

THE MILITANT

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1948 IN REVIEW--AND WHAT'S AHEAD

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TRUMAN DRAFTS NEW WITCH-HUNT BILL

White House Shares Guilt in Indonesia, Says SWP

Seeks to Legalize Gestapo Methods of "Loyalty" Purge

Outlook for Labor January 1, 1949--

By the Editors

Elsewhere in this issue we publish a review of the struggles which took place in 1948 within the United States and between the various nations. As we enter 1949 it is well to pause and examine the root causes of this ceaseless strife throughout the world.

Marx and Engels long ago proved from history that once a social system has exhausted its CAPACITY for expanding production, the resulting crisis would plunge civilization into barbarism unless this system gave way to a new and higher form of social organization.

History has likewise demonstrated that every ruling class which draws its power and special privileges from the prevailing social system always tries by naked force to prevent the change to a higher social order.

These basic historic truths apply with full force to the capitalist system which has completely outlived its progressive functions and now acts as a brake on production. That is why the world is now in a crisis of fierce class struggles within nations and wars between nations. Capitalism must give way to world socialism which alone is capable of releasing new capacities for production and raising the standards of living and other human relations to a higher plane. The alternative is endless war, fascism and brutalization of the human race.

The war of 1914-18 signalled the death agony of capitalism. Humanity has since been tortured by depression, totalitarian rule and civil wars, culminating in the second and even more devastating world war.

Why has mankind failed to achieve socialism? Why, 30 years after capitalism's first world slaughter, do we now stand on the brink of atomic war whose fearsome consequences no one can predict?

Socialism has not yet been realized in life because of the crisis of leadership in the ranks of the world working class in which Marx correctly saw the destined gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of the coming socialist society. Virtually every mass organization of workers, racial minorities and colonial peoples is dominated and misled by elements who either sabotage or openly oppose the revolutionary transformation to socialism.

In our country these leaders of mass organizations fall into two main groups. One gang is composed primarily of capitalist-minded union officials who unashamedly support capitalism, finding justification for their betrayal of the workers under the ideological leadership of a coalition of capitalist liberals and Social Democrats.

The other gang of misleaders are the Stalinists and their fellow-travellers who falsely parade as revolutionists in order to hoodwink the workers into supporting the policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Stalinism has fastened a brutal police rule on the first workers state and has sabotaged every revolutionary struggle throughout the world since Lenin died.

In order to solve the crisis of humanity the workers must clean out both of these gangs of misleaders and replace them with genuine revolutionists who want to struggle for socialism and know how to do it.

The workers must have leaders who understand that history has signed capitalism's death warrant. They must know that there can be no collaboration between the capitalist class and the working class because their respective interests cannot be reconciled. The capitalists are seeking, by tricky where they can and by violence where they must, to preserve their privileged position in society at the expense of the workers. Attempts at collaboration with the capitalists only strengthen their hands, prolonging the death agony of their system and threatening the very survival of civilization.

Nor can there be any political compromise with Stalinism. It is a deadly cancerous growth upon the labor movement and must be destroyed. But the task of ridding the world of Stalinism cannot be entrusted to the capitalists. They would use their victory over Stalinism to launch a general assault upon the labor movement in a desperate attempt to prolong their rule over the world. As Leon Trotsky taught, Stalinism must be destroyed by the working class as an integral part of its unceasing struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

True leaders of the working class must know how to learn from the lessons of working class defeats, instead of becoming disoriented and demoralized by temporary setbacks. They must be imbued with the knowledge that the working class is a mighty historic force, potentially the strongest power in the world.

The workers must seek leaders who know how to use this great power to storm the citadels of capitalism and assure the socialist victory. They must reject all those who go hat in hand to beg a few crumbs from the capitalist government.

Central to this task of assuring a correct leadership and program for the working class is the task of building the revolutionary socialist party. There is only one party of this type in the U.S. today. It is the Socialist Workers Party, now celebrating its 20th Anniversary. The SWP bases its program on the fundamental teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and takes as its point of departure the great lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The SWP applies these teachings to analyze every current event and to offer a realizable program of mass action designed at each stage to speed the attainment of the socialist goal.

The SWP's firmness of principle was demonstrated by its unwavering refusal to support American capitalism in World War II. The Party stood firm in the face of the combined assault of the Tobin machine and the Roosevelt administration on its members in the Minneapolis Drivers Union and despite the imprisonment of 18 of its leaders. Although not yet the mass party the SWP is destined to become, it proved by conducting a hard-hitting presidential campaign in 1948 that it is already a force to be reckoned with on the national political arena. SWP members are to be found in the front ranks wherever workers and minority peoples are struggling against capitalist oppression.

The dawn of the new year finds the cold war growing hotter, the American people subjected to increasing military regimentation, civil liberties being strangled, racial discrimination running rampant, the unions hamstrung by repressive legislation and the cost of living driven sky high, while rumbling threats of depression grow louder. The program of the SWP is the instrument by which the American workers can reverse these trends and start the march to socialism.

Charges U.S. Aids Imperialist Rape Of Java Republic

NEW YORK, Dec. 22 — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, sent today a strongly worded telegram to the White House, placing responsibility for the rape of Indonesia by the Dutch squarely upon the shoulders of the Truman Administration.

In his message Cannon protests against continued ECA aid to Holland and reminds Truman that as far back as July 1947, when the Dutch imperialists were using American lend-lease equipment against the Indonesians, the SWP requested the Administration to demand the return of all these planes, tanks and guns. But this was not done.

Cannon's July 1947 telegram was "processed through" the State Department. Norman Armour, Assistant Secretary of State, acknowledged at the time that the Dutch were actually using lend-lease equipment; that such use was specifically prohibited by the lend-lease agreement and that the State Department could invoke this "recapture" clause, if it so desired. That it refused to do so became fully disclosed in a lengthy correspondence which then ensued between Cannon and the State Department. Instead, aid to the Dutch was continued and even hugely increased.

Repeating in his December 1948 telegram the demand that the U. S. government stop feeding and financing the Dutch military machine through the Marshall Plan, Cannon dismisses as a face-saving device the recent stoppage of ECA shipments to the Dutch East Indies. (This affects only \$14 million out of total ECA allotments to the Dutch of nearly \$300 million.)

The full text of Cannon's telegram is printed below.

Text of Socialist Workers Party Telegram to Truman on Indonesia

"The whole world knows that American money and materials are being used today by the Netherlands government in its war of enslavement against the Indonesian people. In July 1947, in the name of the Socialist Workers Party, I requested you take back the American Lend-Lease equipment the Dutch colonial despots were using at that time against the Indonesians. Instead your Administration continued to aid the Dutch imperialists, thus making possible the crimes they are now committing. I again call upon you to immediately withdraw all political and material support from the Dutch. This means not mere suspension of Marshall Plan Aid to the Dutch East Indies, but complete suspension of all aid to the Dutch imperialists. I ask you instead to extend full aid to the Indonesian people in their wholly justified struggle for freedom and independence."

Health Policies--Capitalist and Socialist

By Farrell Dobbs

Lack of proper medical care will cause 325,000 people to die needlessly in this country during 1949.

There is only one doctor for every 800 people and only half enough hospital beds for the most urgent needs. Less than a third of all countries have some organized health service.

To make a bad matter worse, the military is grabbing doctors and nurses, snatching hospital facilities and stockpiling medical supplies for war.

Because of the high prices resulting from these dangerous shortages, 68 million people in families with incomes below \$3,000 a year are hard pressed to meet the barest medical needs. These shocking facts explain the driving force behind the present campaign of the unions

Season's Greetings



Labor Urged to Mobilize All-out Aid to Indonesia

NEW YORK, Dec. 22 — American labor, acting in its own interests, must vigorously intervene to support the appeal of the Indonesian Republic for aid in its struggle against the Dutch imperialists—this was the crux of telegrams sent out today by James P. Cannon, SWP Na-

tional Secretary, to three of the most prominent labor leaders in the United States: John L. Lewis of the Miners, Philip Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL.

In the name of the SWP, Cannon called upon organized labor to protest Washington's failure to halt all financial and military aid which continues to reach the Dutch in the shape of ECA shipments.

In conclusion, Cannon pledged the fullest cooperation of the SWP "in such a campaign of international solidarity."

He proposed that the labor leaders initiate a nation-wide campaign to help the Indonesian cause by boycotting Dutch goods and halting all war shipments to Holland.

Full text of identical telegrams to Lewis, Murray and Green follows:

"The Dutch government stands branded before world public opinion as a government of colonial enslavers and imperialist butchers. American organized

labor cannot afford to stand idly by while these despots press their war against the Indonesian people. The victory of tyrants in remotest corners of this earth strengthens the hands of labor's enemies here in America. To ignore this fact is to endanger the vital interests of the American people.

"Labor must protest the policy of the Administration in Washington whereby the Dutch have been permitted to use American loans and grants and materials against the Indonesian fighters for freedom. The Indonesian government has officially requested the United States government to discontinue rendering American dollars to the Netherlands under the European Recovery Program or otherwise and to render its full political and economic support to the Republic of Indonesia. The mere suspension of Marshall Plan Aid to the Dutch East Indies is not enough. All aid to the Dutch imperialists must be cut off, as the Indonesians demand.

The Truman Administration, taking advantage of the hysteria aroused by the current spy scare, is drafting a bill to "tighten" the Espionage Act of 1917 as a weapon against

working class political minorities and opponents of its militarism and war program. It was under the Espionage Act that thousands of anti-war socialists and labor leaders, including Eugene V. Debs, were railroaded to prison by the Wilson administration in World War I. Under this act, persons were given long prison terms merely for saying that it was a "profiteers' war."

Attorney General Tom Clark, author of the notorious "subversive" blacklist that has been under fire of labor and liberal groups, announced details of the proposed bill following a cabinet meeting at the White House on Dec. 17. This was the day after Truman told a press conference it would be difficult to revise the Espionage Act without violating constitutional liberties under the Bill of Rights.

MENACING REVISION

The chief revision, as disclosed by Clark, would eliminate that section of the Espionage Act which now requires "proof of intention and motive." With this clause revoked, the government would be able to frame up and imprison almost anyone by simply declaring some innocent act "espionage." It would not have to prove that, in fact, the accused was deliberately spying for a foreign power.

This provision is especially designed to regularize and legalize the Gestapo-like methods of Truman's "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist, under which individuals and organizations are accused and victimized without a fair and open hearing, the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers or to examine the "evidence" against them.

Another revision would legalize the use of evidence secured by wire-tapping. This would open every American home to the prying of the FBI or other government secret agents. Wire-



TOM C. CLARK

tapping is, in effect, a method of search and invasion without a warrant, specifically banned under the Bill of Rights and rulings of the highest courts.

The Truman Administration also proposes to drastically limit the statute of limitations in the Espionage Act, which now bars prosecution for alleged illegal acts three years after their commission. This would permit the government to victimize individuals for anything they might have done or any "subversive" organization they might have supported regardless of how far in the past it might have been.

TRUMAN'S METHOD

In some respects, the proposed revisions go beyond even the vicious measures proposed in the Mundt-Nixon "police state" bill, which aroused such a storm of opposition last spring that it was buried in Congress.

Truman has been feuding with the House Un-American Activities Committee over the best method of conducting the witch-hunt. He proposes the methods of the secret police, invasion of the privacy of the home and trial without evidence.

(See editorial on Page 3.)

UAW Supports Kutcher Fight

NEW YORK, Dec. 22—The International Executive Board of the CIO United Auto Workers at its meeting this month voted to support the fight on behalf of James Kutcher, legless veteran purged from his VA

job because of his political views, it was revealed today. In a letter to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee on Dec. 13, UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil

Mazey announced that the Executive Board of the UAW had "voted to work with the National CIO in bringing about a satisfactory solution to the Kutcher case."

Simultaneously it was announced that Irving Abramson, CIO Eastern Regional Director and chairman of CIO Community Service Fund, has joined the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

The case continues to receive attention in the press in all parts of the country. Matt Weinstock, columnist on the Los Angeles Daily News, says that "Kutcher has now become a national symbol for those protesting the wave of witch-hunting." He also reports that "Two quiet young men, one with a steel hook where his hand used to be, came in to tell us they're setting up a local committee" to aid Kutcher.

The Kutcher story was also prominently featured in recent issues of a number of important Negro weeklies, including the Pittsburgh Courier, the Cleveland Call-Post and the New Jersey Herald News.

Local New Jersey unions which have voted support for the Newark veteran in the past few weeks include Local 107 of the UAW, Camden; the Hudson County CIO Council; Local 125 of the CIO Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, Harrison; Local 34 of CIO Fur and Leather Workers, Hoboken.

The AMA is ruled with an iron hand by the House of Delegates, a clique of rich doctors who think and act just like Ford and Rockefeller. They are raising a

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to establish health and welfare funds. They also explain why Truman saw a chance to catch votes by promising action to improve the public health, and why the administration now feels compelled to ask Congress for compulsory health insurance legislation.

According to Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, the government proposes to pay doctor and hospital bills from an insurance fund and provide disability benefits to offset loss of wages through sickness. Additional hospitals and medical schools would be established and medical research expanded.

CHANGES NEEDED

Described in those broad terms the plan sounds pretty good. No worker will question the responsibility of the government to take measures for the protection of the public health. But when

you get down to the question, "Who gets what and how?" under Ewing's proposals, there are plenty of jokers. Here are a few examples that show why the labor movement must fight for drastic revision of the Truman administration's health program.

Most of the union health and welfare funds are financed entirely by the employers, as they should be. Under the plan announced by Ewing, the workers would have to pay an additional 2 1/2% tax on their already heavily taxed wages. People left out of the present Social Security setup, such as agricultural workers and domestic employees, would not come under the plan.

The proposed disability insurance would pay only "about half" the normal earnings during the first six months of illness and would thereafter be "comparable to old-age benefits." Old-age "benefits" now average about

\$25 a month. Ewing said he didn't know "how far we can go" in abolishing racial segregation in the medical field. It will be about as far as you can throw a bull by the tail, because he said part of the plan was "to enlarge facilities for Negro medical schools," which exist only because Negroes are generally barred from white schools.

The funds collected by the federal government would be divided among the states according to population and administered through local boards of doctors and "laymen."

Who would the "laymen" be? Wealthy business men, pompous judges, rich lawyers, moss-backed college professors, up-and-coming young Junior-Chamber-of-Commerce hot shots, muddle-headed preachers, and maybe a housebroken "labor statesman" for window dressing.

There is about as much sense of justice and feeling of human compassion in a gang like that as there is pity in a banker's cold stare.

AMA OPPOSITION

The administration's health program is little more than a device for the government to raise funds which would be controlled by the capitalists.

Nevertheless, the American Medical Association is howling that the whole thing is the "first and most dangerous step in the direction of complete state socialism." Supporting the AMA opposition to Ewing's proposals are the big drug firms and insurance companies.

The AMA is ruled with an iron hand by the House of Delegates, a clique of rich doctors who think and act just like Ford and Rockefeller. They are raising a

1948 in Review--What's Ahead for 1949

U. S. Drive for World Domination Heightens Fear of Atomic War

By Joseph Hansen

The drive of American imperialism for world domination gained momentum in 1948. Washington's "cold" war on the Soviet Union kept Europe in turmoil. In the colonial and semi-colonial areas, reactionary regimes backed by Wall Street slashed their way to power or shed torrents of blood trying to retain it against nations in revolt against tyranny. Over the entire earth, fear rose to new heights at the specter of atomic war.

With the ratification of the Rio Pact, Wall Street succeeded in committing all the Latin American countries in advance to the projected conflict against the Soviet Union; and the entire Western Hemisphere became one giant military camp.

The Marshall Plan, re-named the European Cooperation Act to take away the curse of its obvious war aims, neared the point

where its loudly-proclaimed economic recovery objectives will take first place to the revival of militarism in Western Europe.

At the close of 1948, top West European diplomats and generals met secretly in Washington to draw up a military alliance with world-wide ramifications. There was no secret about the objective of this "Atlantic Pact." It aims at gearing all the major capitalist powers into the master drive wheel of the war machine Wall Street is assembling.

Latin America saw a series of brazen coups plotted by the militaristic cliques nurtured by Washington. Successful plotters were swiftly recognized by the Truman Administration with one exception. In the case of Venezuela the State Department appears to be waiting for indignation to subside before officially approving the military conspirators who seized power by force and violence.

In Germany, the Western Pow-

ers moved ahead methodically with their plan to set up a puppet government to mobilize German industry and manpower for the projected invasion of the USSR. They brazenly freed former Nazis for key posts.

Moscow countered with the Berlin blockade and the organization of a puppet Berlin city administration. These moves followed persistent rumors that Stalin sought a deal in which the Kremlin bureaucracy would join Wall Street in putting down revolutionary movements of the working people dangerous to both regimes.

In France, American imperialism encouraged the would-be fascist dictator de Gaulle and backed the Quetelme regime in smashing a mine strike for higher wages.

Fascist dictator Franco of Spain received warm character recommendations from leading Democrats and Republicans as the militarists moved to include this butcher as an ally.

In two countries, Washington's ultra-reactionary foreign policy suffered serious setbacks. The Truman Administration assigned American officers to every important unit of the Greek Royalist Army to direct the suppression of all resistance to the puppet Glucksberg dynasty. At the end of the year, however, Truman had to confess lack of success.

Similarly in China, the people have risen against the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship even though the U. S. State Department approved of his despotic rule sufficiently to give him \$2 billion since V-J Day. Chiang's debacle was likewise a debacle for Washington's policy of blood and iron in China.

The only hope of averting another war lies in the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement. In this respect 1948 was highly encouraging. The Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, held its Second World Congress. Approximately 50 delegates, representing 22 organizations in 19 countries, deliberated on the problems associated with the struggle against imperialism war.

This Congress demonstrated the capacity of Trotskyism to survive the most ferocious persecution and adverse circumstances. With great revolutionary tides already moving in the Far East, the perspective facing the Fourth International at the end of 1948 was the brightest in its history.

Jobless Vet Would Sell Eye



Big Business prospered in 1948, but by Christmas time jobless Navy veteran Anthony Navarino had reached the point where he was offering to sell an eye for \$10,000. Above, the Navarino family huddles around stove in its cold-water flat in Paterson, N.J.

CIVIL RIGHTS LYNCHED IN GROWING WITCH-HUNT

By John F. Petrone

Like the confidence man who finds it profitable to be known as Honest John, the capitalist politicians devoted a great deal of time and attention in 1948 to speeches and promises about civil rights while at the same time carrying through the biggest witch-hunt in modern American history.

This witch-hunt extended into all fields, was executed at all levels in the government and threatened the democratic rights of all the working people. The White House and Congress differed over the method, but not the objective, of intimidating the masses.

The administration's "loyalty" purge got under way in real earnest. The case of James Kutcher, Newark legless veteran fired for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was the most dramatic and one of the few that aroused organized resistance. Hundreds were dismissed or forced to resign because they had read anti-capitalist literature or favored the abolition of racial discrimination; thousands more are still being investigated.

The department of Justice strengthened the implementation of its arbitrary "subversive" blacklist, denying tax exemptions to all groups on the list, even those that obviously were non-political, like the American Committee for European Workers Relief. It categorically rejected the demand of the SWP for a public hearing at which it could defend itself against the "subversive" charges. It took the initiative in securing the indictment under the Smith Act of 12 Communist Party leaders whose trial is scheduled to begin next month.

CONGRESS' SHARE
The House Un-American Committee continued its persecution of individuals and organizations and obtained a long list of "contempt" convictions. Congress itself held up enactment of the Mundt-Nixon "Police-State" Bill to outlaw the Stalinist and other parties, but it is sure to be re-introduced in the next Congress. Congress refused to pass a single civil rights bill.

The Supreme Court cooperated by refusing to hear any of the "contempt" case appeals. It also put its blessing on the legality

of restrictive covenants while barring their enforcement by the courts.

The Immigration Department speeded up its moves to deport scores of Stalinists and active unionists. The State Department barred visas to opponents of the bipartisan foreign policy both at home and abroad.

Since it was an election year, both the harsh election laws and corrupt election boards were utilized freely to bar from the ballot candidates of minority parties, and in some cases even major party candidates.

Administrators of the peacetime draft sought and secured convictions of conscientious objectors.

"Liberal" government officials like Lilienthal of the Atomic Energy Commission, who had recently been subjected to reactionary inquisition himself, joined in the hunt this year by prohibiting strikes in atomic plants and taking steps to bar from such plants all unions that refused to sign Taft-Hartley yellow-dog affidavits.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY TOO

The same practices were extended into private industry at the connivance of the brass hats when Herbert Lewin and Frank Carner were fired from the Westinghouse plant in Philadelphia because of their political views. Although a militant strike by U. E. Local 107 won their reinstatement, they are still barred from so-called sensitive departments.

And what was done in the government was widely imitated outside of the government as local officials and the press whipped up reactionary hysteria. Wallace and his supporters were attacked, meeting halls were denied for political or educational rallies, professors were fired for daring to express unorthodox political sympathies and in one case a man was even prevented from reading his poems at a public meeting.

Assaults on civil liberties have always gone hand-in-hand with preparations for imperialist war. The events of 1948 prove that World War III will be no exception. Behind the lie that it will be a war against "totalitarianism" abroad, the capitalist rulers are already laying the foundations of a military-police dictatorship at home.

Two-Party Rule Received Shocks, But Union Leaders Rescued It

By Joseph Keller

American capitalism's two-party system of political rule received serious shocks in the past year, but remains virtually intact thanks to the timely repair work of the old-line union leaders.

Prior to the national political conventions, the sentiment for a labor party was mounting. The Democratic Party was in disrepute and torn with internal dissension, while Truman had earned the contempt of millions of workers through his brutal strikebreaking. The Republican Party bore the stigma of avowed reaction.

Henry Wallace, the millionaire political adventurer, had split off a section of the Democratic left wing over the question of how best to deal with Stalin in the interests of American imperialism. Aware of the widespread disgust with both major parties, Wallace, with the Stalinists as his chief supporters, set up a third party devoted to "progressive" capitalism and posing as the anti-war party.

At the Democratic convention, the ultra-reactionary "white supremacist" right-wing walked out and subsequently set up the so-called States Rights Party, with strong bases in several Southern states and an outright fascist program.

OPPORTUNITY LOST

The labor movement was confronted with a magnificent opportunity to set up a labor party and run its own candidates with every possibility of getting tremendous support in its very first campaign. But the capital-minded union leaders, CIO and AFL, brushed this opportunity aside.

At first they tried to get a new and less discredited candidate to offer the workers. They freely predicted Truman's defeat if

nominated. But when Truman won the nomination, most of the union leaders announced their support for the greatest presidential strikebreaker in American history.

Truman campaigned in the most demagogic fashion, promising repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, housing, civil rights, etc. The Wallaces complained he was "stealing" their program, including Wallace's single-plank foreign policy of "man-to-man" dealings with Stalin. The union leaders, primarily through CIO-PAC and the newly-formed AFL Labor's Political Education League, spent millions in Truman's behalf.

SWP CAMPAIGN

The most significant event of the election campaign, however, was the emergence of the American Trotskyists — the Socialist Workers Party — as a national political factor. After 20 years preparation, the SWP entered its first national election campaign, with Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson as its presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

For the first time in nearly three decades, the authentic voice of international revolutionary socialism summoned the American workers in a presidential election campaign. Millions who had never heard of the SWP, learned for the first time of the existence of a genuine Marxist party, opposed to the Kremlin-puppets of the Communist Party and the fake-socialist party of Norman Thomas.

Despite small forces and financial poverty, the SWP placed the Dobbs-Carlson ticket on the ballot in 11 states. By dint of much pressure, the SWP obtained six national broadcasts and a number of local broadcasts. The SWP candidates campaigned for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government to end the threat of imperialist war and fascism and to build a socialist

society. When the campaign ended, the SWP had won recognition as the genuine revolutionary socialist left of American politics.

AFTER NOV. 2

Truman won an unexpected victory by a plurality, although he failed to gain a popular majority of all votes cast. The support of the unions proved decisive.

The workers, deprived by the union leaders of the chance to vote for a party and candidates of their own, by and large voted for Truman as the "lesser evil" to Dewey, who openly endorsed the Taft-Hartley Act.

In this indirect and misguided fashion, the workers overwhelmingly demonstrated their opposition to reaction. The arrogant Republicans, who had misjudged the times, suffered a disastrous set-back that has inspired a crisis in their ranks.

The Wallace movement, tainted with Stalinism and lacking a real labor base, suffered a debacle. Many of its ex-Democratic elements are deserting it, leaving the Stalinists as the hardened core inside the Progressive Party.

Some union leaders like Walter Reuther had talked about a third party "after the elections." They have ceased such talk now. The labor leaders have effected a Peoples Front-type coalition with the Truman forces.

Like its Stalinist-inspired European prototypes, this coalition is highly unstable. Truman is already hedging on promises, appeasing Big Business and resuming full force his militarist warmongering program. In the next period, Truman and his party will expose themselves completely. The workers will push forward toward class political action. Their pressure will split the new coalition and place on the order of the day the building of labor's own class party.

BRASS CONTINUES DRIVE TO MILITARIZE AMERICA

The trend toward militarization of the United States continued to develop during 1948. The crises in Europe arising from the "cold" war against the Soviet Union were utilized to whip up one war scare after another. These served to further entrench the military caste, increase expenditures for armaments and intensify the drive to Prussianize the youth.

In March, for instance, the Truman Administration gave the impression it was ready to plunge America into war following the Stalinist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia and the prospect that the Stalinists might score an election victory in Italy. This war scare helped the militarists stampede a law through Congress for peacetime conscription a bare three years after the end of World War II.

The top brass control the State Department; and in such strategic countries as Germany and Japan act directly through procurators like Clay and MacArthur. Administration of foreign policy made it easier for the military clique to use the 1948 diplomatic crises abroad in maneuvering for greater power on the home front. Already they exercise a baneful influence in the shaping of

domestic policy. They hold key government posts and dominate the White House. They have powerful spokesmen in Congress and run one of the most powerful unofficial lobbies in Washington. Their tightening grip on the country's educational institutions was symbolized in 1948 by the installation of General Eisenhower as head of Columbia University.

As the year closed with 1 1/2 million men in the Armed Forces, Truman was again preparing to press for Universal Military Training of the youth under control of the totalitarian-minded officer caste.

The trend is unmistakable. American imperialism is deliberately shaping a military caste on the model of Prussian Germany. This means that in America as in Germany the officer corps will become increasingly dangerous to democracy, serving as a focus for the totalitarian infection.

Truman's budget demands in 1948 were mainly designed to speed the transformation of America into a gigantic military camp. The President asked six times as much for war preparations in 1949 as he did for human needs and 17 times as much for atom bomb development as for housing.

PROMISES WERE PLENTIFUL--BUT NEGRO CONDITIONS DID NOT IMPROVE

By Albert Parker

The year's most promising development in the field of Negro struggle was the Randolph-Reynolds "civil disobedience" challenge to Jim Crow in the armed forces. Properly led, it could have set on foot a movement of mass struggle against Negro oppression.

But it came to nothing. Randolph, afraid of a real mass movement that could not be manipulated bureaucratically, refused to try to organize the Negro people around a program of struggle and soon backed out of the fight in a most ignominious fashion. His alibi was that Truman's vote-catching executive order against discrimination last summer was really a step to end segregation and would be followed by serious moves to abolish Jim Crow.

As events since then have

proved, that was the No. 1 fairy tale of the year. Although Truman is boss of the armed forces, he refuses to end segregation there. Whatever changes he has made where or anywhere else have all been kept within the framework of the Jim Crow system. The same goes for the decisions of the Supreme Court, on which so many Negro leaders stake all their hopes for obtaining justice.

Thus, after the Court's decision on Ada Sipuel Fisher, Negroes are still segregated in education. After the Court's restrictive covenant decision, Negroes are still kept from buying or renting homes solely because of their color. After the Court's rulings against the white primary, Negroes are still barred from the ballot in most Southern states.

The record of Congress is even more barren. Lynchings continue and this year, just as in all

past years, no lyncher was convicted or punished for his crime. Job discrimination flourishes even in states where local FEPC laws exist. Rosa Lee Ingram and her children still languish in prison even though mass pressure saved them from the chair. "The more things change, the more they are the same." In most respects this French proverb neatly describes the relationship between Negroes and American capitalist society today.

Like the working class generally in 1948, although perhaps to a lesser extent, the Negro people remained in the grip of illusions about the Democratic Party and particularly about its liberal wing. This was the year of the Big Wind in the sphere of civil rights, and as it ends many Negroes still think, or hope, that some real benefits may be blown their way. Little progress on a mass scale can be expected in the Negro struggle until these illusions are destroyed.

Destroyed they will be, and sooner than most people realize. Because, in spite of everything the Negro leaders and liberal Democrats will do to keep these illusions alive, capitalism cannot offer more than surface reforms to the Negro masses, because equality for the oppressed Negro minority can never be obtained in this country without a revolutionary reconstruction of the nation's economic and social systems. The Negro masses will learn this fact through their own experience.

This educational process will be hastened in 1949 if the politically advanced Negroes persist in exposing the role of the liberal politicians and in mobilizing the Negro masses to make the Democrats deliver on their campaign promises without any delay.

U.S. MOVES TO PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY

As 1948 draws to a close, American capitalism is getting another attack of the jitters. The chronic instability of the profits system is appearing openly again in the pre-Christmas decline in retail sales, the dip in employment, the shakiness of the price structure.

Bankers and industrialists are looking to the government to keep them on their feet with another and bigger inflationary shot in the arm of vastly increased arms spending. During the coming year the country will move with ever greater speed toward a permanent war economy—the sole hope capitalism now has to stave off economic crisis and depression.

During the past year the economy was shored up by more than \$20 billion of government expenditures for war preparations, including sums for the U.S. armed forces and "foreign aid." The results have been to inflate prices of consumers goods and, as the capitalist econ-

omists put it, "to drive the consumers out of the market."

CHRONIC ILLNESS

That the ruling capitalists and their government have no way to cure the chronic illness of their system, which fluctuates between the fever of inflation and the coma of depression, is indicated in a statement issued on Dec. 12 by the Credit Policy Commission of the American Bankers Association. In a review of economic conditions, representing the views of 310 leading bankers from all areas, the commission said:

"In reality we may be at an economic crossroads. A turn one way can mean a continued inflationary spiral; a turn the other way can bring a recession. Strong inflationary and equally powerful disinflationary forces are actively struggling for dominance. The future picture is somewhat uncertain."

How decisive the question of war spending has become for American capitalist economy is

indicated by C. F. Hughes, business columnist of the N. Y. Times, who wrote on Dec. 19 that "once again it becomes necessary to qualify the business future by stating that military requirements may prove to be the determining factor." He notes that "in the sag that developed in the late spring of 1947," it was the Marshall Plan first of all that staved off depression. And "early this year the Russian crisis quickly overcame the influence of the commodity slump."

But the more than \$20 billion Washington spent on war preparations this past year provided only a temporary prop. The spread between the buying power of the masses—which provides the greatest market for the output of the economy—and production and prices has grown greater and greater.

DIVISION OF WEALTH

The true process that has taken place since the end of the war—

and at a swifter pace in 1948—is shown in the figures of profits, prices and wages. Between 1945 and the present, prices rose 35.2%; profits, 234.5%; and wages only 23.1%.

In terms of the division of national income, the share of wage earners fell from 67.6% in 1945 to 61.2% in 1948. During the same four years, corporate profits rose from 4.8% to 9.1% of the national income. In the third quarter of this year, reported corporate profits were running at annual rate of 21 1/2 billion — nearly double the all-time peak in 1944.

The reaction of the capitalist class to the economic trends of 1948 shows that it has no other perspective but to plunge America into a catastrophic depression or atomic war. This alternative can be avoided only if the working people take over the nation's productive system and set up the planned economy of socialism.

eral Judge Goldsborough extorted a \$1,420,000 "contempt" fine. The Taft-Hartley Act inspired fratricidal warfare inside the union movement. Some union leaders, taking advantage of the "non-communist" oath clause, raided non-complying unions and sent scabs through picketlines. Daniel J. Tobin and his lieutenant, David Beck, used AFL teamsters to help smash the 144-day IAM strike at Boeing Aircraft in Seattle.

In November East and West Coast shipping was tied up. The CIO maritime strike on the west coast defeated a union-smashing drive. On the Atlantic coast, the first general AFL longshore strike, which began as a revolt against a contract sell-out by IILA President Joseph Ryan, won substantial gains.

CP DRIVEN BACK
It was a year of disaster for the Stalinists in the CIO. The Murray machine waged a smashing offensive against the Stalinists, climaxed at the CIO convention last month when the CIO Executive Board yanked the charter of the Stalinist-controlled Greater New York CIO Council and took authority to intervene in Stalinist-dominated unions. The Stalinists were voted out of power in two of their key bases, the National Maritime Union and Transport Workers Union.

The AFL and CIO post-election conventions were turned into red-baiting demonstrations for U. S. imperialism's war program. The AFL leaders endorsed anti-labor revision of the Wagner Act. The CIO leaders strengthened their bureaucratic powers.

CONGRESS OF LABOR
Genuine progressive groupings, anti-Stalinist in program and leadership, are developing to challenge the old-line conservative bureaucrats. Such groups have made considerable progress in both the auto and rubber unions.

The outstanding progressive union proposal of the year was the ITU convention's resolution calling for a National Emergency Congress of Labor, representing all unions, to forge a united labor front to smash the Taft-Hartley Act. This proposal remains the key to successful labor struggle in the coming year for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, housing, civil rights, and other legislation.

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TROTSKY

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly paid experience of the past."

— Leon Trotsky, Stalinism and Bolshevism, 1937.



LENIN

For a Congress of Labor

CIO President Philip Murray has called on the leaders of the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods to meet with the CIO in a joint legislative conference "as quickly as possible." The aim of such a conference would be "to coordinate our efforts in support of a common program of legislative measures for the 81st Congress, and of agreeing in principle upon the necessary means to implement such a program."

This call is timely and urgent. In just a few days Congress will be in session. It is a Congress overwhelmingly dominated by anti-labor elements, both Democratic and Republican. Unless labor is fully mobilized and set into action, it will get little or nothing from the new Congress.

Labor in the past years repeatedly has paid a heavy price for its dependence on capitalist politicians and the Big Business-controlled Congress to act in the interests of the workers. By now labor has had enough bitter experience to understand that it can gain from the government only what it fights for in united fashion.

Had the unions joined in united labor action during the 79th and 80th Congresses there would have been a different story to tell today. For one thing, we would not be fighting for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law—there would have been no such law.

Already Truman is beginning to dissipate the illusion his pre-election promises created. He is now "talking soft" to the Big Business interests, making conciliatory gestures toward the most reactionary wing of his own party and hedging on his key promises like unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, for which he is proposing a substitute anti-labor law of his own.

Some of his most ardent supporters in the labor movement are showing signs of uneasiness. Jacob Potofsky, president of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, last week at the New York State CIO convention felt impelled to publicly warn Truman and the Democrats that the CIO is "not a tail to anyone's political kite," that "we of labor will not rely on faith alone. We will be watching, and we will not permit any going back on promises that have been made during the campaign."

Labor will have to do more than merely watch, though. It will have to act. The union leaders, in response to Murray's call, should meet and jointly summon rank and file representatives of all the unions in a mighty United Congress of Labor, to convene in Washington, D. C., ready and waiting on the very doorsteps of the 81st Congress the moment its sessions begin.

The Marshall Plan and Indonesia

Not so many years ago the Mikado's legions marched through Asia, bombing, strafing, enslaving the helpless people there. Then came World War II with its lying slogans that it was being fought to bring democracy to the whole world, particularly the Asian and African peoples. What a mockery all this must seem to the Indonesians whose cities and farms are being right now bombed and shelled by the legions of Dutch imperialism!

Everybody knows how bitterly the rulers of the U.S. opposed Japan's conquests in Asia and what a role this played in dragging this country into the last war. Today it is common knowledge that behind the rape of Indonesia are American dollars and supplies. What is less well known is the full extent of this backing.

Here is the story that cold figures tell (source: the N. Y. Times, Dec. 22)—

Received to date in Holland under the ECA	\$298,000,000
Received to date in Indonesian possessions	61,000,000
Received under Lend-Lease during war	247,000,000
Export-Import Bank Credits	300,000,000
Total	\$906,000,000

Current Dutch Military Budget 550,000,000 guilders \$207,000,000
U.S. Aid to Republic of Indonesia Nothing

Here is proof positive that the Dutch war of conquest in Indonesia has been financed—not just in part but ALL of it—with American resources.

Truman and Civil Rights

Labor and liberal organizations have appealed to Truman to halt his infamous "loyalty" purge among government workers and tear up his notorious political blacklist of "subversive" organizations.

The recent CIO national convention adopted a strong resolution denouncing the government witch-hunt and specifically demanding abolition of Truman's Executive Order 9835 which initiated the purge and blacklist.

Scandalous violations of civil rights like the victimization of James Kutcher, legless Newark veteran fired from his government job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, have aroused wide-spread protests. For the most part these protests have come from unions, veterans groups and civil rights organizations which support Truman politically.

The Trumanite union leaders and liberals rightly fear that a continuation of such outrages will cast disrepute on the Truman administration—and on themselves as his supporters.

Truman has given his answer to these appeals from the very persons who put him back in office. Instead of halting witch-hunt attacks on civil rights, he has announced through his Attorney General that he intends to intensify them under cover of the spy-

The Socialist Workers Party has demanded that the Truman Administration immediately cut off all further ECA payments to Holland, and not merely to the Dutch-East Indies. The SWP has further called upon the organized labor movement to launch a campaign of solidarity with the Indonesian freedom fighters. It is unquestionably the duty of every worker to back these proposals to the hilt.

But at the same time, something more must be done. It must also be recognized that the use to which the Dutch imperialists have put American aid is by no means an isolated instance. Whose money, by the hundreds of millions, has been spent in support of the bloody Greek monarchy? Haven't funds from the same source sustained the reactionary Turkish regime? Chiang Kai-shek, the hangman of Chinese workers and peasants, is so discredited that even his closest henchmen are now turning away from him. Yet billions of dollars have been poured out in support of his rule.

Such is the real pattern of which the case of Indonesia forms a component part. The ECA billions have gone for the purposes we have enumerated, and not to feed the starving peoples of the world, as has been so cynically pretended. And it is in the light of all this, that American workers must now reconsider the decision of the official union leadership to support the foreign policy of the Truman Administration, particularly the Marshall Plan.

hunt and give them the sanction of law.

He proposes to regularize and legalize the Gestapo-methods of his purge and blacklist by revising the Espionage Act. This revision will include the elimination of "proof of intention or motive" in securing convictions of accused persons; the acceptance of wire-tap evidence and other practices hitherto held illegal and a violation of Constitutional rights. In short, Truman aims to make permanent those very methods against which many Trumanite labor and liberal groups have so strongly protested.

Do we need any further proof of the hollowness of Truman's pre-election promises to protect civil rights? Do we need any further evidence of how misleading and false was the claim of the union leaders and liberals that a vote for Truman was a vote for civil liberties?

A vote for Truman was, in fact, a vote for his reactionary warmongering program which is the very basis for his assault on civil rights. His proposed revision of the Espionage Act has no other purpose but to provide the government with a deadlier weapon to silence all opponents of the bi-partisan war program. Anyone who continues to urge reliance on Truman to safeguard civil rights is consciously deceiving the people.

How the Allied Imperialists Brought The "Four Freedoms" to Indonesia

By Joseph Hansen

The Dutch imperialists say their war against the Republic of Indonesia is not a war of colonial conquest but a "police action." It is not designed, they claim, "to crush Indonesian freedom, but to clear the road for its triumph." They are not slaughtering a defenseless people, but simply, "preventing a wave of murder, arson, kidnaping and looting" that was being plotted in secret by the Indonesians. And if they planned their altruistic enterprise in the dark of the night, timed it to catch the Indonesian government un-

aware and the United Nations adjourned, and had their paratroopers, bombers, tanks and artillery spring it without the slightest warning, it was only with the humanitarian objective of "saving lives."

Were more cynical lies ever broadcast by Goebbels to smokescreen a Nazi blitzkrieg? If they hang Tojo and the foul Nazis for their crimes against humanity, what should be done with the Dutch imperialists?

The U. S. State Department squirmed Dec. 18 when the Dutch colonial despots, just seven days before Christmas, pulled a Pearl Harbor attack on the three-year-old republic and seized government officials of the Indonesian people. How allay public indignation over this stab in the back so obviously patterned on Axis tactics in World War II?

ROLE OF U. S.

The State Department is now publicly trying to unload responsibility. To indicate displeasure with Dutch tactics, Marshall Plan aid to the Dutch East Indies was stopped and the UN asked to issue another order to "cease fire" and withdraw to previous truce lines.

No doubt the Truman Administration favors less violent suppression of the struggle of the Indonesian people for independence. A deal appeared feasible. The Indonesian capitalists had indicated in every way possible their willingness to serve as agents for Western imperialism, asking nothing in return but due consideration for their own interests. Up to the last minute, the Indonesian Government offered more concessions. Yet the Dutch imperialists arrogantly brushed all this aside and resorted to their favorite instrument of colonial policy, the naked sword.

Despite passing tactical differences with the Dutch rulers, the fact remains that the Truman Administration shares full guilt for the drive to crush the Indonesian freedom fighters. The record proves this to the hilt.

The Indonesian Republic came out of the underground struggle against the Japanese occupation. When World War II ended, the Indonesian people took in good faith the proclamations of the Allies that they were fighting for "four freedoms." They acted on the wartime promise of the Dutch Government to grant them freedom. They felt that surely the United States would recall its own struggle in 1776 against colonial despotism and come to their aid. On Aug. 17, 1945, they proclaimed their independence.

Against the tide of freedom that swept through the 72,000,000 people of Java and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies, the distant Netherlands government was utterly helpless. But the Dutch tyrants had powerful friends.

Within a month, the British fleet moved against the Indonesian Republic. The Japanese were told not to hand authority to Indonesia. British troops stormed ashore to seize key ports. Up went the Union Jack, the Netherlands Tricolors and the Stars and Stripes.

Here is how the Nov. 24, 1945, Militant analyzed the events: "The objective of the British is clearly. They intend to smash the independence movement. They intend to reinstate the Dutch slavemasters. They intend to prevent above all the spread of the Indonesian uprising to the colonial lands still in the grip of London."

"Washington is backing the British and Dutch. American arms, American ammunition, American military supplies are pouring into the hands of the British and Dutch imperialist troops. American ships are hastening fresh contingents of soldiers to battle the Indonesian people."

"Thus are the fair promises of the Atlantic Charter finding their true expression in the smoking ruins and bloody streets of Indonesia's cities."

Once the key coastal cities were taken, the British withdrew and the Dutch carried on. They put a tight blockade on Indonesia to

prevent arms from getting in and goods from getting out. Then they methodically built up their strongholds and moved forward according to the time-honored technique of colonial conquerors, making promises of peace to win truces and obtain withdrawals of the Indonesians, utilizing the truces to consolidate new positions from which to launch fresh attacks.

The Truman Administration played a perfidious role in behalf of the Dutch. When the Indonesian Government asked for help, Truman was silent. When the Indonesian Government protested the use of American military supplies, Secretary of State Byrne ordered removal of the label, "Made in the U.S.A."

Almost one billion dollars were turned over to the Dutch in the form of Lend Lease, credits and Marshall Plan aid. Not a cent was given the Indonesian government.

When the State Department did intervene in Indonesia it was to use the authority and prestige of the United States to get the truces needed by the Dutch and the retreats and withdrawals of Indonesian troops into ever more vulnerable positions.

In the United Nations, Washington took the lead in keeping the Indonesians occupied talking about concessions, cease fire orders, truces and their violations while the Dutch methodically prepared to carry out their strategic aim of crushing all resistance in Indonesia.

And today, while the State Department publicly slaps the Dutch on the wrist, it sits in secret sessions with the Dutch and other imperialist powers drawing up the Atlantic Pact, a military alliance under which new mountains of arms are to be sent to the Netherlands.

The Truman Administration is interested in protecting Big Business holdings in the fabulously rich Dutch East Indies. Among the companies are Goodyear Tire and Rubber, British American Tobacco, Standard Oil, Shell Oil, Colgate-Palmolive Peet, National Carbon, General Motors and International General Electric.

Besides this, the Truman Administration follows a general policy of backing reaction in the Far East as it does elsewhere. In China it has been Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, in Indo-China the French colonial tyrants, and in Indonesia the Dutch imperialists. In addition, it counts the Dutch as allies in the projected war on the Soviet Union and consequently wishes to strengthen them.

The Indonesian capitalists and their political representatives bear a big share of responsibility for the success of the Dutch. As early as Oct. 12, 1945, The Militant noted that "It is self-evident that Dutch imperialism plans a frightful blood-letting in Java to retain its hated colonial rule. . . The Indonesian people are putting up a strong battle for their freedom, but already there are serious signs of weakness in the nationalist leadership." We reported that the head of the Indonesian nationalists, Dr. Soekarno, "issued direct orders to Indonesians in all spheres of life to cooperate with the Allied occupation force." And we warned: "This is the same policy pursued by the Stalinist-dominated EAM in Greece when British troops landed in that country last year. The results were disastrous to the Greek movement."

Military disaster has now befallen the political representatives of the Indonesian capitalists. On the surface their mistake appears to have been naive trust in the Allied powers, particularly the United States. But what really paralyzed their struggle for Indonesia's freedom was their fear

Ku Kluxers Grow Bolder



In a public ceremony at the city auditorium in Macon, Ga., the Ku Klux Klan initiates 300 new members, wearing eye masks. The Klan knows it has nothing to fear from either the Truman administration or the House Un-American Committee.

of revolutionary struggle. They preferred to "cooperate" with the imperialist invaders rather than summoning the Indonesian people to all-out struggle from the beginning. This was their undoing.

They hoped the Dutch would make a deal. But the Dutch imperialists were too poor and too greedy to give it to them. The Dutch want them only as miserable quislings.

NEW LEADERSHIP
The attack on Indonesia has shocked the Far East. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, was only faintly voicing the white-hot anger of the masses when he declared Dec. 19: "A reaction to the Dutch Decree will be heard soon all over Asia. . . No one can prevent the tide of independence in Asiatic countries."

The struggle of the Indonesian people will go on. Of that there is no doubt. However, the difficulties are now incomparably greater than three years ago.

The Indonesian people will have to build a new leadership, one capable of successfully guiding a revolutionary struggle. This can come only from the Indonesian working class. It will be based on the program of Trotskyism.

War Hero's Burial Made an Issue by White Supremacists
After Sgt. Kazuo Masuda died in action in Italy, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, second highest U. S. military decoration. General Joe Stilwell made an airplane trip to California to present the cross to the heroic soldier's sister.

Last month when Masuda's body was brought home, town officials ruled that "restrictive covenants" barred burial anywhere but in an undesirable area without trees or lawn because Masuda's ancestry was not Caucasian.

Only widespread protest forced these white-supremacists to finally change their minds and give this hero of World War II decent burial.

Book Review

KARL MARX, HIS LIFE AND ENVIRONMENT, by Isaiah Berlin, Oxford University Press, 1948, \$2.

This new biography of Karl Marx written by a Fellow of Oxford University is a rather sympathetic study of the founder of scientific socialism and presents aspects of Marx's life and work which have not been as fully dealt with in other biographies of Marx. While this latest study cannot be compared with the monumental work of Franz Mehring, it is in many ways more satisfactory than the popular biography of Marx by Otto Rühle.

Berlin sketches in the intellectual and social condition of Germany at the time that Marx was growing into manhood. He provides us with a synopsis of Hegel's philosophy and the social background of Europe from which it emerged and which it influenced so profoundly. Then he devotes a chapter to the group known as the "Young Hegelians," to which both Marx and Engels belonged, and its evolution from Hegel to the materialistic philosophy of Feuerbach.

The succeeding chapters provide interesting and informative descriptive and background material of the three component elements of European culture which Marx combined in the shaping of his scientific socialism, namely, French socialist thought, German philosophy and British classical economy.

Having dealt with Hegel, Berlin describes the development of French socialist thought from its first germinations in the French encyclopedists to Babeuf the communist, and then its flowering with the great socialist utopians, Saint Simon and Fourier. Marx settled in London after the unsuccessful 1848 revolution and here he enriched his already extensive knowledge of British classical economic thought from Adam Smith and his predecessors down to Ricardo.

One cannot read any biography of Marx without receiving a powerful impression of the man's iron will to live his life, despite the vicissitudes of economic hardship and personal tragedy, in the cause of the progress of mankind to which he dedicated himself as a young man. Marx, the austere scholar and man of thought, was only too ready to spring into action the moment any opportunity offered itself. This he did in 1848 in the high-tide of the German revolution, when he emerged as the celebrated editor of the Rheinische Zeitung, the organ of the extreme left. And again in 1863, when the First International was founded, guided and sparked by Marx from its formation.

This latest biography of Marx is well worth reading as it provides interesting factual background material of the development of Marx's life, contributions and achievements. Its special slant, written from the viewpoint of the intellectual Anglo-Saxon liberal with a fetish for pragmatism, will of course be discarded by the Marxist student. As a matter of fact, no one can fully understand and write authoritatively about a revolutionary figure like Marx, except a revolutionist. And that has been done both correctly and brilliantly in only one work, the celebrated book of Franz Mehring.

B. C.

CORRECTION

In last week's report that Murray Baron, New York County chairman of the Liberal Party, had joined the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, The Militant erroneously stated that Mr. Baron was a member of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. We regret this error and apologize to all concerned.

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The Plight of the Aged

By Farrell Dobbs

John Nichols swallowed arsenic a few days ago in a lonely New York hotel room. When the agonizing pain struck, he telephoned the switchboard operator for help. But it was too late. He died at Bellevue Hospital.

John Nichols was an unemployed accountant about 60 years old who came to New York from Chicago. For the past month he had made a futile search for a job.

His tragic death was caused by monopoly capitalism's brutal policy of throwing aged workers on the scrap heap, not caring how they have to live, or if they live at all. Millions of people like Nichols are suffering such callous neglect, 12 years after the so-called "social security" program was set up by Roosevelt's New Deal.

Like crooked gamblers loading the dice, the New Deal tricksters set the retirement age at 65, when the average life expectancy is only 66. That means you have a 50-50 chance of getting for one year some kind of government aid in your old age, provided you are not among the 25% of the workers who are excluded from the "social security" setup.

Then the capitalist politicians devised a slick scheme which has kept average government payments to retired workers at the starvation level of \$25 a month. This rate has remained unchanged despite the terrific rise in living costs. For these dubious "benefits" the workers have been paying a 1% wage tax since 1936.

People can't live on such a miserable dole, no matter how light their appetites may be. Consequently, most workers past 65 have tried to

cling to their jobs. Those who can't get work or are unable to work must seek aid from relief agencies to supplement the old-age insurance pittance. There are now 2 1/2 million people drawing an average of \$39 a month for old-age relief. One million of these get nothing but the meager relief allowance because they are excluded from the "social security" setup. Neither security nor retirement is provided by the federal old-age insurance program.

Meantime a \$10 billion surplus has piled up in the old-age trust fund, and current income from old-age taxes exceeds "benefit" payments by about \$1 billion a year.

The Truman administration has now come forward with a few stingy proposals for "liberalizing" the old-age insurance program. Reduction of the retirement age from 65 to 60 for women only is proposed. Average monthly retirement pay would be raised to about \$50. Increase of the old-age wage tax from 1% to 1 1/2%, now scheduled for 1950, would be moved up to July 1, 1949.

Actually, the increased monthly payments would give little aid to retired workers, because the relief agencies would cut off their present supplementary allowances with the alibi that the federal government would now provide for them. It is plain to see that Truman's "new New Deal" will no more eliminate destitution in old age than did Roosevelt's original New Deal.

Before the workers can have comfort and security in their old age, the labor movement must fight for the adoption of a truly effective government program, including a sharply reduced retirement age; retirement pay equal to union wages, with automatic upward adjustments to meet rising prices; inclusion of all workers in the program; and a fund for retirement paid raised entirely through taxation of the rich profiteers.

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War Is 'Normal' Way of Life, Claims Eberhardt Committee

Police Violence Mounted in 1948



Strikes in 1948 under the Taft-Hartley regime were notable for the renewed pattern of police violence against pickets. AFL employees of the New York Stock Exchange were among the victims when the year was young (above), and CIO oil workers on the west coast were the targets toward the year's end (below).

There will be no peace—this is the gist of the report released Dec. 16 by the Eberstadt Committee. The document is of unusual significance since it outlines the basic ideas of the capitalist ruling clique on the future of the United States and who they intend to run the country.

The Eberstadt Committee was set up by the Hoover Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government. It is an advisory body whose sole function is to consider the fundamental problems now facing the capitalist class in militarizing the United States.

The head of this committee is Ferdinand Eberstadt, a prominent New York investment banker and former partner of Dillon, Read & Co., the Wall Street firm which has furnished such key figures to the Washington hierarchy as Secretary of Defense Forrestal.

The committee's report is based on the following premise: "The people of the United States have in the past thought and acted upon the assumption that peace is the normal condition of national life. . . History, unhappily, has failed to sustain this comforting view. . ."

In the opinion of the committee, therefore, from now on war will be the normal condition of national life. This view stands in direct contradiction to the propaganda issued by the spokesmen of the capitalist class in World War I and World War II. They assured the people that America entered these conflicts to make the world safe for democracy and to bring "four freedoms" to the earth. Enduring peace, they promised, would follow victory.

The capitalist rulers, of course, did not believe this propaganda. They used it deliberately to cover up their imperialist aims in the two conflicts.

Now they openly proclaim the inevitability and "normality" of war. This does not mean they will bare their sordid aims in the war they are openly preparing. They will continue to lie and try to gull the working people into serving as cannon fodder. The Eberstadt report itself is written under the propagandistic formula of preparing America for "defense" against aggression.

What this basic premise about the inevitability of war does reflect is the monstrous growth of militarism in the United States. A specific grouping is developing in power and influence, the military caste. Its thinking on national affairs starts from the premise of the certainty of war. Presumably written under civilian auspices, the Eberstadt report affirms this Prussian-minded view.

With the expansion of militarism, the danger of totalitarianism increases. Wall Street, of course, does not oppose a police state in principle. At present, however, it prefers the forms of democracy.

DEMOCRATIC FORMS

This question is discussed in the Eberstadt report, indicating that the problem of democratic

The Enormous Cost Of Preparations For World War III

The Eberstadt Committee declared that the "most disturbing aspect" of the preparations for war is the "enormous cost" of building the military machine.

While other aspects may be more disturbing than the cost, it is no exaggeration to say the price is high. Before World War I the cost to each person in the United States for military expenditures was \$2.25 a year.

In 1938 the cost jumped to \$8. Today the cost each year to every man, woman and child in America is \$100.

forms versus the police state has already risen in the inner ruling circle.

Considering the advisability of setting up a "military state" in America, the report declares: "Civilian control over military affairs involves some cumbersome and dilatory procedures and may even lead to serious technical mistakes; yet military power freed from civilian control would lead to even more serious mistakes—perhaps irreparable ones." Consequently the report lays down as one of the "basic criteria" that "civilian influence must be dominant in the formulation of national policy."

This is an admission to the military caste that all final decisions shall remain in the hands of Big Business.

Within this framework, the Eberstadt Committee is concerned with increasing the efficiency of the military establishment, of cutting out duplication and waste, and of centralizing authority. It envisages one over-all command, a body apparently patterned on the German General Staff, and institution long admired by American militarists. However, since this is not the present, it is set as a goal to be achieved by "evolution."

Another problem touched on in the report is the impoverishment of America due to the enormous cost of World War II and the preparations for World War III. "The history of past plenty must yield to the cold realities of present facts," declares the report. "We can no longer attain a reasonable degree of national security unless the philosophy of waste yields to a philosophy of economy."

The Nazi militarists put this thought more succinctly: "Guns before butter." The recognition that America's fat is gone means that from now on, the capitalist rulers will press more and more impatiently for the lowering of the living standards of the working people. The demand for efficiency on the part of the military will be coupled with a demand that the workers tighten their belts and speed up production.

MacArthur Ends the Farce

By Paul Abbott

The farce about democratizing Japan didn't last long. For two years General MacArthur pretended he was introducing reforms, that the reforms were taking hold and that genuine democracy was being born in the land of the Mikado.

This Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera, in which the totalitarian-minded American generals and the totalitarian-minded Japanese puppets wore the masks and garments of democracy, was designed to create the illusion that Wall Street's proclamations in World War II about fighting for democratic ideals were being carried into effect in Japan.

If you thought that Wall Street fought for imperialist reasons, the liberal apologists for the U. S. State Department pointed to Japan and asked, "Then how do you explain our bringing democracy to the Japanese people?"

It was a good show while it lasted. But now the curtain has been rung down and the marquee lights turned out.

On orders from Washington, Mikado MacArthur on Dec. 19 announced that he will resume personal rule of Japan. This means, according to a Tokyo dispatch, that "the Japanese must surrender temporarily some of the privileges and immunities inherent in a free society." In brief, Japan will return to decree rule.

Against whom is this shift in occupation policy directed? MacArthur made that clear in no uncertain terms. Heads of the striking coal miners, textile workers, seamen and electrical workers unions were called into headquarters and

"advised" to call off their strike — and without delay.

All but the electrical workers obeyed the same day. The electrical workers were expected to take an additional 24 hours before complying with the "advice."

It appears, reports the press, "that all strikes and other forms of labor struggle are forbidden." The Japanese Diet, which has been playing the part of the democratic chorus in MacArthur's comedy of self-rule, was ordered at once to stop discussing legislation demanded by the American occupation authorities and pass it without further delay. The Diet scrambled to obey.

The grand objective of the resumption of decree rule is to convert Japan into a "bulwark against Communism." This is Truman Doctrine phraseology meaning the revival of Japanese militarism in preparation for the projected war on the Soviet Union. It means the reconstitution of the Japanese armed forces, the conversion of industry to armaments production, the increase of profits for Japanese Big Business, the lowering of the standard of living of the Japanese working people and the tightening of the straitjacket of Taft-Hartleyism on Japanese labor.

The response of Japanese Big Business to this development was of course most cordial. Acting as democrats was a role they did not find congenial. They can now relax as junior partners in Wall Street's scheme of world conquest. The rising sun of Japanese imperialism is again in the ascendant.

They'd Rather Have Stalin

By Art Preis

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson of the U. S. Supreme Court, who acted as chief prosecutor in the Nuremberg trials, recently made some unusual statements about the Soviet Union. In an address on Dec. 8, Jackson pointed to Stalin's persecution of Soviet scientists, his bureaucratic straitjacket on thought and information, and said: "I condemn it as inhuman, but I don't think it imperils our security." He then drew the astounding conclusion:

"What I think we need to fear would be an open-minded, tolerant and inquiring Soviet Union, thirsting for truth."

In an indirect and somewhat distorted fashion, these words express the hundred-fold greater fear that U. S. imperialism has of a democratic workers' regime in the Soviet Union than of the reactionary nationalistic, totalitarian regime of Stalin.

The astute imperialists recognize that a genuinely revolutionary regime in the Soviet Union would have long since inspired the workers of Europe and Asia to the overthrow of capitalism. The capitalists infinitely prefer the totalitarianism and narrow nationalism of Stalin, whose policies and methods have discredited the ideas of communism, turned many millions against the Soviet Union and disoriented and betrayed revolutionary struggles everywhere.

Look back 31 years to the time when the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky had just made a revolution and founded the first workers state in history. They had the most democratic govern-

ment ever known, directly run by the workers and peasants through their elected councils, known as soviets. This government had no money, no arms, no food and medical supplies — its only heritage from Czarism and the imperialist war was famine and ruin. Yet the capitalist governments of the world were frenzied in their fear of it. They couldn't allow it to live for a minute if they could help it. They blockaded it. They poured armies on a score of fronts onto Russian soil in a desperate effort to destroy it.

For the capitalists recognized then — and have always recognized — that the peril of the Soviet Union to them lay not in its armies, but in the revolutionary ideas and party that gave it birth. It was the Bolshevik program of Lenin and Trotsky they wanted to stamp out at all cost.

Stalinism gave world capitalism a new lease on life by destroying the party and program of Lenin and Trotsky and building a counter-revolutionary machine designed solely to maintain the powers and privileges of the new bureaucracy. Stalinism sold out the revolutionary movements everywhere for the sake of temporary deals with the imperialists, from Hitler to Churchill and Roosevelt.

That is why a Jackson can sincerely say that the thing he and his class fear most is an "open-minded, tolerant and inquiring Soviet Union" — that is, a Soviet Union that would reawaken the revolutionary fervor of the oppressed of the world and inspire them to complete the socialist task that Lenin and Trotsky began in October 1917.

Health Program Under Capitalism and Socialism

(Continued from Page 1)

\$3,500,000 "war chest" by compelling the AMA members to pay a \$25 assessment or lose their hospital connections. The "war chest," which is tax exempt, will be used for lobbying against health legislation.

Doctors favoring a government health program are raising a voluntary fund for a counter-campaign against the propaganda of the House of Delegates.

If the AMA rank and file, and students seeking a career in medicine, want to fight for an efficient national health policy, they must form a battle alliance with the workers, farmers and all the little people victimized by monopoly capitalism.

That mighty alliance must go far beyond the feeble reforms

proposed by the Truman administration. A Workers and Farmers Government must be created to abolish degenerate capitalism and establish an enlightened socialist society.

The Workers and Farmers Government will break the House of Delegates' stranglehold on the hospitals, medical colleges and state medical boards. The drug monopoly will be expropriated. The building trusts and real estate syndicates will be taken over to clear the way for large-scale construction of new hospitals and neighborhood clinics.

Racial discrimination and the treatment of women as second class citizens in the medical service will be outlawed. Genuine equality of opportunity will prevail in a program to train a

great army of medical scientists. Instead of developing atom bombs and germ warfare, the scientists will be mobilized for battle against cancer and the other dread killers which are taking such a heavy toll of human life.

Doctors will no longer have to waste their time over the imaginary illnesses of well-to-do hypochondriacs in order to get money for rent and groceries. They can be true scientists, serving the needy and exploring new fields of medical knowledge, fulfilling the golden dreams of their student youth.

Under the socialist economy of abundance, people won't have to neglect their bodies, suffering needless pain and apprehension, nor be blighted by correctable deformities because they can't afford medical care. It won't be the cruel farce it so often is today when the doctor tells a patient to eat rich food, lay off work for a while and don't worry about anything. There will be no more humiliating experiences with the sordid practices of charity medicine under capitalism.

Diseases of malnutrition will be fought by making sure everybody has enough to eat. Those disabled by sickness or accident will be guaranteed full economic security for the duration of their disability. Everyone, regardless of race, color or creed, will get the best of medical care from the cradle to the grave.

The working people will say to the medical scientists, "Here are your tools—hospitals, clinics, medicines, research laboratories, everything you need. Use them to correct whatever defects you may find in our bodies. Try to prevent us from becoming ill and treat us promptly if we should sicken. Help us live a completely healthy, happy and long life."

"In return, we shall see that you men and women of medical science have abundant food, clothing, shelter, everything you may need for a full and happy life."

When that day comes, the needless death of a single person will cause a national scandal.

NORTH SHORE CIO ASKS UNITED LABOR CONGRESS

LYNN, Mass., Dec. 20—The North Shore CIO Council, representing a number of union locals in the cities north of Boston, has adopted a strong resolution urging the convocation of a United Congress of Labor

to meet simultaneously with the opening of the 81st Congress. At the instructions of the Council, copies of this resolution are now being sent to all unions in this area, and to the most important CIO, AFL and independent union bodies throughout the nation.

The resolution calls attention to the fact that the Democrats got the support of labor in the recent election by promising "straight unequivocal repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act" as well as a program of social reforms.

DANGER SIGNALS

"There now appear reports in the daily press which purport to be administration inspired, indicating that while the Taft-Hartley Act is to be repealed, it is the intent of the administration to seek a substitute bill retaining some of its essential provisions. These reports are corroborated by recent state-

ments attributed to Secretary of Labor Tobin, calling for a new labor law which would be considered 'fair' by industry as well as labor, despite the fact that industry's idea of a 'fair' labor law was the Taft-Hartley law."

For these reasons, the resolution warns the labor movement should not expect automatic realization of the campaign promises made to them.

As a means of meeting this situation, the resolution then endorses the proposals made by the AFL Typographical Union and the CIO National Maritime Union for a United Congress of Labor "for the purpose of impressing Congress of its mandate to repeal the Taft-Hartley slave labor law at once, to return to the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia Acts, to call for the dismissal of all officials who have shown anti-labor bias, such as National Labor Relations Board chairman Robert Denham."

Notes from the News

WANTED: "NEW LOOK" POLITICIAN — A "Citizens Committee" in Los Angeles is running ads in the papers for a man to run for Mayor. The applicant should be married, between the age of 30 and 45, have a "successful business record," a war record and a "clean record all the way back through childhood," a "pleasing" personal appearance, "good" religious connections, speaking ability, etc. And finally — obviously, as an afterthought — a "genuine desire to be of service to the community." No money is required, the committee adds, because it will finance the campaign.

ALSO WANTED: The Young Peoples Socialist League, affiliated with the Norman Thomas party, also has some openings. An ad in the Socialist Call says: "Anyone who knows of a person who may be suited for the job of YPSL national secretary or national organizer please fill out the coupon below."

HERO'S REWARD — Davis Knight, who served in the Navy as a white man, has just been sentenced to a 5-year jail term because he mar-

ried a white woman in Mississippi. The state charged he had violated its anti-"miscegenation" law because his great-grandmother was a Negro. Knight claimed she was a Cherokee Indian.

PROMISES, CONTINUED IN 1952 — The Scripps-Howard Washington round-up reports: "President Truman has quietly warned agencies to observe 'extreme caution in any public pronouncements about how fast our goals can be achieved.' It means he won't try to keep all campaign promises next year."

SAME AS VOTING YES — By a 4 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court has upheld the conviction of Carl Marxani for alleged perjury about Stalinist affiliations. Liberal Justice William O. Douglas chose not to participate in the decision.

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS — The front page of the Dec. 18 Pittsburgh Courier has a screaming headline about the elimination of Jim Crow from the Truman inauguration ceremonies next month. But columnist J. E. Rogers reports on p. 17 of the same issue that "a Jim Crow sign was placed on the toilets for workers building the stand for President Truman's inauguration."

Post Office Job Regained By 'Loyalty' Purge Victim

By J. Blake

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Dec. 11—In a precedent-making case, the Santa Monica Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week won a major victory against attempts through loyalty purge procedures to intimidate leaders in the fight for equal rights for Negroes.

Frank Barnes, local NAACP president, this week received word that he has been cleared of charges for which he was suspended from his Post Office job by the Loyalty Board six months ago.

The NAACP is demanding that Barnes be reinstated with full seniority and back pay for time lost.

Barnes was active as an NAACP officer in fighting the discriminatory hiring policy of a new Sears Roebuck store that opened here in 1947. The NAACP started picket demonstrations in protest against the store's refusal to hire Negroes as clerks.

The Post Office Loyalty Board preferred charges against Barnes because the Communist Party and other organizations listed as "subversive" were among the many groups that gave support to the NAACP campaign.

There had been a continuous internal conflict between the policies of the Stalinists and Barnes in the United Committee to End Discrimination at Sears. Nevertheless, Barnes told the Loyalty Board that as long as Negroes suffer discrimination, their right to seek broad support to combat it must be recognized.

Unable to convince or control Barnes and the other NAACP leaders, the Stalinists conducted a slander campaign against Barnes at the same time that he was under attack by the Post Office Loyalty Board. This disrupted the fight against Sears.

Friday night, however, the NAACP members gave a vote of confidence to the militant local leadership by electing as president Hilliard Lawson, who worked closely with Barnes in the Sears fight. Barnes was elected vice-president. The Stalinists did not dare to run opposition candidates.