

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 12

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Reuther Threatens The Opposition

By Bert Cochran

-- See Page 2 --

New Police-State Bills Pushed by Witch-Hunters

Two new police-state and thought-control bills were introduced into Congress last week intended to intensify the government's witch-hunt against all who oppose the bi-partisan imperialist war program.

Senator Mundt of South Dakota and Representative Nixon of California have offered a "revised" version of their bill before the last Congress that created such a storm of protest it was pigeon-holed in the Senate after being passed by the House...

Both bills would establish the principle of second-class political parties and second-class citizenship by requiring special conditions for the legal functioning of the Communist Party and "communist front" organizations...

Each bill requires the registration of "Communist" organizations. The Communist Party would be compelled to list its members with the Attorney General and "front" organizations to list the names of their officers...

Both bills would make it a felony, punishable by a \$10,000 fine and ten years imprisonment, for anyone in concert with others to "knowingly" commit "an act which would substantially contribute" to the establishment of a "totalitarian dictatorship"...

Members of the Communist Party would be barred from any federal appointive post, and could run for elective office only on a

JURY SELECTED IN TRIAL OF 11 STALINIST LEADERS

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK

March 16 -- The verdict in the thought-control trial, of the Stalinists will be rendered by a jury of four housewives, two women clerks, an unemployed clerk, a theatrical writer-producer, a salesman dealing in real estate and fur coats, an unemployed industrial engineer, a telephone wireman and a retired beer salesman.

The real estate salesman and two of the housewives are Negroes, one of whom is jury foreman by virtue of having been the first juror chosen. Both Negro housewives work part time. One is a dressmaker; her husband leads his own six-piece orchestra. The other is a beauty operator whose husband is a taxi driver.

The husbands of the two white housewives are salesmen in the wholesale clothing and woolen goods fields. The only union member on the

Next Week:

On Mar. 30, James Kutcher's hearing before the Loyalty Review Board begins. Next week in The Militant Theodore Kovalevsky reviews the shocking facts in the case of the legless veteran, fired because he disagrees with the political views of the Truman Administration.

E. Banks, a reader of The Militant, and staff member J. Meyer discuss the role of the liberals in the Negro struggle. A thought-provoking debate!

Unemployment is growing in America. The Militant gives you the latest facts and the reaction of the workers to the mounting threat of job insecurity.

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, for extra copies. Only 3c each in bundles of five or more.

Truman Democrats in Retreat All Along Line on 'Fair Deal'

Novack Stricken With Influenza on Tour in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, March 15 -- After two days of strenuous activity here, George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was stricken with influenza and is confined to his hotel room under doctor's care. His sudden illness forced cancellation of two full days of scheduled meetings on the case of the victimized veteran, James Kutcher.

Novack arrived here last Saturday, after conferring with AFL and CIO leaders in Canton on the case. Sunday he spoke over Station WRSR on the leading radio program in this area, the official AFL weekly broadcast run by A. I. Davey, editor of the AFL Cleveland Citizen and vice-president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

After Novack had given the facts on the Kutcher case, Davey said, "It seems to me that while the Kutcher case is important because it involves righting a wrong done to one man, the truly important fact is that once any people permit this sort of thing to become a common practice -- or even let it set a precedent -- we are fooling with dynamite that might eventually operate against any man or woman, no matter what their belief."

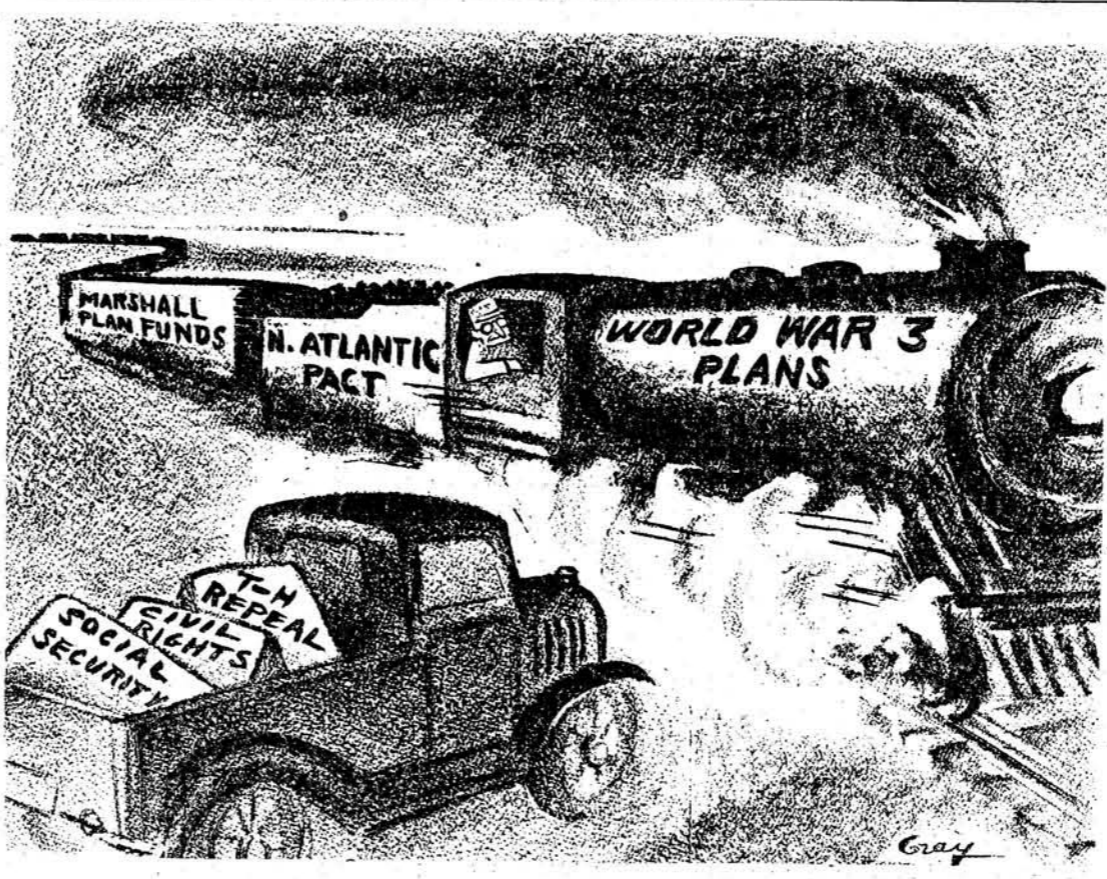
Sunday afternoon Novack addressed a lively meeting of a Hashomer Hatzair branch.

In the evening he spoke at a public KCRC meeting in the Hotel Hollenden. Hershel Holland, president of the Cleveland Lawyers Guild, chaired the meeting. Other speakers were Anthony J. Pirc, vice-president of UAW Local 337; Walter Davis, associate editor of the Cleveland Citizen, and Sam Pollock, international representative of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers.

Monday Novack spoke to a political science group at Penn College, where the dean, Dr. Jenks, and other faculty members are members of the KCRC. He received invitations to address additional student groups.

Unfortunately, his further activities were curtailed by his illness, which prevented him from appearing before the Lawyers Guild and student groups at Penn, Western Reserve and City Colleges.

(See Page 4 for other reports on the Novack tour.)



Stalin's Crimes Bared at Paris Kravchenko Trial

The most important and authentic testimony thus far presented in the sensational Paris libel suit of Victor Kravchenko, author of "I Chose Freedom" against the Stalinist literary periodical, "Letres Francaises," was offered by Margaret Neumann, daughter of the German philosopher, Martin Buber, and widow of Heinz Neumann.

In the years prior to Hitler's rise to power, Heinz Neumann, along with Thaelmann and Remmele, composed the top triumvirate of the German Communist Party. In the middle Twenties he also served as one of the central figures of the Communist International, being entrusted with carrying out official policy on several occasions, among them in the course of the 1925-27 Chinese events.

After Hitler's rise to power, Neumann and his wife fled to the USSR, only to be caught up there in the GPU dragnet. Together with hundreds of more or less prominent Communist refugees from the Gestapo, they fell victims of the giant purges during 1936-38. This purge of foreign anti-fascists on Soviet soil on such palpably false charges as "Hitlerite agents and collaborators" was publicized at the time by the world Trotskyist press as another striking proof of the trumped-up nature of all these trials and purges.

Margaret Neumann offered an insight into the real reasons for Neumann's downfall. It appears that even prior to 1933, Stalin had personally informed him that a Hitlerite Germany would serve the interests of the Soviet Union, Hitler's friendship being assured because of Germany's conflict with its Western imperialist rivals. Neumann apparently disagreed in private with such an orientation. He, like many others, was, therefore, hardly convenient for the projected sealing of the treacherous alliance with Hitler.

Neumann's fate remains unknown. He was among the many who simply "disappeared" in the Soviet Union. His wife Margaret was meted out a seven-year sentence in one of Stalin's slave labor-camps. In the heyday of the Stalin-Hitler pact, she was handed over to the Gestapo with more than a score of other German, Austrian and Hungarian Communists (including several Jews).

This gesture was only one among many other tokens of Nazi-Kremlin amity, which as Molotov then boasted had indeed been "sealed in blood." Here we have the latest evidence of just who in the USSR was really guilty of serving as Hitler's agents and intimate collaborators. Not the countless victims of the Kremlin,

but Stalin and all his Vishinskys, all his judges and retainers! Neumann's widow did not find much to choose between the Gestapo and the GPU hell-holes. Her testimony, based on years of personal experience, was far more objective than the kind of material now being worked up in such volume for the yellow press all over the world. That is what makes it all the more annihilating and unanswerable.

She denied the wide-spread employment in Stalin's camps of brute terror, such as the Nazis used. (This is reserved by the GPU for more "important" cases and practiced in strictest secrecy.) The GPU prefers such "psychologic" threats as life imprisonment and the like. Starvation rations and arduous labor drained the prisoners. "There was no conversation among prisoners," she testified, "and no energy for it. Our Russian guards were decent men and not sadists, but they faithfully fulfilled the requirements of the inhuman system."

The Stalinist defense attorney at the Kravchenko trial in Paris tried to discredit this testimony on the ground that the credibility of any German was ruled out in advance. This chauvinism is only a mild sample of the vile practices and epithets by means of which the GPU and its cohorts have been trying to answer

(Continued on page 3)

Not a Single Pledge Fulfilled In Eleven Weeks of Session

By Art Preis

After eleven weeks in continuous session, the Democratic-controlled Congress has not passed a single one of the "Fair Deal" reforms promised by

Truman and his party before elections. Instead, the Truman Democrats are yielding all down the line to the open reactionaries, labor-haters and Negro-baiters. The failure of the Truman machine to put up a real fight has led once more to the triumph of a Southern Democratic filibuster in the Senate. With the Truman forces offering only feeble and token resistance, the Taft-Hartley elements and right-wing Democrats are pressing their attack with ever-greater boldness, arrogance and ferocity.

Not only have the promised social improvements been blocked, but there is real danger that in some fields even worse bills than those passed by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress will be enacted.

This threat has given the Truman Democrats the pretext for abandoning the civil rights program, the immediate issue behind the filibuster, and for watering-down their pledged reforms. The "Fair Deal"--a frail craft even for calm waters--has met its first squall and is already leaking at every seam.

Truman and his supporters, including most of the top union leaders and liberals, will now try to foist the whole responsibility for Congressional stalling onto his Southern contingent and the Republicans. But from the start he had no intention of pressing the fight to the point where it might crack the recentered alliance of the Northern and Southern wings of his party. For the sake of this unholy alliance of the big city bosses and poll-tax "white supremacists," Truman is

prepared--after the usual for-the-record gestures--to give ground on his whole "Fair Deal" program.

The successful Southern filibuster has already put the knife to any effective civil rights bills to safeguard the rights of the Negro people. It was Truman's promise to press these measures that led to the Southern "states rights" walkout at the Democratic national convention last July and helped secure widespread Negro and labor support for Truman's election. But he has kept virtually mum on the question since the elections and it was an open secret, even before the filibuster, that the Truman Democrats were talking "compromise." Now they are tossing the whole issue out of the window. Other key "Fair Deal" promises are facing similar disposal.

RENT CONTROLS GOING At the very first test, administration supporters in the House, under fire from spokesmen of the real estate interests, disemboweled their own rent control bill. As it came out of committee, the bill proposed to extend controls for only 15 months instead of the promised two years. Democratic leaders then cut more of the guts out of it by supporting an amendment permitting the boosting of individual rents to guarantee landlords a "reasonable return" on the "reasonable value" of their property. This would open a hole in rent ceilings big enough to drive a truck through. It is even worse than the bill passed by the

(Continued on page 3)

BUFFALO 'NEWS' SMEARS UNION GROUPS AND SWP

BUFFALO, March 14 -- The rabidly reactionary Buffalo Evening News last January opened a virulent red-baiting campaign against a broad section of trade union militants and the Socialist Workers Party. This campaign has continued with increased intensity and was climaxed last week with a series of articles calculated to influence the current union elections of Bell Aircraft Local 501, UAW-CIO.

The press attack has its origin in the collusion between the local industrial magnates and the publishers of the News. This is made obvious by the nature of the information contained in News articles about leading militants,

which could only have been supplied by the personnel managers of plants where these militants work.

Another noteworthy feature of this red-baiting campaign is the active collaboration of a whole array of vicious anti-union elements and ACTU right-wingers who supplied information to the News regarding the internal struggles in various local unions in this area.

The "News" has conducted for years the foulest red-baiting attacks against the Stalinists as well as radical and liberal groups in general. The growing influence of the Socialist Workers Party in the Buffalo labor movement and the increasing interest of local militants in the party's fighting program have occasioned the recent attacks. The "News" articles pursue the calculated purpose of smearing and discrediting the party.

Each of these articles invariably mentions that the SWP is listed by Attorney General Tom Clark as a "subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Then they list the names and addresses of people, especially union members, who are alleged to have attended public meetings of the party. They then seek to tie the individuals mentioned to membership in the party or label them as "fellow-travelers." The articles in general are of the same type as those of the poison-pen artists, Westbrook Pegler and Victor Riesel.

Fred Turner, the News "red" (Continued on page 2)

Senate Filibuster Debate Was A Sham Battle

By Albert Parker

The Southern Democrats have won a clear-cut victory in the Senate debate over the filibuster, placing themselves in an even stronger position than before to prevent a vote on civil rights legislation. For this they can thank not only the majority of the Republican Party, who voted with them, but also the Truman Democrats who put on a show of "opposition" to the filibuster.

Previously, a two-thirds vote of the Senators present was required to close debate and permit a vote on a bill. But this closure rule was interpreted to apply only to a vote on a bill, and not to a "motion" to take up a bill. Under the so-called "compromise" being considered as we go to press, closure will apply on any issue--"motion" or bill. But now it would be made operative only by two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, and would not apply under any conditions to de-

bate over suggested changes in the closure rule in the future.

This means: 1. Passage of civil rights bills opposed by the Southern Democrats will require the support of 64 out of the Senate's 96 votes. 2. It will be virtually impossible to repair this violation of majority rule by parliamentary methods alone.

FRAUDULENT CLAIM The Truman Democrats, expressing great indignation about this "compromise," are now presenting themselves as advocates of closure by a majority vote--which is the only position in accord with elementary democratic procedure. But this claim is a fraud. All they waged in the Senate was a sham battle. To begin with, they did not even introduce an amendment to achieve closure by majority vote in the Senate Rules Committee. Instead, they voted in this committee only to extend closure by two-thirds vote so that it would

apply to "motions" as well as bills, which would by no means deprive the Southern Democrats of their filibuster powers.

And this was the level at which the Trumanites conducted the debate until the very end--that is, on the basis of continued rejection of closure by majority vote, which they now pretend to support. Even at this level their role was thoroughly hypocritical. For example: On the eve of the filibuster debate, Truman spoke to the nation from the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, but he avoided saying a single word on the filibuster issue. Why?

He made no use at all of his powerful weapon of patronage to whip recalcitrant Democrats into line even for the weak Rules Committee amendment to extend the closure by two-thirds rule. In the past he has always used this weapon effectively when he really

wanted to put over a measure. Why didn't he use it on this occasion?

He could have gone to the people directly in an effort to arouse popular pressure on behalf of his position, as he did when he announced the "anti-communist" Truman Doctrine. But he did not do so. Why didn't he?

Instead, he stated in an off-hand manner at a press conference that he personally favors closure by majority vote, and conveniently departed for a Florida vacation, leaving his Senatorial supporters to maneuver around a bit for the record. No wonder the Southern Democrats were so arrogant and sure of themselves! They could see for themselves that the Trumanites were only shadow-boxing.

Truman's hypocrisy should not be viewed in purely personal terms; it has a deep political basis. To lead a real fight to democratize Senate procedure and enact the "Fair Deal" program,

