

# THE MILITANT

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## THE UAW AFTER THE MILWAUKEE CONVENTION

By Bert Cochran  
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## NAACP Plans Mass Conference Against Jim Crow

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, July 17 — Total condemnation of the use of the red scare, the witch-hunt and the "subversive" list as instruments of government policy, and the call for a gigantic mass conference in Washington to demand civil rights legislation were the outstanding achievements of the 40th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, just concluded here.

Governor William H. Hastie, of the Virgin Islands, gave the first electrifying sign of the strong civil rights stand to be taken by the delegates when, in a speech early in the conference, he lashed out against the "spirit of inquisition," the witch-hunt and the concept of "guilt by association," now prevailing in the United States.

Indication that the NAACP intends to implement this stand was seen in the hearing accorded by the convention to James Kutcher, legless veteran who was fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, arbitrarily designated as "subversive" by Attorney General Tom Clark.

Kutcher was granted time to present his case to the delegates and make a plea for support. He was the only outside speaker, other than the mayor of Los Angeles, to be given the floor.

### HEARTENING SIGNS

Of special note during the six-day conference of the 500-odd delegates and alternates also was the widespread realization, stressed in numerous speeches and resolutions, that the Negro fight for equality is intimately linked with the similar fight of all other minorities and with labor's struggle for a decent standard of living.

Likewise of vital import was the recognition given the fact that the Negro problem in the

United States is part and parcel of the rebellion of colonial peoples throughout the world for emancipation from their oppressors.

Heartening, too, was the impassioned plea of one of the women delegates from the South that the next annual conference of the Association be held in Atlanta, as an open defy to the threats and bludgeonings of the Dixiecrats and the Ku Klux Klan. Atlanta was rejected in favor of Boston, but the plea to carry the fight to the very seat of reaction received a warming and encouraging response, and is indicative of the spirit of combat exhibited by many of the delegates.

These occurrences were more significant, though far less spectacular, than the presentation on Sunday in the huge Hollywood Bowl of the Spingarn award for outstanding achievement to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, acting United Nations mediator in Palestine. This affair was one of the most impressive demonstrations ever accorded a Negro in the United States.

In addition to its achievements, however, the conference also manifested serious weaknesses which can only retard the Negro struggle for emancipation.

### SERIOUS WEAKNESSES

Outstanding among these weaknesses were endorsement by the delegates of the Marshall Plan and the calling for its extension to Asia, Africa and elsewhere throughout the world. This action contrasted sharply with the expressions of concern for the welfare of colonial peoples, since Marshall Plan money is one of the main props enabling imperialist countries to continue to

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## Kutcher Extends Stay in L. A. As Interest Mounts

LOS ANGELES, July 17 — As support from labor, liberal and minority groups for the defense of James Kutcher's civil rights increased this week, plans were made to extend his stay in Los Angeles beyond the July 23 banquet date in order to take care of numerous requests received from groups and individuals for additional opportunities to hear the legless veteran tell the story of his own case.

The most conspicuous elements of the city's large Negro, Mexican, Jewish and Japanese population have been among the first to recognize the Kutcher case as the test case of the "loyalty" program which infringes civil rights as a whole.

Since the arrival of Kutcher in Los Angeles support for him has appeared in the California Jewish Voice; the Los Angeles Sentinel and the West Coast edition of the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weeklies; and Crossroads, leading liberal Japanese-American weekly.

### TO SPEAK TO CSO

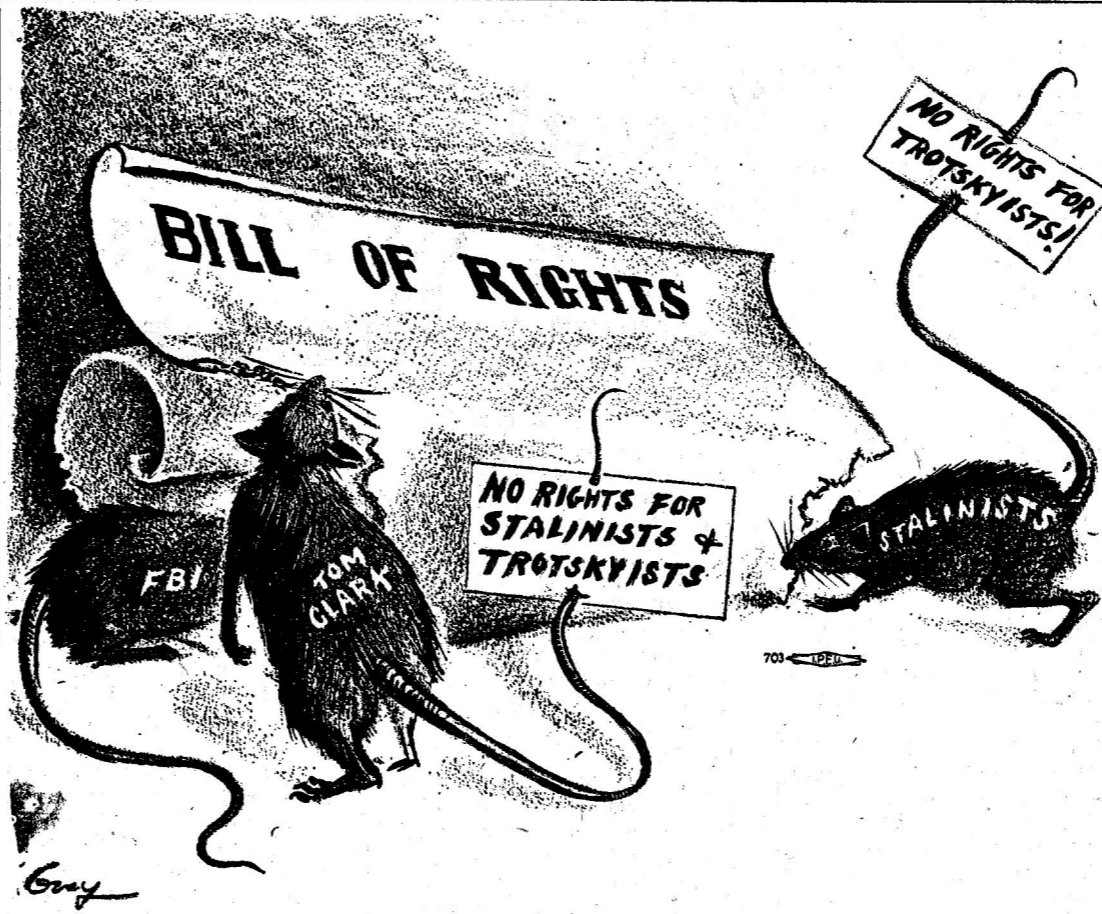
In addition, Kutcher was granted the privilege last Thursday of addressing the annual national conference of the NAACP, and he is scheduled to speak at a meeting of the Community Service Organization, leading Mexican-American organization, next Wednesday.

Many unions and liberal groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union are co-operating to make the Kutcher civil rights banquet at the Park Manor next Saturday a success. The ACLU has circularized its mailing list and the Greater Los Angeles CIO Industrial Union Council has issued a letter to all its affiliates urging them to support the banquet by buying tickets and greetings in the souvenir program for the affair.

Kutcher spoke briefly at the membership meeting of United Auto Workers Local 230 (Chrysler) last Tuesday and is scheduled to address the CIO Council meeting this week.

### PROF. PAULING JOINS

Professor Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference, has joined the campaign to secure support among educators for Kutcher. Professor Pauling is President of the American Chemical Society and winner of numerous awards for his achievements in chemical research, notably the Langmuir Award in 1931 and the J. Willard Gibbs Medal in 1946.



## Steel, Ford Fights Show Lack of Unified Strategy

The steel strike scheduled to begin on July 16 was suddenly called off by Philip Murray, President of the CIO United Steel Workers, after Benjamin F. Fairless, head of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and the officials of the other basic steel companies accepted Truman's proposal for a 60-day "cooling off" period.

The Truman plan calls for an extension of the present union agreements for 60 days. Truman, at the same time, named a three man Fact Finding Board which is to hold hearings on the union demands and make non-binding recommendations within 45 days. The steel corporations have already taken pains to make clear that "there is to be no moral or legal obligation to accept any recommendation which the board may make."

The steel corporations' acceptance of Truman's proposal after a certain amount of preliminary bargaining is being hailed by the union officials as a labor victory. It is nothing of the sort. It is, in fact, a major retreat on the part of the CIO from the militant position it first adopted in the course of the 1945-46 "first round" wage fight.

When Truman asked in December 1945 that the General Motors

strike be called off in return for which he would set up a Fact Finding Board; when he further proposed to embody this method into legislation calling for 30-day "cooling off" periods, he was roundly denounced by the top union leaders. Murray declared over a national radio hookup that the design of the Truman proposals can only be "to weaken and ultimately to destroy labor union organizations. It can be but the first step for even more savage legislative repression."

Today, Murray has fallen all over himself to accept the scheme which he denounced in 1945. What happens now? In 45 days, the Fact Finding Board will make its recommendations. The corporations have already laid the groundwork for a rejection if they are not to their liking. By Murray's conduct, has practically agreed to be bound by these same recommendations. The stage will thus be set for the union fighting not for its fourth round economic program of \$150 monthly pensions, 20 cent hourly wage increases and health and insurance benefits, but the whittled-down proposal that the board may choose to recommend.

Meanwhile, the spotlight has turned on the auto union which is

engaged in negotiations with the Ford Motor Company on its fourth round economic demands. The recent Milwaukee convention of the UAW has authorized the levying of a special strike assessment, in the event that Ford is closed down, which would raise about 8 million dollars. In addition to its economic demands, the convention adopted a resolution forbidding the inclusion of any so-called company security clauses in the next contract, under which the Ford management instituted its brutal speedup.

The Ford contract expired on July 15 and was extended on a day-to-day basis. The union can call a strike at any time by giving five days' notice to the company.

The 60-day truce in steel at the moment that the Ford negotiations are reaching a climax highlights the absence of any unified wage strategy on the part of the CIO high command. It underlines, therefore, the necessity for the rank and file to be alert and prepared to exert their strength for the necessary militant actions that can save the fourth round wage fight from ruin and win substantial concessions for the workers.

## Protest Stalinist Refusal to Defend Political Opponents

NEW YORK, July 17 — A prominent group of liberals, breaking openly with the Communist Party line, proved by their stand at the Bill of Rights Conference, in its sessions yesterday and today at the Henry Hudson Hotel in this city, that they are ready to support a genuine united defense of all victims of the witch-hunt, regardless of political beliefs.

The Stalinists, however, gave another convincing demonstration that the Communist Party is prepared to wreck any united front that insists on defending the civil rights of political tendencies opposed to Stalinism.

Resolutions were unanimously adopted assailing the thought-control purge among government employees and in the public schools, the evil stoolpigeon system of the FBI, persecution of the foreign-born, the terror campaign against the Negro people, and the attacks on liberal-minded religious and cultural leaders.

The conference unanimously demanded that the Foley Square prosecution of the Communist Party leaders be halted. But the Stalinists broke the united front by ganging up to defeat a resolution introduced by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School which had the support of a majority of the resolutions committee. The Emerson resolution demanded a presidential pardon for the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted in 1941 solely because of their political beliefs, and imprisoned under the same Smith Act now being used against the Communist Party.

The Stalinists also used their majority at the conference to evade taking a position on the case of James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the SWP. The Communist Party is the only organized tendency in the labor and liberal movement that has publicly opposed the fight to reinstate Kutcher on his job.

Professor Emerson's resolution came as a dramatic climax in the closing minutes of the conference. All the delegates were aware that the long delay in bringing the resolutions committee report to the floor meant that a battle was taking place in the committee over the only controversial issue before the gathering.

Paul J. Kern, liberal New York attorney and conference chairman, first introduced all the non-controversial resolutions which were unanimously adopted. He then presented the Emerson resolution, ruling that three speakers for and three against the resolution would be given the floor for three minutes. The resolution was brief and to the point, calling for termination of the trial of the CP leaders at Foley Square and demanding a pardon to restore the civil rights of the 18 SWP leaders.

EMERSON'S SPEECH  
Professor Emerson was the first speaker for his position. "The question we are called upon to decide here is a very basic one," he warned, "whether the conference agrees to extend the Bill of Rights to all shades of opinion. You cannot have political rights for certain political parties and not for others — for Democrats and not Republicans, for the Communist Party and not for the Socialist Workers Party."

"I have studied the record of the Minneapolis case," he continued. "The trial of 1941 was a trial comparable to the one on Foley Square. It was a trial of political opinion in peacetime. It was not a question of bearing arms or any overt act."

Professor Emerson quoted a letter from Henry A. Wallace to Farrell Dobbs declaring his support. (Continued on page 3)

## More Conference Sponsors Support United Action Call

JULY 16 — Several more sponsors of the Bill of Rights Conference this week informed Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, that they supported his request for the conference to defend the civil rights of all victims of the witch-hunt, including those of the Trotskyists. A similar stand had been previously taken by Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College Observatory, Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School and Professor Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College.

In a letter to Dobbs, Rev. Raymond A. Waser, minister of the First Congregational Church in Pasadena, Calif., wrote on July 13:

"I am in complete accord with the expressions in your letter of July 9th. The Conference to defend the Bill of Rights must be inclusive of all groups. Otherwise it is even worse than the witch hunters. They at least are honest."

CP LINE "REPREHENSIBLE"  
On the same day another conference sponsor, Dr. Bernard Baum of the University of Iowa, wrote:

"I was very glad to get your letters expressing concern over the attitude of those sponsoring the Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights.

"I should be greatly astonished if any group earnestly fighting to preserve our civil liberties were not accorded full right to participate in the Conference on equal terms with all other groups. I have no reason for doubting the sincerity of those who drew up the Call for this Conference, which contains a statement of principles with which neither of us would disagree, I'm certain.

"Like many others, I have considered it altogether reprehensible of the Communist Party to deny support to members of the Socialist Workers Party victimized by anti-democratic forces. One can only hope that it will become clear to everyone that none of us is assured freedom just so long as any of us is denied freedom.

"Although I shall not be able to attend the Conference, I'll follow its proceedings in reports. I expect that the Socialist Workers Party and any other group interested in civil rights will find (Continued on page 3)

## CLARK LIST SOLE BASIS FOR REGENTS WITCH-HUNT

ALBANY, July 15 — A committee of the New York Board of Regents staged a so-called "hearing" here yesterday, allegedly for the purpose of deciding what organizations are "subversive" within the terms of the anti-democratic Feinberg Act. But the proceedings were quickly shown to be the very opposite of a fair and impartial hearing when "spokesmen" for the Regents admitted that they were acting solely on the basis of Attorney General Clark's unconstitutional blacklist.

Five organizations had been invited to send representatives before the Regents committee — the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Workers Party, Industrial Workers of the World and Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Spokesmen for the first four were present.

Regents chairman Welles V. Moot of Buffalo stated at the start of the session that Clark had placed these organizations on his "subversive" list only "after long and careful consideration."

Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, read into the record a

statement (printed in full in last week's Militant) denouncing the entire proceedings as illegal and discriminatory. He departed from this statement, however, to hurl Moot's opening remarks back at him, demanding:

"What evidence has Attorney General Clark supplied you to back up his charge that the Socialist Workers Party is 'subversive'?"

"You are charged with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence," Moot said, evading Dobbs' real question.

"Where, when, how and by whom has there been such advocacy?" Dobbs challenged. "What was said? What was written? What acts were committed and by whom? You can't legally hang us on the outrageous pretext of such an absurd, unproven accusation."

### ELOQUENT SILENCE

But Moot made no reply. His silence spoke almost as loudly and eloquently as Dobbs' indictment of the Clark-Feinberg conspiracy against democratic rights and academic freedom. It proved that the Regents were just going through a few motions before carrying out the compilation of a blacklist for teachers which they had decided on long before the present "hearings."

Dobbs departed on one other occasion from his prepared statement, and that was in response to a particularly slimy provocation by a Stalinist representative who preceded him.

Lillian Gates, legislative representative of the New York Communist Party, told the "hearing" that the Regents were "deliberately (Continued on Page 4)

## Why Stalinists Wrecked the Conference

### An Editorial

The Bill of Rights Conference held in New York last weekend was itself the scene of a crime against civil rights. The conference might have become a potent means for mobilizing widespread support against the witch-hunt. But the Stalinists drove a knife into its very heart by killing the motion made by Professor Emerson and backed by the majority of the resolutions committee to defend the 18 Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act as well as the 12 Stalinists now on trial.

Why should the Stalinists deliberately wreck so promising a movement organized for their own defense? Obviously, there must be overriding motives which drive them to crimes that discredit them not only before the general public but also among their most vigorous liberal defenders.

### The Kremlin Is the Source

These motives in no way derive from any concern for the interests of the American workers or the democratic rights of our people. They sacrifice even the interests of the Communist Party's own self-defense. This ruinous policy on civil rights is dictated by the interests of the totalitarian tyranny in the Kremlin. Here is the real source of all the crimes against the civil rights movement committed by the American Stalinist leaders.

Stalin and his retainers came to rule Soviet Russia by slandering, purging, jailing and murdering the entire generation of Bolshevik heroes who led the Russian Revolution to victory. To prepare for the physical extermination

of his genuinely Communist opponents, Stalin falsely accused them of being agents of one or another foreign power. The defendants at the Moscow frameup trials, which crowned the Stalinist structure of lies and blood purges, were labeled "agents of Hitler," with whom Stalin himself was later to conclude a deal.

The principal target of Stalin's frameup and murder machine was Leon Trotsky, who had exposed and fought the crimes of the Stalinist despots and their betrayal of the principles of socialism. As obedient instruments of Moscow, the Communist Parties throughout the world are obliged to maintain this structure of lies and frameups against the Trotskyists. The Kremlin will tolerate no other course.

To defend the rights of the Trotskyists would be tantamount to admitting that the Moscow trials were frameups and to exposing the Stalin regime as perpetrator of the most sinister crimes against the working class. That is why the Stalinists persist in defaming the Trotskyists as "agents of fascism" and in denying them civil rights. This Stalinist conduct and logic extends to all their critics and opponents, especially those who have discovered through personal experience that Stalinism has nothing in common with socialism.

The Kremlin and its agents can make, as they have made, deals with the most reactionary forces in the capitalist world, including Churchill, Hitler and Chiang Kai-shek. Even today, despite the menace of U. S. imperialism to the Soviet Union, the Kremlin would not hesitate to again come to terms with Washington and to support Truman just as it supported Roosevelt. But

the Stalinists will never compromise with their opponents from the left, least of all the Trotskyists who are their most consistent and irreconcilable adversaries.

### They Fear Revolutionary Opposition

They cannot tolerate the Trotskyists because we are the mortal enemies of both imperialism and Stalinism. The Stalinists want and need a free hand for haggling with the imperialists and for putting over their sell-outs. They fear criticism from the standpoint of socialism. In their fight against the Trotskyists, the Stalinists do not stop at character assassination and frameups, the latest instance of which was Howard Fast's letter in the Daily Compass.

By their conduct at the Bill of Rights Conference the Stalinists showed that they will not even collaborate with those liberals who want to defend the rights of all victims of the witch-hunt, regardless of their political beliefs and differences. The Stalinists proved that for them the defense of civil rights is not a matter of principle but of the Kremlin's convenience. Whenever it suits the Kremlin's aims, they are prepared to masquerade as champions of civil rights; where it does not, they will drop the mask and try to wreck the struggle for civil rights.

The movement to build a genuine united front of all forces in defense of civil rights and against the witch-hunters will and must continue. But it can make headway only if the participants clearly understand the perfidious nature of Stalinism and reject its fatal policies and methods.

### Next Week:

A round-up of what the press had to say about the crucial issues debated at the Bill of Rights Conference.

Why They Lie About the "Recession" — John G. Wright analyzes "psychological factors" behind the capitalist propaganda.

A review of an excellent new biography of Eugene V. Debs — The Bending Cross, by Ray Ginger.

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Labor Union Trends

# The UAW After the Milwaukee Convention

By Bert Cochran

Many students of the labor movement are asking the question, "Has the UAW gone conservative?" Even labor bureaucrats, when they relax among friends and when their remarks are not taken down for the record, contrast the present UAW to the good old days when the auto membership was cutting up, was roaring its challenge at the powers-that-be, was a thorn in the sides of all the fat and staid bureaucrats of the older unions, and when the auto workers, by their breath-taking daring and remarkable solidarity were lifting the labor movement to new heights of grandeur and achievement.

Is this all a thing of the past? That is the question that is worrying many in the labor movement. For despite Reuther's talents in juggling up a situation, his pyrotechnics and pretense of militancy, the word is pretty well getting around that Reuther is safe and sound, that he is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the rest of the labor bureaucracy.

Just the other day I unexpectedly ran across an interesting item dealing with this very question in a column by Loren Norman, editor of Racine Labor, a paper published jointly by the AFL central labor body and the UAW in Racine, Wisconsin. Norman, writing prior to the Milwaukee convention, states:

### "THREE STAGES"

"These proposed splits [of districts], the move to have officers' terms extended to two years, changes in the trial procedure and other moves rumored to be advanced by incumbent board members cause one to wonder if the UAW is going the way of all flesh — to the fleshpots.

"Militant and democratic, the UAW has led the way in many union battles and has inspired thousands of workers inside and outside the ranks.

"They say that organizations frequently go through three stages: 1. Organization. The union is vital, militant and highly democratic. 2. Consolidation. The union begins to 'settle down,' sign contracts, becomes more conservative and less democratic. 3. Stratification. The union becomes conservative, conventions are held less frequently, an attempt is made to pile up a heavy treasury, democracy suffers.

"Given this pattern of growth, one wonders if the UAW is passing from the second to the third stage, in view of its present moves. Is it becoming just another 'business' union — or will it remain vibrant and unpredictable, with its stormy petrels and its grand battles, its democracy and its fighting spirit? The rank and file we hope will make it plain at this convention that it wants to stay on the militant path that has made the UAW the fine organization it is."

### WHAT REUTHER GOT

I think it is undeniable — and it becomes even clearer if you divorce yourself for the moment from the immediate factional politics in the UAW — that the

auto union has lost much of its former insurgency and has succumbed to a measure of conservatism and bureaucratism. The Milwaukee convention formalized what was already indicated by the local elections for convention delegates — that Reuther has built up an imposing machine, that this machine has a firm grip on the union structure, that it is reaching out all the time for still more power, that it is trying to tame this once rebellious organization, and that it has become part and parcel, or to put it more correctly, a vanguard of the Murray CIO bureaucracy and its debilitating policies.

Reuther not only got overwhelming convention approval for his general course and administration but succeeded in jamming through greater dictatorial power for his machine and in expelling from the union the two leading officers of the Stalinist caucus. It is true that the Stalinists, as is their custom, gave him ammunition by publishing a factual report that had been fabricated by a previous international executive board and by conducting themselves as agents of the FE against the UAW. But the punishment ought to fit the crime. As "The Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" stated in its handbill to the convention:

"While we are not associated with the group with which Doll and Sage are affiliated and have sharp differences with them which we have expressed in this convention and elsewhere, we believe a sharp reprimand would constitute sufficient punishment for this first offense. . . Beware that the Doll-Sage incident not be used to revise our whole trial procedure which was developed in our Cleveland convention to protect the rights of union members." Whether the expulsion of Doll and Sage presages more expulsions to come or not, you can bet your bottom dollar that the next critic that comes along will swallow hard before speaking his mind. Reuther meant to intimidate his opponents and he succeeded.

### WHY CONSERVATISM AROSE

Loren Norman certainly has a profound point in his article about the stages of union organizations. And the auto union is subjected to the same general laws of the class struggle and the same broad influences that affect all other unions of this type. Conservatism has arisen in the UAW not because somebody outmaneuvered somebody else but because the average auto worker in the industry today is a family man over 40 years of age — an outcome of the union seniority provisions — who feels he has a certain stake in the scheme of things, pitiful though it be, to protect. Furthermore, the UAW, like the whole union movement, is caught in the steel embrace of the imperialist state which aims to bend it to its own purposes.

But that is only one side of the picture. It was Reuther's convention all right at Milwaukee. But that does not mean by a long shot that the UAW has been "Murderized" and is now simply a carbon copy of the steel union.

The Milwaukee convention made clear that there is still lots of juice left in the auto union. The bulk of the local officers and delegates may be Reutherites but they still have a healthy fear of the rank and file back home. Thus, Reuther was slapped down on his scheme to hold conventions every two years and forced to withdraw his proposals to jack up the dues as well as a number of his constitutional amendments which would have increased the powers of his international executive board. The rank and file demonstrated that control hasn't slipped out of its hands entirely, that if it is determined enough, it can impose its wishes on a convention, and that when its thinking changes on other scores, it will impose those changes on the union as well.

### FATE OF OLD OPPOSITION

The fact that there is still elbow room in the UAW and that the tradition of militancy can still be appealed to is shown also by the ability of a new opposition to maintain itself for the past two years in the face of the witch-hunt and the general sweep of reaction. It must be understood that the old Thomas-Adde- Leonard group was not only decisively defeated at the 1947 Atlantic City convention. It disintegrated internally. The lack of any perspective of this leadership was part of the story. The inability to maintain the loyalty of opportunist payroll men once patronage was gone was part of the story. Stalinism was part of the story. The three musketeers are out of the UAW. Adde is operating a saloon in Detroit. Thomas and Leonard are high class messenger boys for Murray.

After the crushing defeat at Atlantic City, the anti-Reuther opposition reconstituted itself on a new basis with the best elements from the old caucus. Most of the payrollees fell away as there were no longer any pork chops to keep them interested. For the first time in the history of the UAW a sizeable opposition came into being, resting upon a progressive programmatic basis and anti-Stalinist in its orientation.

The Stalinists after floundering around for a while set up their own faction with Tracy Doll as their front man. But the old demagogic twists and cavortings have lost their magic. The best of the militants had their number and wouldn't have any truck with them. The more backward were under the sway of the red scare. The Stalinists had lost the moral leadership of the anti-Reuther progressive wing and even their aggressiveness at the Milwaukee convention has not helped them to recapture it.

### OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

The anti-Stalinist progressive caucus constituted as "The Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" has likewise had some tough sledding. It is no picnic to keep a militant caucus going in the teeth of red-baiting hysteria, the absence of broad support in the ranks, the pressures, threats and powers of corruption of the administration machine, and the unscrupulous snipings and attacks of the Stalinists. The average progressive, after all, wants to get elected to office. When he finds that militancy lacks the same appeal as of old he is inclined to trim his sails. But the fact is that despite all these many difficulties and harassments, the opposition has received enough support from the membership to keep afloat, gave a good account of itself at the Milwaukee convention as the authentic anti-Reuther progressive opposition, and made an inch or two of headway.

This is of more than passing importance. This is, in fact, a promise that the UAW is not destined to pass through the same dolorous stages as Dubinsky's garment union, where after a radical and insurgent youth the union slogged into the mire of a bureaucratized and class-collaborationist middle age. If one were to assume for the years ahead economic conditions in the United States similar to the twenties, then one could very easily conclude that the opposition in the UAW was a passing formation which would wither away as grass in a hot noonday sun. But if one is convinced that this country is facing critical economic developments and stormy upheavals in the class struggle, than it is entirely logical to conclude that opposition movements, such as the one in the UAW, will become major leaders in the next realignment of forces of the American labor movement.

## Steel Strike Called Off



Steelworker John Puhatch and family learn from a Pittsburgh newspaper that the steel strike had been called off following the acceptance by the steel monopolists of Truman's "60-day truce plan." The wage dispute is referred for investigation to a three-man fact finding board.

# Fiscal Troubles Begin to Plague Ailing Economy

By John G. Wright

Truman and his administration appear to be determined to out-do Herbert Hoover's performance in the Thirties. Big metropolitan dailies, not to mention the national weeklies, are following suit. They gush with optimism. Prominent academicians, like Prof. Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard, step to the fore to add their falsettos to the booming basses, one and all intoning that "The Upturn in Business Is Not Far Away." As a witty Frenchman once remarked in a slightly different connection, some men employ speech only to conceal their thoughts.

Instead of any improvement or reversal of current downward trends, there are ominous indications of further complications and declines.

Retail trade remains in the doldrums. Large-scale liquidation of inventories continues without making an appreciable dent in unsold goods, piled up to the tune of more than 50 billion dollars. Such a key sector of industry as steel is eating deeply into its dwindling backlogs while operating at 75% of capacity. The overall picture is indeed a cheerless one.

And in recent weeks still another economic thunderhead has risen on the horizon. We refer to financial difficulties which now face the Truman administration.

### INTOLERABLE STRAINS

As of June 30, the government deficit has reached the whopping sum of almost \$2 billion. If the present rate of federal expenditures is maintained and assuming the economic situation does not worsen, this deficit will nevertheless snowball to more than \$5 billion; with the prospect of another deficit double in size for the

### MT. SPRING CAMP ANNOUNCES LOWER RATES FOR GUESTS

The management of the newly-opened Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, New Jersey, has announced sizeable reductions in its weekly and daily rates for the rest of this season. The new rates which go into effect July 24 are \$80 per week for dormitory accommodations, and \$32.50 per week for separate screened cabins. Daily rates for room and board are \$4.50 per day for dormitory quarters and \$5 per day for cabins.

The rates for meals have been scaled down proportionately although the same high standards of food preparation and service which have already won a favorable reputation for the camp will be maintained. Through these reductions the management aims to bring a visit to this pleasant vacation resort in the foothills of the Pocono Mountains within reach of most workers' budgets and to more widely advertise the many features and facilities offered by the camp.

The scores of guests who have already enjoyed this vacation resort for a week or a weekend outing have become enthusiastic boosters of its advantages. The Mountain Spring Camp is easily accessible, being only two hours ride by train, bus or auto from New York and Philadelphia. For further information on rates and for making reservations, write Mountain Spring Camp, R.D. 1, Washington, N. J.

next fiscal year. This spells trouble, plenty of trouble.

Deficit government financing in peacetime imposes intolerable strains on the credit system. It may force the government to borrow at higher rates, a very risky eventuality in the face of a national debt that has passed the quarter of a trillion mark. In the long run, it endangers the stability of the dollar itself.

Moreover, peacetime deficits cannot be made up for any length of time through borrowing alone. Higher taxes become imperative, with a resulting slash in mass purchasing power coupled with a serious threat to capitalist profits.

This fiscal problem is something new in the situation. Up to now Truman and his advisors have been able to juggle with billions as they pleased. But to-day things have drastically altered.

Voices demanding a "regime of economy" are making themselves heard more and more insistently. To be sure, these "economizers" have not as yet asserted themselves in Congress. But behind them, powerful forces are aligned. The biggest banks and monopolists and powerful politicians view with disfavor, if not apprehension, the prospect of huge government deficits. They insist on rigidly limiting, if not altogether averting, this development.

A bitter behind-the-scenes struggle is now in progress. One signal of the sharp disagreements now dividing the top echelons of the capitalist class came early this month when James F. Byrnes, former Secretary of State, broke openly with Truman. Delivering the principal commencement address at the Washington and Lee University in Virginia, Byrnes denounced Truman's "road to statism" and called for a reduction in federal spending. "The only wise course is to reduce expenditures and live within our income," said this influential spokesman for the Southern Bourbons who, in coalition with the Republicans, now dominate Congress.

The intensity of the pressure on Truman to start balancing the budget may be gauged by the fact that he had to devote the concluding section of his July 13 "there-is-no-depression fireside chat" to an oblique attack on nameless "selfish interests" who are "now urging drastic cuts in government expenditures" and who would thereby "add to the downward trend."

Fiscal disagreements among the capitalist summits — a factor hardly calculated to inspire confidence — will grow and intensify if the situation worsens and budgetary deficits tend to pile up.

### THE WORLD CRISIS

What adds even more to the instability of the situation is that these domestic fiscal difficulties are unfolding amid an acute aggravation of monetary troubles abroad, in the first instance, those of Britain.

These fiscal troubles here and in Western Europe are unmistakable signs of paroxysms in the U. S. economy as well as in the rest of the capitalist world. They have arisen as the product of a highly unfavorable set of economic conditions, only to become, at a later stage, themselves a cause of further dislocations and convulsions. Small wonder that capitalist "experts" with Truman as choir-leader prefer to skip over all this as they peddle their fake optimism.

## More AFL Unions Vote Support to Veteran's Fight

In the past two weeks several important AFL bodies have joined the hundreds of labor organizations rallied behind James Kutcher's fight for civil rights. The nearly 100 delegates at the July 7 meeting of the Toledo Central Labor Union warmly responded to an appeal on behalf of the legless veteran by Rev. Milo C. Sawyer of the First Baptist Church, representing the Toledo Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

The Toledo AFL resolution sent by Secretary Otto W. Brach to Attorney General Clark and the Toledo Blade, declares that "the practice of firing individuals from government jobs because of their political beliefs without a public hearing or a chance to face their accusers or to see the evidence upon which they are designated as 'subversive' is a flagrant violation of our basic constitutional guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights." It demands that Kutcher "be restored to his job without prejudice" and "urges all its affiliates to support this case in every way they can."

On July 1, the AFL Central Labor Council of Santa Cruz, Calif., after hearing Kutcher, endorsed his case and voted \$10 toward his court fight. One member expressed dissatisfaction at the amount donated and initiated an additional \$11 collection from those present.

On July 5 Kutcher addressed Local 1100 of the AFL Retail Clerks in San Francisco, which asked its executive board to approve a \$50 donation to Kutcher's campaign.

The San Francisco Joint Board of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union also voted endorsement of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement and contributed \$25 to his defense fund. This is the fourth joint board of this important AFL international to come to Kutcher's aid. The others were the New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles joint boards.

# World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

## Another 'Titoist' Brought to Trial

The press reports that Laszlo Rajk, former Minister of the Interior in Hungary, arrested on June 14, is to be tried soon for "selling Government secrets" to Cavendish Cannon, the U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, through the mediation of Marshall Tito. Obviously the Kremlin is bent on following the execution of Koci Dodji, Albanian "Titoist" by another example in Hungary.

There were many union leaders here who joined in the hubbub over the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. They along with the others have yet to raise their voices in behalf of a fair trial for the former Hungarian Minister of Interior who has turned dissident.

## Anti-Labor Drives And Losses of the Stalinists in France

A campaign has started in France, on the initiative of former Premier Paul Reynaud, to make substantial reductions in the social security provisions for workers, in order to "balance" the economy and bring it in line with Marshall Plan requirements. That a discredited politician like Reynaud, whose claim to fame rests upon the spade-work he did in easing the way for the Nazi conquest of 1940 and the installation of the Petain regime, can regain public prominence of this sort, in itself speaks volumes. That he can dare, as spokesman for the French capitalist class, to propose such drastic anti-labor measures, indicates the tremendous change in class relationships that that country has undergone in the last year or so.

Not so long ago the Paris correspondents used to cable their American papers that a phone call from Maurice Thorez, French

Stalinist leader, would be sufficient to install "communism" in that country. And, in truth, the working class there, ever since the "liberation" of August 1944, gave repeated evidence of its readiness and will to abolish capitalism forever. Bankrupt bourgeois politicians at that time could raise their heads only by the grace of Thorez and Co.

The repeated betrayals of the Stalinist leadership, beginning with their entry into the capitalist coalition government headed by de Gaulle; their dissipation of the revolutionary energy of the workers in the strike waves that followed their dismissal from the government, brought about this state of affairs.

The workers have lost confidence in the Stalinist leadership and, not yet having found a revolutionary leadership to replace it, have marked time while the capitalists have rehabilitated their bankrupt system sufficiently to plan an offensive against labor. The decline of what was once a monopoly hold of the Stalinists upon the French workers is indicated in a number of reports published and commented upon in the most recent issue of La Verite (organ of the French Trotskyists) to arrive here.

One article deals with last month's convention of the Paris Trade Union Federation, affiliated to the Stalinist General Confederation of Labor (CGT). It was reported there that the membership of the Federation had dropped from 1,100,000 in 1945 to 570,000 in 1949, that is, a catastrophic decline of 50%. Dissatisfaction among the activist rank and file has been sufficiently great, the article says, for the Stalinists to feel the need to reduce somewhat their stranglehold on democratic procedure within the unions. Thus, at this Paris convention, spokesmen of the "trade union unity" tendency, supported by the Trotskyists, had to be given the floor to present their position. They received strong applause and considerable support, although the Stalinists were able to carry their rigged resolutions in the end.

In another article Pierre Frenk cites figures from CP sources on the Stalinist press. The central organ of the French CP, L'Humanite, reports its circulation at 260,000 as against well above 400,000 in 1945, when it led all other daily newspapers in Paris. According to the same report, 20 Stalinist federations have ceased publication of their official papers; 10 daily newspapers have been reduced to weekly publication, etc.

Naturally, the Stalinists receive far greater passive support than these figures of the decline of active support would indicate. The CP statisticians say, for instance, that their press is read by only one out of every ten voters supporting the party in elections. Similarly, in a recent election of shop stewards at the Renault auto plant, the Stalinist-led CGT not only held its own, but increased its total of votes by 5,000 over the reformist and Catholic unions.

Clearly the Stalinists still hold the passive allegiance of the French workers because they have not yet found a substitute leadership. This indicates two things: that in spite of all betrayals the French workers have not been demoralized to the point of disorganization; and that as soon as new struggles arise before their eyes a new revolutionary leadership, they will sweep aside the Stalinists.

## Reformist Setback In Canada Elections

The Canadian Commonwealth Federation lost some 20 seats in Parliament in last month's elections. The CCF has been held up as a bright hope by some of the younger, more "forward-looking" bureaucrats in the U.S.A., particularly the Reuther leadership in the UAW. The CCF leaders in previous elections had attempted a more or less "independent" stand. In the June election they plumped for the Atlantic Pact and against the Conservatives as the greater evil on the domestic scene.

In other words, although running their own candidates, they really adopted a policy of supporting the Liberals (the Canadian counterpart of our Democratic Party). Thus, they retrogressed to a position closer to that of the American labor-skates.

### READ

Fourth International

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Bay Area, Detroit, Launch Campaigns For 'Militant' Subs

Three branches of the Socialist Workers Party, Detroit, Oakland and San Francisco, announced campaigns last week for subscriptions to The Militant and Fourth International, the monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism.

San Francisco and Oakland are combining their campaigns in order to award the champion subscriber of the Bay Area a prize of one week's vacation, all expenses paid, at the West Coast Summer Camp. In case of a tie, there will be two lucky vacationers. They expect to cover the cost of this handsome prize through socials.

The Oakland-San Francisco contest begins July 20 and runs for one month, ending on August 21 when the winner will be announced at the Memorial Meeting for Leon Trotsky.

Official slogan of the contest is: "Let's bring The Militant and Fourth International to the Bay Area working class!"

To assure every subscriber the maximum opportunity to roll up a score in accordance with his abilities, the Bay Area contest is based on a point system. For each copy of The Militant sold, the sub-getter scores 5 points. For each copy of Fourth International, 20 points. A six-months Militant sub rates 50 points; a one-year sub, 100; a one-year FI sub, 150; and a one-year combination Militant and FI, 275.

A quota of 750 points was set for the comrades as a goal for each one to shoot at.

"There is general enthusiasm for this contest," reports Literature Agent P. B. of San Francisco, "and from all indications it should work out very well. Individual charts are now being prepared and will be posted in both the Oakland and San Francisco headquarters."

The Detroit campaign begins July 24, according to Literature Agent Shirley Mason. Goal of the campaign is 100 subscriptions. The sub-getter chalking up the highest score wins a book. Full details of the campaign will be announced later.

Seattle is likewise rolling into action on the sub front. Literature Agent Marianne Stanley sent in 4 Militant subs and one FI sub. "Four comrades went out," she writes, "and spent about an hour and a half subbing." In

addition to the subs obtained, they sold 8 copies of the paper. "We think these results are quite encouraging and we hope to build up the list of subscribers here."

The branches of the Socialist Workers Party in New York are registering substantial sales of The Militant at street meetings. Literature Agent Harry Gold reports. At a Brooklyn meeting, 4 were sold. East Side sold 18 at one meeting and 29 at another; while Harlem sold 80, which makes a total of 131 for four meetings.

Literature Agent Gerry Wolf, reporting for Pittsburgh, says that "pensions, wages, insurance and the demands of the current steel talks have the workers here buzzing. I feel more space should be given in The Militant now to these items because of their timeliness. Also to some of the more concrete aspects of the Taft-Hartley Law. Many workers know that generally it is bad for labor, but not specifically why. Concrete instances showing how the T-H Law has been and can be used against workers will drive home all the more the sell-out by the top union bureaucrats on this issue."

Gerry adds that on the distribution side Pittsburgh plans "sales at several steel locals at union meetings."

Literature Agent Frank Rossi of Morgantown recently wrote us to pass on a tip used by Comrade F. in selling subs. "She explains that we have no advertisers. This seems to get their attention and opens the way for further discussions." Articles about Negroes, he continues, "are easily the best conversations: makers with students as well as miners. The growing support for Kutcher has begun to arouse reader interest. I met an old subscriber a few days ago and his first remark was on Kutcher."

Russell W. Gibbons of Hamburg, N. Y., on renewing his subscription wrote us: "I enjoy your publication very much, and though not a Socialist or even a 'radical' I can appreciate receiving a paper which interprets the news and trends with a real revolutionary background."

L. M. and R. M. of Vancouver likewise mentioned how much they appreciate The Militant when they sent in their renewal: "Your publication gives the only clear stream of thought — very refreshing amid the pollution of other parties."

And L. B. Courts of Sharonville, Ohio, recalling Farrell Dobbs' denunciation of the Atlantic Pact before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "That was worth a lot to the people of the United States."

# Your Paper

THE MILITANT is your paper. It has no big-time backers like the capitalist press. It's financed through the nickels, dimes and dollars of working people who understand the priceless value of a paper that dares to tell the truth without compromise.

THE MILITANT has but one aim — to do everything it can to advance the long-range interests of the poor.

Here are some typical comments from readers grateful to find one honest paper in America:

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\$1 Six months  \$2 Full year  \$4 in combination with Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism. (Fourth International alone is \$2.50. You save 50c.)



## An Ancient Heresy-Hunt

By James Kutcher

Sitting in a West Coast hotel room one evening and idly turning the pages of the Bible provided by the hotel management, I came across the section entitled Deuteronomy. In this part Moses is giving the Israelites a number of directives on how to behave themselves after they get to the promised land. Chapter 13 had a particular appeal for me. The sub-titles are "Idolaters to be put to death. Idolatrous cities to be destroyed." It seemed to me that it could just as well have been called "Moses' Executive Order 9835."

Moses is talking, and he is saying, "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams" and he says, "Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them," then "Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams" because "the Lord your God" is testing you, to learn if you really love him and fear him and obey him.

"And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death," Moses continues, because he is trying "to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in." Even if this prophet or dreamer should be "thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend. . . thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: But thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die. . . And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is among you."

Furthermore, Moses says, extending the scope of this heresy-hunt, if you should hear that certain men have withdrawn to build their own city in which they propose to "serve other gods, which ye have not known; Then shalt thou enquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought among you; Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword. And thou shalt gather all of the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and

all the spoil thereof every whit, for the Lord thy God; and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again." If you do this, Moses promises, then "the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee, and multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers."

Now, it may be said that the comparison is unfair. After all, the Truman administration is not asking you to kill anybody or stone him with stones just because he harbors "abominable" thoughts, and they are not yet asking for the utter destruction of any city by either the edge of the sword or the atom bomb. It's true that modern methods are somewhat different. All they do to the twentieth century "prophets and dreamers of dreams" is stigmatize them as "subversive" or "disloyal" and deprive them of their livelihood if they happen to be working for the government or in plants with government contracts or as teachers in the public schools or even as clergymen in the churches. For the modern heresy-hunters have learned that you can wipe out "wicked" and dissident thoughts just as effectively by pinning a yellow badge on a man and driving him out of his job as you can by using the less refined methods recommended by Moses.

But while I grant the difference in method, I must insist that not all the differences are to the favor of the Washington policemen-of-the-mind. For one thing, Moses ordered the witch-hunters of his time, before acting, to "enquire" and "make search" and "ask diligently" and be certain that there really was an "abomination." Which is more than can be said for the FBI police spy system which assassinates the characters of many innocent people on the basis of hearsay and rumor and malicious gossip.

And for another thing, Moses, with all his faults, at least escaped the sin of hypocrisy. He did not call himself a liberal or the Biblical equivalent of a Fair Dealer; he did not preach the virtues of democracy while he was practicing the vices of dictatorship. Which again is more than you can say about the would-be architects of the police state in Washington, D. C.

The Moses administration was more barbarous than the Truman administration, but it is a difference in degree and not in kind. The principles guiding them are essentially the same.

## 'Fair Deal' Beneficiaries

By Henry Johnson

In his Mid-Year Economic Report, President Truman did not go out of his way to deal with the question of wages, especially wage raises. He mumbled a few words to the effect that he didn't think it was a good idea to cut wages now, and let it go at that.

My first impression was that the "Fair Dealer" must obviously be too harassed these days to bother with such trifles as the incomes and living standards of a score odd million American families now struggling at or below subsistence levels.

But on second thought I reminded myself that one of the first acts of his leaders in the 81st Congress was to take care of Truman and his family. They sure did a handsome job. Truman's salary was hiked from \$75,000 to \$100,000, plus a tax-free allotment of another \$50,000 to add to the \$40,000 he already has for "entertainment and travel." On top of this, he has one good yacht, one swanky private plane, several cars, chauffeurs and a roof over his head, all free and clear.

And to prove that your President takes time out to think of other families than his own he has just jammed through the House a bill hiking the salaries of all his Cabinet officers and 236 other heads and assistant heads of departments and agencies. Most of these salary boosts range from 50% to 100%, with the total cost being estimated at \$1,250,000 a year.

Take the case of Attorney General Tom Clark. This intimate friend of Truman has had to scrape by on \$15,000 a year. That's less than \$50 a day for such a dirty messy job as drafting blacklists and supervising witch-hunts. For a skilled man like Clark, pay like this for work like that must have been like taking bread and butter out of the mouths of his family.

The next time Clark gets another veteran, like James Kutcher, fired from his job, the victim

should feel really impressed because like all the other Cabinet members Clark will be collecting \$25,000 per annum.

His under-secretaries and those of other department-heads will likewise be in a much better mood to turn in a fair day's work. Their "take-home" has been upped to 20,000 smackeroos, whereas previously most of them got only half as much.

The only one seemingly slighted in this big and busy White House family was J. Edgar Hoover, himself. This high executive who supervises some ten thousand employees and spends 48 million dollars of your tax-money and mine (and who is going to spend a lot more installing bigger FBI stoolpigeon networks) — this busiest of busy men was originally scheduled to scrape along on \$15,000 a year.

This oversight, however, was quickly noticed by some eagle-eyed Congressmen who immediately boosted the FBI chief's salary to a more substantial \$17,500 mark. J. Edgar Hoover will now be able to sleep more soundly while his spies prowled around keeping innocent people awake these nights.

Truman's concern for his own and other families' welfare is contagious. Some Congressmen, inspired by the example he was setting, tried to hike their own salaries up to \$20,000 a year. Besides, they argued, how does it look for "servants" (meaning Cabinet officers) to get bigger pay than do the "masters" (meaning the Hon. Representatives)? But their colleagues decided to wait a while.

If you and your family find that you will have to wait a good deal longer before Mr. Truman and his highly paid entourage get around to dealing with such problems as wages or unemployment, it might console you to remember that the "Fair Deal," like charity, apparently begins at home, and what is more, stays there too.

## Notes from the News

**STRANGE AFTERMATH** — The Stalinists mourned the death of Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy as "a staunch Roosevelt, New Deal progressive. . . even after FDR died." The funeral services for Murphy were scheduled to be given by Father Coughlin, the fascist priest.

**COURT OK'S JIM CROW** — The Court of Appeals in Albany has ruled in a 4-to-3 decision, that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has the right to bar Negroes from its Stuyvesant Town housing project although the project was made possible by tax exemptions and other help from the state.

**A STEADY PROFESSION** — At least 100,000 former Nazi officers and soldiers are now serving with foreign armies in Russia, Egypt, French North Africa, Indonesia and various Arab countries, according to high-ranking former German staff officers in Frankfurt. Thousands of them are also battling with the French imperialists against the people of Indo-China.

**PUZZLING QUESTION** — Overheard at the Bill of Rights Conference: "What I can't understand is if the Trotskyites are fascists," as the Communist Party calls them, then why are they defending the Communist Party defendants on trial? What kind of fascists would support the civil rights of the Communist Party?"

**TIMELY DEMAND** — The CIO Packinghouse Workers Union is asking for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay in its negotiations with Swift & Co.

**TWO LABOR LEADERS DIE** — A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, died on July 16, at the age of 76. Whitney attracted national attention in 1946 when as leader of the national rail strike he denounced Truman's strikebreaking actions and vowed to oppose Truman's election, only to back the latter in 1948. Three days later Van A. Bittner, vice-president of the CIO Steel Workers, died in Pitts-

burgh of a heart ailment at the age of 64. He was a one-time lieutenant of John L. Lewis who broke with the miners' chieftain in order to line up with Philip Murray.

**STALINIST JOURNALISM** — As last week's Militant story on the UAW convention reported, Claude Bland, a leading member of the anti-Reuther, anti-Stalinist "Committee for a Militant and Progressive UAW," declined nomination for the UAW presidency because, among other things "the majority of this convention retains confidence in the present leadership." The July 15 Daily Worker, deliberately distorting Bland's remarks, makes it appear that he said his group "retains confidence in the present leadership."

**NEW ENGLAND UNEMPLOYMENT HIGH-EST** — Almost half of the 98 biggest production centers in the U. S. had unemployment totalling 7% or more in mid-May, and the total reached 23% in some areas, according to one government agency. New England was hardest hit.

**FEINBERG ACT HIT** — Repeal of the Feinberg Act was unanimously urged by a special educational conference, sponsored by the New York University summer session students and faculty at Chautauqu Institute.

**ANTI-DEPRESSION FORMULA** — The U. S. Steel Corporation, which says it won't pay higher wages and pensions to steel workers because that would cause depression, raked in net profits in the first quarter of 1949 at an annual rate of \$256 million — more than 25% higher than its 1948 all-time profits grab.

**BIGGEST BOSS** — The government today is the largest single business enterprise in the world. In conformity with its size it is, naturally, also the largest single employer. A recent survey by Professor Solomon Fabricant of New York University estimates that last year one out of every eight or nine workers in this country was employed by one government agency or another.

## 400 Fla. Negroes Driven from Home

Groveland, Fla., a small town in the central portion of this Jim Crow state, has been the scene of unbridled Ku Klux terror for several days.

Motor caravans have repeatedly raided the Negro quarter of this little town, pumping bullets indiscriminately into streets and dwellings. They have burned to the ground two houses and have threatened to reduce the entire community to ashes.

The orgy was touched off by the arrest of two young Negro veterans charged with robbing a white native and kidnapping his wife. Gangs of lynchers immediately converged on the local jail but found themselves foiled by the removal of their intended victims to a different jail. The would-be lynchers then proceeded to unlease their reign of terror. Two other Negroes are allegedly involved.

The entire Negro population of Groveland, some 400 in number, has been reportedly removed in trucks at night to neighboring communities and towns. State and local authorities have issued repeated assurances that they have the situation "well in hand."

## Bus Strike in New York



A bus terminal is picketed by a contingent of 3,300 members of the CIO Transport Workers Union, out on strike against two privately-owned bus companies in New York City. The strike began when four mechanics were arbitrarily fired. The union is now demanding a new contract, the major issue in the unfolding struggle. This contract is long overdue and the companies have been stalling. Mayor O'Dwyer, whose tenure in office has been marked by a series of strikebreaking efforts, is again running true to form. On July 20 he issued an ultimatum demanding that all bus workers return at once to work while the issue of a new contract is submitted to arbitration. The union has called a meeting where a secret ballot will be taken on O'Dwyer's ultimatum.

## NAACP Plans Mass Conference For Civil Rights in Washington

(Continued from Page 1)

hold the native peoples in bondage.

The dilemma of the NAACP was illustrated in the resolution as presented, and later adopted. Although supporting the Marshall Plan, the resolution also urged the State Department to "adopt and pursue the policy of discontinuing aid to countries receiving Marshall Plan aid when they engage in military action to suppress movements for colonial freedom."

This resolution elicited the greatest opposition of any question brought to the floor of the convention. The second of two amendments, both of which sought condemnation of the Marshall Plan, attempted to replace this clause by one enumerating those countries which maintain their rule over colonial by other than purely military means, to all of whom aid would be denied. It mentioned Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and Italy. This, and the other proposed amendment, were defeated, but approximately a third of the delegates voted for them.

Absent also in the sessions devoted to international affairs was any reference to the imperialist role played by the United States, and the struggles of native peoples under its domination, such as the Puerto Ricans.

### THE DEMOCRACY ISSUE

Another glaring weakness of the conference was the failure of the delegates to take a single step to democratize the Association by placing real control of policies in the hands of the membership. The majority of the Resolutions Committee rejected the various resolutions that had been presented by branches seeking to achieve this end. But a minority of the committee advocated passage of one resolution which would have made the convention the highest authority of the Association.

Discussion showed a fairly widespread desire on the part of individual delegates for greater democracy, but the resolution was lost by a large majority. There were signs, however, that this fight is only in its initial stage and that it will gain considerable strength in the months to come.

It must be noted, also, that while speaker after speaker pointed to the failure of Democrats and Republicans alike to carry out campaign promises on civil rights and labor legislation, the leadership, as well as the delegates, shied sharply away from drawing the logical conclusions to this well established fact, and breathed not a word about the need for a new party of labor and the minorities.

Roy Wilkins, acting national secretary, in his keynote address contented himself merely with advocating the outworn Gompers

policy of reward your friends and defeat your enemies. The burden of his speech was that Negroes should seek to re-elect those senators who voted "right" on the one key question of the Barkley ruling on closure and defeat those senators who voted against it.

### MILITANT PROPOSALS

This ineffective approach was, however, as already indicated, far outstripped by the later action of the delegates.

On the positive side, the conference called upon President Truman "to summon Congress back for a special session for the express and exclusive purpose of passing civil rights laws."

Emphasized mass action as the best means for exerting pressure on congressmen;

Arranged for the setting up of an emergency civil liberties committee, whose task it is to initiate a "national civil liberties month," which will be timed to "culminate in a mass conference in Washington . . . when Congress is in session."

The resolution said further that it shall be the aim of the committee "to produce the greatest outpouring of Negroes and their allies in the labor movement, among the church, civic, fraternal organizations, fraternities, sororities, national groups and citizens from every walk of life to the end that both the President and Congress shall feel the wrath and demand of the people for the speedy enactment of a comprehensive civil rights program."

### FOR ENDING PURGE

The delegates also condemned the President's loyalty order as resulting in "police inquisition, star chamber proceedings and grave injustices," and stated further: "We oppose wholeheartedly the President's loyalty program, the Mundt-Ferguson bills and their counterparts in the states such as the Ober bill in Maryland. We call upon the President to revoke the loyalty order forthwith. We further pledge the full resources of the Association to aid and assist in every way in challenging the constitutionality of this order in the courts and to continue giving assistance to individuals affected."

The House Un-American Activities Committee was branded "a serious menace to the principles of freedom," and Congress was called upon to see to it that every witness appearing before a congressional committee be given a fair hearing.

The convention furthermore reaffirmed the NAACP's traditional support of organized labor, called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, and took an excellent stand on the continuing and increasingly vituperative attack against Harry Bridges and the longshoremen. Said the

resolution: "We pledge our support to the attempt of the Longshoremen's Union to equalize wages in Hawaii compared with the mainland. We also warn the people that any attempt by the government to deport the President of the Longshoremen's Union now while the strike is on would be a direct interference by the government on the employers' side of a labor dispute."

On the whole, the conference was a working conference, dealing with the many disabilities visited upon Negroes and other minorities, correctly relating these inequities to government-condoned Jim Crow-segregation.

### AN EXAMPLE TO FOLLOW

Governor Hastie, in his address, made the government's responsibility doubly clear. Said he: "Nothing but contempt should

## CLARK LIST SOLE BASIS FOR REGENTS WITCH-HUNT

(Continued from Page 1)

to an unrestrained witch-hunt that will make a shambles of the public school system. "Consequently, we defend the rights of members of every organization to employment in the schools, including members of the Communist Party, despite the Stalinists' contemptible policy where our rights are concerned, and despite our fundamental opposition to the Communist Party."

[Three days later, the July 17 Worker printed a report on the "hearings," charging that the Trotskyists "spent more time attacking the Communist Party than the bills," and "left the definite inference that they would be pleased to see the Communists and the other organizations at the hearing listed as 'subversive' if their splinter outfits were untouched." Here is a perfect example of how the Stalinists accuse their opponents of the crimes committed by the Stalinists.]

### STALINIST PROVOCATION

"You have heard here this afternoon a provocation by the spokesman for the Communist Party who has said, in effect, that it's perfectly all right for you to declare the Socialist Workers Party subversive and deprive our members of their right to employment in the public schools, and that what's wrong with your outrageous procedure is that you shouldn't have dragged the Communist Party into it."

"Now the Socialist Workers Party is fundamentally opposed to the policies and practices of the Communist Party. But we do not follow their blindly factional, utterly indefensible policy of refusing to defend the civil rights of their political opponents."

"We believe that if democracy means anything, it means you should defend the rights of those with whom you don't agree. We say that if you cause the discharge of a single man or woman, from a single public school, because of their political beliefs, you will have opened the door

By Albert Parker

The Army refuses to change its Jim Crow segregation policy toward Negro soldiers in any way, and within the next week or two it is going to flatly say so to the

President's Fahy Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, according to the July 16 N. Y. Times, which evidently has a pipeline to the committee.

This story has a long history. It goes back to a year ago this month, shortly after the 1948 Democratic National Convention, when Truman was making a desperate bid for the Negro vote. Eager to get votes but not to strike any blows against segregation, Truman issued two executive orders. One of them promised that Negroes would get "equal treatment" and "equal opportunity" in the armed forces. The other set up a committee to make recommendations on the first. Neither of them said anything about segregation.

Quick as a flash, Gen. Omar Bradley, Army chief of staff, made a speech at Fort Knox on July 27, 1948, in which he said: "The Army is not out to make any social reforms. The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it."

That was a dead giveaway on Truman's two executive orders, especially since nobody in the ad-

ministration took the trouble to rebuke Bradley for his statement. Truman had paid his lip-service to "equality," and that was good enough. Besides, few people expected Truman to get elected anyhow.

But he was elected, and on a strong civil rights program, and Negroes began asking what was happening on his two executive orders. So the Fahy committee began to meet and make inquiries as to how the armed forces were carrying out the directive on "equality."

Apparently, they had not been doing a thing. On April 6 of this year the newly-appointed Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson sent a memorandum to the three service branches, asking them to inform him by the beginning of May what they intended to do about enforcing "racial equality."

On May 11 the Air Force replied that it was going to do away with separate Negro units and integrate Negroes throughout the service. The Army and Navy also sent replies. Johnson said he was satisfied with the Air Force answer, but not with the others, and he gave them until the beginning of June to try again.

### THE ARMY'S STAND

On June 7 he accepted the Navy's reply and again rejected the Army's, setting a new deadline of June 20. Then the date was advanced to July 11, and now it is supposed to have been pushed up to Aug. 1. Nobody can accuse Johnson of being "unreasonable" or "hasty."

But now, before the new deadline has come, the Army has let the Fahy committee know that instead of making any basic changes, it is determined "to conform to local opinion on racial matters," as the Times dispatch puts it.

Actually, of course, the Army brass hats have not even been doing that. They have been conforming in the South to Southern "local opinion" (that is, maintaining segregation) and in the North they have also been conforming to Southern "local opinion" (maintaining segregation), and that is what they intend to keep on doing.

"The Fahy committee is far from optimistic," according to the Times. "Although its members decline to list the points of dispute with the Army, members have indicated that talks to date have not been promising."

### STRANGE PROCEDURE

Soldiers and veterans are apt to find the whole affair very puzzling. In the Army, they were told, you obey commands, you carry out orders, you do what your senior officer tells you to do, and you don't ask questions. Yet here are the top brass in the Army and they are not obeying the commands of their senior officer, first of all those of Secretary Johnson, and second of all those of Commander-in-Chief Truman as represented by the Fahy committee.

Instead, they are stalling for all they are worth, complaining that the end of segregation would produce a flood of Negro enlistments and the lowering of "efficiency" and "morale," and apparently defying their superiors. Does this mean that insubordination (which radicals are always accused of fomenting in the armed forces) has seized hold of the top Army echelons?

### NOT STRANGE AFTER ALL

On the contrary, as any soldier or veteran can tell you if he stops to think it over, it means that the whole "racial equality" program, including the executive orders and the memorandums and counter-memorandums, is a fraud from top to bottom. If the brass hats act this way, it is because they know that the program was never seriously conceived or intended.

All that Truman or Johnson has to do is give a "direct order" to the brass hats, and they will either have to carry it out or resign from their soft jobs. And as long as they don't issue such an order, then the entire rigmarole is just another means of deceiving Negroes into the belief that even if Truman has done nothing to push the civil rights program in Congress, at least he is doing something on their behalf in the armed services, whose policies depend on the White House and not on Congress.