

estimate of Wallace was formed on the basis of what they read about him in the CIO News in the past, and of what they were told in a thousand speeches by Philip Murray and all the little Murrays.

Do Swim and Murray think that the members of the CIO have forgotten what happened at the Democratic Party convention in 1944 when Murray, Hillman and the other PAC leaders almost busted a gut pleading for the renomination of that "preaching liberal"—Henry Wallace? Do they think the workers are going to follow the CIO leadership's political counsel today when they see what shameless lies they were told yesterday?

Continuing his attack on Wallace, Swim then makes another very damaging admission:

**The Negro Struggle**

**A Glorious Page of U.S. History**

By F. Forrest

Many pages of the Negro's history in America still remain unwritten. Not only has the capitalist historian kept the Negro's contribution to the development of America out of the school textbooks, but even "adult" books specifically devoted to the Negro problem, including the 1,483 pages of the pretentious *An American Dilemma*, have seen fit not to do serious research to fill those blank pages. The most glaring gap is

that of the Negro's role in the Populist movement in the 1880's and 90's, and it is to that period that we wish to turn our readers' attention.

This is a particularly glorious page which explodes many of the stereotyped conceptions of the Negro. It is alleged, for instance, that it is impossible to organize the Negro into a cohesive movement, yet the Colored Farmer's Alliance in that period numbered no less than one and one-quarter million members. Another myth blown to bits is that the Negro has followed the Republican Party from the days after the Civil War until 1932 when he changed to the "New Deal" Democratic Party. Actually, the Colored Farmers Alliance was a part of the Populist movement. Not only that, it was its left wing and in the forefront of the struggle for a third anti-capitalist, anti-landlord party, which then took the shape of the Peoples Party.

This party was later swallowed by capitalism, becoming a part of the Democratic Party, but in its time it was a revolutionary movement that united with the labor force—the Knights of Labor was part of this movement—and threatened the power of the capitalists. It was strong enough then to elect governors and

And today, when that system is hatching even worse anti-labor monsters, these labor bureaucrats, instead of hiding their heads in shame, have the gall to chatter about "political savvy" and to give lectures about not splitting the so-called "progressive" vote (which, in line with their directives, wasn't split in 1946 and produced the most reactionary Congress in American history).

If a policy cowardly and stupid as that can be palmed off as political savvy, then I'll take Mortimer Snerd in preference to 25% of the self-styled labor state-men any day in the week. Mortimer may not be very bright, but at least his backbone isn't made of jelly and his tongue is used for other purposes than licking the boots of his enemies.

congressmen. The infamous union of Northern capital with the Southern slavery dates precisely from this threat to capitalist rule. To conquer the threat of Negro and white unity, the plantocracy united with the railroad interests and raised race discrimination to a principle. The Southern Bourbons to this day live on this.

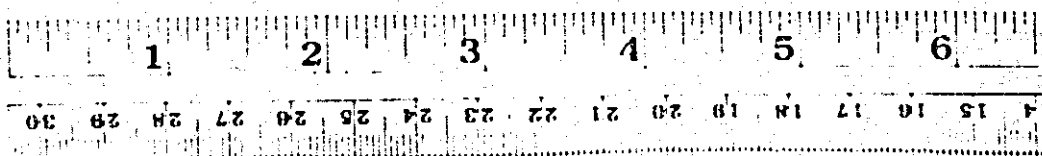
There are some "liberals" who wish us to think that in the South, in any case, it is impossible to unite white and black. That myth too is branded as a lie by this page of American history. For the populist movement that united black and white swept the prejudice-ridden South immediately after the notorious doctrine of "white supremacy" had just won its first counter-revolutionary battle against Reconstruction. Yet the economic plight of the cotton picker, share cropper and tenant farmer had welded them together as one, irrespective of color, against both the Southern oligarchy and Northern capital.

In Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel, C. Van Woodward reports the following:

"For the first time in his political history, the Negro was not regarded as an incompetent ward of white supremacy, nor as a ward of military intervention, but as an integral part of Southern society, with a place in its economy. . . . Never before or since have the two races come so close together as they did during the Populist struggles."

What the CIO has since done in the economic field, an independent Labor Party could accomplish in the political field. In the forging of that instrument the Negro will play a part that will bring his role in the Populist movement of the 90's to twentieth century dimensions.

Militant. Feb. 23, 1948.



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"You better stop crying," Jimmy advised. "March is coming along fast, and you're gonna cry plenty about that income tax, so you want to have some left."

The Old Man sucked and began stuffing "Fire Brothers" into his corner.

"OK, Jimmy," Pete Rossi said. "Let the man cry. We got a 250 billion dollar national debt to pay off. I feel like crying myself, particularly when I stop to think that it's guys like us, that are going to pay the biggest part of it."

"National debt!" Jimmy snorted. "Ain't only a part of the taxes going to pay that. You know what

and his nose trailed off. He sat shaking his head. "Say!" Pete was suddenly excited. "Where does that three billion come from?"

Jimmy grinned. "Where do you think? You pay taxes out of your paycheck every week, don't you?"

"Oh, well," Jimmy said soothingly. "Don't feel too bad. It only takes two cents out of every tax dollar to run the government." He turned toward the clouds of tobacco smoke. "Pretty cheap, huh, Old Man?"

The Old Man sucked on his pipe and reflected. Then he shook his head. "Don't seem worth it," he said.

### The Negro Struggle

## Maintain the Schomburg Collection!

By F. Forest

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, this country's most valuable library of its kind, is in danger. The story



of the subtler forms of discrimination as practised by "cultured Northerners" who are supposedly above the vicious discrimination the South enforces. The Schomburg Collection is a part of the New York Public Library. It now gets about one-third of one per cent of the library's annual income of over 4 million dollars.

However, the Schomburg Collection is far more than just a branch library. Located in the heart of Harlem, the largest Negro urban community on earth, it services not only that community but more than half a million persons of the Negro community of greater New York. Secondly, many persons come from out of town to do research on special topics for which materials may not be had elsewhere.

That is true not only of Negroes but of whites since two-fifths of the people who utilize the collection are non-Negro. There are books in the Schomburg Collection not in any other library in America. Thirdly, it is the repository of original manuscripts that have never been published. For example, many special studies that were prepared for *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal but not used by him, are available to the public.

Fourthly, the Schomburg Collection also conducts valuable lectures and exhibitions. In 1944-45 the series of thirty public lectures entitled "A World View of the Negro Question" were attended by about 300 persons weekly. Views from those of Uncle Tom to those of revolutionary socialism were voiced. Finally, the Schomburg collections on Africa, the Negro in Latin America and the West Indies, present a world-wide view of the Negro question. It is prob-

ably the best-founded library in which to study the international aspects of this problem.

The N. Y. library officials and "City Fathers" are using the fact that the Schomburg Collection gets as much as any branch library as a pretext for refusing additional financial aid. What is the real situation? (1) The present sum of \$1,000 annually for acquisitions is about one-fifth of what is needed to purchase books, periodicals, mass prints and for binding. The library maintains such a good collection of periodicals because so many are donated. (2) The building that houses the collection at 104 W. 136th Street is kept up poorly and has no elevator, denying fountain or rest rooms for the public. (3) The present staff of six persons is entirely inadequate and badly underpaid. The demand for a raise in salary by one third and an increase of the staff from 6 to 10 is modest indeed. In terms of the total budget for New York City, the request for \$100,000 in capital outlay and an increase of \$30,000 annually is a mere pittance. It amounts to but one per cent of the library income. That is little enough for the Negro community to ask the largest city in America that brags about its non-discrimination in educational and library facilities. Thus far there has been a flat "No" from both the library authorities and Mayor O'Dwyer. The latter is apparently too busy figuring out how further to tax the New York populace by raising the subway fare to explain why he so neglects Negro needs.

In face of the refusal, Dr. L. D. Reddick, the Curator of the Schomburg Collection, has handed in his resignation. Unfortunately, there is no word in his statement he sent to the press which takes issue with the authorities and shows the actual, though subtle, discrimination involved. Dr. Reddick evidently thinks that such "gentlemanly" protest will convince the powers that be. It is up to the labor and Negro organizations to throw their full weight behind the fight to maintain the Schomburg Collection.

Militant, March 8, 1948.



9195

On the night of January 14, 1948, a man was at work on the night shift, a fire broke out on the landing outside the Hickmans' door.

how to mobilize the workers, Negro and white, for successful mass struggle.

The Negro Struggle

Civil Rights Demagoguery

By F. Forrest

The front pages of all newspapers carried stories of President Truman's Executive Order "abolishing" Jim Crow in the Army. Hidden somewhere in the back pages of the paper was a small item relating to the views of General Bradley. It is worth reproducing in full the response of the Chief of Staff to the Order of his Commander-in-Chief:

"FORT KNOX, KY, July 27 (UP). — General Omar Bradley said today in reference to non-segregation of races in the armed services, that 'the Army is not out to make any social reform.' The Chief of Staff, here for a conference on the experimental universal military training unit, said: 'The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it.' Capitalist politics being what it is, President Truman and General Bradley no doubt exchanged advance copies of their entirely contradictory statements!

For anyone who reads the Executive Order carefully, it is easy to see that "the equal treatment" and "equal opportunity" that Negroes are to be accorded in the Army are evidently to be within the limitations of segregation, since not a word is uttered against it. It is further instructive to note that Bradley emphasizes that the army will change the policy of segregation only "when the nation as a whole changes it." Needless to say, by "nation" the brass hat means not the people, but Congress. And since both Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff know that any civil rights program that this Congress may enact would be worth as much as the paper on which the Executive Order is written, neither really worries about any abolition of Jim Crow. That accounts for the demagogic language of the Executive Order.

Truman badly needs votes. And he hopes the people are gullible enough to take him at his word. That is the long and short of it.

Specifically, Truman is aiming for the vote of labor and the Negro masses. He is hoping that the labor bureaucracy and the Negro middle class leaders can deliver this vote, provided he speaks radically enough. Not that the Murrays and Greens on the one hand, and the Walter Whites and Dr. Tobiasse on the other hand, believe what President Truman says. But they want the masses to believe. Just as the labor bureaucracy is trying to keep the labor movement tied to the Democratic machine which has acted as open strike-breaker, so the Negro leaders are trying to have the Negro masses do nothing less shameful than uphold the dominant party of the totalitarian South. The labor bureaucracy has not yet dared openly to call for support of Truman. But through the ADA and sometimes even the PAC it tries shamefacedly

to support Truman. The Negro middle class leaders are trying to accomplish the same feat through the NAACP.

First, we saw the shameful spectacle of Walter F. White, NAACP Executive Secretary, assuring us that General Eisenhower should be supported by the Negro masses because he "personally" knew that the General was opposed to Jim Crow —only to have the General declare that he is for segregation in the armed forces. Now Mr. White has the gall to completely ignore the blunt statement of General Bradley and blandly assure the Negro people:

"With respect to the two executive orders, the one on the armed services and the other establishing the machinery with which to eradicate discrimination and segregation in other government departments, we are delighted that one President has had courage enough to tackle these two basic evils. These orders will help restore faith in the democratic process at home and rebuild American prestige abroad." (NAACP Press Release, July 29.)

Then we had Dr. Channing H. Tobias state at the Convention that President Truman, in his espousal of the civil rights program, accomplished no less a revolutionary act than was accomplished by President Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation. Since that leaves him no correspondingly famous act with which to compare the new Executive Order, we will ask Dr. Tobias to use his free time to explain to us what the Order means by saying that "equal opportunity" be created "as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale." He might also say a word or two about Gen. Bradley's declaration.

There is only one possible answer the Negro masses can give to the hypocrisy of Truman and those who try to whitewash him. That is by engaging in independent political action and voting the only revolutionary socialist ticket in 1948—that of the Socialist Workers Party.

We are sure that the Negro masses are in no wise fooled by those of their organizations and press who try to whitewash either the Truman Administration or the Republican Congress. We are sure that the Negro masses do not share the confidence of the Pittsburgh Courier that this Congress, with its unholy bi-partisan alliance to keep the South under totalitarian rule, will, in its special session, enact a real civil rights program.

Full economic, political and social equality can be attained only through mass action which establishes a Workers and Farmers Government. Only by their mass actions, in alliance with white labor, can they break up the system which breeds Jim Crow—capitalism.

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get soaked twice — first you pay high taxes for "price support" and then you pay the high price for the tax-supported potatoes.

But that's not all. In 1943, the government spent 90 million dollars for potatoes that it dumped or burned. This raised an outcry from

comes to making deals with speculators and food trusts. That's when Republicans and Democrats alike say "to hell with the law of supply and demand" and vote with both hands for "price support" — that is, inflation.

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## Palmer Raids

By F. Forest

This pamphlet\* on the red hysteria following World War I is a timely, well-documented piece of work. Despite the "progressive" Popular Frontish style the Stalinists use in presenting the facts, the facts themselves are indisputable. From these, many valuable lessons can be learned by us who live in the era of the Smith Gag Act and the Taft-Hartley Slave Law and are daily fed by spy scare stories, war mongering, red-baiting and government by injunction.

As is well known, the red hysteria after World War I culminated in the notorious Palmer raids. The raids carried out on the night of January 2, 1920 by the then Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer and his right-hand man, J. Edgar Hoover, in arresting without warrant, and throwing into jail, no less than 6,000 persons, are without precedent. But the general character of the present government-sponsored red hysteria is the same as the previous one. We need but state four instances to see the deadly parallel:

1. The campaign against the trade union movement. The concerted drive against organized labor in 1919-1920 decimated the trade unions. It took no less than 15 years before the steel workers could again organize and force the Steel Trust to recognize the union. It is true that the union movement today is too strong to be wiped out with one stroke. But the Government again rules by injunction and the labor movement is saddled with the Taft-Hartley Slave Law.

2. The attacks upon the Negro people. Precisely because this most oppressed group forms a natural bulwark against capitalism, the Government is especially sensitive about its own crimes against this tenth of the nation and moves the more viciously against them. In the hearings of the infamous "Committee Investigating Seditious Activities" headed in 1920 by the New York state senator Clayton R. Lusk, an attempt was made to prove that The Messenger was the mouthpiece of the Soviet Government because it was "committed. . . to the proposition of organizing Negroes for the class struggle." ("Revolutionary Radicalism, Part I, Revolutionary and Subversive Movements Abroad and at Home," p.

\* THE PALMER RAIDS, Edited by Robert W. Dunn, International Pub., 30c.

1477.) Interestingly enough, the editor of that radical Negro newspaper was A. Philip Randolph, who currently again figures in the news because of his courageous stand against a Jim Crow Army. No wonder that to those who remember the Palmer raids the present words of Senator Wayne Morse had a familiar ring when he shouted at Randolph: "It may very well lead to indictments for treason and very serious repercussions."

3. Moves against foreign-born. The present campaign against foreign-born is not far removed from the 1919-1920 deportation proceedings against "alien bomb throwers." Although no arms of any kind were found in the illegal wrecking activities conducted by Attorney General Palmer, and the present head of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, this did not prevent third-degree grillings and actual deportations.

4. Finally, railroading of revolutionary socialists. Just as the Government in World War I moved against those who opposed the first imperialist slaughter and solidarized themselves with the Russian Revolution, so with the outbreak of World War II, the Government railroaded to jail 18 Trotskyists for their opposition to the Second World War.

The campaign of the World War I period to destroy the IWW is further paralleled by the present campaign to destroy the radical organizations as well as the concerted effort to wipe out the Stalinist movement.

The Palmer raids were so flagrantly unconstitutional that they provoked a mighty protest movement not only on the part of labor but also of many liberals. Thus Francis Fisher Kane, U. S. District Attorney in Philadelphia, resigned his office in protest against these illegal raids. Reminiscent of the "worst 80th Congress" of our day, was the action of the Congress of 1926 when impeachment charges were brought against Assistant Secretary of Labor, L. F. Post, for his expose of the raids and his freeing of hundreds who had been illegally held for deportation. Charles Evans Hughes best summed up that shameful page of American history. He said: "We may well wonder in view of the precedents now established whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged."

Militant. Aug. 23, 1948.



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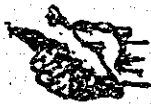
of routine workers who stayed for the whole meeting, their very obvious enthusiasm, the interest in The Militant and other party literature

though, because they mean that the Workers Party is on the march in this 1948 campaign!

## Randolph's Betrayal

By F. Forest

On Aug. 18 a blow was dealt the movement against military Jimcrow. This blow was dealt not by the bigoted proponents of Jimcrow



but by the founders of the civil disobedience movement, A. Phillip Randolph and Grant Reynolds, who unceremoniously announced that they were cancelling their civil disobedience campaign against Jimcrow in the armed forces. Messrs. Randolph and Reynolds offered no greater pretext for their shameful abandonment of the movement they had launched than the "President's announced plan to end segregation in the armed forces."

Just a few weeks ago the same Randolph made the following unequivocal characterization of the very same executive order: "A misleading move, made for political purposes and deliberately calculated to obscure the issue of segregation."

Randolph now has the temerity to issue a statement which declares: "Through Sen. J. Howard McGrath, chief spokesman for the President, we have been given assurance that segregation in armed services is unequivocally (1) banned under the executive order of July 26."

So "unequivocally" was segregation in the armed services banned that the Chief of Staff, General Bradley, could declare: "The Army is not out to make any social reforms. . . The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it."

Now Randolph and Reynolds are well aware of this declaration of Jimcrow policy of General Bradley. They have, furthermore, their own analysis of the President's executive order as a sham. How, then, can they explain their sudden faith in the "assurances" of Senator J. Howard McGrath? They do not even try to.

From the beginning, when Messrs. Randolph and Reynolds first announced their defiant stand against a Jimcrow Army with their statement that they preferred going to jail to giving support to "Herr Jimcrow," the Militant warned that the Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training would mean little unless it became a powerful mass organization democratically controlled. We pointed out that while their defiant stand did Randolph and Reynolds credit, defiant protest and even going to jail on the part of individuals was not the solution. We nevertheless supported the progressive fight the movement was undertaking and defended it against its "Uncle Tom" detractors. We wrote: "The power of the protest is in the mass action and mass activity which it unclooses. It is precisely this fear of mass action which has characterized the Negro leaders, as it has characterized the labor leaders."

Randolph and Reynolds must now be included among the leaders who fear mass action, even as the government fears it. From the first Randolph and Reynolds refused to form an organ-

ization to which they would have to submit to democratic control. . . . It is a true fact that at first they were attacked both from the government and by Negro leaders. When C. B. Powell, editor of the Amsterdam News, counseled the Negro to "take his full responsibilities as a citizen in the defense of his country," and when W. R. Hearst, of the New York Journal American, Robert N. Shanley of the New York Daily News, Mayor William O'Dwyer and Senator Irving M. Egan all rushed to praise Powell's statement, Randolph replied to Powell as follows on Aug. 2: "For more than 25 years Negro leaders like yourself, white liberals and trade-unionists have waged a campaign to wipe out military Jimcrow. Today, as in the past, we are faced with promises which continually go unkept. . . . Then he came to the crux of the matter: ". . . the civil disobedience movement springs not from my call but from the deep humiliation and resentment that Negro and white youth feel at being forced to serve in a segregated army."

What has happened between August 2 and August 18 to turn Mr. Randolph from a champion of the Negro masses to their betrayer?

Randolph emphasized, when he first launched the movement, that he looked for support not from the top Negro leaders, but from the "so-called average man on the street." But it is a fact that he failed to organize this "so-called average man on the street" and failed to convert his hand-picked Committee into an organization that would be democratically controlled by the rank and file. Instead, he kept championing individual action.

This is not the first time Randolph refused to submit to the control of the rank and file. It is not the first time that he has left the Negro masses in the lurch. In 1941 he betrayed the March-On-Washington movement which he himself had organized. Just when it enlisted tens of thousands of Negroes in its fight against discrimination in employment, Mr. Randolph, also without consulting the rank and file, called off on his own the scheduled march. For his capitulation to President Roosevelt at that time, at least, he was granted the concession of the FEPC. Now he has given up the struggle against Jimcrow in the armed forces in return for a piece of paper!

Neither Negro nor white labor will forget this latest betrayal of Randolph. The important thing, however, is that just as the movement did not spring from Mr. Randolph's call, "but from the deep humiliation and resentment that the Negro and white youth feel," so this movement will not disappear with the betrayal of its unceremonious leader. The movement will merely throw off the shackles of Gandhism and expand into a genuine mass organization, democratically controlled by the rank and file. For the masses are learning that the only way to wipe out Jimcrow is through mass action.

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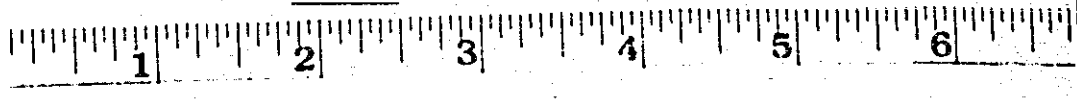
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# 'Social Scientists' and Labor

By F. Forest

The keynote struck at the annual conventions of the high academic societies, including the American Economic Association, Economic History Association, the Industrial Relations Research Association, the American Political Science Association and a dozen others, was strongly anti-labor. This note was sounded on the first day of their conventions in New York City and it continued throughout their four day sessions, Dec. 27-30.

No matter whether these top economists and self-styled "social scientists" dealt with history and economic progress or present-day inflation and high military expenditures, or trends in the economy and concentration of economic power, they found themselves doing nothing more original than echoing Big Business' demand for a docile labor force. No wonder that these savants abdicated so much of their time in favor of "outside" speakers.

## NAM DARLING SPEAKS

That, at the session on "Capitalism and Economic Progress," discussed under the joint auspices of the American Economic Association and Economic History Association, and presided over by the erstwhile liberal ("near-Marxist" during depression period) Louis M. Hacker, one of the chief speakers was George W. Terborgh of the reactionary Machinery and Allied Products Institute.

This darling of the NAM is called upon in any emergency to answer any and every criticism of the "free enterprise system." In the New Deal days he was called upon to give Big Business' answer to the TNEC findings on the concentration of economic power. In recent days he provided the answer to the Nathan report and "proved" that the steel burdens could not "afford" the pension plan. He asked the audience "to relax" and treat what he had to say as a sermon. In a sermon against "the conspiracy of the unions and the government" against "private incentives to enterprise" it was.

There were years when these conventions used to be presented

with some original studies that helped to clarify the trends in the economy, the relations of social forces, and even to challenge or at least criticize the monopolist powers. Those days, however, seem to have ended. What we witnessed this year was the spectacle of a John Foster Dulles and of a brass hat speaking of a "hypothetical" enemy, and of eminent names in the economic field abandoning their findings of years for the sake of "peace."

Thus E. H. Chamberlin of Harvard University, who had influenced American economic thought for more than a decade as the father of the theory of "Imperfect Competition," now rose to state that it had been widely "misunderstood" and wrong theories of "exploitation" derived from it. Chamberlin admitted that monopoly has been "built into" the economy, but insisted at the same time that "the welfare state ideal itself involves both competition and monopoly," and hence it "is no longer clear where we should move" — to more competition or more monopoly. This contribution was about as useful as most of the others.

## PATHETIC LEVEL.

About all that was left of liberal thought were appeals against considering Keynes as a "minor revival of Marx in modern dress." The pathetic level to which liberal thinking has sunk can best be illustrated by the session on "Economic Power, Slaves and American Capitalism," in which most of "the allied social science association" participated, including the American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, American Sociological Society and the Industrial Relations Research Association.

Let any unsuspecting reader think that this topic referred to American capitalism's relations to other capitalist powers, let me hasten to assure that, in "action-tific" lingo "economic power blocs" means "interest groups" and — you can guess it — that the most powerful "economic bloc" against which the entire session was directed was — labor.

Labor's strength so frightened J. J. Spengler, professor at the "Harvard of the South" (Duke University), that he foresees the "decline" of the whole world as a result of it. He concluded that because labor is so numerous and because it votes, it is a potent "power economic bloc" influencing economic decisions "on high political levels." Moreover, he continued, labor is so strong that even when laws are enacted against it they are unenforceable: "Neither the Taft-Hartley Act nor the Government Fact-Finding Boards have changed the strength of labor." Spengler could think of no panacea, but felt that if Professor Lindbloom was right in his book on Unions and Capitalism the "unions are incompatible with private capitalism."

## PITIFUL BLINDNESS

Within the ranks of some 4,000 people attending these conventions there are quite sharp caste distinctions. There is the top 1% who have climbed as high as the academic ladder will take them, who have become members of the Executive Boards of these organizations and who try to make contacts in the world of finance with philanthropists to endow academic chairs.

Then there is another 2% who are fledgling "social scientists" who came as "discussants" — that is, they come prepared with papers that ostensibly take issue with the papers of the older men or invited speakers, but which in reality kowtow to them. And finally there is the 97% rank and file who have very poor teaching jobs, or none at all, and who hope to improve their lot by "contacting" the right people and making a good impression. When enough back slapping of the right persons has taken place, they wander back to the discussion room to berate labor themselves or applaud those who do.

The pitiful thing about their behavior is that they, like the labor movement, are victims of capitalist insecurity and have everything to gain by allying themselves with the workers in a struggle to reconstruct society in their common interests.

Militant. Oct. 9, 1950.

and led by the labor movement, directed by landlords and their political agents in the hope of forcing the passage of effective control legislation and federal low cost housing. The real-estate interests have tried to use pressure for their purposes, through labor leaders, because of their hostility to capitalist politicians, are hostile to such tactics. Their opposition must be broken. The only way that tenants can resist the interests and win rent controls as well as low cost housing is by independent class politics combined with militant

very little meaning. When they are in a showdown fight with the employers, the workers' only concern is: Which side are you on? Many Hudson workers are today judging the International officers by that standard.

ernor, was speaking. He contrasted the use of Jim Crow troops in Korea with the claims of the propagandists that Truman is bringing democracy to the Korean people. He dwelt on this point strongly, describing how

Once again we urge all those who want to vote Socialist this year to give us a hand in the campaign. We can sure use help! And don't forget to register so that you can pull that lever on Nov. E. Vote Socialist.

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## RAGING WITCH-HUNT IN PITTSBURGH BANS 'WORKER,' JAILS CP LEADERS

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 30 — Today it is no longer possible to buy the Daily Worker in this citadel of bourgeois democracy. Judge Gunther last week asked the two distributors still handling it not to sell this "seditious" paper. As was to be expected in an atmosphere of intense local witch-hunting, the newsmen "willingly cooperated with the request."

This is the climax to a beating that freedom of speech and press has been getting in the steel city ever since the FBI "undercover" agent in the Communist Party, Matthew Cvetic, appeared before the House Un-American Committee and revealed the names and addresses of those he claimed were CP members. The people whose names were published were thrown out of their unions, fired from their jobs, and in some cases even forced to move out of Pittsburgh.

This witch-hunting failed to satisfy the super-ambitious Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, the notorious Judge

Michael A. Musmanno, who has been storming through the state, "visiting" CP headquarters in a vigilante manner and uttering all sorts of dire threats. At the start of the Labor Day week-end he sprang a new surprise, this time in the capacity of a "private citizen."

Jumping the gun on the anti-"subversive" bill being rushed through Congress, this publicity-hungry Judge brought out from oblivion an anti-sedition bill that Pennsylvania had passed in 1939 but had never used. Armed with this Gestapo-like measure, this "private citizen" wrote out a 7-page brief and caused the arrest of three local CP leaders: District organizer David Nelson, Andrew Onda and Worker reporter James Dolson.

Of course no legally constituted body had brought charges of any sort against them. When court convened after Labor Day, Onda and Dolson were set free on \$10,000 bond each. Frothing at the mouth, Musmanno insisted that bond of no less than \$100,000 be set on Nelson. This was done

temporarily, and then Quarter Sessions Judges Marshall and Ellenbogen fixed bond on Nelson at \$50,000 — a sum greater than was put on Judith Coplon or any of the top CP leaders.

Nelson was denied a writ of habeas corpus, and remained in jail for almost the entire month, being released only two days ago after the State Supreme Court, without comment, had ordered that his bail be reduced to \$10,000. The October grand jury will hear the charges against the three.

Despite the hysteria and vicious red-baiting by the entire press here, a good part of the population is concerned over these self-appointed dispensers of "justice" that reeks of totalitarianism. In recent weeks a new civil rights committee, headed by Rev. Evans of the North Side Unitarian Church, has been organized. The press is ignoring the committee and trying to stifle it through silence. But the committee hopes to be able to gain sufficient influence to see that not all our hard-won rights are overthrown overnight.

### Party Conference

name of the important industrial Salford Division and Arthur Upton, who moved for withdrawal of support "from the United States in Korea" and denounced American capitalism as the most reactionary in the world. While applause showed considerable support for these views, the motions were voted down, the scanty dispatches in the American newspapers declare.

But it is evident that in Margate, as well as at Brighton, the more basic questions of nationalization and foreign policy were subjects of heated discussion as never before and there is no reason to assume that these questions will be any less affected by mass pressures in the future than has been the case with steel nationalization and the wage-price-profit problem in the recent past. To all intents and purposes, British labor is on the move, and its reformist leadership is having a hard time keeping in step with



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One of these terms was that a militant member of the shop committee who had been discharged while fighting speedup, remain in

cause they oppose Keutner and his administration, they were told that all other business had been suspended except the strike vote. One member asked that a strike committee immediately be set up, but he was not recognized.

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## STATE SEDITION LAW TRIAL OF 3 OPENS IN PITTSBURGH

By F. Forest

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 19 — The "State Sedition Trial" against three leaders of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania has opened here this week. The three on trial are Steve Nelson, District Organizer, Andrew Onda, alleged organizer of steel workers, and James Dolsen, correspondent for the Daily Worker.

The trial comes about as a result of a raid on Communist Party headquarters staged last summer by Judge Michael A. Musmanno when the judge was running for the office of Attorney General on the Democratic Party ticket and was storming through CP headquarters in the state and threatening their legal existence. In this raid he was helped by Matt Cvetic, notorious FBI labor spy who posed as a CP member ever since the war, and two detectives, Joseph Becker and George Marshall.

On the basis of this "information" thus illegally seized, Judge

Musmanno as a "private citizen" swore out a warrant for the arrest of the three CP leaders. The basis was the alleged violation of the State Sedition Act of 1939. This notorious act, anticipatory of the police-state McCarran Act by more than a decade, had never before been used. The act is so broad that even lampooning any U.S. government policy through cartoons can be judged "seditious."

The trial is being held in the court of Judge Henry X. O'Brien. The great interest in the trial on the part of the public can be seen in the jammed court rooms. At this moment it is not possible to see the political line that will be followed by the Communist Party in this trial since Steve Nelson, who is acting as his own attorney, and Defense Attorney John T. McTernan, who is the chief defense lawyer for Onda and Dolsen, have been refused the privilege of making a statement until after the prosecution has finished its case.

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Militant. Jan. 29, 1951.

