

Pittsburgh Civil Rights Violated in Rising Witch-Hunt

PITTSBURGH, March 12 — The witch-hunt hysteria which has been deliberately built up here for the last three weeks and in which the Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers have played a leading part, came to a head yesterday when a police squad, headed by an "under-cover" FBI agent, staged a raid on the headquarters of a travel agency and confiscated files of the American Slav Congress and other Stalinist front organizations who allegedly met there.

The "under-cover" FBI agent is one George Dietze, well-heeled local jeweler and a gentleman of some standing in the exclusive residential district of Mount Lebanon. He had posed as a CP member for the last 10 years, but apparently confined his activities

General Motors Rakes in World's Biggest Profits

General Motors Corporation last year raked in the greatest profits ever squeezed out of its workers by any corporation in the world.

GM's report, made public on March 13, reveals that in 1949 its net profits after taxes were \$656,434,232 — a 49% increase over the previous record year of 1948. This represents an admitted 11.5% profit on sales. The report does not disclose the profit in relation to invested capital — the basis on which profits are figured for tax purposes.

Ten days previously, the Chrysler Corporation, whose workers are on strike for a 10-cent pension plan, reported its greatest profits — \$132,170,096 in 1949 compared with \$89,187,240 in 1948.

Last month GM announced it was cutting the hourly wages of its production workers by two cents in accordance with the sliding scale cost-of-living wage contract which UAW President Walter Reuther signed in May 1948.

(See article on Page 2 on the experiences of the GM workers with Reuther's sliding-scale contract.)

INDICTMENTS SOUGHT

The newspapers have spared no pains in an effort to create an atmosphere of fear and hate. Simultaneous with the March 10 raid, County Court Judge Gunther and a local lawyer named Sherman have started "action" to indict local Stalinist leaders on criminal charges of sedition and conspiracy. This demand was front-paged by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette on March 11.

Typical of the cynicism with

(Continued on page 4)

Stalinists Expel Member for Opposing Anti-SWP Violence

By John Black

SEATTLE — The Northwest edition of the West Coast People's World on Feb. 24 announced the expulsion of Foster Williams, a young Negro student and worker, "as a Trotskyite, police-spy and disrupter."

The full text of his statement follows:

"MALICIOUS SLANDER"

"I brand as malicious slander the accusation of the Stalinist leaders of the Communist Party that I am a police informer operating in the labor and progressive movement and a disrupter of Negro-white unity. This kind of accusation is the usual kind of name calling that the Stalinist leaders use against members of the Communist Party who venture to express differences of opinion with official party policy."

"My expulsion from the Communist Party arose over the fact that I defended the rights of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, who are working class opponents of the Communist Party, to distribute their literature on the street outside of a Communist party meeting. The Stalinists call the Trotskyists police spies. I believe that that is a slander."

"At the Lenin Memorial meeting on Jan. 29, the party leaders sent out a goon squad of about twenty men to prevent three or four members of the Socialist Workers Party from giving out literature. One of the people in the goon squad assaulted one of the women distributors and tore the literature out of her hands. The literature consisted of the literature of the Negro-white unity and to penetrate progressive youth organizations with his poison. Most recently he was exposed in a deliberate Trotskyite provocation aimed at disrupting the Lenin memorial meeting in Seattle."

It also charges that "in addition it is conclusively established that Williams is a stool-pigeon and police spy of long standing whose activities included gathering information for the police and their Trotskyite agents."

WILLIAMS' REPLY

Williams, educational director of his branch and chairman of his YPA chapter, has issued a public statement on his expulsion. He was also able to bring his case to public attention through a front page interview with a reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

In explaining the real causes that led to his expulsion, Williams told the reporter that he still believes in Marxist theory of Communism but not in the policy of Stalin. He is quoted as stating that the American Stalinists are "always screaming about their rights being violated but they are the most despotic bunch of people you could meet anywhere."

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

207

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Petitions Filed For Bohannan in New Jersey

NEWARK, March 14 — The Socialist Workers Party last week filed the necessary petitions to place William E. Bohannan on the ballot as its candidate for Congress from New Jersey's 11th District in the 1950 elections.

"We expect this to be the most effective electoral campaign for revolutionary socialism that our party has ever conducted in New Jersey," said George Breitman, campaign manager for Bohannan.

"The political conditions are ripe for such a campaign, and both our candidate and party are getting ready to give the capitalist parties a run for their money."

When petitions were filed last week, it was learned that there will be only three candidates in the 11th District congressional race next November — the incumbent Fair Deal Democrat, Hugh J. Addonizio; a Republican who will be selected from three contestants in next month's primary election; and Bohannan.

PP, SP ABSTAIN

The Progressive Party did not enter a candidate although it ran in 1948 and has a larger membership in this district than the SWP. This abstention is in line with the 1950 Wallaceite policy of avoiding electoral struggles in most districts where Trumanites are now in office.

The Socialist Party also failed to nominate a candidate in this district — or in any other of the state's 14 congressional districts. This is the first time in many decades that the SP will not enter its own ticket. The SP is now engaged in discussing a proposal to withdraw from virtually all independent electoral activity. But it evidently is not waiting until its national convention in the spring to put the new policy into effect — as its abstention in New Jersey and Michigan proves.

In 1948 Addonizio was elected with 52,644 votes; his Republican opponent got 50,920; the Wallaceite 3,088; Bohannan 2,387; the Prohibition candidate 864; and the SP 413.

SWP PICKS CANDIDATES FOR CAMPAIGN IN PENN.

By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, March 12 — Socialist Workers Party candidates for U. S. Senator and Governor were named today at a conference here of delegates from all Pennsylvania branches of the SWP.

Clyde Turner accepted the nomination as the party's banner bearer for the Senate. Herbert Lewin was nominated for the gubernatorial candidacy. They will campaign on a program of revolutionary socialism.

The delegates heard a report on Pennsylvania politics by H. Oliver, of Philadelphia, who pointed out the exceptional opportunities that have opened up for the SWP in the coming election. He made a devastating exposure of the records of the Democratic and Republican candidates as compared to their phony claims to being "friends of labor and minorities."

THE STATE ISSUES

He showed the bankruptcy of the other parties on such major state issues of the campaign as the state civil rights law, the miserable and unjust relief laws, the anti-labor judicial system, the outrageous taxes, the shameful Workmen's Compensation Law, which is the worst of any state except Mississippi, which has none at all.

Michael Bartell, New York SWP organizer, was a guest speaker. "Socialism will be in this campaign from beginning to end," he told the delegates. "And while the Democrats and Progressives are busy denying the Republican charges of 'socialism,' we will vigorously point out that in this one respect they are telling the truth, that their bankrupt programs have nothing in common with the struggle for a socialist society." While other so-called "radical" parties are surrendering on the electoral front, "our party is forging ahead — winning for ourselves the name of the party of socialism."

The delegates from all parts of the state described the favorable conditions in their areas for a rousing campaign and mapped out a program of campaign action.

The CIO has joined in the widespread opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson police-state bill, which was recently approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee with the support of Trumanite Senators, Nathan Cowan, CIO legislative director, said the bill would confer on the FBI "the power of life and death over all organizations." He said, "Under this bill, organizations would be judged not on the basis of their acts but on their beliefs. Such thought-control is totalitarian, not democratic."

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Big-Money Finances Democratic Machine

By Joseph Keller

Who owns the Democratic Party? The current issue of The Machinist, publication of the International Association of Machinists, carries a list of 78 big-money boys who in 1949 contributed from \$2,000 to \$5,000 each to the coffers of the Democratic National Committee.

These 78 individuals who make the biggest contributions to the Democratic Party nationally include some of the richest tycoons and labor-haters in the country, manufacturers, liquor distillers and dealers, motion picture producers, aircraft corporation executives, etc.

Even the Republican Party, admitted to be capitalist-controlled, shows up like a poor relation compared to the Democratic Party. The Republican National Committee could count similar contributions from only 20 individuals.

The Democratic Party was fa-

vored not only by more big contributors, but with bigger total contributions than the Republican Party. The Democratic National Committee reported total donations of \$1,394,263 as against the GOP's \$260,445.

No union officials are included in the list of big donors of either party. They prefer to spend the money of the union members to keep the capitalist political machines in operation, particularly the Democratic Party, which they continue to palm off as "labor's party."

WHY THEY SHELL OUT

The Machinist explains that it is publishing the list of big-money supporters of the two parties "so that union members may know who is putting up the big money to help finance our major political parties."

But the paper draws the conclusion that the list doesn't signify that the Democratic Party is

ists

on the Democratic Party is

becoming so conspicuous that it is

embarrassing the union leaders.

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS

How can they continue to go around misrepresenting the Democratic Party as an "ally of labor," or even merely a "lesser evil," when that party boasts a list of big contributors that reads like a "Who's Who in Wall Street?" They've been blaming the failure of Truman to live up to his "Fair Deal" promises solely on the opposition of the Republicans and Dixiecrats. "How about the opposition of the big capitalists who grease the wheels of the Democratic Party and keep the Democratic politicians in folding money?" the workers will ask when they read the list of Democratic Party contributors.

Of course, what The Machinist reports is nothing new. The Democratic Party, like the Republican, has always been financed by Big Business and has always been a capitalist party. Today, however, the financial hold of the capitalist

was being ding-donged by the capitalist press as a veritable "socialist" and just after he obtained office primarily through the labor vote.

The miners have just proved again that the way to win real gains for labor is by reliance on the workers' independent strength and solidarity in action. And the way to achieve this best is in the spirit of Lewis' proposal.

Let all the unions get together in United Congress of Labor to formulate a program of joint action. Let elected representatives of the rank and file discuss and draft and set in motion a practical and feasible plan for mutual aid and defense. Labor would then represent such a power that it could smash the Taft-Hartley Act, defeat the conspiracy of the corporations to bust the unions "one at a time" and go on to win anything it desires.

Mass Meeting in Colombo



Shown above is part of the audience of 30,000 who assembled from all sections of Ceylon to attend the Trotskyist mass meeting at Colombo on Feb. 4, called by the two Trotskyist organizations who are in process of negotiating the unification of their forces.



PHILIP MURRAY
asked to join in. He offered this as an answer to the idea "increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled, one by one."

WHAT LEWIS MEANS

Murray answers Lewis with the false claim that the CIO "will always make its resources available, as it did in your recent struggle, for every necessary and worthy defense of organized labor." No, the belated and limited aid the CIO members forced the CIO leaders to offer the miners in the ninth month of their struggle is not at all the equivalent of what Lewis proposes. He proposes to confront the corporations in advance of any major labor struggle with the sure knowledge that if they don't grant the unions' just demands they will face from the start the joint power of the greatest unions.

Murray claims he sees "no useful purpose" in thus defending the interests of labor against the monopolies and their government tools. But he does see a "useful purpose" in joining with the AFL and reactionary labor leaders of the Marshall Plan countries in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to swing European labor into the camp of American imperialism. Murray also finds a "useful purpose" in forming political alliances with the AFL bureaucrats to back capitalist party candidates in the 1950 elections.

WHAT HE FEARS

But the biggest reason Murray opposes Lewis' proposal is that he is against militant union action, joint or otherwise. He fears such a move as Lewis proposes will inspire the fighting spirit of the rank and file in every union. He wants to cling to his dirty political alliance with the Truman Democrats and "defend" the unions by reliance on the White House.

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European Notebook

Toward A Dictatorial State In Western Europe?

By Ernest Germain

The retention of a slight Labor majority in the new British Parliament retards to some extent the evolution toward a dictatorial state in Western Europe. Several developments in recent weeks, however, tend to center the political spotlight on this evolution.

The "Scandal of the Generals," reported in the main by the world press, has greatly discredited most of the bourgeois-democratic figures and parties in France. It seems evident that this scandal was organized by de Gaulle elements, and it is not even excluded that the key figure of the scandal, the crook Robert Peyre, may be a direct agent of the de Gaulleists. The publication of the correspondence of this crook, now in flight to Latin America, demonstrated that the topmost figures of the Fourth Republic, including the chief of the army general staff, the minister of National Defense and even the president of the National Assembly, were intimately involved with Peyre, asking small favors from him as if he were an all-powerful personage.

The profound corruption of the milieu of professional politicians in France has become a sort of tradition. The Third Republic had its Stavisky scandal exploited directly by the fascists in 1934. The Fourth Republic now has its "Scandal of the Generals" exploited by General de Gaulle who parades as the only "clean" figure among all those rotten parties. Thus, an atmosphere is being created for a parliamentary combination which would provide a bridge for de Gaulle's return to power. Is it not rumored that the President of the Council, Georges Bidault, head of the right wing of the MRP which played a leading role in bringing the scandal out into the open, maintains secret connections with his ex-chef, de Gaulle and does not act without his consent?

IN WESTERN GERMANY

Western Germany has been in recent months the scene of several political and judicial incidents which showed plain as day how high reaction is raising its head. A rightist deputy in the Federal Assembly, Heidler, was acquitted in court after insulting the Social Democratic leaders, in exile after 1933, as "traitors." In Munich, this notorious laboratory of all prefascist and neo-Nazi adventurers, a demagogue Feitenhans leads an organization named "Patriotic Union" which has the same organizational structure as the old Nazi party and lays public claim to the Hitler tradition.

In the Bonn parliament occur repeated incidents following the efforts of the Presidium to stifle the opposition voice of the Social Democrats. And recently, one of the German trade union leaders denounced the fact that in the chancellery of President Adenauer there are: a certain Dr. Globke, who was a co-author of the Nuremberg racist laws; a certain Dr. Kutschner, editor of theses on methods of exterminating the Jews; and Dr. Behnke, author of the revised penal disciplinary code under the Nazis.

BELGIAN PLEBISCITE

Belgium witnesses these days a referendum on Leopold III, the authoritarian and overtly anti-parliamentarian king, in whose entourage pronounced partisans of a dictatorial state were active during the Nazi occupation, as for instance his personal secretary, Count Capelle, and the former

Poised for Crackdown on Strikers



Police officer draws his gun as members of the CIO Steelworkers picket American Snuff Co. plant in Memphis, where violence has marked two-month strike. The strikers are demanding 30¢ hourly pay boost, retroactive to last October, and dues checkoff.

LABOR TASKS ANALYZED BY COCHRAN IN BOSTON

BOSTON, March 10 — Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, in a speech here described the possibilities of the development of a new left-wing in the American labor movement. The victory of the reactionary Murray and Reuther machines and their success in bureaucratizing the CIO are temporary trends which will be overturned in the coming economic crisis, he stated.

Cochran showed how the union leaders have subordinated the interests of the working people to the policies of the State Department.

"The trade union bureaucrats have utilized the fight with the Stalinists to saddle their own machines on the membership, stifle all rank and file criticism, and tie the labor movement to the cold war policies of Wall Street and Washington," he said.

All hopes of persuading the present top leadership of the trade unions to follow a progressive, anti-capitalist course are illusory, he warned. It is necessary for militant members of the unions to start building a movement

Cochran's Tour

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor":

Detroit	March 20-25
Milwaukee	" 28
Chicago	" 29-31
Minneapolis-St. Paul	Apr. 1-4
Seattle	" 5-8
San Francisco-Oakland	" 9-12
Los Angeles	" 15-20
St. Louis	" 22
Cleveland	" 23-24
Akron	" 25
Youngstown	" 26-27
Pittsburgh	" 28
New York	" 30
Philadelphia	May 1
Newark	" 6

— All hopes of persuading the present top leadership of the trade unions to follow a progressive, anti-capitalist course are illusory, he warned. It is necessary for militant members of the unions to start building a movement

How GM Sliding Scale Worked Out

By Art Preis

This month, for the first time since the CIO United Auto Workers signed the sliding-scale cost-of-living wage contract with General Motors in May 1948, the GM workers are getting a net cut in wage rates due to the operations of the sliding-scale clause. Two preceding cuts under the clause had merely cancelled out the three-cent gain made in Sept. 1948 when the cost-of-living index rose. The latest two-cent cut, effective from March 1 to May 29 when the present two-year contract expires, brings the total of sliding-scale cuts to five cents, or two cents more than the total gain.

The way the GM sliding-scale clause has worked out undoubtedly will put in a bad light the whole concept of the sliding scale of wages, which progressive unions have advocated as the most immediately effective method of protecting real wages in periods of rapid price rises. It would be most unfortunate, however, if the workers shun this effective weapon during inflation because of the unfavorable experience with the defective sliding-scale contract which UAW President Reuther accepted in GM.

A PROTECTIVE CLAUSE

From the beginning of wartime inflation, The Militant strongly advocated the inclusion of protective clauses in wage contracts to keep wages automatically in line with all rises in living costs. As we carefully explained, such sliding-scale clauses should be written so as not to affect in any way the basic wage scales. It was necessary to fight constantly for higher basic wages and at the same time to make sure that these higher wage rates would not suffer hidden cuts due to inflationary price rises. The sliding-scale clause was proposed not as substitute for, but a supplement and protection to basic wage increases.

During the eight-year period of wartime and postwar inflation, Reuther bitterly fought our concept of the sliding wage scale.

He was joined in this by the Stalinists and others of the most conservative and reactionary elements in the union leadership who put forward the nonsensical "roll-back-of-prices" program. But in May 1948, when the GM workers faced a possibly bitter

struggle with the corporation for basic wage increases to close the huge gap between wages and prices, Reuther threw out the wage demands voted by the GM workers and accepted in their place the government's cost-of-living index which is doctored to conceal the real rises in living costs.

With this kind of contract, as The Militant pointed out on May 31, 1948, the GM sliding-scale clause might work out to the disadvantage of the GM workers in the long run. "Naturally, in negotiating a sliding-scale contract, the workers must be wary of such 'gimmicks' as have been incorporated into the GM contract. In taking over the wage program of the UAW progressives, the Reuthers have distorted it and left out the safeguards which the progressives have always included in their sliding-scale program," The Militant said.

HOW IT WORKED

An examination of the actual operations of Reuther's admittedly defective GM contract reveals the surprising fact that for most of its duration it has maintained a one-cent higher wage increase for GM workers than the other auto workers got in May 1948.

In September 1948, three months after the contract was signed, the GM workers got a three-cent sliding-scale increase, bringing their total increase to 14 cents, one cent more than the flat increase won by the Chrysler and Ford workers. This continued for six months. In March 1949, when the government's living-cost index fell, the GM wage rate was cut two cents, but still providing a cent more than the 11-

cent original increase. In June 1949, it was cut another cent, thus cancelling out the first three-cent rise. But since the GM contract also provided for a further three-cent "improvement" raise in the basic wage rate in the same month, the total wage increase for GM workers remained at 14 cents until this month. Even with the latest two-cent cut, it is still a cent higher than the original raise.

During the first 21 months of the operations of the GM sliding scale, on a 40-hour week basis the increases due to the sliding scale totalled \$36.40. Now, however, the sliding scale represents a net loss of two cents an hour, which will total \$10.40 for the period from March 1 to May 29. Over the whole period of the contract, therefore, the GM workers will have received a total dollars-and-cents gain of \$26.40 even from Reuther's sliding-scale clause.

THE GM EXPERIENCE

The GM experience is therefore no argument against a properly designed and safeguarded sliding-scale program in periods of inflation. It does demonstrate that even the best program on paper can turn out good or bad in practice according to who puts it forward and administers it, how it is set up and when it is used. An opportunist union leader like Reuther will frequently pick up a good program, distort it, misapply it, advance it belatedly or at the wrong time, and thus discredit it. This should be a reason not for the workers to discard the program, but to discard such leaders.

THE MILITANT ARMY

SWP Branches Start Action on Renewals For 'The Militant'

In contrast to capitalist papers, The Militant has a very high proportion of readers who promptly renew their subscriptions upon receiving an expiration notice. Thinking workers appreciate America's leading socialist weekly.

However, there are always a number of readers who just don't get around to sending in their dollars until someone drops in for a neighborly visit and calls their attention to this detail.

In January and February we had quite a few such subscribers in some areas. And so branches of the Socialist Workers Party are swinging into action to help out The Militant in this work.

Chicago is dramatizing their local campaign with a large map of the city, according to Literature Agent Gus Mason, in which "red pins indicate active subscriptions, white pins those expiring in the current month, black pins those that have expired, and orange pins to show where our newstands are."

"This gives a visible and startling picture of how many subs are active, how many are expiring and how many have expired in relation to the city as a whole. It also shows very clearly how many of these subs are in each neighborhood."

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that Los Angeles too is launching a campaign for sub to The Militant. A goal of 60 has been set.

At Lynn of Los Angeles comments on the "high totals that can be realized in sales of single copies." A friend who has been selling 50 a week to acquaintances found on temporarily discontinuing sales that he "has been getting many requests from those who had been buying, some of whom he had thought were not particularly interested. The things in which most were interested are the H-Bomb and Atom Bomb articles."

Literature Agent Winifred Nelson of St. Paul writes that with a favorable break in the weather, St. Paul's energetic sub-getters will begin regular calls on friends and neighbors. The problem there is not so much keeping up renewals as in expanding into new areas. "We're conscious of the problem and trying to come up with a solution."

The Minnesota comrades like the way shorter stories have been scattered through The Militant recently. "It improves the readability and appearance of the paper a great deal. Laura Gray's cartoon this week — the crocodile tears — is priceless. Keep up the good work!"

The Detroit comrades have been well received on the picket lines in the Chrysler strike. Their regular bundle is now 300 copies a week and they took 1,000 of the March 13 issue.

The Bay Area is gearing for a

subscription push, according to San Francisco's Literature Agent, Dixon Woods. "Sales by the Oakland comrades at the University of California campus seem to be jumping by leaps and bounds," he writes. "Last November we would sell seven or eight copies. Last week the comrades sold 20 copies, several purchasers asking if The Militant is the publication of the Socialist Workers Party."

A seaman who got a copy of The Militant at a distribution in New York came to a meeting of the San Francisco branch commemorating Negro History week.

"He said that when he saw our leaflet was put out by the same organization he decided to go. The Militant leaves its impression!"

The Akron branch has placed sub-getting "No. 1 on the agenda," writes Literature Agent Doris Wilson.

We received \$10 from an anonymous New York reader in response to the appeals of The Militant to the labor movement to rally to the miners' cause. "Please send the enclosed \$10 to the aid of the United Mine Workers. Thank you."

This money came right at the end of the strike; however, we were glad to forward it, as help is no doubt still needed in the hardship cases.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

ATLANTA—For information, write P.O. Box 1942.

MONTGOMERY—Workers Educational Center, 9 Stuart St., open 5:30-8:30 p.m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 625 Main St., open 7 p.m. Madison 3800. Every second month except Sun.

CHICAGO—108 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND—Every Sunday, 9 p.m. 2nd Fl., Peeks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.).

DETROIT—106 Linwood Ave., Phone T-7-4800. Mon. through Sat. 12-5 p.m.

ELGIN—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2498. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Andyke 2-4700.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 14 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed., 7:30-8:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd Fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 St. 4th St. Phone Vain 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box No. 1019.

NEW YORK CITY (H.B.)—116 University Place, Phone GR 5-5149.

HARLEM—103 W. 130 St., Rm. 23. Phone: 2-1880. Open discussion.

TUES., 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN—Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off of Utter, meeting every Thurs. evening at 8 p.m.

ATLANTA—5-2498.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, write Temple Bar, 2-8153 or Temple Bar, 2-8285. St. Oakland 4-6320.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th Fl., Phone FI 6-0110. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

RT.—107—For information, phone 2-8153.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 8275. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch store.

TOLEDO—Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502.

TORONTO—For information, write P.O. Box 5000.

WORCESTER (Mass.)—For information, write P.O. Box 554.

YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1885. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Don't Wait for the

H-BOMB

All humanity may perish in another war. This terrible warning of the atomic scientists means that we must start action right now or meet our doom.

What can a single individual do? You can either fight or lie down. If you fight there's every chance of success. To fight means to spread the message of socialism. It means joining in the great cause of building a new world of peace and boundless prosperity, a secure world of love and hope, the decent world a human being was born to live in.

The first step is an easy one. Begin reading The Militant every week. Start your subscription to America's leading socialist weekly now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six-months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Name
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\$1 Six months. \$2 Full year. New. Renewal.

The Bay Area is gearing for a

to prevent a decision being taken. Every serious conference move was postponed right up to the election.

Despite this, the Labor Party meetings throughout the election were in the main well attended. But the audiences were by no means uncritical. Questions on housing, wages and the cost of living were continuously being pressed by the workers. In many

districts the Labor candidates, who included numerous petty-bourgeois careerist types, were looked upon with hostility by the workers.

Nevertheless Labor received the largest vote ever won by a political party in the history of British politics. The workers trudged to the polls not out of blind faith in its policy or trust in the "nice spoken" gentlemen who were candidates, but out of loyalty to a socialist ideal against capitalism. For the workers the class issues were clear and they acted accordingly.

THE STALINISTS

The CP and its "independent" fellow-travelers were routed precisely because of this fact. No one will spill many tears over the defeat of that old GPU agent, D.N. Pritt, K.C. This man for years offered the powerful bribe of the finest legal advice in the country to

Subscriptions: \$2 per year.
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do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its
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Monday, March 20, 1950



"Generally speaking, democracy is indispensable to the bourgeoisie in an epoch of free competition. To monopoly capitalism, resting not on 'free' competition but on centralized command, democracy is of no use; it is hampered and embarrassed by it. Imperialism can tolerate democracy as a necessary evil up to a certain point. But its inner urge is toward dictatorship. During the last war, 22 years ago, Lenin wrote: 'The difference between the republican-democratic and monarchic-reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie is being effaced precisely because both of them are rotting.' Further, he added: 'Political reaction all along the line is inherent in imperialism.'

— Leon Trotsky, A Fresh Lesson, 1938.



LENIN

TROTSKY

Was the FBI 'Vindicated'?

When the Coplon-Gubitzhev trial ended on March 8 with their conviction as spies, the two chief government prosecutors immediately issued statements hailing the verdict as "a vindication for the FBI." The reactionary press promptly followed suit.

To show how maliciously absurd their contention is, we need only apply the same line of reasoning to other cases. Suppose, for example, that Hitler had won the war — would that have constituted a vindication of his countless crimes against humanity? Some newspapers in this country would probably have thought so, but most people wouldn't.

The same thing goes for the FBI. It won out in this case, but that does not vindicate its violations of the law in prosecuting the case. The guilt or innocence of the defendants on the espionage charges in the trial was a matter entirely separate from the issue of the FBI's guilt or innocence in breaking the laws which it is paid and sworn to uphold.

Regarding the FBI's guilt there can be no doubt whatever. Numerous FBI agents were compelled to get up in court and admit under oath that they had tapped telephones in violation of the law, and that in previous court appearances they had given false testimony under oath regard-

ing these felonious acts. J. Edgar Hoover and Truman's Attorney General McGrath both publicly stated that wiretapping was going on, and that it would continue.

If the FBI wants to get credit for being vindicated of these crimes, then it should insist that the FBI law-breakers, and the men in high office who directed them, be indicted, brought to court and made to face the verdict of a jury in a fair trial. And the newspapers who support every act of the FBI should insist on it too.

But of course neither the government nor the capitalist press would support such a move. And the fact that they won't is the really significant aspect of this case. For it vindicates our charge, made at the start of the Coplon-Gubitzhev trial, that the FBI not only breaks the law with impunity, but that it gets off scot-free with such crimes.

And the praise being showered on the FBI for its successful escape from the punishment it richly deserves vindicates our oft-repeated warning that the main threat to the democratic liberties of the American people today emanates from the White House, the Department of Justice and the FBI who falsely claim that they are acting in defense of those liberties.

Be Careful of What You Don't Say

The role of the courts, as agencies promoting the witch-hunt and the assault on civil rights, was high-lighted last week by the unanimous decision of the Appellate Court of New York in upholding the notorious Feinberg Law. This law which decrees the dismissal of teachers belonging to "subversive" organizations had been ruled unconstitutional by New York Supreme Court Justice Schirick last November. The Appellate Court has now reversed this decision.

The argumentation of the Appellate judges is the most sinister feature of their arch-reactionary decision. We single out for comment only two items.

First, it was argued by Justice Heffernan that no question of abridgment or violation of constitutional rights was involved inasmuch as "there is no constitutional right to be a teacher." There is, in the nature of things, no "constitutional right" to pursue any occupation, including that of teacher. But no one, including teachers, can be deprived by arbitrary legislative or judicial action of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. By shifting the issue from that of civil rights to that of occupation, the N. Y. Appellate Court has in fact decreed that any individual can be deprived of his or her civil rights on the mere ground that there is

Heffernan's second argument is just as sweeping. It is that since the state legislature fixes the "standards" for teachers, it has the power to include other "qualifications than scholastic."

He then proceeded not only to dismiss out of hand the crucial issue of whether or not these "other qualifications" are flagrant violations of elementary democratic rights but also to assert flatly that thought-control was wholly and justifiably within the scope of these "qualifications." "The most important qualification is loyalty to our government," he said.

And as if to leave no doubt that ideas and ideas alone — "dangerous thoughts" they were called by the Japanese despots — are the real target, he went on to add: "It is not necessary to impart a thought by direct statement. The result may be accomplished by indirect, subtle insinuations; by what is left unsaid as well as what is said."

No greater aid could have been extended to the witch-hunters who under this interpretation are free to hound their victims not only for what they may say but also for "what is left unsaid."

Looking Backward

The socialist child of the future will never be able to understand the capitalist system. He will ask, "What was capitalism like?" His old grandmother will say, "Under capitalism three-quarters of the people in the whole world went hungry and in rags in the fifth year of atomic energy, 1950."

"Why were they hungry?" the child will ask. "Because," his grandmother will patiently explain, "they produced too much wheat, too much corn, too many potatoes, too many eggs, too much milk. They went without clothes because there was too much cotton and too much flax and too much wool."

"But I don't understand," the child will say. "Why should people be without food and clothes because there is too much? What I'd do would be to distribute everything to the people who need it, and then there wouldn't be too much."

"Yes, that is the way a child would do it, but not the grown up capitalists back in 1950," his grandmother will say. "You see, they wouldn't permit it to be distributed, because it couldn't be sold for a profit. They had to see that it wasn't distributed, so that what was left would sell for more and bring them a bigger profit."

"I don't understand why all those people just stood around and went hungry and cold because some other people wanted a profit — and I don't even know what a profit is!" the child will continue. "What did they do with all that food and stuff that they didn't want people to have?"

"Well," his grandmother will reply, "they got the American capitalist government to buy up 6½-million bales of cotton, and nearly 200-million pounds of butter, and almost a half billion bushels of wheat, and 627 million bushels of corn, and four billion eggs and 275-million pounds of milk and loads and loads of everything else. And they put it in warehouses and storage bins and even caves. And it just piled up until it began to go bad and rotten. And some, like the potatoes, they dyed blue and fed to the hogs."

"You mean, Granny, that they took good potatoes and fed them to the pigs and didn't let hungry people have them just because some mean old capitalists wanted to make — what was that word — profits?"

"That's right, son."

"Granny, I'm glad I don't live under that old capitalism."

"Not as glad as I am, son."

Quit Whitewashing the Trumanites on FEPC!

By Albert Parker

Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson, chairman and secretary respectively of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, last week sent a letter urging the 60 national organizations sponsoring the mobilization to continue and increase pressure on the Senate for enactment of a strong FEPC bill.

They claim "the issue" is kept alive by passage of the McConnell Bill — but what issue are they talking about? The only issue kept alive by that bill is the toothless FEPC — which will have to be killed before an effective FEPC can be passed. Wilkins and Aronson seem to have forgotten that what keeps the FEPC issue alive is not the way the House votes but the pressure of the masses.

It is that pressure, and not what the House does, that will force the Senate to act. If that pressure is relaxed, the Senate will not act, no matter what the House did. And the worst thing about the Wilkins-Aronson drive about the "purposes" served by passing the McConnell Bill is that it tends to reduce that pressure by obscuring the real issues.

TRUMANITE PROPAGANDA

It would have been better, in our opinion, for the House to have passed no bill at all than to pass a bill bearing the name of FEPC which will only confuse voters as to who their real enemies are. Then the issue would have been more clear-cut than it is now, and mass resentment would have mounted; under those conditions nobody would have had to worry about the issue being kept alive. But the Trumanite propaganda that the McConnell Bill is better than nothing at all has the opposite, harmful effect — especially when Wilkins and Aronson

WHAT KEEPS IT ALIVE

This, we maintain, poses the question falsely. Why would recommital of the McConnell Bill to the committee that sponsored the Powell Bill have ended action this

WHY BELGIUM IS NOW DIVIDED OVER KING LEOPOLD'S RETURN

By Charles Hanley

King Leopold's victory is no great victory; but it is a modest success all the same, for he obtained some 57% of the total vote in the March 12 referendum. This means that the peasants and many petty bourgeoisie in the towns, especially in Catholic Flanders, voted for the pro-fascist king who clashed hands with Hitler at Berchtesgaden in 1940.

The workers voted against the reactionary monarch, especially in the industrial regions of Wallonia. The church had officially ordered all Catholics to support him. The Belgian Parliament will now have to decide whether 57% is a sufficient majority for Leopold's return to the throne.

In an article published on March 11 by the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Paul-Henri Spaak, former ("socialist") Prime Minister of Belgium, expressed astonishment that the "royal question" had come up again and was dividing the Belgian people.

But after World War II Spaak worked hand in hand with the other leaders of both the Socialist and Stalinist Parties to assure the recovery of Belgian capitalism and ignored the vital interests of the Belgian working class. This treacherous policy immensely strengthened the Belgian bourgeoisie, economically and politically. Instead of struggling against the monarchy — the rallying center of Belgian reaction — those labor leaders merely "opposed" the compromised personality of Leopold III, while continuing to support the reactionary institution of the throne.

The Stalinists even pretended that the question was not so important after all, only a "bourgeois diversion." The small Belgian Trotskyist Party was the

Correction

A typographical error in last week's issue distorted the meaning of the sentence beginning at the end of the second column in Li Fu-jen's review of Jack Belden's latest book on China. Li Fu-jen wrote that Belden believed: "The Marxists are just all wrong in contending that the peasantry cannot play a leading, independent role in the revolution. . ." By error, the word cannot was printed as can.

Left Hand, Right Hand — Truman's Flim-Flammy

When he is seeking votes, Truman goes in for radical talk on civil rights. But his two appointees to the U. S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia were the ones who upheld strict Jim Crow segregation in the capital's schools last month, and the man he is backing for the U. S. Senate nomination in Missouri is an avowed opponent of equal education for Negroes.

who know better, give fuel to such propaganda.

Why, then, do they do it? The reason is bared by a further statement in their letter: "The basis on which to judge the action of your representative is the vote on the adoption of the McConnell amendment, not the vote on final passage." In other words, the congressmen who voted against a toothless FEPC when it was presented in the form of the McConnell amendment but then turned around and voted for it when it was presented in the form of the McConnell Bill — they are the "friends of FEPC."

They claim "the issue" is kept alive by passage of the McConnell Bill — but what issue are they talking about? The only issue kept alive by that bill is the toothless FEPC — which will have to be killed before an effective FEPC can be passed. Wilkins and Aronson seem to have forgotten that what keeps the FEPC issue alive is not the way the House votes but the pressure of the masses.

It is that pressure, and not what the House does, that will force the Senate to act. If that pressure is relaxed, the Senate will not act, no matter what the House did. And the worst thing about the Wilkins-Aronson drive about the "purposes" served by passing the McConnell Bill is that it tends to reduce that pressure by obscuring the real issues.

HOW TO EXERT PRESSURE

But this policy of whitewashing the Trumanites is just what has weakened the FEPC fight up to now. Instead of getting greater concessions from the Trumanites, it only encourages them to regard the Civil Rights Mobilization with contempt, and to continue their shell-game on civil rights. Instead of helping the fight in the Senate, it makes it all the more certain that the most that will come out of that body will be a measure along the lines of the McConnell Bill, if anything at all.

There is only one way to put effective pressure on capitalist politicians. And that is by telling the truth about their crimes, sins and deceptions — not by appealing to them. Even so rabidly Democratic a publication as the Chicago Defender, third largest Negro paper, recognized this last week when it asked in an editorial "what happened to the administration's leaders in the fight for a strong FEPC?" and warned the Democratic Party not to kid itself into thinking it has the Negro vote in the bag.

Why should the leaders of the Civil Rights Mobilization and the NAACP, who claim they are politically "non-partisan," be less critical of Trumanite treachery than a paper that has formally backed the Democratic Party for almost 20 years? How much longer do these leaders think that the Negro and labor rank and file are going to tolerate a policy that subordinates their interests to those of the capitalist politicians?

This setback to Belgian labor comes as the direct result of the many blunders, betrayal and cap-tulations of the SP and CP leadership. But, whatever the Parliament decides about Leopold, the Belgian workers certainly will not cease to be hostile to the royal admirer of Hitler and to the "strong" regime the bourgeoisie wants to set up because of the deteriorating economic situation.

House Seeks to Expand Power of FBI Purgers

Up to now the FBI has been assigned the job of collecting information in the "loyalty" purge. But in an amendment to the National Science Foundation Bill passed by the House it is given the right to evaluate the information too, and to decide which science students will be disqualified from participation in the program.

In short, the Progressive Party in 1950 is reduced — or more properly, has reduced itself — to the status of a pressure agency operating partly within and partly outside of the two major capitalist parties. But why is a separate party needed to carry out such a role? And what happened to the original Wallaceite-Stalinist concept of the Progressive Party as the organization that would challenge the old parties for political supremacy in this country?

These questions are bound to occur this year to more and more of the people who supported the Wallaceite candidates in 1948 because they wanted a break with capitalist politics and capitalist parties. And as they do, the Progressive Party is fated to suffer greater and deeper demoralization and disintegration.

THE ELECTORAL POLICY OF THE WALLACEITES

By Fred Hart

Out of the 467 seats in Congress to be filled at this year's election, the Progressive Party has decided to contest less than one-ninth with 50 candidates of its own (about half the number it ran in 1948).

This decision, announced at the Progressive convention in Chicago last month, undoubtedly reflects the drastic decline in the party's membership, influence and morale since its formation less than two years ago. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that the decision to run so few candidates is due mainly to their decline in strength.

New Jersey, the state with the earliest date for filing of election petitions, proves otherwise. Of all the densely populated states, this one has relatively the most liberal provisions for getting on the ballot. If the Progressive Party had wanted to, it could easily have got on the ballot in all the state's 14 congressional districts. In 1948 it ran seven candidates for the House of Representatives from this state. Last week it filed for only three congressional seats — in the 3rd, 6th and 12th districts, each of which is now held by a Republican. They did not choose to contest a single one of the five seats now held by Trumanites.

This demonstrates that the primary cause of the 1950 Wallaceite policy is political rather than organizational crisis. In most of the cases where they will abstain from congressional contests, it will not be because they lack the strength to get on the ballot but because they will be satisfied on the whole with either the Democratic or Republican candidate (or both).

Their Platform for the U. S.

The Wallaceites' hopes have been raised by statements of Democratic politicians like McMahon and Tydings who have suggested the need for seeking a break with the Kremlin. The Progressive Party is not going to fight any capitalist politician who makes similar statements, or might make them. And one of the methods of appealing such politicians and smoothing the way toward a reconciliation with them was the domestic platform adopted by the Progressive convention.

Commenting on this in the March 11 Nation, Murray Kempton said: "It is not perceptibly left of the current Truman program, and it is somewhat to the right of the La Follette platform of 26 years ago. Its farm program is the Brannan Plan; its labor policy is Taft-Hartley repeal; its civil rights program and the President's are identical." If this is an exaggeration, it is a very small one. Granted that there are differences between the Progressive and Trumanite domestic programs, they certainly are not large enough to stand in the way of Progressive support, overt or covert, for most of the Trumanite candidates.

And just that was explicitly provided for in the report of the congressional campaign committee unanimously adopted by the convention. The report declared that "there are candidates in both old parties who are responsive to the strength of the peoples' demand for decisive action to meet their needs." Then it listed five different methods by which the Progressives could achieve their objectives in the 1950 campaign:

"1. By concentration in selected areas where the candidates of the old parties offer the voters no real choice and where a victory or balance-of-power vote for our candidate will help unite and strengthen the progressive forces. There our Party will nominate its own candidates. . .

"2. By joining with peoples' movements for the defeat of the most open and notorious reactionaries.

"3. By using our strength and influence in alliance with labor and progressive forces in the old parties to compel the designation of peoples' candidates, or to secure their nomination in primaries.

"4. By influencing candidates of the old parties to take stronger positions in issues and secure their commitment to a minimum program.

"5. By abstaining from dissipation of our forces in contests where neither old party candidate merits our support and where our strength and the political alignments of the mass of voters do not warrant the nomination of a candidate of our own."

They Are Now a Pressure Agency

Subtract the deliberately obscure formulations and their policy boils down to this: In most cases they will not oppose the Democratic and Republican candidates; they will work within the old parties by participation in their primaries; and they will run candidates in a small number of districts in order to show the old parties that they are worth bargaining with because they still have some pressure (or balance-of-power) strength.

In short, the Progressive Party in 1950 is reduced — or more properly, has reduced itself — to the status of a pressure agency operating partly within and partly outside of the two major capitalist parties. But why is a separate party needed to carry out such a role? And what happened to the original Wallaceite-Stalinist concept of the Progressive Party as the organization that would challenge the old parties for political supremacy in this country?

These questions are bound to occur this year to more and more of the people who supported the Wallaceite candidates in 1948 because they wanted a break with capitalist politics and capitalist parties. And as they do, the Progressive Party is fated to suffer greater and deeper demoralization and disintegration.</p

Rogge--Wallace's Successor?

By John F. Petrone

According to some reports, O. John Rogge, the lawyer, is being groomed to take the place of Henry Wallace as the leader of the Progressive Party when and if Wallace decides to quit. If this is true, he will have the support of the Stalinists. And he will have their support BECAUSE of Rogge's occasional remarks differentiating himself from Stalinism, and not in spite of them. For the fortunes of American Stalinism have fallen so low that they cannot hope to make any headway even through front organizations unless they are headed by people who disclaim, and once in a while even criticize, certain Stalinist policies.

This does not mean that Rogge is a consistent critic of Stalinism. Far from it. He says a few words for the record, but he never su's his actions to his words. At the Progressive convention in Chicago last month he declared: "We shall not bend backwards in order to attempt to justify the conduct of the Cominform countries toward Yugoslavia. . . In the field of foreign policy we must emphasize the rights of smaller nations to work out solutions for their problems in their own ways. The bullying, threatening, coercion or unequal treatment of a smaller nation by a greater one is a potential threat to peace — whether done by the United States, by Great Britain or by the Soviet Union."

But when the Progressive convention got around to voting on foreign policy, Rogge failed to get up and demand a condemnation of "the conduct of the Cominform countries toward Yugoslavia." He didn't bend backwards, he didn't bend forward, he just sat in his seat. For he was one of the leaders of the party who had met with the Stalinists prior to the convention and agreed that Yugoslavia is "an internal problem of Eastern Europe, not of the Progressive Party." The Stalinists were perfectly willing to let Rogge slap them on the wrist over Yugoslavia if he would not try to commit his party to the defense of Yugoslavia; in return, he was perfectly willing to avoid a fight over Yugoslavia just so long as he could get himself some good publicity for nothing.

Anybody who tended to misunderstand the mechanics of this cynical little comedy could quickly correct himself by checking Rogge's much publicized trip to the Soviet Union a few days later. Rogge plays a key role not only in Stalinist front organizations in this country but abroad as well. He went to Paris last spring as a delegate to the World Congress of Partisans of Peace, and later to one of its conferences in Mexico City. Each time he spoke a few words of implied criticism of the Kremlin — but always in such a way as not to really offend the Stalinists, always in agreement with the main line of the Kremlin.

Not just anybody is permitted to visit the

Soviet Union. A little over a year ago Louis Adamic applied for a visa; but because he was suspected of harboring the suspicion that the Kremlin's attacks on Yugoslavia might not be justified, he was denied admittance. Why then was Rogge given a visa when the Stalinists were aware of his remarks on Yugoslavia at the Progressive convention? Because they know their man. They know he is always open to a little deal; they know how to distinguish between his words and his deeds.

And he did not play them false. In Chicago he had said that the "bullying, threatening, coercion or unequal treatment of a smaller nation by a greater one is a potential threat to peace." But this "peace partisan" did not utter a word along these lines as he spoke on March 8 to the members of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in the Kremlin. Instead, he confined himself to advocating renewed efforts for a U. S.-Soviet agreement on atomic and other weapons, and to advocating freedom of speech for every country.

This last point naturally got the most publicity. It was typical of Rogge's "criticisms" of Stalinism in that on the whole it did the Stalinists more good than harm. In the first place, nobody in the Soviet Union heard it but the members of the Supreme Soviet — that is, people carefully screened, selected and supervised by Stalin's GPU. But this did not prevent the Stalinists all over the world from shouting about it as "proof" of the existence of free speech in the Soviet Union — in contrast to the State Department's recent refusal to permit representatives of the "peace partisans" to come to the U. S. to present their point of view. And of course Rogge's speech was useful in calling world-wide attention to the Kremlin's present "peace offensive," its readiness to listen to various proposals for a deal, etc. For Rogge the main thing was that it called worldwide attention to — Rogge.

Before leaving Moscow, Rogge put a wreath on the grave of John Reed, author of *Ten Days That Shocked the World*. Reed was revolutionist who was attracted to the Soviet Union by the Bolshevik principles exemplified by Lenin and Trotsky and who gave up his life in the cause of socialism. He would have been revolted by such people as Rogge — self-seeking careerists devoid of principle and shame, advocates of "progressive capitalism" and opponents of Marxism — who are willing to feather the nest of Stalinism as long as they can get something out of it for themselves. The gulf between these two Americans who came to Moscow — the first attracted by Leninism, the other welcomed and made use of by Stalinist totalitarianism — is another of the many signs of the Soviet Union's frightful degeneration since Stalin got power.

'Charm' for Job-Seekers

By Anna Carson

Last month some 210,000 persons were added to the labor force, according to latest U. S. Census figures. But, the Bureau reports, there were only 6,000 new jobs for these new job-seekers. About 204,000 were added to the unemployed lists. And if it keeps up at this rate, by 1954 there will be more than 12,000,000 unemployed — that is, if we continue to have "prosperity."

This is no pleasant prospect, particularly for the youth. And more and more of them are going to be seeking fundamental answers to why they can't get jobs. That's where the capitalist propagandists come in. There will be no lack of jobs for them — they've got the tough-over-time chore of covering up for capitalism's ills and throwing the blame for the plight of the working youth on anything but the profit system.

A typical wrinkle in the type of propaganda that's being handed out now was given quite a write-up in the March 11 N. Y. Times, under the heading, "Youths Advised on How to Get Jobs."

The Times gives half a column and top-of-the-page billing to a report about the advice given to 435 high-school students in Bloomfield, N. J., by several experts on "career guidance." According to the advice, what young people need today to get a job is "a lot of personality, a little ability and the willingness to learn."

Miss Anita Chandler, assistant director of Admissions for Packard Junior College in New York, informed the students that "skills alone are not enough — the student must develop his or her personality."

Morals of a Union Bureaucrat

By Ruth Johnson

Some of the most bureaucratic and reactionary union officials have joined the hue-and-cry against the "immorality" of the Marxists. They complain especially about union members who are forced to protect themselves against expulsion from the union and loss of jobs by concealing their radical political views and associations. It's not "moral," the red-baiting bureaucrats contend, for these unionists to make it harder to expel them on political grounds.

The very officials who complain loudest about this sort of "immorality" are often guilty of the vilest fraud and deception of their membership. But this kind of "moral" wing highest praise from the capitalist press.

Thus, the March 5 N. Y. Times drools over the achievements of Michael Quill, president-dictator of the CIO Transport Workers Union, who faithfully followed the Stalinist line for many years. In a special Magazine Section article sub-titled "Brains and Cunning Go With the TWU Leader's Playful Bluster — As His Communist Foes Learned," A. H. Raskin delightedly and approvingly describes some facts about how Quill deals with his opposition that shed considerable light on the "moral" of red-baiters like Quill.

On one occasion, Austin Hogan, president of New York's biggest TWU local and a leader of the

Stalinist caucus, had called a meeting of 18 section chairmen to line up the anti-Quill forces. Asked by a henchman if he was going to the meeting, Quill said no — because "the fact is there won't be any meeting. I've just sent out 18 telegrams signed by Austin Hogan calling the meeting off." Another time, Raskin continues, Quill "called a meeting in Hogan's name, but through a 'regrettable oversight' neglected to tell Hogan about it." The men who received the "playful" message found the hall locked and were sore at Hogan. Forgery is a favorite device of Quill's in fighting opposition.

DECEIVES THE MEMBERS

Here is how Quill lined up the Omaha local in his camp in preparation for a TWU convention. The opposition was strong in the Omaha local, so Quill went there to take care of the situation personally. His first act was to issue a false leaflet to which he signed the names of oppositionists. This was a leaflet, says Raskin, "denouncing Quill and urging the Omaha local to repudiate his red-baiting" by affiliating to the AFL.

The hoodwinked members, loyal to the CIO, accepted the leaflet as genuine, and fearing the opposition really meant to split from the CIO, decided Quill was a lesser evil.

To strengthen the deception of the membership, Quill went to the meeting and read a "telegram"

which warned him to "stay out of Omaha if he knew what was good for him." It bore the signatures of 30 members of the local who had been supporting the opposition. These members got up and heatedly denied having sent the telegram; they assumed that national leaders of the opposition caucus had used their names without authority. Raskin writes, "It never occurred to anyone that the message might have been wired to Quill by one of his own confederates in Omaha."

While the meeting was still buzzing over this, another phony telegram sent by Quill arrived. This was signed with the name of Douglas L. MacMahon, TWU Secretary-Treasurer and opponent of Quill. It said that the International Executive Board intended to put the local under receivership. By the time a wire came from New York revealing that Quill's telegram was a fake, the delegates had been elected — naturally, Quill supporters. "But by that time no one could find a copy. It was last seen disappearing into Mike Quill's pocket."

Do Quill's lies, forgeries and misrepresentations to the membership offend the highly "moral" N. Y. Times? Just the contrary. For Quill, Raskin points out, is "eager to make his union responsible," that is, responsible to the bankers and capitalist politicians who control the city's transit system. Raskin advises the city officials and capitalist interests

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James P. Cannon And Rose Karsner Honored in L. A.

By A. Lynn

LOS ANGELES, March 5 — A banquet honoring the 40 years of socialist labor and devotion to the movement by James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner was attended by more than 130 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party here.

"In the society within which we have been condemned to live," said Cannon, "hypocrisy rules supreme. The most beautiful and holy words that people have used to express their best feelings have become like coins — used so much as to be worn smooth — that we hesitate to use them. But here, in this audience, I can express my feelings.

"I believe in people and their unlimited capacity through cooperation. . . I believe in the power of fraternity in the party in the struggle for socialism."

Comrade Karsner expressed identical sentiments on the 40 years she devoted to the socialist movement where each receives as much has he or she gives. "On whatever level in the movement one participates, from leadership to my own level, that of a rank-and-file," they can contribute and will grow to the extent that they do so.

Speaking especially on behalf of the women in the party who are not bounded by the four walls of the house, she demonstrated by her own life that the family in the life of a revolutionist is much richer than the ordinary role of the family as a unit in society.

Among those to greet Cannon was an Italian anarchist worker who first met Cannon in 1927 when his work in the International Labor Defense helped to save from the death sentence a worker threatened by the long arm of Mussolini from Italy.

Murry Weiss, organizer of the SWP Los Angeles Local, noted the move initiated by the New York Local to raise a "Cannon Birthday Fund" which would be used as he desires for the good of the movement, and announced the launching of this fund locally. Pledge cards were distributed and the results will be announced later.

The 900 professors met here as members of the Academic Senate, self-governing faculty body, and voted unanimously to refuse to sign the oath even if it cost them their jobs. They represented the four campuses of the northern section of the University. A similar meeting of professors on four campuses of the southern section is scheduled to-day in Los Angeles.

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