "interference."

"The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China," Truman promised in a final flourish. That really fouled the water! You can hardly see the billions of dollars Truman gave the Chiang dictatorship, the scores of top-rank brass sent to master-mind Chiang's campaigns, the American ships and planes used to ferry Nationalist troops into battle position, the vast stores of arms turned over to the infamous butcher to slaughter the rebellious Chinese peasants.

Some people claim there's nothing in this world without a final goal and purpose. Truman shows what even the lowly squid can evolve into if this view is correct. A vertebrate that stops at no means to justify an end! Especially a foul end like interfering in China's internal affairs and trying to save a hated pachucou from his long-overdue doom.

Two Significant Films

By Charles Hanley

Among the excellent foreign motion pictures we have seen in 1949, two stand out for their consciousness of social questions and impressive realism. The *Affair Blum* and *Bicycle Thief* do not offer a solution to those questions (and this is not their aim); but they more or less suggest that there is now a very honest attitude greatly superior to Hollywood's method of spreading illusions about socialist problems to be solved in the framework of capitalist society by mere "good will."

The *Affair Blum*, based on the story of a frameup which actually took place in Germany in 1926 — seven years before Hitler seized power — is a German film made by Germans in the Russian occupation zone, (fortunately without any notable injection of typically Stalinist slogans). A Jewish capitalist (who probably thought this could never happen to him) is suddenly accused of a murder he did not commit. The real murderer, a former member of one of the ultra-nationalistic "Free Corps," and the reactionary police and judges work together to build up a case against the completely innocent Blum. They need such a case to whip up Anti-Semitism.

Blum's (non-Jewish) wife appeals to the Social Democratic Minister-President of the State who, in spite of his sympathy with the Blums, is unable to do anything against the reactionary state apparatus he is supposed to direct. The judges do not allow any "interference with the independence of the judiciary" and openly scorn the Social Democratic government. But, a well known detective of the Berlin police, whom the Minister-President asks for help, succeeds, after overcoming many discouraging difficulties, in proving Blum's innocence, unmasking the real murderer and foiling the whole frame-up. Thanks to the revelations of the murderer's girl friend who knows the truth and whom the detective convinces she must not allow an innocent man to be beheaded, the victim of the frame-up escapes. The judges are furious, but have to release Blum; as the murderer, faced with overwhelming evidence, confesses everything.

A "happy ending"? Not quite. For Blum, who is an intelligent man and has learned quite a few things in prison, clearly understands that this individual victory over the reactionary state apparatus and his narrow escape from the executioner's axe are due to mere luck, and that the problem as such remains unsolved, the same state apparatus remaining in command; and that other "Affair Blum" will follow.

In the final scene, which is accompanied by the menacing music of a Nazi march, Mrs. Blum tries to comfort her husband, saying "It's all over now" — "No," replies Blum, "it's only beginning."

With some variations, different forms and circumstances, the same sort of thing can still

happen in many countries all over the world: against Jews, against Negroes, against other minorities. And the purpose of the investigators of "Affair Blum" is always the same: To divert the dissatisfied masses and especially the petty bourgeoisie from the real culprit — the capitalist system and its consequences — by finding convenient scapegoats.

Victor deSica's *Bicycle Thief* is a masterpiece. By its natural simplicity and profound truth it ranks high in the field of cinematographic art. After searching for a long time, an unemployed worker, who has a wife and a little son, finally gets a job. There is a condition attached to it: He must have a bicycle. His bicycle is in the pawnshop; he gets it out by his wife pawning their blankets instead. He can start working again. But his precious bicycle is stolen on the first day of his new job. The police are not interested; they cannot help him to find the thief. Besides, there are so many bicycles stolen every day.

So he is obliged to help himself and after a dramatic chase finally finds the thief — but not the bicycle. And he has no evidence against the thief. So there is nothing he can do about it. And then, in his bitterness and despair, he tries to steal another man's bicycle. The attempt fails. However, the bicycle owner does not want to have him arrested. With his terrified son the worker goes home, ashamed of himself, without a job, without help, without hope.

And that is the end of this story. No stroke of good luck comes to that man's aid. The comedy of capitalist charity which, by coincidence, he witnesses while chasing the thief, often benefits scoundrels and vagabonds; a worker is too proud to accept it; he wants a job, a decent wage, he wants justice. The police officers, i.e., the state, are not interested and will not help him; they do not defend the poor and the hungry. Some individuals succeed in helping themselves by injuring others. Our "hero" tries it half-heartedly and is trapped. For him, there remains no way out.

Only by getting together with other proletarians, by struggling with them against the injustice of this society could he seriously hope to achieve something. The worker in *Bicycle Thief* is not a bad fellow, but he seeks only for an individual solution and cannot find one. The solidarity of a few personal friends and of his family is not enough. (And he fails so completely, that at a certain moment he finds himself almost stripped of his dignity.) DeSica does not force those conclusions on us. What we have just said is only suggested by his "hero's" loneliness and failure, by the futility of his individual struggle.

This is not a political but a social picture. This is not a perfect one of its kind. Lewis are torn down a bit, their own stature may seem to grow by comparison.

Just before President Truman announced the U.S. government would not send military aid to Formosa, Sen. William F. Knowland (R, Calif.) urged such intervention. Here the senator uses a map in his office to point out the island where he would want U.S. youth to go and die in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek.

Curran Machine Expels 4 Opponents in NMU

The purge of all opposition to the Curran machine in the National Maritime Union received a new impetus with the expulsion of four members at the New York meeting of the union on Jan. 4. Despite open intimidation by New York police and Curran goons, it was clear that a majority of the membership at the meeting had voted against the expulsion of Charles Keith, one of the leaders of the anti-Curran, Independent caucus. But the votes were brazenly miscounted by administration supporters who acted as counters and Curran announced from the chair that Keith had been expelled by a vote of 1,641 to 496.

As shouts of protest mounted throughout the hall, Robert McElroy, a seaman, took the floor on a point of order, demanding that a recount be taken with both sides represented as "counters." While still before the microphone at the front of the hall, McElroy was assaulted by several masters-at-arms who beat him to the ground in the presence of the entire meeting. Angered members rising to their feet in the rear of the hall were set upon by another gang of hooligans. The police, present in large numbers, did nothing until the goons ran into trouble when they intervened on their side and broke up the fracas at the rear of the hall.

Next in line for purge action were Leo Silverman and Jack Smith, accused among other things of editing and writing for The Voice of the Membership, a discredited Stalinist maritime paper. Silverman admitted the charge but pointed out that he had written for the paper because no critical material from the rank and file is permitted in the administration.

Keith, the most prominent of those expelled, had formerly been one of the two secretaries of the Rank and File Caucus headed by Joseph Curran, which succeeded in ousting the Stalinists from office at the last general union election in 1948. He was charged with "inciting to riot" creating a "clual and hostile" organization,

collecting money for "anti-union" purposes, bringing court action against the union among other things.

In his speech of defense, which was continually interrupted by Curran, Keith charged that the trial was the result of his opposition to the policies of the administration. No particulars of the charges had been given to him despite repeated requests on his part. Keith further charged that in keeping with this kangaroo court procedure he had been denied access to the union hall many times during the course of the "trial."

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Smith, accused among other things of editing and writing for The Voice of the Membership, a discredited Stalinist maritime paper. Silverman admitted the charge but pointed out that he had written for the paper because no critical material from the rank and file is permitted in the administration.

They are pressing for a showdown now not only because the economic situation of the coal industry is unfavorable to the miners and their resources are low, but because the UMW battle has been isolated. The rest of organized labor is quiescent. The corporations were able to settle with the CIO steel and auto unions for crumbs and clear the field of the class struggle for a concentrated assault on the miners.

What particularly emboldens the labor-haters in their present drive against the miners is the failure of the CIO and AFL leaders to lend any support to the UMW, even though these leaders must have some inkling of what a defeat for the miners would mean for their own unions.

These union leaders have remained criminally silent as the corporations and government conspire in an attempt to cut the miners to pieces. They have always resented the fact that Lewis' aggressive methods have won big gains and have exposed their own lickspittle dependence on the government for small shabby favors. No doubt, down in their narrow little souls many of them feel if the UMW and

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New Political Policy Needed By Civil Rights Mobilization

By Albert Parker

The National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, which will meet in Washington for three days beginning Jan. 15, will mark a high point of Negro and labor struggle for enactment of civil rights legislation. No matter how much or how little this movement achieves in Washington, it already has the following progressive features:

1. It is a genuinely broad united front movement. Instead of acting individually, as they did in the past, the NAACP, CIO, AFL and 49 other national labor, minority, fraternal and church organizations have pooled their efforts in the mobilization which speaks for a combined membership running into the tens of millions, despite the self-defeating decision to exclude all political parties and Stalinist-led organizations.

2. The mobilization represents an important — if limited — step in the direction of mass pressure and mass action against the Jim Crow forces. In previous years these organizations relied primarily on letters and telegrams to Congress; this time they are sending representatives in person to demand enactment without delay in this session of the civil rights program, starting with the FEPC.

3. The mobilization reflects the growing understanding by the mass of the people that the Democrats and Republicans cannot be relied on to fulfill their civil rights promises. In short, the Washington conference itself is objectively an expression of distrust in the capitalist politicians and which experience has proved to be well justified and which will be transformed into more active hostility to the capitalist politicians who continue to stand in the way of first-class citizenship for Negroes and other minorities.

MORE IS NEEDED

It would be unrealistic, however, to expect that the Washington conference will be enough to turn the tide and force Congress to override filibusters against civil rights.

In the first place, official announcements make it clear that the conference itself will be largely a routine lobbying affair, with the delegates assigned to visiting their congressmen and holding a couple of meetings at which politicians and their own leaders will deliver some pep-talks. The same kind of lobbying that has proved so ineffective in the past will prevail this year, although the form will be changed a little and more people will be involved. The members of Congress, who knew last year that the same participating organizations favored the passage of civil rights bills, will not feel the addition of serious pressure through this conference and will not be much more inclined to act favorably than they were in 1949.

In the second place, all signs indicate that attendance at the conference will not be anywhere nearly as large as it can and should be, if the real strength of the participating organizations is taken into account. But the most serious shortcoming is the fact that the delegates will not be reinforced by powerful mass demonstrations in the communities from which they come.

WHY THE APATHY?

The original plans for the mobilization included the organization of such mass pressure on a grass-roots level. Attempts to hold mass meetings were actually made in some communities, but by and large they were not big and therefore not very successful. Even where genuine efforts were made, the masses were not aroused, they remained apathetic. Knowing why this happened and how to correct the situation is the key to victory in the civil rights fight, for only when the rank and file workers are actively aroused and set into motion will Congress begin to do something about it.

Why did the masses fail to respond in large numbers? Not because they are indifferent to the civil rights bills; everybody, even the capitalist politicians, know they are for them. What is involved is a POLITICAL question. Their leaders have given them the false impression that the Trumanites are sincerely working to pass these bills and that it is necessary only to rely on the Trumanites and everything will turn out right in the end. Where the impression prevails that there is no need for a fight, you will naturally be unable to arouse people to engage in one.

WHAT WE MUST SHOW

But the picture can be changed radically and rapidly if the delegates to the Washington conference rid themselves of false political conceptions, break with the Trumanites in any form, and go back home determined to build a mass movement of militant struggle for equality which no capitalist politician will be able to ignore, manipulate or prevent from reaching its goal.

What we need to show Congress is not that the masses want civil rights legislation — which they already know — but that they are ready to defeat and sweep aside any force that stands in the way of their getting it.

YOUNGSTOWN NAACP RALLY GETS ENCOURAGING RESPONSE

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 9—Almost 700 people answered the call of the Youngstown Branch of the NAACP to attend a mass meeting to build support for the National Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington next week. The meeting, held in Tabernacle Baptist Church last night, was more than three times the size of the meeting called by the NAACP a few weeks ago, shows that the mobilization for civil rights is gathering momentum.

The main speaker was Herbert Hill, assistant field secretary of the NAACP, who has been touring the mid-west to gather forces for the Washington mobilization. He called attention to the new militant spirit that is pervading the movement for civil rights, and said it must be wedded to the organized strength of the labor movement in order to accomplish the aims of both.

The burning determination among Negroes to win the fight for civil rights was impressed upon the audience by Nathaniel C. Lee and Harry Greene from Local 1330, United Steelworkers, Jack Thornton, PAC Director for District 26, United Steelworkers, and Andrew Diehl, William Howard and Rev. S. S. Booker from the local NAACP.