

Denham Seeks New Injunction Against Miners

Truman has given the green light to Robert N. Denham, NLRB General Counsel, to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction against the embattled coal miners, some 90,000 of whom last week decided not to accept John L. Lewis's "suggestion" that they discontinue their "rolling" strike begun Jan. 9.

Although the United Mine Workers has not had a hearing

Dist. 31 Locals Do Own Deciding On Mine Walkout

MORGANTOWN, W. Va., Jan. 16 — By a narrow margin, a meeting of presidents and committees of United Mine Workers locals here in District 31 voted yesterday to accept John L. Lewis's suggestion that they go back to work today. This meeting was the outgrowth of a previous unauthorized and unprecedented meeting at which strong opposition to ending the strike, which began Jan. 9, was expressed.

The strike first hit the pits of the Consolidation Coal Company in an effort to put pressure on the leader of the Northern Coal Operators who was giving strong opposition to the UMW's new contract demands. Other mines in the area struck in sympathy. On the third day came Lewis's "suggestion."

LOCALS MEET

Two locals in this district, which includes several counties in northern West Virginia, sponsored a meeting of all the locals' officers and committeemen to get an opinion on how to interpret the "suggestion."

On Jan. 12, four hundred men, representing some 11,000 miners of a majority of the locals in the district, met in Grant Town. Some were in doubt as to what stand to take; others flatly stated, "No contract — no work." Soon feeling was running pretty high, pro and con, on how they should act. Amid the furious discussion, a

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SEATTLE CASE EXPOSES HALL-LUNDEBERG LIES

SEATTLE, Jan. 15 — An all-day hearing before Justice of the Peace Guy B. Knott held here yesterday on the "Fox case" confirmed the charge made in *The Militant*, Jan. 9, that the attempt by Paul Hall and Harry Lundberg, top officials of the AFL seamen's union, to attribute the beating of John Fox, an employee of that union, to "Trotskyites" was nothing but a crude frameup.

Judge Knott imposed 30-day sentences for third-degree assault on both participants, John Fox and Ben Kongsle, in the brawl which had occurred on December 21 in a parking lot outside the union hall. All but three days of the sentence, however, were suspended.

The trial revealed that the accusation made in the papers published by Hall and Lundberg that Fox had been beaten up by a gang — a "six-man Trotskyist goon squad" — was a bare-faced lie concocted by the power-drunk heads of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union in their papers. Nearly a dozen witnesses testified and established the following facts:

1. Fox had been drinking all afternoon in the Kilowatt Bar below the union hall on the day of the fight when he should have been attending to his duties as dispatcher in the union hall.
2. Fox had argued with at least one other person in the bar that afternoon.
3. Kongsle entered the bar about 5 p.m. and was immediately insulted by Fox who called Kongsle a "phony" and a "fink."
4. Kongsle left the bar and Fox followed him outside to fight. The fight occurred between Fox

before the National Labor Relations Board Denham on Jan. 18 petitioned the Federal District Court to issue a temporary injunction to prevent the miners from engaging in any action in support of their contract demands which he claims are "unfair labor practices" under the Taft-Hartley Act. Judge Richmond Keech promptly set Jan. 26 as the date for a hearing.

This move brings out into the open the conspiracy of the coal operators and the government to put legal shackles on the miners and deal them a crushing defeat. The "Hate Lewis" mob think the moment is ripe to beat down the miners who have been the spearhead of American labor militancy in the last decade. Then the way will be cleared, Big Business "thinks, to "deal with" the other unions, particularly the CIO.

CIO OFFERS AID
That the CIO leadership is not unaware of the deadly menace to their own organization in the administration's injunction attack on the miners, is indicated by the announcement of CIO President Philip Murray that he has instructed the CIO's general counsel, Arthur J. Goldberg, to give every possible aid to the UMW's legal staff in fighting the pending injunction.

Senator Robert Taft, co-author of the Slave Labor Law, has declared publicly that Denham has gone even beyond the intent of this vicious law in order to harass the miners. Taft said that the provisions of his law cited by Denham in the latter's petition for an injunction never were designed to force workers back to work when they had no contract. Taft wants Truman to use the "national emergency" section of the T-H Act. But Truman prefers to move through Denham rather than take personal responsibility for invoking the T-H Act.

Some of Truman's "Fair Deal" colleagues are trying to keep up

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TROTSKYISTS MAKE GAINS IN COLOMBO

In the recently held elections to the Colombo Municipal Council the Ceylonese Trotskyists succeeded in gaining a total of five seats. The Ceylonese Communist Party was able to elect four members.

The Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, official section of the Fourth International in Ceylon, elected three Councilors: Doric Souza, V. Goonewardena and Bernard Soysa. Another candidate was defeated by a narrow margin of 5 votes. In the previous Council the BSP had only one member.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party, a dissident Trotskyist organization, succeeded in retaining its two seats. Dr. N. M. Perera and Abou-bakker were re-elected to the Council.

According to a N. Y. Times dispatch from Colombo, Jan. 17, an independent reform candidate was elected by the Council as Mayor and a Trotskyist is said to have been elected as deputy Mayor. Three out of the four Stalinist Councilors voted for the Trotskyist when their own candidate for deputy Mayor was defeated.

STALINISTS RECENT
This action was denounced by the local Stalinists and Pieter Keuneman, a prominent member of the CP, and two other Councilors were "suspended from the party's Central Committee for helping elect a Trotskyite deputy mayor."

Keuneman and his two fellow Councilors thereupon publicly recanted. They signed a confession stating that "we completely endorse the Political Committee's censure and we consider that our action is thoroughly opportunist and detrimental to the working class and the party."

The Colombo municipal elections took place against the background of sensational revelations of corruption in the old Municipal Council. About one-third of the total membership of the old Council were found guilty of bribery and corruption, including the former Mayor R. F. S. de Mel, for whom the lone CP member then in the Council voted at the 1947 election for Mayor.

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Anne Swaback
Second article
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Congress and Truman are meeting the demands of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization with shifty maneuvers and tricky evasions calculated to discourage mass action to force immediate enactment of civil rights legislation.

As the NECRM met last week in Washington, with more than 4,000 delegates in attendance from Negro, labor and liberal organizations, a move was begun in the House to bottle up indefinitely action on the Fair Employment Practices bill that had been approved by the House Education and Labor Committee last August.



Conference Asks Quick Action on Civil Rights

By Arthur Kent
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 17 — The National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization ended today after having achieved a limited effect as a mass anti-Jim Crow demonstration but without having changed the intention of Congress to block civil rights legislation. Over 4,000 delegates from 33 states attended this Mobilization, whose purpose was to bring pressure to bear upon Congress to ensure the rapid passage of

Washington Starts Dumping Foods

The Department of Agriculture has dumped the following foods and farm raw materials on the export market: 4 billion pounds of dry beans; 100 million bushels of corn; 23 1/2 million bushels of barley and oats; 13 million bushels of flaxseed; and "indeterminate" scores of millions of pounds of potatoes, dried eggs, dry milk, peanuts, linseed oil, and canned Mexican meats. All these are to be sold far below cost. Potatoes now costing the government more than \$2 a sack are offered at one cent a hundred pound sack!

Congress Moves to Block FEPC

The Rules Committee, by a vote of 9 to 2, has endorsed a resolution to restore the old rule whereby the committee can withhold any bill indefinitely. FEPC opponents want the House to act on the rules change before the FEPC bill can be placed before the Representatives for vote by Chairman Lesinski of the Education and Labor Committee on Jan. 23. If the old rule is restored beforehand, the Rules Committee can keep the FEPC bill in the freezer forever.

But it is possible for the Trumanites, if they really wanted to, to prevent a vote on the rules change until the FEPC bill is called out of committee by Lesinski on Monday. Rep. Sabath, Illinois Democrat, who filed the rules change resolution, does not have to move for action on it until after Monday. Speaker Rayburn, a northern administration Democrat, can then recognize Lesinski if he asks for the floor. In short, if the Trumanites are

really determined that FEPC shall come to a speedy vote, they can put it over.

PRO-TRUMAN RALLY

The delegates were addressed by leading Senators and Representatives of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The tone of the gathering was set by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of New York who urged the delegates to rely upon the Trumanites in their fight for civil rights. While nearly all the other speakers emphasized this point, Powell made the most popular appeal to the Mobilization by stressing the importance of the delegates themselves getting support for FEPC from congressmen.

FEAR MASS ACTION

What more could have been expected? Congress knows that the American people are for civil rights legislation. The last election proved that. What a mass demonstration for civil rights had to do was show not merely that civil rights is wanted but that

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no time resulted in any organized demonstration where the voice and strength of the thousands of delegates could be displayed. The leadership of the Mobilization was determined at all costs to keep the mass of delegates in sight but silent for fear that events might provoke a demonstration indicating distrust of the Truman do-nothing policy and their own dependence upon it. This self-defeating approach prevented the Mobilization from turning into more than a routine if greatly enlarged, lobbying group.

The report of the state delegations to the Mobilization indicated how little had been accomplished by lobbying. Those Congressmen and Senators who had previously stated they were for FEPC reiterated their support. Those who had originally indicated their opposition reiterated their opposition.

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PUT ON SHOW

It is apparent, however, that they are more concerned with effecting a maneuver to thrust the whole blame on the Republicans and Dixiecrats if FEPC is blocked, than on actually getting the bill passed. They are putting on a show merely to win Negro and labor votes in the Congressional elections next fall.

Meanwhile, in an attempt to hoodwink the NECRM into thinking the Administration is really doing something about racial segregation in the Army, Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray on the very day the Mobilization convened announced a new order to "tighten" the anti-discrimination directive issued by Truman on July 26, 1948, but since largely ignored by the Army Big Brass.

All the new order does is provide that "qualified" Negroes

New Evidence of Perjury Disclosed in Coplon Case

The FBI is breaking the law against wiretapping 170 times a day, according to an admission by Director J. Edgar Hoover. And its agents are not only committing perjury regarding these crimes but are destroying the evidence, according to new revelations at the pre-trial hearing in the Coplon-Gubitchev case.

Stung by the growing protests against the FBI's flouting of the laws it is supposed to uphold, and unable any longer to conceal the illegal practices which the FBI has been carrying on for some ten years, Hoover tried both to minimize their scope and to justify their continuation in a statement made on Jan. 13 to a House Appropriations Sub-committee. Fewer than 170 persons in the U. S. and its possessions are having their phones tapped by the FBI today, he declared in an effort to make it seem like a trifling affair. The penalty for wiretapping, according to the provisions inserted by Congress into the Criminal Code, Section 2071, is a fine up to \$2,000 or imprisonment up to three years, or both.

NOTHING TRIVIAL

In other words, Hoover is admitting to daily violations of the law punishable by law with a total of \$340,000 in fines and 510 years in jail, or both. There is nothing trivial in that, even if you don't take into account the more important infringements of civil rights involved!

Still worse however, are Hoover's attempt to justify the breaking of the law and his promise to continue doing so "when the circumstances warrant it." It is necessary, he said, "to utilize this technique to protect our country from those who would enslave us and are engaged in treason, espionage and subversion and who if successful would destroy our institutions and democracy." The pretext of "patriotism" to justify lawlessness — the last refuge of scoundrels — smells just as badly in Hoover's apology as it does in the rationalizations of the Gestapo and the GPU. What he means by utilizing this "technique" is that it is all right to break the law in dealing with persons accused or merely sus-

ROOSEVELT APPROVED WIRETAP LAWBREAKING

The FBI's criminal practice of wiretapping was initiated as early as May 1940 in a secret memorandum issued by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This admission comes from Attorney General McGrath and FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. The latter declared last week: "The policy we follow on wiretapping was set by the late President Roosevelt on May 21, 1940."

Hoover stated that wiretapping by the FBI began ten years ago under Attorney General Biddle. Biddle would not have begun this practice — a criminal offense under federal law and repeatedly ruled illegal by the Supreme Court — without the express direction of Roosevelt.

Previous references to this "confidential memorandum" issued by Roosevelt had been made by Hoover and former Attorney General Tom Clark. In the Dec. 1948 Yale Law Journal, Hoover confessed the FBI wiretapping and said that Roosevelt "on May 21, 1940, authorized the Attorney General [Biddle] to approve wiretapping when necessary involving the defense of the nation."

On March 31, 1948, Clark referred to this secret memorandum, stating that in it Roosevelt had "approved wiretapping when necessary in situations involving national defense." That Roosevelt approved of the "dirty business" of wiretapping — as the late Justice Holmes called it — is shown by his attempt to get Congress to pass a bill giving the Department of Justice authority to listen in on private telephone conversations.

Why should Roosevelt have balked at wiretapping? He set in motion the witch-hunt whose full fury we feel today. He signed the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940 and initiated the first prosecution under the Act — the frameup of the 18 Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Trial.

Yesterday Illegal, But "Legal" Today

Today FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover says he has "no reason to doubt the conclusions of my superiors as to the legality of wiretapping as practiced by the FBI." But on Mar. 17, 1940, in a joint statement with Attorney General Jackson, Hoover said that the "discredit and suspicion of the law-enforcing branch which arises from the occasional use of wiretapping more than offsets the good which is likely to come of it... it is the opinion of the present Attorney General as it was of Attorney General Mitchell (1929-33) that wiretapping should be authorized under some appropriate safeguard. Under the existing state of the law and decisions, THIS CANNOT BE DONE unless Congress sees fit to modify the existing statutes."

And if it is permissible for the FBI to break the law against wiretapping, what is there to stop it from using other "techniques," that is, breaking other laws when the Attorney General deems that "the circumstances warrant it" — always, of course, in the name of

OMINOUS IMPLICATIONS

The implications of Hoover's logic lead straight to the destruction of the democracy he pretends to defend. If it is permissible for the FBI to break the law against wiretapping in the case of 170 persons, what is there to stop it from doing the same in the case of 170,000?

And if it is permissible for the FBI to break the law against wiretapping, what is there to stop it from using other "techniques," that is, breaking other laws when the Attorney General deems that "the circumstances warrant it" — always, of course, in the name of

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Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swaback

When we observe the material world about us, we are aware of the seemingly endless variety of objects and substances. There are the bricks, stones, steel girders and woodwork of which the homes we live in are constructed. There are the countless kinds of minerals, vegetables and animals which take on almost every imaginable form, ranging from tough metals and intangible gases to growing leaves and living flesh. They include the air we breathe, the water we drink and the food we eat.

Science tells us that this bewildering assortment of materials is in actuality composed of a limited and relatively small number of fundamental building substances which scientists call elements. These are the building blocks of the universe.

All the materials mentioned above change form and sometimes even seem to disappear; metals rust, gases burn, leaves and flesh decay. But though matter is changeable it cannot be destroyed, for all its endless forms are made of chemically irreducible elements.

92 ELEMENTS

The total number of natural elements is 92. All of them have been classified and listed in numerical order in what is called the periodic table of elements. Some of the elements are widely and commonly distributed, others are very rare. The first and simplest element is hydrogen; the scarce uranium is number 92. In between these numbers are found such elements as gold, silver, copper, nickel, iron, mercury, manganese, chromium, lead, etc.

Four out of the total number of 92 elements are the most profoundly involved in the chemistry of man and his planet. By themselves they produce a whole series of complex and essential substances. One or another, or all four, are compounded in almost every one of the things essential to human life. These four elements are hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen and oxygen, respectively numbered 1, 6, 7 and 8 in the table of elements. Oxygen is the most abundant of all the elements.

Elements are simple substances and an element is generally defined as the kind of matter consisting of only one kind of atom. One element cannot be transmuted into another by ordinary chemical means. Elements may exist in mixture without losing their identity, as do nitrogen and oxygen in the air we



breathe. Others merge their identity in compounds to form a new and entirely different substance. For example, the two gases hydrogen and oxygen compound as water. The chemical formula for water is H₂O, meaning that two volumes of hydrogen merge with one volume of oxygen into a molecule which by that combination becomes water.

CARBON COMPOUNDS

Substances containing carbon as their basic material come within the category of what are called organic compounds. They make up their own family of gases, liquids and solids. Among them are such substances as hydrocarbons, carbohydrates and proteins. The first mentioned contain also hydrogen, the others contain additional elements.

Hydrocarbons form the raw materials of coal, oil and gas, all essential fuels, but all of them are also sources of numerous by-products, such as industrial alcohols, dyes, drugs and paints, not to mention the innumerable industrial synthetics. The carbohydrates are sugars, starches, and fibers synthesized by plants. Not only are these the sources of food, but also of cellulose which becomes the source of clothing fabrics and materials.

All of the organic compounds are sources of vitamins. The proteins integrate into life itself, into the human organism, through its metabolism which turns the nourishment that we receive into

living cells, into tissues and into bodily energy.

The human body is made up primarily of the four elements, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen and oxygen, plus small quantities of other elements.

SCIENCE UNDER CAPITALISM

Knowledge of the components of nature has made steady and rapid advance under capitalism. Its growing and expanding industrial production could be sustained only by tapping in increasing measure the earth's resources of raw materials. Capitalism therefore needed to know the properties of matter in order to apply labor power for the exploitation of these resources.

Above all capitalism required ever more deadly weapons to fight its wars. As a result major scientific discoveries became increasingly diverted to war purposes. In turn the needs of capitalist wars exerted pressure on scientific research linking definitely the release of man's creative energies to mass destruction. In no scientific field has this been as apparent as in the field of chemistry and we can now add, also in the field of physics.

When the British blockaded Napoleon's Europe, French chemists, seeking a sufficient supply of gun powder for the "Grand Army" made new important discoveries in chemistry. They discovered the element chlorine and launched the production of sulphuric acid for their many uses.

About one hundred years later the discovery by German scientists of a process for artificial fixation of nitrogen from the air by converting it into an active part of a compound, assured inexhaustible supplies of explosives for mass destruction inaugurated by World War I. Thus the main weapons of modern wars are products of the chemical reaction of explosives. Nitrogen became, far more than steel and iron, the element that fights wars.

But the process of fixation of nitrogen from the air, diverted to armaments for war, stands between man and starvation. Via the synthetic fertilizers nitrogen can be restored to the soil which in many parts of the world is ravaged by depletion and erosion.

ATOMIC THEORY

Scientific discoveries concerning the natural elements and the atoms have been integrally related and have proceeded hand in hand.

The great thinkers of Greek antiquity, as far as is known, were the first to conceive the existence of elements and atoms. The materialist philosopher Democritus is reputed to have said that all things are really atoms and that these atoms, on account of their solidity, neither change nor suffer impressions. The Stoics proclaimed that nature is nothing more than a flow of matter presenting an impermanent form; nothing is eternal but space, atoms, force. Aristotle, however, was sceptical about atoms and insisted that matter consisted of only four elements.

Not until the very early part of the 19th century was the modern atomic theory established by John Dalton. Since then scientists have given increasing attention to the study of the structure of the atom to find the solution to similarities of certain groups of chemical elements. And in 1869, Dmitri Mendeleev, the Russian chemist, recognized a fundamental over-all pattern in the seemingly chaotic and unrelated phenomena of nature, and established the periodic table of the elements. His discovery became an important step on the road to sufficient knowledge of the structure and properties of the atoms to enable scientists of the twentieth century, under American imperialist auspices, to pack uranium atoms into a bomb and wipe Hiroshima and Nagasaki off the face of the earth.

Mendeleev arranged the order of the elements according to their atomic weight. There are gaps in this chart for he knew of only 73 elements. But on the basis of the symmetry which his periodic table revealed, he was able to predict accurately the characteristics of elements still undiscovered which would eventually fill the chart. When later additional elements were identified, they fell into place in the periodic table and required no alteration of its form.

Mendeleev's periodic table of the elements still stands as the master plan of the nature of matter.

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

Hazards of Mining



Miner Joseph Burda of Mahanoy City, Pa., one of three brothers trapped by falling rock in mine shaft, leaves the pit where he was entombed more than 40 hours. Another brother narrowly escaped death by wriggling out of his boots while a third brother Edward was later found dead of suffocation by rescuers.

FBI VIOLATES WIRETAP LAW 170 TIMES DAILY

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"patriotism"? The culmination of this process, if unchecked, will be a police state — and that is why it must be checked now on the issue of wiretapping.

Meanwhile, more evidence of FBI chicanery piled up in the New York Coplon-Gubitchev hearing. FBI agents had been swearing in court for several weeks that records of taps on the Coplon phone had been destroyed as "routine" procedure (and not, as the defense contended, as a means to deprive it of helpful evidence).

Then on Jan. 12 the judge permitted the introduction of a special memorandum, dated Nov. 7, in which D. M. Ladd, Hoover's chief assistant, told Howard B. Fletcher, inspector in the Washington FBI Bureau, to discontinue tapping the Coplon phone and to destroy the records in the interests of "security, now and in the future." At the bottom of the page was the instruction: "This memorandum is for administrative purposes. To be destroyed after action is taken and not sent to files."

MORE PROOF

This was proof once again of mass perjury by FBI agents. It was proof also of the FBI's "consciousness of guilt." As James

Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, described it in a letter printed in the Jan. 17 N. Y. Times:

"... the aim [of this memorandum] was to defeat the judicial processes in their search for truth. . . [by removing] any evidence disclosing in violation of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act. . . Every trace of the FBI activity is thus wiped out — even including the very directives ordering the destruction of public records. By such a practice are the investigative powers of Congress nullified and the orderly processes of the judiciary impaired."

Fletcher carried out Ladd's directive. This is the same Fletcher who testified in the same court on Dec. 13 that the Coplon records had been destroyed in a routine manner and that he had had nothing to do with it.

Confronted with his previous testimony on January 17, Fletcher said he "must have been in error" in December. "Perjury" would have been a more accurate word than "error," but like his other colleagues he has still not been indicted for false testimony in court.

District 31 Locals Do Own Deciding On Lewis 'Suggestion' to End Strike

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vote was asked for, but it was impossible to get. Finally, one miner pointed out that since there was so much talk of dictation from above that they, the local officers, should refer the issue back to the rank and file and allow every union member to vote on it.

This was put in the form of a motion by another member. During the discussion some of the officers showed a tendency to want to decide for the rank and file, but it was decided that the members would vote on the issue and the results be made known at another meeting in Grant Town on Jan. 15. Each local would have one vote to express the wishes of the men and the majority would rule.

PRO AND CON

The Morgantown press was alarmed that the miners took Lewis's "suggestion" as a suggestion and not an order. One feature writer made a veiled attack on the men in an attempt to induce them to comply with Lewis's "suggestion." Even one local union president was quoted to the effect that the miners were "playing into the hands of the operators" if they didn't accept without discussion the proposals of their leaders.

A vice president of another local was quoted, however, as saying that the determination of the ranks to decide for themselves could not be called a "revolt," but a "certainly is a disagreement with the 'suggestion' of John L. Lewis to go back to work." He called it "a return to local

autonomy within the union" and added "that's what we need." There are times, he said, when the top leadership must make decisions without consulting the rank and file "just as a general in the field must make decisions," but the power belongs in the local.

VOTE TAKEN

The local presidents and committeemen met again yesterday at Grants Town to express the wishes of the rank and file. Shortly after the meeting began, a vote was called for. Before the vote was taken on the motion, the chairman asked for remarks. Several comments were made, but none in opposition, and the question was called.

At this point, the District International Representative tried to take the floor and speak. The maker of the motion pointed out that he was out of order and the chair ruled that the question had been called and he could not be given the floor until the vote was taken. After a further flurry, the chairman, feeling the pressure from below, held to his decision and the International Representative had to wait until after the motion was acted on. The final vote was 18 to 13 to return to work.

Pioneer Pocket Library

1. The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International. This basic document was drafted by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International. 64 pages, 25c.
2. The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, by Leon Trotsky. This document reprints Lenin's last advice to his party and explains why Stalin suppressed it. 48 pages, 25c.

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Mobilization Demands Speedy Action on FEPC

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The American people are resolved to go to all lengths to defeat any force that stands in the way. But this is precisely what the NECRM could not do without moving away from faith in the actions of the Trumanites.

The fear of permitting the masses to speak and act for themselves was largely responsible for the fact that only 4,000 delegates were present. If an appeal for independent action had been made, tens of thousands of delegates would have poured into Washington from all over the country. When it is remembered that 100,000 people were mobilized to march on Washington in 1941, the turnout of 4,000 persons is almost pitiful. But since the Mobilization from its inception stressed trust in the Truman government it is not surprising that the Negro people did not respond as they would have to a clear call for action on their own account.

The wholly inadequate arrangements indicated, however, that the Mobilization leadership did not expect even 4,000 delegates. Ever more indicative of the character of the Mobilization — as significant as the lack of successful demonstrations throughout the country in support of the Mobilization — was that the large Negro population of Washington was not mobilized to augment the number of delegates.

While the fight between the Stalinists and the NAACP leadership before and during the Mobilization was given wide publicity, nothing was won or lost by either side. Neither the Stalinists or the leadership of the Mobilization thought the time appropriate for open struggle. The NAACP leadership, however, did succeed in breaking into the press with the idea that this was an anti-Stalinist mobilization.

This accomplished, the leadership then seemed to be acceding almost all delegates, including those of the Stalinist-controlled unions. This would explain the fact that a decision was made to cancel the report of the credential committee.

The Stalinists, to give an example of their lack of desire to push forward, did not even protest when the Pennsylvania, New York, and youth delegation of over 125 persons from Illinois did not report to the Mobilization that they had passed resolutions condemning the bureaucratic management and restrictive aspects of the Mobilization. But while the conflict did not break out at the Mobilization it is certain that the makings of a struggle are developing inside the NAACP.

The Mobilization has already resulted in minor concessions of a dubious value. Further concessions may be made. But it can be guaranteed in advance that successful civil rights legislation will not be passed this year or any year in which a mass demonstration subordinates itself to capitalist politicians, who have interests of their own to protect.

Truman's Prophecy

The contradiction between the Truman prophecy of a 300 billion dollar economy in five years and the actuality of shrinking domestic and foreign markets, was made apparent in a survey by the McGraw Hill Publishing Co. on business investment plans. The report stated that the 1950 program for capital expansion will be 13 per cent less than the amount spent last year. The President's Committee of Economic Advisors have insisted that more private investment is the dynamic factor underlying his "rosy future" prognostications. But even the capitalists recognize this to be hogwash when they have to lay hard cash on the line for additional facilities they may never utilize.

NEW YORK

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LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS

"Only United Mass Action Will Save Civil Rights"

Hear

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First Victim of the Smith "Gag" Act, in the Minneapolis Labor Case

James Kutcher
The Legless Veteran, No. 1 Victim of the Loyalty Purge

Chairman:

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Friday, February 3 — 8 PM — donation 35 Cents

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

British Election Background: Rising Labor Unrest

Resentment among British workers against wage freezing and slashes in their living standards at a time when "a government of their own" is in power and when capitalist profits continue to soar, flared last week at a meeting of some 1,500 Union delegates called by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress especially on the matter of "wage stabilization."

The results of the voting show that this long pent-up resentment amounts to a revolt. The General Council's recommendation for a wage freeze was barely pushed thru by a narrow margin, 4,263,000 votes against 3,606,000 by the opposition. At a smaller conference of the TUC held in March 1948, there were 5 1/2 million votes cast for wage "restraint" to 2 million votes against, or almost 3 to 1 in favor.

Among the unions opposing any further wage freeze was the powerful National Union of Mine-workers, which held a rank and file referendum on the issue before this conference and obtained an overwhelming majority against the proposal; the National Union of Railwaymen, the Engineers' (metal workers) Union and the Shipbuilders. Others, including the Building Workers, Furniture Makers, Shoe Workers and others refused to suspend their cost of living contract provisions.

(After the conference the Building Workers were granted half a penny an hour raise for some 1 million workers.)

Even among delegates supporting the wage freeze, support was made conditional upon government action to "assure equality of sacrifice." Politically, therefore the situation so far as the Laborite leaders are concerned, shows signs of rapid deterioration and in this respect their decision to hold elections in the difficult winter period may be considered as motivated by a desire to avoid even less favorable circumstances.

Their choice was also motivated by economic considerations. Another "White Paper" which according to a London dispatch was "quietly published" last week, shows that even after devaluation, and with the most optimistic estimates on production and trade, British dollar reserves will be smaller by \$600,000,000 in 1952—when the Marshall Plan ends—

than in 1948 when the "aid" started.

Commenting on this document, the Manchester Guardian is quoted as follows: "That is to say, that catastrophe may—and may very easily—come before 1952. The accounts themselves point to nothing but catastrophe for 1952." From the economic standpoint, therefore, calling for elections now was a matter of avoiding them under worsening conditions.

Italian Labor Struggles Against Unemployment

Six workers were killed and sixty injured in a clash between a demonstration called by the Chamber of Labor, and the police force, at the town of Modena in Northern Italy last week.

The American press played up this event both in the headlines and editorially as another example of the Stalinist Togliatti's campaign "to discourage (Holy Year) pilgrims from going to Rome and embarrass and weaken the de Gasperi regime."

There is no doubt that the Stalinists' aims in the class struggles in Italy as elsewhere are not meant to serve the interests of the working class, but solely those of the Kremlin's power policy. However, the Modena massacre grew out of something more substantial than Stalinist directives.

The local Chamber of Labor called a demonstration to protest a lock-out invoked by the bosses of the metal factories in the area, who are intent upon reducing their "labor force." The workers of Modena rallied to the call almost unanimously, not because of confidence in Stalinist leaders, but because they are determined to prevent further growth in unemployment and in speed-up.

The protest demonstrations against the Modena massacre that followed throughout the industrial cities of Italy in the course of the week were motivated by the same sound working class instinct as well as by the outraged feelings of the Italian masses against de Gasperi's sadistic policy, of which even the N. Y. Times' Rome correspondent feels constrained to say: "Their methods do not appear to have advanced much since Fascist days."

It is such facts that the "cold war" propagandists, directed from Washington, attempt to cover up by their drum-beating diversions around the Catholic "Holy Year."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Brisk 'Militant' Sales Among Delegates at NAACP Rights Meet

At the Civil Rights Mobilization held in Washington, D. C., Jan. 15-17, The Militant was the only radical newspaper widely circulated among the delegates. Four comrades from New York can be credited with this work.

Wherever the delegates assembled they were met by Militant salesmen carrying last week's issue. Almost 70 Militants were sold Sunday evening at the All Souls Unitarian Church where the opening address was delivered.

The next morning the four comrades greeted the trains carrying the large New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania delegations with bundles of Militants. Monday afternoon the paper was sold at the Library of Congress where the New York representatives convened, and at the large Interdepartmental Auditorium in the Department of Labor building.

After the evening meeting, Militants were also sold, making a total sale of more than 300 copies. In addition to these sales, 500 sample copies of the paper were distributed at the trains bearing the delegations home.

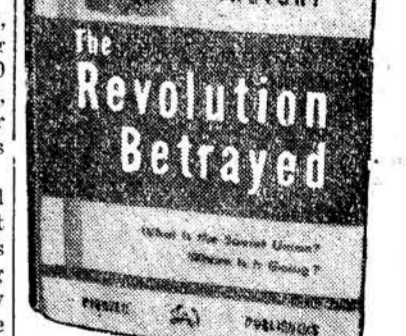
The Daily Worker, official organ of the Stalinists, did not receive as wide a circulation as The Militant. At the beginning of the Mobilization only a few copies of the Stalinist sheet were scattered on radiators and chairs. Toward the end of the proceedings the Stalinists, greatly disturbed at the circulation and good reception given The Militant, hastily organized a free distribution of about 200 copies of their paper. While these papers were being distributed, however, more than 100 copies of The Militant were sold.

The trip to Washington with a bundle of 1,000 Militants was a rousing success. People came out of the meeting rooms looking for "that socialist paper." Several delegates bought more than one

copy so they could give them to friends. Many Communist Party rank-and-file took copies. The profits made on sales covered the cost of the whole bundle, including sample copies given delegates as they left Washington.

The only outspoken hostile response came from a few Stalinist hacks who several times tried to provoke fist fights with Militant salesmen but without success. One Stalinist woman went — police informer style — to the Superintendent of the Library of Congress to have him stop the Militant sales at the Library. Her efforts to prevent the four Trotskyists from exercising their democratic rights ended in failure.

The chagrin of the Stalinists was quite understandable. Copies of their Daily Worker were strewn on the sidewalks, while most of the 1,000 copies of The Militant were tucked away in the pockets of the delegates.



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TROTSKY

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result of these tendencies is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and extreme intensification of antagonisms in this domain also. Particularly acute also becomes national oppression and the striving for annexation, i.e., the violation of national independence (for annexation is nothing else than a violation of the right of nations to self-determination)."

— V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, p. 109.



LENIN

Remove Clark, McGrath and Hoover

Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act, upheld by U. S. Supreme Court rulings, makes it a crime, punishable by fine and prison, for anyone to intercept telephone conversations. The law doesn't say "except for U. S. Presidents, Attorneys General or FBI agents."

They claim they have flouted the law in the interests of "national security." But who decides that? Why, the lawbreakers themselves. What is to stop them from tapping telephones any time they please simply by claiming their "suspicion" of "subversive activity" that allegedly "endangers national security"?

Today there sits in the country's highest court a man who, when he was Attorney General, secretly authorized wiretapping by the FBI. Tom Clark knew he was breaking the law — that's why he tried to get Congress to legalize wiretapping. But not even the reactionary 81st Congress would approve this invasion of the American people's privacy by a secret police.

Since Clark, McGrath and Hoover have been caught red-handed as criminal lawbreakers, they have decided to brazen it out and, in fact, to capitalize on the exposure of their crimes. They are campaigning once more to have federal wiretapping legalized by Congress. But that will not make wiretapping any more legal today. It will not make these men any the less lawbreakers today.

Truman's Labor Czar

The union leaders have renewed their oft-repeated demand for the ouster of Robert N. Denham, the banker and corporation lawyer whom Truman appointed in July 1947 as General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley Law and who has just asked for a strikebreaking injunction against the miners' union.

And louder than ever, for Denham's removal. But who put Denham in this post and keeps him there? Truman — the same man whom these union leaders hail as the foremost "friend of labor." Truman is responsible for the fact that a Denham now exercises the powers of a virtual Labor Czar, able single-handedly to invoke strike-breaking injunctions and block the demands of even the most powerful unions.

Their latest plea was issued after Denham's recent attack on the NLRB members themselves because in a few instances they had disagreed with his 100% pro-employer interpretation of the law. He said this showed the Board members were "saturated" with the "spirit of the Wagner Act" and he urged employers to appeal to the courts against any NLRB decision they don't like.

Union leaders like Murray and Green blame the Republicans and Dixiecrats exclusively for Truman's failure to fulfill his promise on Taft-Hartley repeal. But what excuse can they have for his appointment and retention of Denham? If Truman were really concerned about the injustices of the Taft-Hartley Act, the least he would have done long ago would have been to kick out Denham for his abuse of authority and partiality to the employers.

Stalin Restores Death Penalty

There was universal expectation among the Soviet people during and shortly after the war that the regime of unbridled oppression would be at least slightly relaxed once the hostilities were over.

staged at his birthday ceremonies, Stalin has presented the Soviet people with this grim reminder of the reality of his autocratic rule.

The one and only postwar domestic reform introduced by the Kremlin was the formal abolition of the death penalty in the Soviet Union. This was widely publicized at the time as still another great conquest of Soviet "democracy," "humanitarianism," "progress" and so on. The Kremlin's scribblers at home and abroad did not fail to point out in this connection how secure and firm Stalin's regime must be to be able to afford such a step.

Officially the death penalty has been restored for cases of "treason, espionage and sabotage." Since any one who expresses discontent or criticism, or is even suspected of it, immediately falls in the Kremlin's eyes into the category of traitor or spy, the new decree is actually aimed at the Soviet masses themselves.

Events Confirm Lenin's Views on Our Era

By G. F. Eckstein

Lenin was born in 1870, and in 1900 was thirty years old. Three years later, Bolshevism, his specific creation, began to take shape at a conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. The essence of Bolshevism was the forging of a proletarian combat party dedicated to unswerving struggle against capitalism and the catastrophes this society of exploitation and inequality would inescapably bring on mankind unless it were overthrown and replaced by a socialist society.

Not so Lenin. To this day, people who are compelled to reckon with the undeniable importance of his ideas and achievements, denounce him as a "fanatic." And in what did his peculiar "fanaticism" consist? His "fanaticism" consisted in emphasizing that capitalism was a society in a state of permanent disorder, that its antagonisms grew with its material achievements, and these would bring devastating wars, the destruction of democracy, and chaos.

To look at the world today is to recognize that the doctrine known as Marxism-Leninism constitutes more than ever the only body of ideas in the world which has any correspondence with reality. Hitler and Mussolini created a vast bubble for a few years. They and their "new order" are now a ruin.

In those days few people took Lenin's ideas and revolutionary perspectives seriously. Capitalism then seemed to promise increasing democracy, progress and prosperity. There was the shadow of a world war, but few had any conception of what the reality would be.

And this "fanatic" not only propagated these views. It seemed to him quite reasonable that men should organize and struggle against this monstrous fate that a bankrupt society was preparing for them. As a Marxist, he saw that this struggle rested primarily on the working-class as the mortal enemy of capitalist society because of its role in production. He proposed to organize this struggle, devoted his life to it, and called upon all who thought or felt as he did to do the same. He refused to compromise on these basic principles and fought against all who attempted to introduce into the labor movement any illusions connected with increasing democracy, increasing prosperity, etc. under capitalism.



V. I. LENIN

In the New York Times Book Review of Jan. 15, 1950, the critic Lewis Mumford holds forth in the same manner: "Before the first World War the greater part of Western civilization was still inflated by the profound optimism that had buoyed up the nineteenth century of progress. Under the influence of the new ideology that had grown up with capitalism and mechanical invention, the leading minds of the period thought that mankind had found the secret of happiness."

OUR EPOCH
Up to 1914 Lenin's work was mainly in Russia. With World War I he transferred his analytical and organizing activities to a wider sphere, the sphere of world politics. What he taught the world working class stands out amidst contemporary chatter like a mighty rock while frothing waters beat in vain around its base. This period in which we are living is, as Lenin taught, a period of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings.

and peer into a future where they can see only further wars and more shattering blows against democracy and prosperity. Lenin had no illusions about the future. Socialism would come, he said, only out of imperialist wars, national wars, civil wars, conflicts large and small, all interwoven in increasing crises and disorders. Nothing would bring mankind out of this but the working masses of the world, organized for struggle against capitalism in all its manifestations.

DAMNING CONFESSIONS
It is well to stop and ponder on these confessions. The "leading minds" of fifty years ago are of the same type as those who are telling us to-day how to get peace, democracy, prosperity. Why should we listen to them? With all their power, their control of economic and political life, their universities, their newspapers, these "leading minds" themselves or their descendants now have to confess that not fifteen years before the catastrophic burst over the twentieth century, they had no inkling of it but were hard at work sowing illusions of increasing peace, increasing prosperity, increasing democracy. Even the leaderships of the great European socialist parties showed when the time came that they at heart believed more in increasing prosperity and increasing democracy under capitalism than in the Marxist analysis of capital-

ism and its self-destructive nature. Peace? Until the workers overthrow capitalism there could be no peace. League of Nations? That was a "thieves' kitchen." The only alternative of the twentieth century was: Either proletarian revolution and international socialism or wars, crises, the destruction of culture and descent into barbarism.

In his work within the labor movement Lenin looked upon labor leaders who misled the workers as the main, the most dangerous enemy. In his exposure of them he was untiring and ruthless. He broke with the Second International for its betrayals, its deceptions, its dishonesty, its staunch support of the bourgeoisie. Leninism today can only mean an equally uncompromising opposition to all aspects of capitalist society; the socialist revolution of the proletariat as the only hope of the future; and the irreconcilable struggle against all currents, above all within the labor movement, which seek to influence the proletariat away from these principles. That is why the truest continuation of Leninism demands the struggle against Stalinism, against the Social Democracy, against the official labor leadership in the United States.

A striking part of Lenin's work after 1914 was devoted to his analysis of the colonial world. The hundreds of millions of colonial peoples would be inevitably drawn into world-shaking struggles with world imperialism for their freedom. But world imperialism was also the enemy of the proletariat. The advanced workers should support the struggles of colonial peoples as if these were their own, for indeed they are.

By agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's regime Stalin extorted various concessions and integrated the huge province of Sinkiang into the Russian sphere of influence. The destiny of Manchuria, China's main industrial area, was decided at super-secret conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, decisions and deals about which even their cabinets were not informed at the time. Stalin demanded and obtained American and British agreement to occupy Manchuria, resume control of the Chinese Eastern Railway (pre-

viously sold to Japan) and to seize Port Arthur and Dairen. The Manchurian factories were plundered, the Stalinists taking away machinery, installations, everything they considered useful to their own industry. Thus, while pretending to come to China's help, the Kremlin has seized every opportunity to brutally pillage and dismember her.

CHINA POLICY DISCLOSES THE GULF BETWEEN LENINISM AND STALINISM

By Charles Hanley

The abyss that separates Leninism from Stalinism is strikingly disclosed in the field of foreign policy where the Kremlin has for years conducted a counter-revolutionary policy. A brief account of Soviet-Chinese relations since 1917 will suffice to illustrate the unbridgeable difference between Soviet foreign policy under Lenin and under Stalin.

By agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's regime Stalin extorted various concessions and integrated the huge province of Sinkiang into the Russian sphere of influence. The destiny of Manchuria, China's main industrial area, was decided at super-secret conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, decisions and deals about which even their cabinets were not informed at the time. Stalin demanded and obtained American and British agreement to occupy Manchuria, resume control of the Chinese Eastern Railway (pre-

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In 1919 the Soviet government addressed to the Chinese people the famous Karakhan proclamation (Karakhan was at the time an Under-Secretary of the People's Commissariat for foreign affairs). It solemnly and voluntarily renounced all the privileges extorted by the Czarist government in China. Renounced were the indemnities regularly paid by China since the "Boxer revolt" of 1900; the unequal treaties granting Russia extra-territorial rights and "concessions," including the right of Russian citizens to be tried before Russian consular courts.

Lenin's foreign policy was designed to defend the interests of the international working class and its allies, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Stalinism defends only the interests of the parasitic Great-Russian bureaucracy.

A genuine revolutionary socialist policy must be directed not merely against the foreign policy of world imperialism but also against that of the Kremlin despots.

The Soviet Union did not renounce the ownership of the Chinese-Eastern Railway, a vital link between Siberia and the Maritime Provinces and the Pacific port of Vladivostok without which the latter could hardly be defended. However, the Soviet government entered into a voluntary agreement that half of the railway personnel should be Chinese; that half of the profits should be handed over to the Chinese government and renounced all extra-territorial rights in connection with the stations and technical establishments of that railway. In practice, this meant sharing the railway with the Chinese.

By agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's regime Stalin extorted various concessions and integrated the huge province of Sinkiang into the Russian sphere of influence. The destiny of Manchuria, China's main industrial area, was decided at super-secret conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, decisions and deals about which even their cabinets were not informed at the time. Stalin demanded and obtained American and British agreement to occupy Manchuria, resume control of the Chinese Eastern Railway (pre-

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This agreement was carried out scrupulously. In 1922 Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first President of the Chinese Republic, acknowledged that the Soviets were the only power that helped China in its struggle for national independence. If Lenin's foreign policy rigor-

ously observed the democratic principle of self-determination, that of Stalin has systematically trampled upon it. In addition, Stalin has revived the worst practices of secret diplomacy. To him China has been just another piece on the international chessboard.

Lenin's foreign policy was designed to defend the interests of the international working class and its allies, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Stalinism defends only the interests of the parasitic Great-Russian bureaucracy.

Prof. Emerson Exposes Truman "Loyalty" Purge

This is the concluding part of the speech by Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School at the New York City meeting of the Katcher Civil Rights Committee on Dec. 15, the 158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. The first section was published in last week's Militant.

If we analyze the loyalty program I think we will find in it most of the characteristics common to all phases of the campaign of suppression that is going on at the present time. Let me outline certain aspects of the program, very briefly, which illustrate my point. The loyalty program is not directed against acts. As has been pointed out, it is directed against ideas, views, personal habits, your innermost thoughts, not primarily against acts. It is not intended to solve the problem of espionage, or the problem of sabotage, or the problem of actual use of force and violence. There are already laws which cover those issues.

The loyalty program is designed to ferret out the political views and the opinions of government workers in the expectation that you might weed out those who might become disloyal in the future. As the President himself has said, it is intended to weed out the "potentially disloyal."

And so the questions they ask are of this sort: "What do you think of the Italian situation? Have you ever attended any radical meetings at Madison Square Garden? Is your wife religious? What movies have you seen? What books have you read?" And let me say, if you have read any books on Russia, it doesn't make any difference whether they are the collected works of Joseph Stalin or Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. Both are equally bad. It's an attempt to find out who has unorthodox opinions, not to punish acts committed in violation of laws. That's a major characteristic of the loyalty program.

Secondly, it applies the principal of "guilt by association." We have in our laws always adhered to the principle that guilt is a personal thing. It is not to be attributed to one by reason of the fact that he associates with others. But in the Katcher case the issue is not one of Mr. Katcher's personal loyalty. One would think he might have demonstrated his personal loyalty during the past war. That was not really the legal issue that was considered. The only issue before the Loyalty Board was that Mr. Katcher is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and that is an application of "guilt by association."

Loyalty Purge Resembles Hitler's Thought Control
Third, the loyalty program is built on a structure of vague and uncertain terms. You are disloyal if the Loyalty Board finds there is reasonable cause to believe you are sympathetically associated with a group that the Attorney General has declared to be subversive. One is reminded of the efforts of the Nazis in Hitler's Germany to control government employees by a similar standard. There the standard was whether or not they were acting in the interests of National Socialism. These broad phrases which attempt to cover un-American activities, subversive activities, matters as to which there is no specific agreement, are characteristic not only of the loyalty program but of other legislation and government action which affect the whole area of civil rights today.

Fourth, there is the question of procedure. The loyalty program introduces changes into our procedure for determining guilt or innocence which are unheard of in Anglo-Saxon law. In the first place, the charges that are made are usually very vague, very indefinite in terms. You cannot be sure what you are being charged with. Even more important, you do not know what the evidence against you is because the decision of the Loyalty Board is based almost entirely, in the normal case is based entirely, on the report of the FBI made in your case.

But in the interests of national security, the government employee may not see the FBI report. Usually he is not told anything that is in the FBI report. He has to make his defense without knowing what the evidence against him is and as a matter of fact, the Loyalty Board itself which decides the case very often does not know how to appraise the evidence because the FBI reports do not indicate who are the informants who gave the information. The FBI reports say "T1 reports so and so. T2 reports so and so." There is no way of knowing whether those persons are psychopathic personalities, personal enemies, sober at the time or what.

There is no confrontation of the witnesses who have given the evidence against you. Of course that follows from the fact that you don't know who they are or what the evidence is. But there is no opportunity to cross-examine those who give the information. In the case of organizations that have been declared subversive by the Attorney General — association with which is evidence of disloyalty — there is not even any hearing given to such groups before they are put on the Attorney General's blacklist.

Building Up a Professional Secret Police
Now all of these procedures are unheard of in our law. Moreover, during the Nuremberg Trials of the Nazi leaders, one of the charges against certain of the Nazis — and the charges were sustained — was that they had taken action against people without giving them opportunity for a hearing!

Finally, there is a fifth characteristic of the loyalty program; that is its administrative aspect. It takes a large staff to investigate two million federal employees as well as many in private industries and elsewhere. Not all were privately investigated. But to check whether there has to be an investigation, and then to actually investigate them, takes a large staff and that staff tends to become a professional staff. It is their job to go out and find subversive activities. Any enforcement staff inevitably gets into that frame of mind.

And so you build up what amounts to a political police and nothing could be more dangerous to a democratic society than a large political professional staff recruited for the purpose of investigating peoples' thoughts and opinions.

These I say are characteristics not only of the loyalty program but of other phases of the attack on civil liberties. They are characteristic, one or more of them, of the Mundt-Nixon Bill. They are devices which appear in the Feinberg Law. They are devices which have been developed in some respects by the Committee on Un-American Activities. They are the form and the method of suppression in modern dress.

We Cannot Solve Problems By Suppressing Ideas
I think that in this whole program and the other attacks upon civil liberties today we are upon the wrong track. We cannot solve our problems today, fearfully as we are trying to, by the suppression of ideas. We are missing the real issues if we attempt to do that, because our problems today are fundamentally problems not of loyalty but of building an expanding economy.

Loyalty is not really a problem in a healthy society. It is only a problem in a bankrupt society. Therefore I think we should turn our attention, our energies, our thoughts to problems such as the problems of full employment and full production, of housing, of health, of education, of social security, the development of our river valleys, the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is with these matters that I think we should be concerned if we are to preserve and develop the great tradition of civil liberties in America.

We must abandon our search for the false security of reaction. We must give up the delusive expedient of repression. We must strive to achieve maturity, tolerance and balance and we must learn that true security and true loyalty lies only in a dynamic and forward-moving society.

These, at least, are my convictions which I hold deeply and strongly. I regret that I cannot put them in more impressive language.

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"Freedom of Religion"

By Joseph Keller

Along with its chief battler, "Down with Atheistic Communism!", the Vatican has recently inscribed on its banner the slogan of "Freedom of Religion." Just how much "freedom of religion" the Roman Catholic hierarchy would permit any but its own authoritarian institution is being vividly demonstrated in Italy.

Persecutions and jailings of Italian members of Protestant sects are commonplace scarcely ever reported in the American press. But when American missionaries — and from Texas, no less — are stoned and molested and charged with everything from "heresy" to "communism," it's pretty hard to bury the facts altogether.

You may have read in the past two weeks small and obscure items in U. S. newspapers about the physical assaults and indignities visited on a group of American Church of Christ evangelists in Italy. Thirteen Protestant missionaries — most of them from Texas — have protested to the U. S. Ambassador in Italy that they were stoned out of Castel Gandolfo, summer home of Pope Pius XII, after Catholic priests had "aroused the people against us."

The attack occurred when about a hundred men, women and children — "nearly all from humble walks of life," reports an Associated Press despatch — had gathered to hear a Bible reading by Evangelist Cline R. Paden of Texas.

There has been no denial about the facts of the assault by the Roman Catholic hierarchy or the Italian government, which is run by the Vatican-controlled Christian Democratic Party. While claiming that it "doubted" the physical violence was inspired by priests, a Vatican source did admit that the priests had complained the Americans were "preaching heresy" — which is anything that denies the absolute truth of Catholic dogma and the hierarchy's monopoly on divine revelation.

What is worse, said the Vatican's newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, the activities of the Church of Christ group "have become purely Communist." Their "methods of propaganda," claims the Vatican's organ, "show all the intent and character of anti-religious activity already char-

acteristic of communism" — namely, "discrediting the Catholic Church, the Pope and clergy; deriding the methods of teaching Catholic doctrine, its dogmas, its rites," etc. And what constitutes proof positive of "communism" is that the American missionaries "pretend that the humble classes are the most abandoned by the Catholic Church."

In reply to this, several Protestant Churches in Naples have called upon the American people to enforce the religious freedom clause in the Italian peace treaty. They charge that an Italian Interior Ministry statement, "Protestant activities in Italy often aid communism," is intended to "justify ill treatment and discriminatory laws against evangelical ministers, missionaries and Protestant churches in Italy." Despite the religious freedom clause, the Catholic Church continues to enjoy the special privileges and state support accorded it by Mussolini's fascist dictatorship.

The U. S. State Department — which screamed to the heavens about the Mindszenty case in Hungary — has proceeded most cautiously with respect to "freedom of religion" in Catholic Italy. It has promised to "look into" the matter. Meanwhile, thousands of Church of Christ members in Texas have been holding mass meetings to force action on reluctant American diplomats. These Bible-reading folk are particularly resentful at being labeled "communist" by the Vatican.

The American press and politicians, who were screaming for the Army and Navy to "rescue" Angus Ward when he was jailed by the Chinese Stalinists for beating up a Chinese servant, are singularly unmoved by these attacks on American nationals who seek to exercise freedom of religion in the Vatican's Italian stronghold. And Cardinal Spellman, who blows his lungs out about freedom of religion for Catholics in Eastern Europe, is silent about the persecutions of Protestants in those Catholic-dominated countries, like Italy, which are usually designated "democratic," as contrasted with the "Catholic Kingdom" of fascist Spain.

Apartments -- At a Price

By Ruth Johnson

Reading the "apartments for rent" columns in the papers has become my Sunday morning pastime. . . sort of a fanciful treasure-hunt, like the expeditions for pirate's gold people dream about to while away an idle hour. Today I saw the exciting phrase "sensibly priced" and read, with my pulse racing, all the way to the end of the sentence, "\$300-\$333 per month."

It all goes to prove, as a news despatch said on Jan. 12, that there ARE apartments to be had. Right here in New York City, 16,359 rental units were built last year by private enterprise, with not a little public assistance in the form of Federal Housing Administration loans. Since you and I pay taxes that furnish the funds for these low-cost loans handed out to rich and rugged individualists, we might expect to see a few apartments for ourselves in the deal. We might, if we were naive.

But the news item explained that "nearly 85 per cent" of these units are "intended to rent for more than \$90 a month." They didn't say how much more. . . but the ads do! As for the remaining 15 per cent, the breakdown is even more discouraging and enlightening. "Only six-tenths of 1 per cent of the units

would rent for less than \$70," the reporter said. That leaves 98 1/2 units for the hundreds of thousands of apartment-hungry families to scramble for. . . if they can pay somewhere near that figure. But "less than \$70," I discovered on reading further, doesn't mean cheap! "None is intended to rent for less than \$60" — not one!

Since half the families in the whole country have an income of less than \$3,013 a year, and the wise budget-makers warn us not to spend more than \$51 a month of that for rent, there's only one conclusion: I hereby propose a city-wide field day on which all of us will race for that half-a-unit so proudly included in the "under \$70" group. My own theory is that it will turn out to be a closet built on an airshaft by mistake.

I may be wrong. This may be the one great gift of the real estate moguls to the New York workers, generously provided to prove that free enterprise will furnish homes for us all in time.

On second thought, and a second cup of breakfast coffee, I think we'd better put the papers and the dreams away and go back to fighting for low-cost government housing. It's pretty hard to squeeze half a million people into half an apartment.

The Truth Will Out

By Gordon Bailey

The lengths to which radio magnates will go in suppressing the truth was dramatically revealed at a recent meeting of the Chicago Conference to End Mob Violence. At the time of the Peoria Street riots, where Negroes and their friends were beaten by hoodlums, station WMOR broadcast an interview with the victims. This radio interview exposed the anti-Negro role of the police with such startling clarity that requests for rebroadcasts poured into the station.

Plans were made for a rebroadcast. Meanwhile a tape recording of the interview was played before the Conference to End Mob Violence and other bodies. The Conference was so impressed that members asked if records could be made and sold for their personal use. Orders for a hundred records were taken. A few days later a master record was made and 100 records were pressed from it.

At this point Big Business moved into action. WMOR had been started by a group of veterans who intended to run a station telling the truth. However, they needed financing and went to the source of money: the businessmen of Chicago. They got a response from Louis Toffenetti, suc-

cessful restaurant man, who put up a good sum of money and was content to take his share of the profits, letting the veterans run the station.

When the interview with the riot victims was broadcast sleeping partner Toffenetti woke up. He grabbed his shares, went down to the station, voted himself Chairman of the Board, and decreed that no rebroadcast of the interview and no further broadcasts of such "controversial" material should ever take place.

What of the recordings? They were in the studio waiting to be mailed out. Toffenetti went to the studio at 4 A.M., when only an engineer was on duty, took a hammer and smashed every record to smithereens.

There are several lessons in this incident. The bosses will stop at nothing to kill the truth. You can't run a liberal radio station with a reactionary's money.

But there is a lesson here for the Toffenettis too. He forgot about the tape recording. The program director had it, and he has resigned. Another 100 records will be made, and a thousand more if needed. You can't stop the truth even with a hammer.

Jobs Are Scarcer

By Fred Hart

Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin has set up a special "economic survey" room with a huge map of the United States showing the unemployment situation. This map is dotted with 32 big black-headed pins, each for an "emergency area" where the jobless now number 12% and more of the total labor force. Utica, N. Y. is listed but not New York City.

Although N. Y. upstate areas have been relatively harder hit than the city, the difference is only one of degree. December figures released by the N. Y. State Labor Department show "abnormally high" unemployment both in the city and upstate. The state officials express themselves as "puzzled" by this in view of reports that "the general economic situation is supposedly excellent."

The number of applicants for unemployment compensation neared the half million mark, with 286,532 in New York City and 183,609 in upstate areas.

What makes the situation even worse is that the rate of those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits is currently running twice as high as last year. 85,800 workers have already drawn all their insurance payments since June 1949, when the new benefit year began. This is more than one-sixth of the nationally estimated total of 500,000 workers in this category.

Unlike last year when the older workers were the hardest hit, the average age of the unemployed this time is reported as "substantially lower." The worsening position of the New York jobless is reflected in the report of City Welfare

Commissioner Hilliard who announced that December marked the 13th consecutive month in which the number of relief recipients has increased, rising to 328,469 persons, or an increase of 5,396 since the previous monthly report.

Interviewed on the radio, Commissioner Hilliard admitted that there is a growing number of younger men among the homeless and utterly destitute on the Bowery. The number of those who have hit the skids has virtually doubled since last year, with one out of every five being between the ages of 20 and 39.

Hilliard admitted, moreover, that jobs in New York were becoming scarcer and harder to get despite the highly publicized "recent improvement in business conditions" for the "country as a whole."

He has asked for permission to re-open work relief projects "without in any way competing with any regular employment," and at the same time appealed to local businessmen to employ the relief recipients. "I can assure employers that practically all of them would prefer a payroll to a relief roll," he said.

Hilliard's department estimates a deficit of \$12,000,000 for this fiscal year, despite the brutal slashes he has already made in the pitifully meager rations to those on relief. Hilliard's pretext for these cuts was the alleged drop in prices of necessities. The real reason is now quite obvious. Further big increases in public relief rolls are obviously indicated and the cuts are designed to help reduce the deficit appropriations.

THE MILITANT

POLICE BRUTALITY TOLD BY OAKLAND NEGROES

OAKLAND, Calif., Jan. 7 — A three-day hearing by a special State Committee to investigate police brutality here ended yesterday with a red-baiting inquisition of one of its own investigators, Robert P. Powers.

Faced with a mountain of evidence against the city administration, the Committee apparently intends to whitewash the cops by smearing Powers, who once called a Civil Rights Congress lawyer "a good attorney."

State Assemblyman Vernon Kilpatrick (Democrat), head of the Special Committee on Crime and Correction, said before his investigation began, that "if" conditions of police violence do exist in Oakland, and "if" it is proven that this terror is directed against minority groups, then legislative action "may" be forthcoming from the State legislature at Sacramento. He seems difficult to convince.

Mr. C. L. Dellums, Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Alameda County, told the Special Committee that the Negro people consider the Oakland police their "natural enemies."

The chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Civic Unity, Howard Desky, added to the evidence even while he tried to deny it. Insisting that "I have never handled a case for any person denied a civil right in Oakland," he finally admitted that an unarmed Negro, Andrew L. Hines, was "prematurely" shot. (Hines was slain by Police Officer Spencer O. Amundsen last April.)

At least five other cases, substantiated by witnesses, were presented to prove the cops' ferocity.

Johnny Ortega, well-known fly-weight boxer, and his friend Joe Rodriguez were arrested while celebrating New Year's Eve. They had not been drinking. They had tried to stop a woman from throwing a bottle into the crowd. Howling insults, calling them "Pachucos and dirty bastards and marijuana peddlers," a cop twisted Rodriguez' arm and kicked him in the back. He hit Ortega with the neck of a wine bottle, slashing his face.

Melvin Cunningham was brutally kicked in the stomach by

Race Hate Victim



This is how minister Michael Picardi looked after being whipped by a masked mob in Cairo, Ga. He was preaching a sermon when the armed men invaded the church and assaulted him for staying with Negroes.

Charge Racial Bias in Toledo School Sale

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 10—Despite pleas by 100 parents and representatives of several organizations to take no action, the Toledo Board of Education voted 3 to 2 last night to sell the Auburndale School. The issue of the school closing and sale which has been fought before the Board and in the courts for four months has aroused widespread interest because of the racial issue involved.

The school was ordered closed and the pupils transferred to other schools much further away shortly after the beginning of the fall term last year. A small group of racial bigots, it is charged, had circulated a petition to close the school and promised parents that a new one would be built to replace it. Their alleged purpose was to prevent students graduated from Auburndale, an all-white school, from finishing their elementary schooling at Robinson Junior High where Negro children attend. The Auburndale school only went to the seventh grade.

After the Board closed the school last fall, it was learned that no new school was planned. A committee of parents then circulated another petition demanding the re-opening of Auburndale.

At last night's public meeting of the Board, every speaker appealed to the Board to re-open the school; not a single person rose to approve its closing. Among the 20 who spoke were Samuel Pettigrew, Jr., chairman of the parents committee; Milton Genein, representing the American Veterans Committee; Ray Flory, General Secretary of the AFL Central Labor Union; Howard Rediger, Executive Secretary of the CIO Council, and Walter Guntrup, Editor of the AFL Toledo Union Leader.

They proved that the Board had no intention of closing the school until pressure had been brought to bear by the race haters. Milton Genein demanded that the Board pay attention to keeping schools open during this period of overcrowding in classrooms everywhere. He also called upon the Board to come to grips forthrightly with the racial question. Ray Flory requested the appointment of a citizens committee to investigate the entire matter. His proposal was seconded by Howard Rediger and others.

But the Board majority turned a deaf ear to all the pleas. The hearing and the result highlighted the idea of labor running its own candidates for this important body.

Race-Haters in Chicago Organizing To Incite Further Mob Violence

CHICAGO, Jan. 15 — White Supremacists in Chicago are taking the offensive, it was disclosed at the third meeting of the Conference to End Mob Violence. Organized

body immediately print and circulate 50,000 leaflets exposing the White Circle and offering a militant program of action. Although a large section of the Conference indicated they wanted to sound an immediate alarm over the White Circle League, issuing of a leaflet was postponed and the question referred to the Executive Committee.

Although still in the provisional stage, the Conference attracted over 200 people to its third session, including members of the Urban League, NAACP, Negro real estate groups, churches, the Progressive Party and various Stalinist-led unions. The Pittsburgh Courier has charged the Conference with being a Stalinist-front organization. This has been vigorously denied in a public statement, listing the leaders of the Conference and their affiliations. What matters to the Negro community, which is beginning to look to the Conference for leadership, is not so much the affiliations of its initiators as the kind of action they offer to meet the daily threat of mob violence. So far such an effective program has not been offered.

To meet this threat to all Chicago minorities the leaders of the Conference offered a very limited and conservative program. They proposed that the Conference urge the press to publicize the activities of the White Circle League and ask State officials to withdraw its charter. A resolution condemning the League was also offered.

A member of the Conference moved from the floor that the

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE OK'S MERGER WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

The membership of the Socialist Party has voted overwhelmingly in favor of merger with the Social Democratic Federation. Announcing the results of a referendum that has just been concluded, The Call, Jan. 13, reported that "eighty six percent of the membership voting approved and only fourteen percent (were) opposed."

The Social Democratic Federation is conducting a parallel ballot on the merger in its own ranks; the results of its vote have not yet been announced. So far as the SP is concerned, only formalities now remain be-

fore the merger of the two organizations is effected. The SP National Committee is authorized by the referendum to arrange a convention at the same time that the SDF convention is held and thus seal formally the unification which has been pending for several years.

The main obstacle in the way of this project has been the insistence of the SDF that the SP give up all semblance of independent political activity and content itself with acting, like the SDF, as a left wing of the Democratic Party. The majority of the SP leadership, headed by Norman Thomas, has been for a long time anxious to hurdle this obstacle but in the past ran up against reluctance in the ranks to discontinue independent electoral activity.

The vote was cleared when at its last meeting the SP National Committee by majority action voted in favor of liquidating the party politically. A discussion on this proposal is now in progress. The vote for the merger with the SDF will undoubtedly tip the scales even more heavily in favor of the position of the majority of the SP National Committee.

Bartell Hits SIU's Jim Crow Hiring Hall

The Jim-Crow hiring hall maintained by the AFL Seafarers International Union was assailed by Michael Bartell, New York Local Socialist Workers Party Organizer, speaking at a symposium at New York University held Wed., Jan. 11, under the auspices of the student NAACP.

Bartell attacked the practice of segregating Negro and white seamen in the SIU hiring hall, after Norman Thomas, speaking for the Socialist Party, had pointed to "a union," whose name he chose not to mention, as an example of white chauvinism prevalent in the labor movement.

"I see no reason to protect these scoundrels," Bartell declared. "The name of the union is the Seafarers International Union. The reactionary bureaucrats who run that union brazenly segregate Negro and white seamen. Here is a case of vicious discrimination against a racial minority carried on in broad daylight, in direct defiance of the State FEPC law — and what have the authorities done about it? Absolutely nothing. Only the SWP has carried on the fight. Trotskyist seamen, fighting against Jim-Crow and for a democratic, militant union are being hounded, deprived of shipping rights, physically assaulted and threatened with expulsion by the gang of goons, strikebreakers, company-stooges and Jim-Crow artists who rule the SIU."

The symposium, which was called for the purpose of rallying support to the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington, was addressed by representatives of the various political parties. Speaking last on the program, the former SWP candidate for Mayor warned the audience of 150 students not to be satisfied with the loud and long professions by capitalist politicians of their devotion to the cause of civil rights. "Look at these Republican and Democratic politicians," he said. "They say they are for FEPC, for anti-lynch and anti-

poll-tax legislation, for full equality for the Negro people." Turning to the representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties, Bartell asked, "Who is stopping you? You run this country, don't you? Your parties have dominated government of this country for a century and more. You have the power — why don't you abolish Jim Crow instead of making speeches against it?"

Bartell warned that collaboration with the enemies of the Negro people would only bring defeats, and urged the unity of the labor movement and all oppressed minorities for militant struggle against the parties in power who are responsible for the crimes against the Negro people.

EXPOSES CP Turning to the Communist Party, the SWP spokesman recalled the Stalinist sabotage of the March-on-Washington movement in 1941, and their long record of betrayals. As further proof that the Stalinists could not be relied upon in the fight for civil rights, Bartell pointed to their treachery in the Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists and their role today in disrupting the civil rights front by refusing to unite with or defend the rights of their political opponents.

This issue aroused a great deal of interest, and in the question period, Lillian Gates, NY State Legislative Director of the Communist Party, was peppered with questions about the attitude of the CP on civil rights for Trotskyists. So great was the hostility of the audience to the indefensible policy of the CP, that when confronted with a direct question by Bartell as to whether the CP favored civil rights for Trotskyists, Mrs. Gates felt compelled to answer "yes," in direct violation of the official party line and practice.

Dunne Speaks at Pittsburgh, Morgantown and Buffalo

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 8 — The Socialist Workers Party stands ready to join with all defenders of civil liberties to fight the growing trend toward a police state in America, Vincent R. Dunne, SWP National Labor Secretary, told an enthusiastic meeting here tonight under the auspices of the local party branch.

Speaking on the subject of "Labor and Civil Rights," the veteran labor leader who is touring the country stated that the struggle for civil rights is the most important problem facing the American people today.

During the question period, several workers discussed the fate of the projected civil rights program. Comrade Dunne pointed out that the only way to assure enactment of the civil rights program is through independent action by the labor movement and the Negro people.

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

Philadelphia — Jan. 27-28.
New York — Feb. 3.
Newark — Feb. 5.

PHILADELPHIA

Hear
V. R. Dunne
speak on
The Cold War Against Civil Rights

Fri., Jan. 27, 8 PM
Militant Workers Forum
1303 W. Girard Avenue
Admission free

Also:
Open House:
MEET
V. R. Dunne
Sat., Jan. 28, 8:30 PM
Above address