

THE TRADITION OF JULY THE FOURTH

By Ruth Johnson
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Workers of the World, Unite!

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UAW Convention Faces Issue of Union Democracy

The delegates to the 1947 Atlantic City convention of the UAW saw fit to hand over complete control over the auto union to the Reuther leadership. In the slightly less than two years that have elapsed, Reuther and his faction have enjoyed a monopoly of the administration and have been in a position to carry through whatever policies and actions they saw fit.

Two years ago, the exact character of the new leadership may have been obscure to many. Reuther is so skillful in demagoguery and so lavish in promises that many sincere militants were undoubtedly fooled by his pretences of progressivism and took his promises for good coin. There is no excuse for anyone being fooled today. The Reuther leadership should be judged now not by what it says about itself or what it promises to do in the future, but by its conduct in office in the past two years.

The record proves that the Reuther administration is part and parcel of the whole rightward, reactionary trend that is prevalent in the CIO today.

Reuther and his lieutenants have been guilty of injecting the poisons of red-baiting into the UAW. In many districts of the union, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists crowd runs the Reuther caucus and pursues without let or hindrance its policy of collaborating with the employers and harassing and hounding all so-called radicals, generalists and militants in opposition. This witch-hunt, which duplicates inside the union the anti-union barrage of the Tafts and the Dixiecrats from the outside, has assumed such menacing proportions that the UAW Aircraft Director felt free to address a secret meeting of West Coast employers and advised them to cooperate with the UAW officials in weeding out of the plants so-called "fellow-travelers."

The red-baiting, initiated and powered inside the UAW by the

Reuther forces, has produced its natural result: A movement to suppress democracy and rank and file control and install over the membership an immovable bureaucracy. Reuther's International Executive Board has already taken a number of initial moves along this line. It threatened the old leadership of the Plymouth local of Detroit with disciplinary action because the local paper was printing articles "contrary to CIO policy."

At the same time, a big howl was set up in the UAW that no local officer or member could say or propose anything, or criticize anything, that was "contrary to CIO policy." This trick phrase has become a catch-all to gag the members and officers of the UAW, to destroy their democratic privileges, and leave them with no other rights except to vote "Ja" for all proposals of the top union bureaucrats.

The Milwaukee convention has the duty of being especially vigilant to smash any and all proposals to restrict the democratic rights of the membership, to impose machine rule on the union, to amend the union constitution to give dictators rights to Reuther and his International Executive Board, or to give new aid and comfort to the witch-hunt inside the union, as was foolishly done by the recent Michigan State CIO convention where the Reutherites pushed through a vicious red-baiting resolution.

WAGES AND CONDITIONS

The record of the Reuther administration is equally miserable as far as improving the wages and working conditions of the membership is concerned.

The election of Reuther to the
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Stalinists Refuse to Defend Rights of Political Opponents

Kutcher Forces Conference to Hear His Plea

SAN FRANCISCO, June 26 — James Kutcher, legless veteran who was fired from his government job as a "subversive" and who is now on tour to broaden the fight for his case, spoke here today before a Stalinist-dominated Conference Against Thought Control. In spite of the topic of the conference, he was able to get the floor only after a determined fight.

All organizations and individuals interested in combating the drive toward thought control had been invited to the conference. But true to form, the Stalinists were determined that only their spokesmen should speak.

Although the three-hour morning session was taken up mainly with long-winded speeches, Kutcher's request for 15 minutes to report on his test case against all the "subversive" listings was denied on the ground there was "no time on the agenda" for him. A second request, made by several unionists when the afternoon session opened, was likewise refused. Finally, after 2½ hours of more speeches, 20 minutes of discussion from the floor was permitted, and Kutcher got five minutes of this.

In his speech Kutcher presented the facts of his case and called for a broad united front to fight the Washington-inspired witch-hunt, in spite of the political differences that exist between various organizations under attack. His simple, direct appeal won a round of applause from the audience.

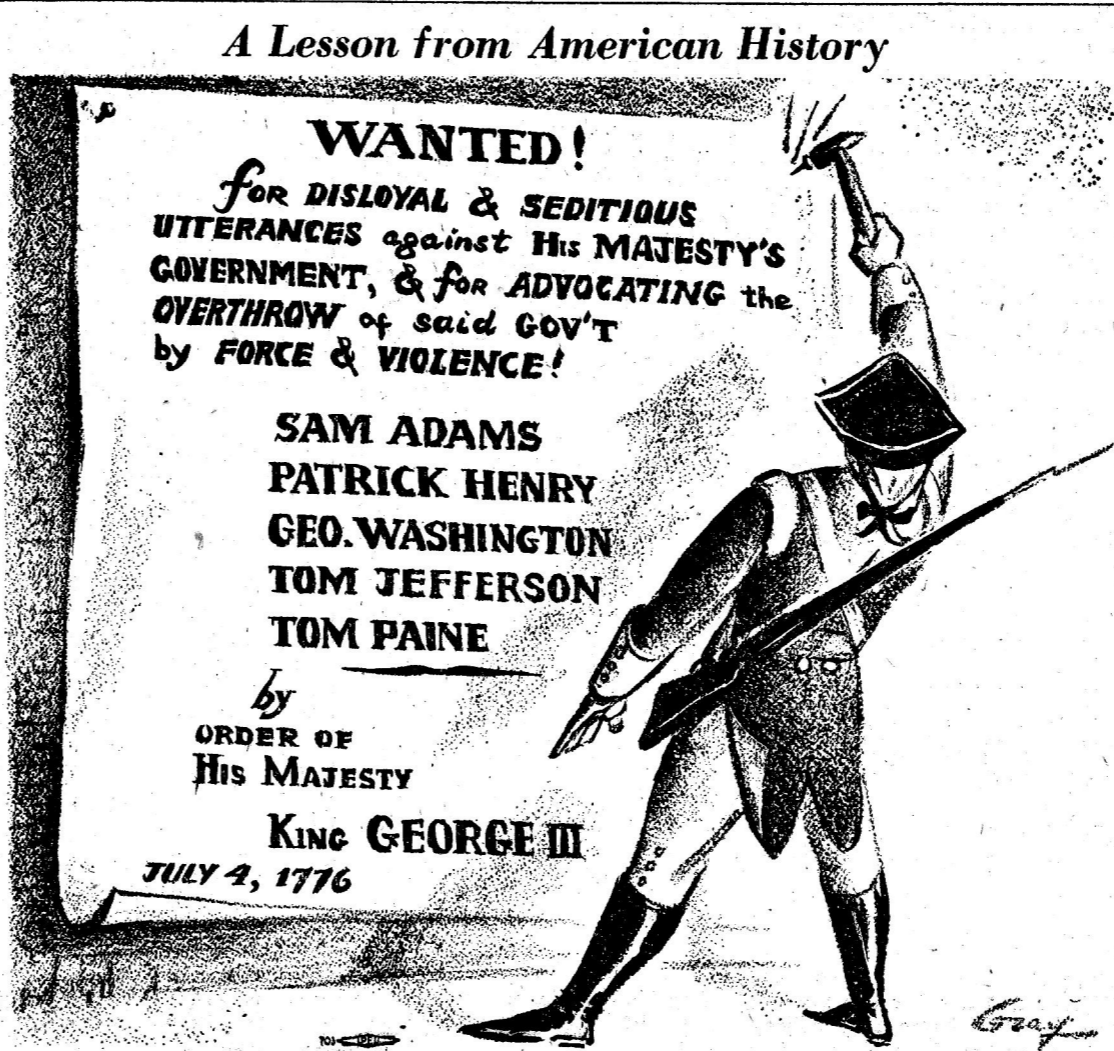
STALINIST SLANDERS

Immediately afterward, a Stalinist was granted special privilege to open a vicious and violent attack upon Trotskyism, throwing in the usual prize assortment of lies and slanders. He ended with the statement that it was not possible to have a united front with "stool pigeons."

His speech raised sharp protest from sections of the audience. When Robert Chester, Bay Area Organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, rose and several times requested the right to answer these lies, he was refused the floor. Many rank and file Stalinists were heard to protest over this.

After the meeting the audience received Kutcher leaflets, that were distributed outside, with considerable interest and sympathy.

Kutcher is scheduled to speak at several more meetings in the Bay Area as well as before a number of unions and over the radio.



Big Drop in Production Predicted by December

The AFL leaders may claim a serious depression is "almost impossible." Truman may tell us there is "no crisis" of unemployment. But business forecasters and government economists don't have William Green's blind faith in capitalist "free enterprise" nor Truman's Pollyanna spirit.

Industrial production is due for a further big drop by December, according to the survey of economic forecasts published by the June 25 Business Week. "Major government economists" interviewed by Business Week predict that over-all production will fall from last year's post-war peak of 195 on the Federal Reserve Board index to between 151 and 166 by December. These are the individual highest and lowest predictions.

A comparable decline in employment would mean from eight to ten million unemployed by December — a return to the "normal" number of jobless in pre-war 1939.

More revealing than the predictions on over-all production, are those for each major sector of industry, durable goods, non-durable and minerals. In the

decisive durables — steel, automobiles, etc. — the predictions are for a drop from the post-war peak of 237 to as low as 157, with 185 the most optimistic opinion. At the present rate of decline, the lower figure appears more probable.

Non-durables, such as textiles, paper products, chemicals and manufactured foods, are expected to drop from a peak of 179 to between 148 and 158. This average, however, is deceptive. It is sustained by food products, which have shown as yet no appreciable decline from their 163 peak, and are expected not to fall below 153 by December.

Textiles, paper products and chemicals, the other major components, are expected to fall respectively from 177 to between 120 and 130; 172 to between 135 and 137; and 259 to between 185 and 190. Minerals — principally coal — are expected to drop from 161 to between 135 and 140. This latter prediction, however, was made before the United Mine Workers proposed a three-day week, indicating the real depth of the coal crisis.

In the face of the predictions of

government economists and business spokesmen, the government has as yet no program against mass unemployment and its attendant suffering other than "states' rights" unemployment insurance as low as \$6 a week for eight weeks in some states, with millions of wage-earners not covered at all.

All state and local governments combined have public works projects in the blue-print stage totalling only \$2.5 billion, while the federal government has plans for another \$2 billion. States and localities, basing themselves on expected unemployment, have asked for projects that would cost between 30 and 80 billions. But, as Business Week says, "the trouble is that plans for these projects don't exist."

Thus, the workers are heading directly into mass unemployment with no real safeguards. Unless organized labor immediately launches a full-scale fight for adequate public works, unemployment insurance and a lower work week with no reductions in weekly pay, this winter may well see mass misery on the scale of the depressed Thirties.

Dobbs' Appeal for Support To SWP, Kutcher Voted Down

NEW YORK, June 25 — The Stalinist-controlled Conference for Civil and Human Rights today flatly refused to defend Socialist Workers Party members

victimized by the witch-hunters, thereby proving to the hilt that the Communist Party will not extend to its opponents within the labor movement the same democratic rights and privileges it claims for itself.

Handpicked chairmen and committees, together with pre-arranged speakers lists, were imposed upon the sessions of this so-called "broad, representative" conference without even bothering to obtain a vote of approval from the delegates. Speaker after speaker talked endlessly about civil rights cases involving none but Stalinists. Professor Thomas I. Emerson and Rev. William Howard Melish were the only officially scheduled speakers to recognize that others besides Stalinists have civil rights which are under attack.

After four hours of Stalinist oratory, Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the SWP, finally managed to get the floor in the panel discussion on Academic, Intellectual and Religious Freedom. He informed the delegates that the SWP supports the defense of all victims of the witch-hunt, including the Communist Party leaders now on trial under the thought control Smith Act.

Dobbs then reminded the Stalinists that they supported the prosecution when the 18 Trotskyists were convicted in the first political trial under the same Smith Act in 1941. "Now you are suffering the consequences of that mistake down at Foley Square," he told them. The Stalinists can "begin to correct that mistake," he went on, by supporting the fight of the 18 Trotskyists for restoration of their civil rights and by support-

ing the battle to win the reinstatement of James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from his Veterans Administration clerical job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

"We defend your members against the witch-hunters, despite our deep-going political differences with the Communist Party," Dobbs told the Stalinists. "You should have the same attitude toward members of the Socialist Workers Party. If we stand united on civil liberties issues, it will be a compelling demonstration of both the need and the possibility of united defensive struggle."

CLARKE'S AMENDMENT

When the panel chairman later submitted a resolution calling for support to the Stalinist victims of the assault on democratic rights, George Clarke, editor of Fourth International, the Trotskyist theoretical magazine, submitted an amendment calling for support to James Kutcher and the 18 Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act.

Boos and cat-calls from Stalinist hecklers greeted Clarke's attempt to motivate his amendment. He persisted nevertheless, challenging the Stalinists to prove that the democratic pretensions of their conference were not a sham and a fraud by supporting the defense of all labor and liberal victims of the witch hunt, regardless of their political views.

At this point the chairman tried to cut Clarke down, but he held the floor long enough to drive home the point that many workers and intellectuals today refuse
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Government Purge Upheld in Outrageous Court Decision

Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff on June 28 dismissed the suit against the government filed by 26 Post Office employees fired or suspended on "disloyalty" charges.

The Washington judge's decision upheld the constitutionality of the government's purge of federal workers and at the same time brought the full implications of the purge out into the open.

The 26 claimed that the "loyalty" procedure violated their rights to free speech. According to Holtzoff, the government "would have a perfect right, if it saw fit to do so, to get rid of [its employees] for making utterances which they have the right to make under the Constitution."

Under this doctrine, there would be no free speech at all for government employees, because Holtzoff was not referring merely to so-called "subversive" utterances, but to all utterances by any and all employees.

As I. F. Stone says, "If Judge Holtzoff's reason is good law, if the operations of the executive branch are as exempt from judicial scrutiny as he says, either of the two major parties is free on taking office to purge the Civil Service of its opponents on the grounds of 'disloyalty.'"

OTHER RIGHTS DENIED

The postal workers had complained that Truman's executive order deprived them of the right to a fair trial and due process of law, as guaranteed in the Fifth Amendment. Holtzoff in effect admitted this when he said:

"If the requirements of due process laid down by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution were applicable to the discharge of a government employee from the service, this order [Truman's Executive Order 9835] would not comply with the requirement."

But he denied that government employees had the right to the protection of the Fifth Amendment in case of dismissal, or even the right to have their cases reviewed in the courts.

Holtzoff's outrageous decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court by the postal workers, just as everything implied in the decision is being challenged by the court appeal of James Kutcher, another victim of the purge.

promise of unconditional repeal of the Slave Labor Law.

Today, AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray also issued abject declarations of virtual unconditional surrender. They are reduced to calling for the defeat of the Taft-amended Thomas Bill, thus leaving the Taft-Hartley Law in force and intact.

This is the grave situation facing labor eight months after the workers, at the behest of their union leaders, put Truman back in the White House with a Democratic majority in both the House and Senate.

Who is responsible? That is what the American workers demand to know. The Trumanite union leaders lay all the blame on the Republican-Dixiecrat bloc. But they conceal the role of the Trumanites, who, by their retreats and "compromises," emboldened and strengthened labor's avowed enemies.

Right after the elections, Truman began to hedge on his Taft-

Where the Blame Rests for Taft's Victory

By Art Preis

JUNE 29—The Truman Democrats in the Senate tried to put over a strikebreaking law without the Taft-Hartley label. But their double-dealing "compromise" moved last yesterday to "the Taft-Hartley Act minus the Hartley," as Senator Elbert Thomas characterized the administration's bill after the Senate, by a 50-40 vote, attached Senator Robert Taft's amendment to it.

More appropriately, it might be called the "Taft-Truman Act." Taft's amendment, giving double-barrelled strikebreaking powers to the president, contains both the injunction provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and the Trumanite proposal for breaking strikes by plant "seizures."

The Truman Democrats promptly announced their virtual abandonment of the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, at least until after the November 1950 elections. Thus, they have reneged openly on their key election

Hartley promise. He announced he would seek a "substitute" law "modifying" the Wagner Act, instead of unconditional repeal of Taft-Hartley. In December David Dubinsky, head of the AFL Ladies Garment Workers, proposed a law including "emergency fact-finding" boards, a "cooling off" period, and bans on "jurisdictional" strikes and "secondary" boycotts. These "minor" Taft-Hartley provisions were embodied in the Truman-sponsored Thomas-Lesinski bill, promptly backed by the top union leaders.

In February, Truman announced that he didn't mind Congress "spelling out" a law to give him authority to invoke injunctions against strikes. He just thought it "unnecessary" because he already had "inherent powers" to break "national emergency" strikes by court action. The AFL and CIO leaders pretended Truman had never spoken.

By May, the Truman Democrats in the House were pushing

the Sims Bill, which provided for use of INJUNCTIONS to break strikes. AFL and CIO representatives actively lobbied FOR the Sims Bill.

Before the Senate even began debate, the Truman Democrats offered five "compromise" amendments to the Thomas bill. Four of these amendments were so like provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act that Taft himself promptly accepted them.

Debate occurred on the key amendment calling for government strikebreaking by plant "seizure" instead of injunction. Senator Paul H. Douglas and other Truman Democrats admitted that their amendment "implied" injunction powers in case strikers refused to go back to work after the government "seized" the plants.

It was no trick at all for Taft to expose the shabby, shady game of the Truman Democrats. He taunted them, in fact, for trying to put over an "implied powers" injunction bill while pretend-

ing to oppose injunctions.

While AFL President William Green openly endorsed the plant "seizure" proposal, CIO President Philip Murray merely assailed the "crippling amendments" proposed by Taft, keeping a cowardly silence on plant "seizures."

Thus, with a few exceptions like John L. Lewis, the top union leaders sought from start to finish only to cover up the duplicity of Truman and the Truman Democrats. Instead of mobilizing the workers for militant independent struggle for Taft-Hartley repeal, they tried to deceive the workers for the sake of maintaining their dirty alliance with Truman.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The union leaders' policy of dependence on capitalist politicians like Truman, their retreats and "compromises," their opposition to militant independent labor struggle have led to the inevitable result: The Taft-Hartley Law—or worse—will remain

ADMINISTRATION OPENS RENT-HIKE FLOOD-GATES

"The freeze principle of rent control is now a thing of the past," said Truman's Federal Housing Expediter, Tigue E. Woods, on June 26. This declaration accompanied

disclosure that weeks ago Woods, without public announcement, had quietly put into effect four more rules which, according to the Associated Press, "give local rent directors wide leeway to grant increases" of rents.

Since Woods' issuance last month of new regulations based on the "fair return" to landlords section of the so-called Rent Control Law, about a million landlords have secured application blanks for increases, the latest announcement also revealed. "These further 'interpretations' of the rent law are expected to increase landlord applications for rent hikes another 25%, it was estimated by John J. Pendergast, New York's regional housing expediter.

Last month's "fair return" ruling grants rent boosts to landlords whose "net operating income"—that is, profit—is below 20% of their "gross income"—that is, all rents and fees collected — for properties of more than four dwelling units. On buildings of four or less dwelling units landlords are entitled, according to Woods, to a 25% "net operating income." If landlords make less than the 20% and 25% of profit — in relation not to operating costs but to their total take — then they will be granted rent boosts to bring their "net operating income" to 25% and 30% respectively on the larger and smaller buildings.

This was an engraved invitation to landlords to try to qualify for rent increases by padding their costs or by painting and repairing they should have done

long ago under the rent laws. The four rules announced last week are designed to aid the landlords in these shady practices and to assure their legal cover.

The chief new provision is for rent boosts where the landlord makes a "major capital improvement" or provides a "substantial increase" in services, furniture or equipment. Repairing a leaking roof, replacing old plumbing or any number of other necessary repairs landlords are supposed to supply regularly but haven't are examples of "major capital improvement."

Thus, under the bill which Truman signed and called a "crushing defeat for the real estate lobby," the Truman Administration up to now has (1) decontrolled more than 250,000 rental units; (2) granted more than 300,000 rent increases; (3) issued "fair return" and "major improvement" regulations that open the floodgates to millions of rent increases.

Next Week:

What can labor do now in the fight against Taft-Hartleyism? A programmatic article by Art Preis.

A letter from Germany on the Marshall Plan's effects on German living standards.

An answer to new slanders on the Kutcher case by the People's World, West Coast Stalinist paper.

Farrell Dobbs' Speech At Civil Rights Parley

The following is the text of Farrell Dobbs' speech at the Civil Rights Congress "Conference for Civil and Human Rights," held in New York City on June 25:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates:
Speaking officially for the Socialist Workers Party, as its National Chairman, I wish to inform you that we fully support the aims and objectives of this conference to defend the victims of the witch-hunt now raging in this country.

The Socialist Workers Party defends the educators and religious leaders who are under attack; we oppose the Feinberg Law here in New York and all other assaults on academic freedom; we support the fight against the infamous Ober Law in Maryland and against the flood of anti-democratic legislative bills introduced at Washington and various state capitals.

WE DEFEND CP LEADERS
We defend the federal employees victimized through Attorney General Clark's notorious political blacklist; we support the defense of the Communist Party leaders now on trial under the thought-control Smith Act at Foley Square.

I have more than a passing acquaintance with the Smith Act. I was one of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders framed up in the first political trial under this vicious thought-control law. Just like the present defendants at Foley Square, we were charged with teaching and advocating Marxism-Leninism. Just as the Marxist classics are being introduced in evidence at the Communist Party trial, the first document introduced by the government in the 1941 trial of the Trotskyists was the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.

We were convicted and compelled to serve sentences in a federal prison. And to this very day, even after our prison sentences have been served, we are denied the right to vote; to hold public office or to serve on a jury. We are still fighting for a presidential pardon so that we may regain the civil rights so outrageously taken from us.

SUFFERING CONSEQUENCES
The Communist Party made a mistake when we were on trial in 1941, a very serious mistake. Not only did the Communist Party fail to support our defense — IT SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST US. Now you are suffering the consequence of that mistake down at Foley Square. The prosecutor contends that the conviction of the Trotskyists in 1941 stands as a legal precedent for the present trial of the Communist Party leaders.

You can begin to correct that mistake by joining now in the fight for a presidential pardon to restore the full civil rights of the victimized Socialist Workers Party leaders.

You can also demonstrate your readiness to defend all victims of the witch-hunt by supporting the campaign to force the reinstatement of the legless war veteran, James Kutcher, who was fired from his Veterans Administration clerical job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

James Kutcher, as a matter of fact, was the first federal employee to stand up to the witch-hunters and say, "Yes, I'm a member of a political party on

your Hitler-like blacklist. What of it? I demand my right to think as I please and still be a government employee."

UNITED FRONT EFFECTS

You must not permit political hostility to stand in the way of genuine united front action in opposition to the witch-hunt. In accordance with correct principles in the fight to preserve democratic rights, we defend you members against the witch-hunters, despite our deep-going political differences with the Communist Party. You should have the same attitude toward members of the Socialist Workers Party. While retaining the full right to criticize each other politically, we should nevertheless stand together in the struggle against the purgers and prosecutors.

Such a united front would give tremendous impetus to the broad movement in defense of democratic rights. Every politically informed person knows that the Trotskyists and the Stalinists are bitter political enemies. Consequently, if we stand united, on civil liberties issues, it will be a compelling demonstration of both the need and the possibility of united defensive struggle.

NBODY WILL BE SAFE

Let there be no doubt in your mind that there is burning need for broad and firm mass solidarity — regardless of political differences — in the fight to preserve freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of association in this country. If the



FARRELL DOBBS

defendants now on trial at Foley Square should be convicted, the Communist Party will, in effect, be outlawed. Once that happens, the witch-hunt that is already running wild in America will be transformed into a veritable Roman holiday. Nobody will be safe from attack.

We ask you to recognize these incontestable facts, these grave dangers confronting the American people, and to put aside political hostility — although retaining the full right of political criticism — where democratic rights are involved.

For our part, we pledge that the Socialist Workers Party will continue in the future, just as it has in the past, to defend all victims of the witch-hunt, regardless of race, color or political belief.

Stalinists Refuse to Defend Rights of Political Opponents

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to defend the civil rights of the Stalinists precisely because the Communist Party has refused to recognize the democratic rights of working class political tendencies opposed to them.

The chairman then invited a CP hack to take the floor in opposition to Clarke. The only comeback he could think of was to slanderously link the Socialist Workers Party with the German-American Bund as "window dressing" on the Attorney General's political blacklist.

Despite the predominantly Stalinist composition of the panel and the high-handed tactics, lies and slanders of the panel leaders, about 75 of the 250 delegates voted for the Trotskyist amendment.

"A BAD TURN"

Meanwhile, the Stalinists were getting another pounding in the panel on Negro Rights and Racial Equality. An appeal by a Negro delegate for support to James Kutcher and the 18 Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act, as well as the Stalinist leaders now on trial at Foley Square, evoked a good deal of applause. A second Negro delegate really threw consternation into the ranks of the Stalinist violators of elementary democratic principles.

"What kind of a business is this?" she demanded. "I was told

I can't read The Militant in here because it hasn't been approved by the committee in charge. But I saw a delegate reading the Daily Worker and another one reading the Herald-Tribune and nobody said a word to them. How do you expect to mobilize people to fight the witch-hunt when you use the tactics of the FBI and the Un-American Committee right here in this conference?"

THE PLENARY SESSION

"This panel is taking a bad turn," a Stalinist delegate was heard confiding to his neighbor. By the time the panels broke up and all the delegates returned to the main hall for the final plenary session, the Stalinists had apparently had enough discussion. The floor microphones set up earlier in the day for the use of the delegates had been hastily removed.

The plenary session was a cut and dried, strictly Stalinist show. Nobody got in a word unless he was on the platform and there was nobody on the platform but 100% certified Stalinist wheel horses. Not a word was said about the proposals submitted by the Trotskyists. The Stalinist-line resolutions were railroaded thru in jig time, without discussion. But that didn't stop the buzz of conversation among the delegates, many of whom were impressed by the arguments of the Trotskyists. Almost all the rank and filers seemed pleased that what had been expected to be a dull, cut-and-dried affair turned into a good old-fashioned floor fight.

Nor did the steamroller tactics of the Stalinist gang prevent the N. Y. Times from reporting that the Stalinists had refused to support James Kutcher and the 18 SWP leaders fighting for restoration of their civil rights, and that the Socialist Workers Party had "charged the American Communist Party with favoring civil liberties only for itself and its supporters, while opposing similar rights for its political opponents."

Oil Union Seeks 36-Hour Week

O. A. Knight, president of the CIO Oil Workers Union, last week reaffirmed the union's demand for a 36-hour week at 40 hours pay to bulwark the oil workers against rising unemployment. The industry now works a 40-hour week, but before the war, Knight recalled, the 36-hour week was in effect. Unemployment in the industry is rising, partly because of Marshall Plan operations, said Knight. Importations of crude oil under the plan, he said, have forced suspension of drilling of "thousands" of wells.

N. Y. REGENTS WARNED NOT TO BLACKLIST SWP

NEW YORK, June 27 — In a letter to the New York Board of Regents, the Socialist Workers Party today warned that the Board will be committing a violation of the SWP's constitutional rights if it

places the SWP on any so-called "subversive" list on the pretext of a similar designation by Attorney General Clark. The letter, signed by National Chairman Farrell Dobbs, also demanded "a bill of particulars and a public hearing under due process of law before any action is taken against our party." The text of the letter follows:

Gentlemen:
According to June 17 press dispatches, the New York Board of Regents plans to promulgate at its July 15 meeting a list of so-called "subversive" organizations based on Attorney General

Tom Clark's infamous political blacklist.

As provided under the equally anti-democratic Feinberg Law, members of the organizations so blacklisted would be unconstitutionally deprived of their right to employment in the New York public school system.

The Socialist Workers Party, for whom I speak, has been included in the Clark "subversive" list. The Attorney General has not given a single reason for his high-handed procedure against us, and he has denied our repeated demands for a public hearing to defend ourselves against his dictatorial action.

Kutcher Impresses Seattle Liberal And Labor Circles

"It is not necessary to threaten a man with prison to silence him; the loss of a job will sometimes silence a man just as effectively and deprive him of his civil rights," asserted James Kutcher at the June 22 protest meeting in Swedish Hall which climaxed his visit to Seattle. This was the legless veteran's answer to those who claimed that no loss of civil rights was involved in his discharge from a government job solely because of his political views.

Other speakers at this meeting called upon all defenders of civil liberties to unite in a vigorous front against the witch-hunters who have been especially active in the Northwest. Kutcher linked his own persecution with the suspension of local postal employees in the loyalty purge, the "subversive blacklist" used by the company against Boeing strikers, and the Navy's recent refusal to permit certain longshoremen on their docks.

NEXT ON THE LIST

Frankie Grande, pastor of the Church of the People, stated that unless the present wave of thought control persecutions are stopped his own church may be thought the next on the list. Frank Krasnowsky, secretary of the Northwest Kutcher Committee, pointed out that the Bill of Rights was added to the U. S. Constitution only after bitter fights and mass movements and would have to be defended now in the same way.

Forty students and a number of professors turned out on June 20 to hear Kutcher's story at the University of Washington campus meeting sponsored by the American Veterans Committee. Prof. Ivan C. Rutledge of the University law school also spoke in defense of Kutcher's fight, which is supported by 15 prominent faculty members.

A reception and farewell dinner was given for the legless veteran by his Seattle supporters on the evening of June 23, just before his departure for San Francisco, the next stop on his West Coast tour. Jimmy Kutcher's firm stand has deeply impressed liberal and labor circles in Seattle and the pleasant personality of the soft-spoken ex-GI won him many new friends.

SUCCESSFUL SEASON EXPECTED FOR MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

The first week of the new Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, N. J., indicates that its initial season should prove a notable success. A capacity crowd was on hand for the activities of the Fourth of July weekend.

The comparative coolness of the camp was one of its principal attractions during this torrid spell. Situated 1200 feet above sea level in the foothills of the Pocono Mountains and girdled by woodlands and brooks, the camp is swept by refreshing breezes at the hottest hours of the day. This provided welcome relief for the numerous refugees from the city heat.

Just in time for the holiday inflow of vacationers, the hard-working construction crew put the finishing touches on the big dining and recreation building which commands a beautiful view of the valley and surrounding countryside through its spacious windows. "This is like being on the deck of a ship!" exclaimed one enthusiastic newcomer.

A program of special events was scheduled for the Fourth of July encampment. Among the highlights was a talk by Bert Cochran on "The Trade Union Movement Today"; a discussion

LEGALITY CHALLENGED

Among the Socialist Workers Party members who have already been victimized because of the Clark blacklist is James Kutcher, a legless war veteran, who was fired from his clerk's job in the Veterans Administration. Kutcher's case is now in the process of appeal to the federal courts, where he will challenge the constitutionality of the "subversive" list.

CIO, AFL and independent unions representing millions of members are supporting Kutcher's defense. Numerous organizations like the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Veterans Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union have rallied to his support. Hundreds of scientists, educators and religious and cultural leaders are backing the legless veteran.

All these forces are supporting Kutcher and condemning Executive Order 9835 on which the Clark blacklist is based. Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and famous atomic scientist, in discussing the Kutcher case, wrote, "Administrative agencies have been and are dealing with government employees in procedures which violate the basic decencies of notice and hearing which are part of our tradition of due process of law."

"People are being fired from jobs and are being forced to suffer various indignities, not the least of which is impairment of character," Dr. Urey declared. "All of this at the hands of administrative officials and other non-judicial bodies proceeds from the doctrines of 'guilt by association' and 'subversion' arbitrarily defined."

THE FEINBERG LAW

Everything said by Dr. Urey applies with full force and effect to the "subversive" list that the Board of Regents now proposes to promulgate under the Feinberg Law — a law that violates fundamental democratic rights of freedom of thought and freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution.

For all these reasons, the Socialist Workers Party emphatically declares that it will be a violation of our constitutional rights for the Board of Regents to place our party on any so-called "subversive" list on the pretext that the Socialist Workers Party is listed as "subversive" by Attorney-General Clark.

We demand a bill of particulars and a public hearing under due process of law before any action is taken by the Board of Regents against our party.

Lurye's Killers?



A nationwide search is on for John Giusto (top), 31, on parole, and Benedicto Macri, 36, who have been indicted in New York for the fatal stabbing of William Lurye. Lurye was organizing open shops for the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers when he was murdered.

Immigrat'n Board Holds Hearing on Skoglund's Appeal

A hearing was held before the Board of Immigration Appeals on June 24 in Washington, D. C., in connection with the case of Carl Skoglund, 65-year-old Minnesota union leader threatened with deportation because of his political views and labor activities.

Skoglund's attorney, Stanley H. Lowell, member of the Alien Civil Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, presented numerous legal arguments to the Board requesting a dismissal of the deportation order. The Board reserved decision on the plea which will probably not be handed down until late in July.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee last week announced that it was undertaking a nationwide campaign to raise the funds needed to defend Skoglund. \$1,000 is required at once to cover the first steps in the proceedings. Contributions should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Democracy Issue In Auto Union

(Continued from Page 1)

presidency of the UAW was the signal for the automobile corporations to start a campaign to reintroduce the speedup in the shops. This has assumed such dangerous proportions that in plant after plant, militant men and women were forced to take strike votes, and in many cases were fired for resisting the speedup. At first, the union's top officers simply pooh-poohed the problem and strongly implied that the protests were simply manufactured by trouble-makers for ulterior political purposes. In a disgraceful statement printed in the January 1949 United Automobile Worker, Reuther, Mazey, Gasser and Livingstone stated that the anti-Reuther forces "have exaggerated the extent of the speedup as the reports of local unions to the International will show."

On the test case on the speedup issue occurring at Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint, the Reuther leadership left the militants holding the bag, refused to authorize strike action by the local union, agreed to the firing of a key worker in the dispute and the speeding up of production schedules. This shameful record has since been climaxed by its cowardly policies in two of the key struggles recently engaged in by the UAW.

In the first instance, the Bendix strike at South Bend, Indiana, the International brought pressure to bear upon the local union to permit dies and fixtures to be removed out of the struck plant, and then brought similar pressure to bear upon the Detroit locals to work on this seab equipment. As a result, the Bendix workers had to pound the pavement for two and a half months in their fight against company speedup and the firing of workers who resisted the speedup.

In the second instance, in the Ford strike, Reuther maneuvered for all he was worth to kid the Ford members out of striking against speedup. When he could no longer hold the ranks back, he authorized the strike in order to settle 24 days later for roughly the equivalent arbitration terms which the Ford workers rejected when they first hit the bricks.

Reuther's soft policy toward the corporations on speedup is wedded to a cockeyed notion on wage negotiations. According to his super-duper theory, while a program of industry-wide bargaining may be best for the coal or the steel industries, it is no good for the automobile industry. Here, the UAW leadership proposes the "one-at-a-time" strategy. Reuther and his buddies have clung to this bankrupt scheme, although it proved its worthlessness in the 1945 GM strike.

This same Reuther strategy is currently jeopardizing the UAW "fourth round" program for wages and pensions by pitting one set of UAW workers against another, while the auto manufac-

urers, behind the scenes, are agreed on how to fight the union and resist its demands.

The record of the Reuther forces is no better on political action. The UAW lobbyists in Washington are lined up with those sections of the trade union movement which are going along with vicious amendments to the Thomas labor bill; in other words, to the passage of a bill which, although bearing a new name, is hardly superior to the present Taft-Hartley slave law.

As for a new political party of labor, Reuther has shelved all his promises of last year to give "my full support, my full energy" toward the creation of a new political force. His full energy and support now go to Truman and the Democratic Party, which has piled up as reactionary a record in the 81st Congress as it did in the "worst" 80th Congress. And Emil Mazey, who used to make speeches for a labor party before he got elected to high union office, now goes along with Truman and the Democrats, just like the next Reutherite.

The Reuther crew rode into power on a wave of reaction and red-baiting. It has maintained itself in power because reaction has continued strong in the labor movement. But this is a temporary phenomenon, after all.

The Ford and Bendix strikes, and the new threats of layoffs and unemployment, are setting the UAW members to thinking, and are producing more progressive trends. The Communist Party gang, who helped build up Reuther by their treachery, duplicity and autocratic misuse of power, and who bear the greatest share of responsibility for discrediting and ruining the old Thomas - Addes - Leonard group, are today a negligible force in the UAW.

The Stalinist attempt since the 1947 convention to reconstitute an opposition headed by Tracy Doil has fizzled. The main body of opposition forces is headed by independent militants grouped around the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW," which has a clear-cut and fighting trade union program and makes its appeal to the UAW ranks on an honest basis.

The most important tasks of the experienced militants at this coming UAW convention are to mobilize a majority of the delegates to stop any Reutherite moves to curtail the members' democratic rights, and to adopt a forthright, militant program of action to fight against speedup and layoffs, for improved wages and independent political action.

The militants must further resolve to build up the opposition in the next period into a stronger, more coherent and more effective force. In this way, the opposition will be able to help steer the UAW correctly in the trying days ahead, and to earn the leadership of the UAW ranks when the next wave of insurgency hits the union.

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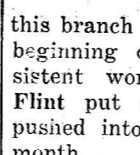
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THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Campaign Brings Increase in June Subscriptions

During June, subscriptions to **The Militant** registered an increase over May. As can be seen from the scoreboard below for the branches of the Socialist Workers Party, New York accounted for a substantial proportion of the total.



Milwaukee came second maintaining the record this branch has kept up since the beginning of the year of consistent work on subscriptions. Flint put on a campaign and pushed into third place for the month.

The Los Angeles comrades are now planning work on subscriptions. "We will be keeping the sub situation in mind from now on. We are also contemplating putting a comrade in charge of sub-getting in the hope that consistent work in this field will pay off as well as single sales have done."

Cleveland is also turning its attention toward building up subscriptions. Literature Agent Bob Kingsley reports that "We intend to start a minimum of renewal work. Every active comrade is taking one renewal blank and going out to see one person a week. A report will be made on results at every meeting."

Boston ordered 50 extra copies of the June 13 issue containing the article about the world-famous scientist Albert Einstein calling for the replacement of capitalism by the superior system of socialism. "Three comrades went out to test the sales of this article in a Jewish neighborhood," writes Literature Agent Rena Breshi. "It sold very well, but many people were not at home, so we broke up and decided to return one night during the week."

Among the branches in the zero column of the scoreboard, several have been doing spadework that will undoubtedly pay off sooner or later in subscriptions.

St. Louis, for instance, has been increasing the number of newsstands carrying **The Militant**, and consistently calling on people who have indicated a sympathetic interest in socialism. Literature Agent D. C. writes that although no subs were chalked up in June, "efforts were not too discouraging. Some people, even though

they do not take subs, seem closer to us than formerly." He reports that newsstand sales of Trotskyist literature, including pamphlets, appears to be as good as that of other radical political parties, if not better.

New Britain, concentrating on the sale of single copies, has been doing well in that field.

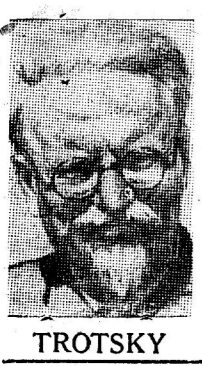
Pittsburgh, according to Literature Agent Gerry Wolf, plans "a more extensive sale of literature for the summer months." It is no picnic getting subscriptions, he writes us, "however, our work is never in vain and the qualitative aspect of the picture must be considered. We are cementing some very important relationships which should aid us in getting subs in the future."

BRANCH	SUBS
New York	64
Milwaukee	12
Flint	11
Los Angeles	9
St. Paul	8
San Francisco	8
Detroit	7
Oakland	7
Philadelphia	7
Newark	5
Boston	4
Chicago	4
Morgantown	4
Cleveland	3
Reading	3
General	3
Minneapolis	2
Buffalo	1
New Haven	1
Seattle	1
Worcester	1
Youngstown	1
Akron	0
Allentown	0
Lynn	0
New Britain	0
Pittsburgh	0
Rochester	0
St. Louis	0
Toledo	0
TOTAL	166

Subscriptions: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr. \$2 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1979.

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In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism.



TROTSKY —Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929. LENIN

The NMU Ranks Point the Way

All organized labor is indebted to the rank and file of the CIO National Maritime Union for blocking an amendment to the NMU constitution to bar "subversives" from membership. They have dealt a blow not only against an attempted "loyalty" purge in their own union but against the anti-democratic witch-hunt that has been spreading through the labor movement.

purge amendment. They recognized in it a menace to the rights of the membership as a whole and to anyone — not just the Stalinists — who might oppose or criticize the present leadership. They do not propose to fight Stalinism with the reactionary methods of the witch-hunters and the enemies of labor. Red-baiting union leaders who push the witch-hunts and purges claim they represent the sentiments of the members. This NMU referendum is the first chance any sizable body of union members themselves have had to speak on this issue. They have demonstrated that they do not go for "loyalty" oaths and purges.

Results of 'Lesser Evil' Politics

Last fall the top union leaders told us we must elect Truman and the Democrats at all costs. They condemned any talk of independent labor politics through labor's own party and candidates. They said we must ensure the victory of the "lesser evil," the Truman Democrats, or organized labor would be saddled indefinitely with the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

class, the dirt farmers, the Negro people. Confronted with this prospect, a Republican majority would not have dared to act as they have in this Congress where they are a minority. They would have been forced to make concessions, to appear more "liberal," from fear of losing any mass support they might have. Although the "lesser evil" policy has only led to the victory of the "greater evil" on Taft-Hartley repeal, the top union leaders want to repeat this bankrupt policy. They are telling the workers to wait until November 1950 and elect some more "lesser evil" candidates to Congress.

Ku Klux Klan Terrorism

In recent weeks, the newspapers have been reporting an increase of Ku Klux Klan terrorism. Burning crosses are lighting up the skies of the Darkest South. Hooded bands of night-riders are invading homes, flogging and torturing their kidnapped victims in the name of "public morals" and "100% white Protestant Americanism."

of Klan outrages. We are assured that the "leading citizens" of the South are opposed to the Klan and that state and local governments are preparing laws "with teeth in them" to stop the hooded bands. Thus, Alabama passed a law to make it illegal for adults to wear a mask in public, and now tells us we need no special federal laws to deal with these murderous bigots.

The Fourth of July Tradition

By Ruth Johnson

July Fourth is the time when the red-baiters will hit the peak of frenzied oratory, proclaiming their patriotism at rostrums draped in flags. They will piously pay their respects to the Declaration of Independence, and hastily move on to prove by each succeeding word that they abhor it. In the name of "Americanism," they will vilify as "subversive" any attempt to translate the historic document of 1776 into a living guide for 1949.

violence" and other pleas to shun the revolution as a plague. They heard them from the ruling class of Britain, and still defied the Crown. They knew what was necessary, and they knew too that the fountainhead of "force and violence" — then as in every revolution in history — is the reactionary ruling class, in particular the one from whom they were forced to wring their own right to exist. When they proudly pledged "our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor" to the cause of liberty, all other roads had been blocked.

packages of stamps tossed into bonfires by cheering crowds. No sooner was this infamous Act withdrawn than Britain decided to save its East India Tea Company from bankruptcy at the expense of colonial merchants. The famous Boston Tea Party of 1773, was followed by the burning of a shipload of tea at Annapolis and the confiscation of cargoes in all the major ports of the day.

power against the reactionary government that had tried to hold a continent in bondage. The naked force unleashed by the Crown was courageously answered by the colonists as they rose in defense of their rights to "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." They do not bear the onus for the "violence" that raged over this land until independence was won. The blame rests exclusively upon the oppressors.

can forget the violence unleashed by the capitalists against the workers — the tragedies of the Molly Maguires, the Ludlow Massacre, the Haymarket Massacre or the Memorial Day Massacre in 1937? In its senility, its fears of the working class have become defier still, and its crimes defy description. Police brutality in every strike, savagery against the Negro people, lynch incitations of the witch-hunters darken the columns of every newspaper. Its threats extend throughout the world, as it brandishes the atomic bombs and the hideous means of bacteriological warfare.

Criticism Stifled at Labor Party Conference

LONDON — The annual conference of the British Labor Party met in Blackpool June 6 under the shadow of the railway and dock strikes at various ports, notably Liverpool. On the pretext of the impending general elections, the National Executive did its best to stifle all criticisms of the Labor government at the conference. Thanks to the standing order committee, none of the resolutions critical of the government saw the light of day, except for the motion of Jack Stanley of the Constructional Engineers, denouncing the Cripps budget and calling for a second autumn budget. Most of the time was taken up with discussion of the party's policy in the coming elections, which was presented in the form of a pamphlet entitled "Labor Believes in Britain."

THE ROAD OF REVOLUTION The colonial revolutionists had not intended to take the road of revolution; they were driven to it inexorably by the greed and brutality of their oppressors. For years they had peacefully pleaded with the King, for years more they had organized vigorous demonstrations. They had tried to avoid the final break with Britain. "All experience hath shewn," they wrote, "that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." Only the violence unleashed upon the colonies by the British despots drove them to action.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT "We hold these truths to be self-evident," the Declaration says: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable human Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

COMPROMISE HOPES ENDED The colonial committees that had taken over increasing powers as British governors fled in terror, were long considered only as provisional bodies "to continue only in the present unhappy conflict." But the brutal attacks upon the men of Massachusetts ended all hopes of compromise. Above the conciliatory voices rose the clarion calls of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, demanding freedom from the Crown. In place of pacific pleas, came the stirring pamphlets of Tom Paine and the inspiring writings of Thomas Jefferson.

HAWAIIAN STRIKERS FIGHT BACK AGAINST UNION-BUSTING DRIVE The Hawaiian longshore strike, called by Local 136 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for a 32 cents wage increase, remains firm after two months of bitter struggle. The employers' arrogant refusal of the union's June 17 offer to arbitrate the issues, coupled with rabid anti-union newspaper and radio attacks and efforts to unload ships with scabs — all this is proof that the "Big Five" corporations of Hawaii are out to smash the union. To "drive the ILWU into the sea" is their avowed aim. Both sides look upon the struggle as a show-down.

CRIPPS' SPEECH The speech of Sir Stafford Cripps, which he read out in a tone unvarying and monotonous, was a defense of his policy of wage freeze, more export and more production. It dwelled on the widening gap between export and import, shrinking of the market, dollar shortage, etc. It held out no hope for the future, which could only be as black as ever. One could sense the simmering discontent among the delegates. No greater disservice to the Labor Party's prospects in the elections could be done than the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

RESISTANCE FLARES When the Stamp Act of 1765 saddled the colonists with taxes to pay for Britain's war against France, the first lightning of revolt lit up the skies. Stamp distributors were burned in effigy, their homes destroyed, the huge signature of John Hancock on the Declaration of Independence symbolized the contempt all the insurgents felt for their oppressors who kept yowling: "Sedition! Treason!" In the eyes of the colonists and of history, these "outlaws" were heroic figures leading a new class to

LABOR GOVERNMENT AND WHAT IT HAS DONE FOR THE WORKERS OF BRITAIN who, he declared at a pre-conference rally, "have achieved prosperity in excess of their moral stature." Everything was good in the best of all worlds. Foreign Secretary Bevin never felt so confident as after the expulsion of the dissidents. He came straight to Blackpool from the Paris Conference. He described his mission of peace, even with the Soviet Union, and was "willing to work with those who were willing to work with us." He paid a tribute to the Marshall Plan and promised to achieve peace for posterity; in fact, he said he would already have achieved it but for the unreasonable Russia. There was hardly any debate permitted on foreign policy. No speaker critical of Bevin could get the floor. M.P. Tom Braddock tried to get it but the chairman simply brushed him aside. The bureaucracy really did a smooth job.

EMPLOYERS' STRATEGY Their strategy is to center their attack on the union leadership. They hope to take advantage of the red-baiting hysteria whipped up by Washington. And they are getting plenty of support from that quarter. The notoriously anti-union House Un-American Committee arranged on June 14 to "investigate" the Hawaii strike upon request from the Hawaiian

Bar Association which seeks to smear the strike as a "communist stratagem." The revival of deportation proceedings against ILWU President Harry Bridges was also timed to aid the Hawaiian employers. Corporation propaganda is designed to arouse islanders to a frenzied pitch against the union and the strike. They have organized a "Citizen's Action Committee." They issue appeals for volunteers to "physically do the unloading now." They piously claim to favor "good" unions but never explain what a "good" union is. The workers of the island are not being fooled. The union's demand of 32c. an hour wage increase would bring its rate to within 10c. of the U. S. West Coast longshore scale. In the past few years West Coast longshoremen have obtained several wage increases. The Hawaiian longshoremen were out of work in sympathy with the West Coast strikes, but at the time no demands were pressed to raise their wages too. The inflated prices in the islands, which are even higher than on the mainland, have so aroused the longshoremen that their leadership has been compelled to lead a struggle for wage increases. The employers countered the 32c. demand with a 12c. offer that would still leave a 30c. differential with West Coast longshoremen. The union turned this down.

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Witch-Hunts and Jim Crow

By William F. Warde

Through bitter experience the Negro people have learned that every move against the freedoms of the American people likewise strikes heavily against them. The loyalty purge of government employees ordered by President Truman gives fresh proof of this fact.

We need not repeat that the hounding and firing of federal workers solely because of their beliefs violates their constitutional rights; that the purge procedures are dictatorial and set aside the most elementary judicial safeguards; that over two million employees are being intimidated by this thought control apparatus; and that the government witch-hunt sets the pattern for similar drives against state, county and city workers. All these aspects of the purge have become fairly well known and aroused condemnation from the AFL, CIO and most organizations and individuals concerned with defending civil rights.

But not so much prominence has been given to the ways and means by which Truman's loyalty program serves as a cover for promoting racial discrimination and delivers another weapon into the hands of the race-baiters.

First of all, the execution of this thought control machinery has been entrusted to highly-placed government officials who are not only subservient careerists and political appointees but also in many cases come from the Southern states. Since the proceedings of the purge are completely secret and take place behind closed doors, these Dixiecrat-minded persecutors feel relieved of restraint and can permit their prejudices full play.

Socialized Medicine V

British Medicine

By Grace Carlson

Chief propaganda target of the opponents of a compulsory health insurance plan in the United States is the British National Health Service, now a year old. Like most other state divisions of the American Medical Association, the Minnesota section is supplying its doctor members with ammunition to bombard their patients.

A friend of mine recently received a six-page leaflet entitled, "John Bull's Medical Binge." Under a cartoon of a crippled John Bull, the patient reads:

"Intoxicated by promises of free medical care, England is now suffering from a billion dollar hangover. Let's not put a government label on our medical system!" But the devastating effect that this propaganda was supposed to have was completely nullified by the fact that it was enclosed with a doctor bill that my friend had been trying to pay off for several months!

In England, there are no doctors, dentists or hospital bills any more for the vast majority of the population. Not a true system of socialized medicine — certainly not a rounded and adequate medical program — nationalized medicine in England has nevertheless succeeded in wiping out one of the main obstacles to good medical care, the doctor's bill. And under the British National Health Service, millions of English workers and their families have received more medical care in the past twelve months than in the previous twelve years.

Previous to July 5, 1948, when the National Health Service Act went into effect, some 20,000,000 workers in England and Wales had been covered by a panel system which entitled them to the care of a general practitioner. For this, they paid approximately ten cents a week — a sum which was matched by their employers.

Under the National Health Service, some 47,

For example, James Wechsler reported in the N. Y. Post that the following was one of the questions asked by members of the Fourth Regional Loyalty Board in Washington, D. C., at the hearing of a 24-year-old woman employee. "The Commission has information to the effect that you frequently stated that the white and colored races should intermarry and you do not mind marrying a colored man yourself. Do you deny making that statement?"

To such reactionaries any advocacy of racial equality or criticism of Jim Crow becomes equivalent to "sedition" and provides ground for discharge from a government job. Hundreds of people have been placed under suspicion as "subversive" and hauled up before Loyalty Boards because of their real or alleged participation in anti-Jim Crow struggles.

The outstanding outrage of this kind is the case of the 29 U. S. Post Office Department employees with headquarters in Cleveland who are now engaged in defending their rights and jobs against the purgers. Of the 29 under suspension, 20 are either Negroes or Jews. Several past branch presidents of the NAACP, notably in Brooklyn, Santa Monica and Cleveland, have been singled out as victims of the government witch-hunt.

Both as American citizens and as an oppressed minority, the Negro people already have ample cause for demanding a halt to this undemocratic purge and extending support to its victims, including the legless veteran James Kutcher, whose court fight will test the legality of the entire purge procedure.

VOLUME XIII

MONDAY, JULY 4, 1949

NUMBER 27

THE MILITANT

Vital Issues Face Delegates At NAACP 40th Conference

By Albert Parker

All fighters for Negro equality have a big stake in the 40th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, beginning in Los Angeles July 12. Because this conference, by what it does or fails to do, can help to decide if there will be progress in the struggle against Jim Crow during the coming year, or more of the disappointments and setbacks that the Negro people and their allies have experienced since the end of the war.

The passage of civil rights legislation is one of the NAACP's main objectives. But all the delegates know that absolutely no headway was made in this field during the entire life of the 81st Congress and that, in fact, the

members of Congress act as if the Dixiecrats had won last year's election. Understanding why this happened and what can be done about it is the duty of every NAACP member.

Hopes were high and there was much rejoicing among the leadership of the NAACP after the Democratic victory last November. Walter White decided to postpone the year's leave of absence he had been granted and concentrated on efforts to push through the civil rights bills promised by both capitalist parties. Tens of thousands of NAACP dollars were spent on telegrams and letters and trips to congressmen. The policy favored by the NAACP leadership was given a fair test, and proved to be futile.

New Political Program Needed

Why? Because their whole approach to the problem was wrong. Because Walter White and his colleagues felt the trouble with the 80th Congress was not that it was dominated by capitalist politicians, but that it was dominated by the "wrong" kind of capitalist politicians. Because they thought everything would turn out all right if enough "liberal" capitalist politicians were elected. And finally, because they relied on words and telegrams instead of mass action and determined struggle to put pressure on Congress.

But the truth is that the capitalist class benefits from the maintenance of the Jim Crow system, and will not give it up unless compelled to. In this they are aided and abetted by their

political representatives, who include "liberal" Democrats and Republicans as well as Dixiecrats. Remember how jubilant most of the Negro leaders and press were about the election of Truman, Humphrey, Douglas and other capitalist politicians who know how to get votes by sweet talk on the race question? Yet Truman never lifted a finger to help the fight against the filibuster, and the super-liberals (Humphrey, Douglas and Wayne Morse, who happens to be a member of the NAACP Board of Directors) took the lead in beating down anti-segregation amendments to the housing and education bills in the Senate. As long as any confidence is placed in such politicians, no lasting gains can be made.

How to Win Civil Rights

Fighting Jim Crow is a political job, and it cannot be done right if you keep one hand tied behind your back. But that is just the position the NAACP is in because of its "non-partisan" policy on political action. By refusing to take a stand against the election of politicians hostile to the struggle for Negro equality, the NAACP permits them to get into office. Then, after they have come to power, the NAACP tries to influence them to do the right thing. This is as bad as locking the stable after the horse is gone.

The NAACP is in politics whether it likes it or not, and failure to recognize this fact only weakens its political effectiveness. The thing that has to be done now is for the NAACP to get together with organizations having similar goals, which means the trade union movement especially, and set up a new political party, democratically run and dedicated to taking political power away from the representatives of the capitalists and placing it in the hands of the representatives of the workers, the Negro people and the others who work for a living.

Such a party would be a Labor Party, and its goal would be a Workers and Farmers Government, under which there will be no exploitation of labor and oppression of minorities because labor and the minorities will do the governing. The 40th NAACP

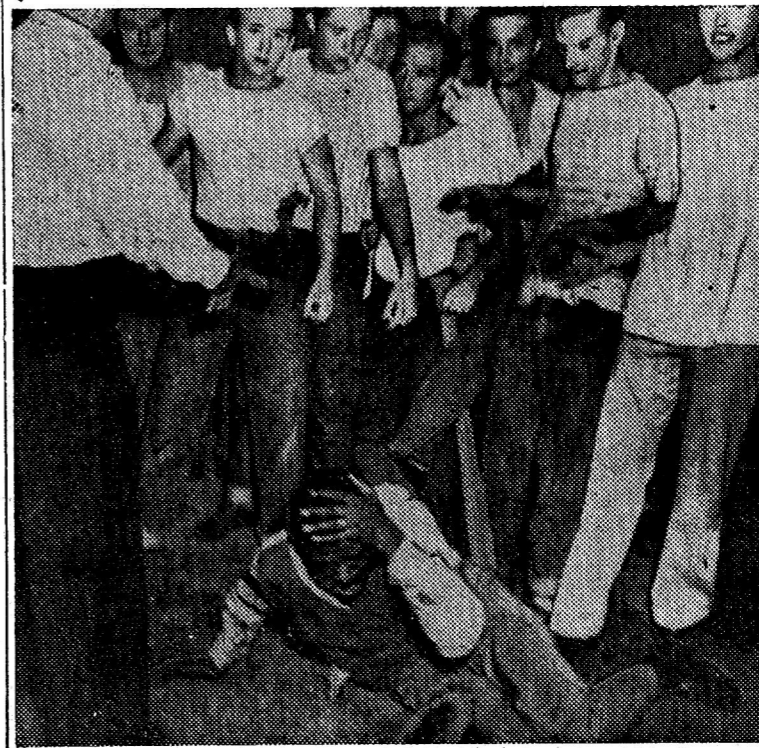
Mass Action in Washington, D. C.

Another provision in the New Britain resolution is at least as important as the call for a special session of Congress. It asks the annual conference to "instruct its executive officers to convene a united Negro and labor conference, representing Negro and labor organizations in all parts of the country, to meet in Washington simultaneously with the special session of Congress to press for the passage of the civil rights bills."

That is an example of the kind of activity the NAACP must carry on if it intends to get civil rights laws passed. Eight years ago the March on Washington Movement, by threatening to use such methods, unleashed a great wave of enthusiastic struggle by the Negro people and their allies. Today the NAACP can do the same; it can strike fear into the hearts of the capitalist politicians and force real concessions from them by mobilizing the people for action on a mass scale in Washington and elsewhere.

As this is written, there is no way of knowing the attitude of the national NAACP leadership to this proposal. It is necessary to recall, however, that last

Jim Crow Violence



Knocked to the ground by youths armed with clubs, a young Negro is about to be kicked in the head at a St. Louis swimming pool. Young white hoodlums attacked Negro youths who took seriously an order lifting Jim Crow in the city's public pools. Mayor Darst immediately reinstated the illegal segregation policy, despite NAACP protests.

We criticize Congress — with justification — when a small minority assumes the power to hold up or countermand decisions by the majority. Why should the NAACP permit within its own circles the same practices it condemns elsewhere? This leads to the jibe so often heard, that the NAACP wants democracy everywhere in the country — except inside the NAACP itself. Even worse, it demoralizes the rank and file members and discourages them from greater activity by making them feel they are welcome when it comes to doing work, but they are out in

the cold when it comes to determining policy.

Related to this problem is the question of how the Board of Directors is chosen. Most organizations elect their executive boards at their conventions, but the NAACP still employ a clumsy system of electing its board by referendum, and only a part of the board each year. While supporters of this method claim it is democratic, the fact is that it permits the board to be virtually hand-picked by the national office because of the dimly small number of members who participate in the referendum voting.

Internal Life of the Organization

Efforts to correct the situation will come before the conference as the result of resolutions submitted by the South Bend, Ind., and Jamaica, N. Y., branches. These proposals deserve the most careful consideration by the delegates for the plain and simple reason that in addition to working out good policies, they must also take steps to see that the policies are carried out by the NAACP leadership in the spirit intended.

Several other important resolutions have been introduced. One of these is the Jamaica resolution against the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, which it correctly calls devices to permit "the European nations to continue to hold their empires and help finance the armies which continue the oppression of the African people and other colonials."

The NAACP is the most influential colored organization in the world. It thus bears a heavy responsibility to Negro and colonial peoples everywhere, which it can discharge only by acting against imperialism and all its methods of subjugation. Specifically, that calls for condemnation of the Atlantic Pact and Marshall Plan and the adoption of a forthright program to help the oppressed people of Africa, Asia and elsewhere to achieve full, immediate and unconditional independence.

Another issue requiring action by the conference is the witch-hunt raging against the civil rights of the American people, white and colored. Some Negro leaders think they can evade this issue and maybe curry a little favor with the authorities by refusing to take a stand on any civil rights cases which do not plainly involve race discrimination. Such a view is short-sighted as well as criminal.

When democratic rights in general are curtailed — as is happening at the thought control trial of the Communist Party leaders in New York and in the victimization of James Kutcher, the Socialist Workers Party legless veteran — it becomes harder and harder for the Negro people to protect their own rights. Moreover, the NAACP would seriously weaken its own appeals for support from white workers for Negro struggles if it would refuse to give support to white victims of the ruling class that oppresses both. In self-interest as well as in solidarity, the

ist, once characterized Stalinism as "the syphilis of the labor movement" — and the same term could be used to describe its effect on Negro and other movements. In every organization the Stalinists are guided by a rule-or-ruin policy. Whatever they do is determined not by the interests of the working class they claim to represent, but by the interests of the dictatorial Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

When it suits the foreign policy of Stalin, they put on a show of militancy in the fight against Jim Crow, as they are doing today.

But when Stalin's line changes, as it did during the recent war, then you will find the Stalinists advising the Negro people to "subordinate" and "postpone" the struggle for equality. What makes them particularly insidious is that they know how to misuse for their own purposes such popular issues as the resentment against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' dismissal from his NAACP post, how to exploit the just grievances of the Negro rank and file and how to take advantage of the weaknesses and cowardice of conservative Negro leaders.

So far the NAACP has wisely abstained from the shameful practice of "loyalty" oaths and political witch-hunts against its own members, and it has reason to be proud of this. The way to fight the Stalinists and defeat them is not by expulsion or political discrimination but by exposing their record of betrayals and countering their program with a superior program for the Negro struggle.

The problems facing the NAACP and the Negro people are complex, but they can be solved. The NAACP does not have much of a future if it limits itself to serving as a legal aid society and confines its major activity to battles in the courts, necessary as these are. It does have a bright and glorious future if it will seize the opportunities knocking at its door, map out a program of struggle that will inspire and arouse the Negro people and their allies, and adjust its internal structure and leadership to meet the needs of this struggle. To the delegates of the 40th conference, we of The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party offer our best wishes for success and our collaboration in the fight to destroy Jim Crow wherever it exists.

YOUNGSTOWN PAPER INCITES VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES

YOUNGSTOWN, June 25—For the last week Youngstown's only daily paper, the *Vindicator*, has been systematically trying to incite race hatred and violence.

The city's swimming pools failed to open June 20, as scheduled, when some of the white life-guardians refused to comply with the Park Board's new policy requiring them to work in the one pool set aside by custom for Negroes only. The *Vindicator* seized this opportunity to print a race-hating editorial against non-segregated swimming, insisting that the Board's decision "could only be interpreted as giving public sanction to the attempt to force both races to swim together." Assailing the *Buckeye Review*, a Negro weekly, and the Intergroup Goodwill Council, the editorial threatened, "If trouble develops at the swimming pools because of what is done in secret to bring about mixed swimming, the fault will be with these people."

In a paid advertisement printed on the *Vindicator's* financial page, the NAACP denounced the editorial for "attempting with cunning adroitness to stir up riots and general disturbances" and promised the NAACP would "use every means at its command financially and morally to combat this insidious propaganda."

A DIFFERENT REPORT

When the pools opened on June 22, several Negroes went to almost every city pool as part of the NAACP campaign. The *Vindicator*, still trying to provoke violence, ran a headline on the front page: "NEGROES MENCAGED, PARK POOL CLOSED — MAN, 2 BOYS AND GIRL FACE MOB ACTION." The story said: "The Negro man, Nathaniel Lee and three Negro children were threatened by an accident" by 100 to 1000 white swimmers.

Mr. Lee's account was totally different. "We went into the pool

about 3:40 P.M. and had no trouble whatever in purchasing tickets. . . We stayed in the pool about an hour without being molested by anybody. The boy who was with me was a schoolmate of several of the kids there, and he chatted with them and had a good time." No one threatened them, Lee said, except "three men who came from outside in their street clothes" and told him, "You get your gang out of here within half an hour or else I'm going to drown you." When Lee told a policeman about this, the pool was closed. "There were about 200 people there who had come out of the pool: Nobody made any move of violence against me, or the children with me."

In spite of the *Vindicator's* inflammatory comments, no "incidents" have occurred at any of the pools, although the NAACP is requesting all Negroes to swim at their nearest neighborhood pool. The NAACP's campaign is getting the cooperation of the labor movement. Locals 1330 and 1462, CIO United Steelworkers, voted full support to the NAACP in "its fight to abolish all forms of segregation" and asked all union members to "protect the Negro race in its right to use all public facilities."

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Hook Finds a Friend

By Joseph Keller

The witch-hunt against academic freedom in schools and colleges has its liberal and intellectual apologists and advocates, chief of whom is Sidney Hook, head of the Philosophy Department of New York University and a contributing editor of the *Social Democratic New Leader*. Last Feb. 27, the N. Y. *Times Magazine* featured Hook's article which has become the hand-book of "liberal" arguments for barring "communists" from teaching posts.

Hook considers himself the chief disciple of John Dewey, the country's most respected educator and a life-long fighter for academic freedom. As reported in last week's *Militant*, Prof. Dewey's letter in the June 21 N. Y. *Times* took sharp issue with those, like Hook, who propose to place political restrictions on teachers and professors. In essence, Prof. Dewey repudiated the position of his most publicized disciple.

But if Hook's proposed restrictions on academic freedom are disavowed by his eminent teacher, they have won praise from a different quarter — namely, Frank B. Ober. Ober is the Baltimore lawyer who headed the committee that drafted the Ober Bill which became law in Maryland last March. The Ober Bill is the most far-reaching and vicious law against civil rights now on the statute books of any state government. It not only requires a "loyalty" oath by all public employees and teachers, but makes membership in any "subversive" organization a felony subject to \$10,000 fine and 20 years in jail.

As an alumnus of Harvard Law School, Ober recently wrote Dr. James B. Conant, Harvard president, that he would not subscribe to the Law School Fund because of the university's "apparent attitude. . . toward extra-curricular activities, of professors giving aid and comfort to communism."

Notes from the News

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES — Among other eye-opening practices of the FBI disclosed in current trials it has been revealed that FBI agents offered a \$200 bribe to a former employee of Alger Hiss if he would get them a typewriter they wanted for their case.

WEAR AND TEAR — Under the new rent regulations, a greater number of children causing greater "wear and tear" on a dwelling may now be grounds for granting higher rent to the landlord.

PROTESTS BRING RESULTS — The New Jersey Supreme Court has ordered a new trial for the six Trenton Negroes condemned to the chair in the notorious Northern Scottsboro case.

NO WONDER DEPARTMENT — Judge Holtzoff, whose decision upheld the government purge (see story on Page 1), was an official of the

Department of Justice for 21 years before his appointment to the bench and a legal adviser to FBI Boss Hoover.

AS GOOD AS SENATORS — Following squarely the footsteps of the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives has also defeated amendments to bar segregation in federal housing.

INCREASE IN STRIKES — More strikes — 450 — began in May, 1949, than in any month since the spring of 1947, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. This compared with 400 in April. Man-days lost in May were 3,200,000 against 1,800,000 in April.

ADA EXECUTIVE — Charles M. LaFollette, liberal Republican and ex-Congressman, last week began full-time work for Americans for Democratic Action as its national director.