PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 6

257

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY FEBRUARY 7, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Wall Street Sets Up Clamor to Speed CP Trial

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Feb. 2 — The government has been caught red-handed in its rigging of the jury panels for the thought-control indictment and trial of the 11 Stalinists.

way the trial has boomeranged. the empty seats the government The capitalist press and radio are clamoring for an end to this filling with jurors from the rigged ing the jury system. They want The monkey business about investigata jury picked from the rigged

ernment prosecutor, is using all of red appear along Park Avelegal trials in the control of the legal tricks in the book to defend Park West where penthouses of the hand-picking of jury panels. He contends that so long as there Large clusters of pins stand out is not total exclusion of a class of people, a disproportion between

classes is entirely legal.

Defense counsel have shown that "disproportion" really means in practice only token representation, which is even more vicious than outright exclusion, because it is an underhanded attempt to conceal an actual policy of exclu-

Last week Chief Judge John C. Knox of this judicial district said in a public speech, "Unless restrained by an authority I cannot resist, jurors in my district will continue to be handpicked."

Presiding Judge Harold R. Medina has accused the defense of delaying tactics and of attempting to take over the administration of justice. He halted examination of the trial jury panel with only six of the 525 members heard.

DAMNING EVIDENCE

Doxey A. Wilkerson, director of of the Stalinist-controlled Jefferson School in this city, is now on the witness stand presenting a mass of facts concerning present practices in selecting juries. Books of all sizes, shapes and colors, together with many maps and charts have been introduced in evidence. Lists totaling 7,737 jurors are under analysis.

the place of residence of each the wife of a police sergeant. juror on present and past jury panels back to 1940. Ironically

ously to endorse the efforts of

mittee to win justice for James

of the State CIO Council, An-

ment to all its affiliates and

requesting individual locals to

make whatever financial dona-

The Slovene National Benefit

Society through its President,

Joseph Culkar, has also endorsed

the work of the Kutcher Civil

Rights Committee and contribut-

ed to its defense fund. This is

the largest fraternal order of

Slovenians, with headquarters in

Members of the crew of the S.S.

Ernie Pyle took up a "tarpaulin

City branch of the Workers De-

Kutcher Committee's work.

case.

the country.

Big Business doesn't like the enough, these maps have occupied has so far been prevented from

> The pattern of the pins on the maps is a dead give-away of the jury-packing scheme. Dense ribs the wealthy are concentrated. at Gracie Square, Sutton Place and similar points where the well-

> to-do gather in tight little islands. Another cluster appears in full bloom at the Parkchester highrent housing development in the Bronx. Your eye is next caught by a thin scattering of pins in the university and college communities.

Then you become aware of the barren areas where a red pin indicating the residence of a juror en and Chelsea.

Wilkerson also produced a chart showing that workers who toil with their hands outnumber business executives 6 to 1 in the population as a whole, but on the stacked jury panels the business executives outnumber the manual workers 9 to 1.

"OUR PEERS"

Rhode Island CIO Pledges

To Help Kutcher Committee

Island State Industrial Union Council last week voted unanim-

the Kutcher Civil Rights Com- these our United States, which

tonio DiPinto, is sending notice help your fight for your right to

of the Executive Board endorse- believe in any philosophy. I care

Kutcher. The secretary-treasurer party, religious beliefs, etc.

Following similar action by the Connecticut, New Jersey

To date 21 of the 23 grand jurors who indicted the Stalinists | tifiable demand. have been questioned on the witness stand. There was not a single Negro among them. They turned Wilkerson has inserted red pins and stockholders, bankers, brok-

They have served on an average (Continued on page 4)

were the free choice of political

"Enclosed you will find \$1 to

creed you hold to and preach. You

COST OF LIVING

dicating the residence of a juror stands alone like a railroad water tank on a Dakota prairie. These lands of exile from jury service include the three Harlems (Negro, Puerto Rican and Italian) and working class districts like the Lower East Side, Hell's Kitch-and Chalses. Monopolists Try to Hide Negro, Puerto Rican and Italian) Reed for Wage Raises

By John G. Wright

It was only a brief while ago wage increases. Nor did it even ers to publicly soft-pedal this jus-

out to be corporation directors graphically reflected in governon a series of maps to indicate ers, wholesalers, an editor and B L S index, compiled several months after the "third round" of wage rises, the situation since ViJ Day shaped up as follows: Wages were up 20% while prices had soared by 35%. In the same period profits went sky high, increasing by 155%.

These figures are, if anything, an understatement. Yet they show that in the period of "peak prosperity" the workers have suffered approximately a 15% slash in their purchasing power as comand Ohio State CIO Councils, the Executive Board of the Rhode pared with their position at the close of hostilities. How could there be any question of the ur-

gent need of higher wages? On top of this, productivity per should have a right to your be- situation of having their living ical services and the like. tions they can to the Kutcher liefs! I wish that I could send standards cut at a time when they you \$1,000 or \$100,000. Fight should actually be rising. All the ing the "fourth round" and coun-

have gone to further increase corporation-inspired press, it swollen profits.

that such authoritative represent- are coming up for discussion, the few signs of such recognition atives of Big Business as Mr. Hen- monopolists are training their among the top union officials. ry Ford publicly acknowledged biggest guns against any further On the contrary, signs of softthe need for a "fourth round" of wage increases. The daily press pedalling this urgent issue are keeps playing up the consecutive becoming more and more apparenter the minds of top union lead- declines in "primary market pri- ent. The crassest action thus far | defend them on the civil rights index." What they omit to under- officials have voluntarily "postperiod of peak inflation? The score is that all these price poned" squeeze upon the workers is changes represent declines of not wages. more than a few percentage points | From the standpoint of the from the ALL-TIME highs estab- capitalists, such "labor statesmanof last year.

> a worker with an "average wage" of \$50 has benefited to the ex- levels. tent of 50 cents.

Every housewife knows that, despite all the ballyhoo of "bargain" sales, she still pays higher prices for most necessities today than at the time of the "third round" wage negotiations.

The gap between prices and wages has not been bridged at all. For families in the low-income worker has been climbing sharply brackets the few rennies, recentsince V-J Day, a fact slurred over ly lopped off here and there by by the corporations who keep the price gougers, are in most yowling for ever greater produc- instances more than offset by tion while intensifying the speed- such permanent price rises as not what political or religious up in the plants. The workers thus those in rents, transportation find themselves in the intolerable costs, electric and gas rates, med-

> The need for aggressively pushbenefits of higher productivity ter-acting the cynical lies of the

would appear, is dictated by all Now that many union contracts these salient facts. But we find ces," in the "wholesale price in- has been taken by the CIO Amaldex" and in the "commodity price gamated Clothing Workers, whose discussions of higher

lished in August and September ship" is, of course, highly laudable. From the standpoint of la-According to Labor Department bor's interests, it is a stab in the | Party is being tried under the estimates, "the decline in the cost back not only to the struggle for of living since last August had bridging the gap between prices increased the purchasing power and wages, but also to the no less of the dollar by one cent." (N. Y. vital struggle for raising the liv-Times, Jan. 30.) In plain words, ing standards at least a notch or two above the existing depressed

Taft Act Supporters In Position to 'Put Teeth' in New Bill

Fifty members of the present Senate voted for the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, four new members voted for it as Representatives and two others defeated labor-supported candidates. A majority of the Senate

In the House 227 who voted for the T-H Act were reelected, and six new members were elected over union opposition. A majority of the House

Truman's Bill No Bar to Use Of Injunctions

Out on Offer to **Debate Trotskyist** Will Not Defend CP Role in SWP Trial

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 - Louis Weinstock, the leading Stalinist spokesman in AFL Painters District Council 9, last Wed night first accepted and ther turned down an invitation to debate a representative of the Socialist Workers Party on the positions of the SWP and the CP with regard to past and present trials under the Smith

The question arose in District Council 9 when Secretary-Treasurer Martin Rarback read to the delegates from the notorious Weinstock letters, whose contents were reported in The Mili-'ant (Jan. 3 and 31). Recalling the conviction of 18 SWP members in the Minneapolis case, Rarback said:

"When a part of the labor and movement had rallied behind these men in order to issues that were at stake under the Smith Act, Brother Weinstock and the Communist Party slandered and besmirched the political views of this group and send them to jail for their political opinions.

"Today, the same Communist ame Smith Act for their poliical opinions and we can undertand why it is embarrassing for Weinstock and his Communist Party cohorts for these letters o be published in all the newspapers in the city since the labor novement convicts them as being stool pigeons and betrayers in he fight for civil rights in this country.

Rarback then told Weinstock hat he would be willing to have an SWP representative debate im on their respective positions oward the past and present trials under the Smith Act. Weinstock answered, "It's OK by

But when Rarback added that ne would invite representatives of the press to the Council meeting where the debate would be neld, Weinstock immediately lost heart and refused to commit himself any further on participation in such a debate.

Weinstock Backs Bloc in Congress Prepares Other Anti-Labor Provisions

By George Breitman

Truman's new labor relations bill, now under consideration by the Senate Labor Committee, would abandon most of the Taft-Hartley Act's restrictions

on unions, including the specific D unti-strike injunction weapons it

Attorney General Clark's testimony before the Senate Com- banned. Abolition of the antinittee. He said the "inherent communist affidavit. Withdrawal nower of the President to deal of the ban on political expendiwith emergencies" is "exceedingly tures by unions. Termination of reat" and the government would have "access to the courts to separate investigation and proseprotect the national health, safety cution powers. Provisions proand welfare. . . . This bill, as read it, does not purport to ployees and permitting employers circumscribe the rights of the Jnited States in this respect."

The duplicity of the measure was also demonstrated by Secretary of Labor Tobin's reply to Truman bill "provided for government seizure of struck facilior no answer, saying the ques- boycotts and jurisdictional strikes; called for the government to a number of formal concessions tion to bargain with another

The main concessions in the nad granted the administration. proposed measure include: Repeal But it would not deprive the ad-ninistration of the power to go restoration of the Wagner Act, nto court for injunctions to break with certain amendments. Retrikes. This was clearly indicated by in the area of interstate commerce in states where it is the NLRB general counsel's hibiting strikes by federal emnot to bargain collectively with foremen are also omitted.

BIG LOOPHOLES

On the other hand, the Wagner Sen. Humphrey's question if the Act is amended to extend certain "unfair labor practice" curbs to unions. The "unfair" practices ties." Tobin refused to give a yes include "unjustifiable secondary tion should be directed to Clark. strikes to compel an employer to In short, Truman's bill makes bargain when he is under obligao labor while at the same time union; and failure to give at least he retains the power to circumvent | 30 day's notice before terminaor negate many of these con- tion or modification of contracts. (Continued on Page 4)

New Stalin Plea: 'I Want a Deal"

By Joseph Hansen

Stalin's declaration Jan. 30 that he has "no objection to a meeting" with Truman to discuss the possibility of drawing up a "pact of peace" has touched off the usual speculation in the capitalist press about the mean- 5

ng of the Generalissimo's state- damaged by war is a great plan." ment. Is Moscow ready to make deal with Washington?

The answer is obviously, yes. Stalin has repeatedly indicated his eagerness to reach an understanding with American imperialsm. The difficulty has been that Washington's price could not be met by the Kremlin bureaucracy. Up to now, Stalin has not been repared to withdraw from Eastern Europe and open up the Soviet Union to western capitalsm. Wall Street, on the other hand, has felt no pressing need, since the immediate postwar period, to buy what the Kremlin has to offer - professional services in heading off and putting down revolutionary movements. Stalin now feels his hand victories of his followers in

ng to stave off war constituted

crime. This strange label is designed to help justify Washngton's open preparations for atomic slaughter. While Moscow calls for peace and a deal, Washington coolly goes ahead with organization of the most farreaching military alliance in history, the Atlantic Pact, and prepares to convert the countries bordering the Soviet Union into a springboard for attack. These bellicose preparations alarm the working people of Europe and the rest of the world, hence the need of the Washington propagandists to try to discount Moscow's ad-

It is true that Moscow loses nothing in the cold war by indicating its readiness to reach an understanding. And it can be added that these bids for a deal give real sting to the denunciations of Wall Street which fill the current Stalinist line that the Stalinist press. The working people naturally conclude

(Continued on page 2)

'Carry on as Usual,' Say Chinese Stalinists Right after Tientsin fell to the Government in China but to form | Tso-yi. They were allowed to ling the arrival of the Stalinists | ing for weak spots to increase

Chicago and lodges in all large cities and in many steel and Communists, a discontented cook a coalition regime with the operate their own radio station in Nanking. mining communities throughout turned to his boss and said: "Now, you cook for me."

In addition to financial aid The employer complained to the Communists. They lectured from numerous union locals, the Kutcher defense fund last week the cook, put him to work and the Mensheviks in Russia in 1917, Fu, with resident's cards and with received contributions from sev-threatened punishment if he eral different sources. An ad- caused any trouble.

mirer of Kutcher's fight for civil rights who had read about his over their wages and the eight- enslaved. discharge in The Nation mailed hour day. They wrecked the a contribution to the committee kitchen. Then they went to Red from Buenos Aires, Argentina. headquarters to complain.

They came back dumbfounded. The Communists put them on a victimized veteran. The Twin 20%.

fense League gave \$25 for the word for word in the Feb. 1 N. Y. Post. It reveals in the most A reader of the Newark News graphic way the attitude of the from Montclair, N. J., self-Chinese Stalinists toward the described as "An American working class. The Stalinists at Lutheran Protestant," wrote the following letter to James Kutpeasantry enter the cities not to cher: "I wish to say my whole liberate the workers from slavery family and our entire circle of to the capitalist class but to friends are in sympathy with

Chinese capitalists.

envisages a long period of capital- other credentials." ist profit-making in China with Workers in a factory grumbled the working class remaining

STALINISTS OBLIGING

ists began negotiating with the The above report appeared before they started the siege. the head of the insurgent the plant, a little erratically, all public panic." through the siege."

munist delegates were inside are confident they can do business prevent the workers from rising. Peiping during the siege, with with the Chinese Stalinists and maneuver by these politicians. As lieutenants to promote a deal your cause. These various boards The Stalinist aim is not to estabare missing the foundations of lish a Workers and Farmers Nationalist commander, Gen. Fu ern powers are anxiously awaitcoalition they are already probism.

from inside the beleaguered city, This course proceeds directly and communicate with the besiegfrom the program of Mao Tse- ers outside. They were equipped tung, which like the program of with special passes from General

"CARRY ON AS USUAL" The negotiations ended with an agreement, according to Andrew Roth of The Nation, setting up What happened in Tientsin was a "joint governing council whose repeated in Peiping. Erwin D. members have been appointed by Canham of the Christian Science Fu and the Communists." The muster" of \$16 to help the 10-hour day and cut their wages Monitor reports that the Stalin- property of foreigners and foreign diplomats is "guaranteed." Kuomintang city regime even This guarantee is being enforced "by police and by supplementary "The Communists controlled the troops from both armies." And electric plant which furnished the agreement ends with an anlight and pumped water into nouncement that "people of all Peiping," says Canham. "They walks of life are requested to obligingly kept right on running carry on as usual and avoid all CUNNING MANEUVER

This policy explains why west-

PREPARE COMEBACK

There has been a "regular proession of Kuomintang politicians to the offices of Ambassador Leighton Stuart, asking for his help in transplanting a core of the present regime into a future coalition," says Roth. The State Department reply was made through Paul Hoffman. In December he declared that Washington would provide assistance to a Stalinist-dominated coalition provided it permitted "free institutions" to function. By this he meant that the Stalinists must safeguard capitalism and give former Kuomintang officials kev posts. Such a beachhead would facilitate a later comeback for ultra-reaction.

of collaboration with former

their own power and influence. Figuring that the Kremlin fears the appearance of Titoism, the Nanking clique are bidding for strengthened as a result of the the role of counter-force. The game is to go over Mao Tse- China. Perhaps American imtung's head and hand over the perialism would be interested in western province of Sinkiang a mutually - profitable, over - all directly to the Kremlin. In return understanding at the expense of for this concession, they hope the Chinese people among others? Moscow will be tempted to increase Nanking's weight in the coalition at the expense of Mao Tse-tung.

Whether this desperat maneuver works remains to be seen. The fact that the Soviet Ambassador has followed Chiang Kai-shek to Canton is an indication that Moscow is not burning any bridges to an understanding with even the most reactionary wing of the Kuomintang at the xpense of the Chinese Stalinists. The Chinese Stalinist policy What makes this Nanking maneuver possible is Stalin's This was not all. "The Com- ern business men and bankers Kuomintang officials has open- perfidiousness and his readiness ed the way for a cunning to doublecross his most loyal

CACHIN INTERVIEW How quickly the entire world

Stalinist movement would make a flip flop in its attitude toward Anglo-American imperial-'sm should a temporary deal be reached was indicated by Marcel Cachin at a press conference in Rome Jan. 23. This top spokesnan of the French Communist Party repeated the long-ago-exploded Stalinist dogma that world capitalism and the Soviet Union can exist side by side indefinitely

He praised the Marshall Plan. saying in direct contradiction to "nobody questions that the American offer to help economies

Cachin also recalled Truman's campaign gesture of readiness to send Fred M. Vinson on a mission to Moscow and the President's statement that certain leaders in the Soviet Union are eager to reach an understanding with the United States.

Other lieutenants of the Kremin have likewise indicated how pieased they would be to do ousiness with Wall Street, not the least among them being the Chinese Stalinist leaders. PEACE OFFENSIVE"

The capitalist press calls this "peace offensive," as if want-

vances and to picture them as "nothing but propaganda."

World Events

By Joseph Hansen -

World Trade Union Body--A Pawn in the Cold War

By N. Henri

PARIS - After a little more

has undergone a split. At its foundation, the WFTU might have appeared as a powerful force from which the world working class could derive great | point of the interests of the workbenefit. Never had the trade uhion movement known such an solutely shameful. international organization, Moreover, it was organized at the very moment when virtually the majority of the working class throughout the world was re-

grouping in trade unions. of the WFTU except the reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. Alongside the British trade unions, the federation of Labor and the far as trade unionism is concerned, are one of the Kremlin's instruments for oppressing the SILENT DURING STRIKES Soviet masses) there were grouped in the WFTU a whole series the colonial and semi-colonial big workers' struggles. countries, first powerful ex-

pression of the young workers' | ing in behalf of the German and

No one stayed outside the ranks help the workers of Spain. It did simple appendage of the moverle. It did not even dream of lifting a little finger for the In-CIO, the French General Con-donesian people although it would Spriet trade unions (which, so Washington ner Moscow would be opposed.

The WFTU was silent during the big strikes in the United of trade union organizations of States and during all the other

The WFTU not only said noth-

the outbreak of war and many

dropped into inactivity, Comrade

around whom the party leader-

ship was reconstituted. Three

the Gestapo arrested almost all

and in 1947—he carried the heavy

responsibility of guiding the

organization by himself.

written by Leon Trotsky.

MOURN UNTIMELY DEATH OF BELGIAN TROTSKYIST

Comrade O. Henry, well-known of the party's May 1, 1939, in the Belgian labor movement manifesto against the war, one under the pen-name of Sem, died of the basic documents of the suddenly Jan. 14 at the age of Belgian Trotskyists. 44. He was a member of the Political Bureau and of the Central party was forced underground at Committee of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Bel- of the older leaders of the party gian section of the Fourth International). The cause of his Sem became the leading militant death was not reported.

A communist from his youth and member of the Trotskyist movement since 1936, Comrade Sem was recognized even before the new leaders of the party, the war as the most outstanding and qualified leader of the Belgian party. He was the author

Concert for Kutcher

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is proud to announce that pianist; Broadus Erle, violinist; donating their services in a chamber music concert at Carnegie Re-\$1.20 each and may be secured by writing to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y. Watch for further announcements.

> SAN FRANCISCO & OAKLAND NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Thurs., Feb. 10, 8 P. M. "The Negro's Revolutionary Past"

Celebration:

Allen Willis ____

Fri., Feb. 11, 8 P. M. "The Negro and Socialism" William Gorman Movie: "The Black Napoleon of Haiti"

Sat., Feb. 12, 9 P. M. Negro Literature Dickson Woods The Meaning of Jazz - Cliff Sharp Movie: "Music in America" - Refreshments & Dancing -

Exhibit on Negro history will be open from noon to 10 P. M. on these days.

1739 Fillmore Street, 4th floor, San Francisco

Japanese workers; insofar as its movement in those lands. sections were involved in action, What is the balance sheet of than three years existence, the this trade union international? it was to collaborate with the

World Federation of Trade Unions Up to the time of the official military governments to try to split, after the split had already create domestic organizations in occurred on a national basis in several countries, it is necessary to say flatly that from the viewing people, its record it ab-Some examples:

> The WFTU sent delegations, notably to Greece. But the WFTU aid not organize any action whatever to help the Greek workers. It did not organize any action to not organize any action against ments in the imperialist counthe war on the Indo-Chinese peo- lries. appear that in this case neither

standing. Their aim was to get the masses to accept the govern-mental decisions and thus turn the masses back into the frame. work of the old order of things - submission to capitalist ex-

When the "Big Three" quarrelled, the trade union officials took up the quarrel of their masters. If tomorrow Washington and Moscow make another leal, then we'll again see the . When the Belgian Trotskyist trade union bureaucrats getting together. It was with this perspective in mind that the heads of the British trade unions presented their proposal for one year's suspension of business In that time Truman and Stalin might reach an understanding, in which event the WFTU could times-in 1939-40, in 1944 after

the Kremlin.

question of wages.

PART OF COLD WAR

And why the split? Because a

revolutionary tendency opposed a

reactionary tendency? Not at all.

Today's split is only a part of the cold war. When the "Big

Three" reached an understanding

at Yalta and Potsdam, the trade

union bureaucrats of these pow-

STALINISTS INDIFFERENT

continue its tranquil little life.

The heads of the Soviet trade mions and the other Stalinist trade union chieftains could gain Sem was the organizer of the International Pre-conference of nothing at present from such a proposition. A year ago they could 1942 which reunited the Belgian and French Trotskyist leaders in still agree to a compromise on the question of the Marshall the underground during the Nazi they have secured the services of occupation. He participated in the Plan; because, dominating the three distinguished musicians to European Conference of the French CGT and the Italian help raise funds for the work of Trotskyist movement in February CGT, they were anxious to avoid the committee. Harriet Salerno, 1944 and in the April 1946 World a split. They could still derive Pre - Conference of the Fourth all the advantages of their posiand Seymour Barab, cellist, are International. During the war, tions without too much inconhe also organized the under- venience. But now that the split ground publication and distribu- is an accomplished fact on the Plan it is being ballyhooed as a ed 1938 prices plus 10%, despite cital Hall, on Feb. 22. Tickets are tion of the Manifesto of the national scale, what difference Emergency Conference of the does it make to them if there is Fourth International which was a split that leaves them formally aimed at fortifying and ad- prices since that time. The owners of the name of an in-With the death of Comrade ternational organization?

As for the interests of the Sem, the Belgian section and the entire Fourth International lost working people, none of the one of its most seasoned cadres, bureaucrats - those of the one of its most capable leaders "Russian party" as well as those DRAIN SATELLITES and a comrade and friend of of the "American party" - have The CEMA will help bring the stainless honesty and integrity, any interest in such matters.

Professors Ousted in Witch-Hunt







University of Washington professors Herbert J. Phillips (left), Joseph Butterworth (center) and Ralph Grandlach, fired as "Communists" after a witch-hunting expedition of the state Canwell Un-American Activities Committee. The Seattle Socialist Workers Party joined in the defense of the three professors, distributing a leaflet which linked the case with the purge of Tucker P. Smith at Olivet College, the trial of 11 Stalin ist leaders and the discharge of James Kutcher.

New Bid Made by Stalin ers, thick as thieves with their rulers, also reached an under-

(Continued from page 1)

that American imperialism must be the aggressor, since it spurns the Kremlin's advances and goes right on stockpiling atom bombs ploitation or the oppression of and lining up its allies in a worldwide coalition for war.

However, Moscow's propaganda gain is only incidental. The Kremlin is not bluffing. Stalin really wants a deal — on terms he bureaucracy can meet. But ever since the profitable transaction in which the Kremlin saved French and Italian capitalism at the end of the war in return for government posts for its agents, American imperialism has reected even a temporary understanding with the Kremlin.

DEFENSIVE STEPS

Thus the Moscow bureaucracy has been forced to take what it possible defensive steps, consonant with its bureaucratic rule, the wheat from Chicago to against the obvious preparations for military attack. The first of these was organization of the Cominform. The latest was anhounced Jan. 25. It is a Council 1% more than the Export-Import for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) for the countries of Eastern Europe with the exception of Yugoslavia.

This is the culmination of the bureaucracy.

into closer integration with the oppositional sentiment to the for the immediate benefit of Moscow's position.

If the satellite countries are permitted to trade with the western powers it will be along lines dictated by Moscow and strictly in accordance with the opportunstic interests of the Stalinist

A few examples will show how ing in the satellite countries since the first days of outright plunder. Poland was forced to sell 6,000,-000 tons of coal to the USSR last year for the equivalent of \$1.20 a ton when world prices |

ranged from \$14 to \$20 a ton. The Kremlin charged Czechoslovakia the Chicago price for considers to be the most effective wheat last year and added half that dissatisfaction with of what it would have cost to ship Czechoslovakia.

> On a loan of \$32,000,000 to Czechoslovakia for supplies, Moscow charged 31/3%, which is Bank gets for such loans,

DOMESTIC OPPOSITION

When Rumania, Hungary, Finland, etc. make deliveries of Marshall Plan, Like the Marshall imposed by Stalin, they are allowas the Marshall Plan is really much as 100% in world market more time for the bureaucracy. vancing American imperialism, so CEMA is designed to intensify will continue to counter Anglo-

into the open. economies of the satellite powers In addition there is widespread torial rule of Stalinism.

economy of the Soviet Union. The Stalin regime inside the USSR Statinist aim is more systematic as is indicated by the following draining of the satellite countries interesting report of the wellinformed Foreign Policy Bulletin

"If the judgment of observers who have recently spent conhumanely."

purges in all spheres of cultural big gains. and scientific life were a certain indication, as in previous purges, regime is profound.

KREMLIN WORRIED

The Stalinist bureaucracy is with American imperialism would facilitate "pacification" of the satellite countries and liquidation of the disturbing trends at home. One of the first "benefits" of the understanding could be the economic counter - moves to the goods as payments on reparations throttling of the Tito opposition.

On top of this, a deal would standable. One of his major aims postpone Wall Street's projected in Japan has been to safeguard \$9,000. mutual aid project. However, just inflationary increases of as military assault, thus winning the Mikado from the anger of the Without such a deal, Moscow the CEMA is aimed at fortifying this kind of "mutual assistance." American blows by bureaucratic an ally in Wall Street's pro- areas. The size of his fortune and advancing the Stalinist Such exploitation engenders in devices like the Cominform and jected war against the Soviet tense dissatisfaction among the CEMA whose defense value to Union.

satellite countries. In the case the USSR the Kremlin measures of Yugoslavia, resentment flared by only one yardstick - how well they strengthen the dicta-

Elections in Japan Show Rising Unrest Among City Workers

Is Held in Rome

The Italian Trotskyist groups

after the Second World Congress

their first national conference on

Jan. 2 in Rome. Twenty-five dele-

gates from ten local and provin-

The conference discussed and

adopted an important political

report which drew a balance sheet

on all the currents in the Italian

labor movement since 1944. A

tion and practical work of the

Italian Trotskyists was adopted.

The conference took up the re-

ports of various committees on

organization, education, trade

union work, etc. A Central Com-

In connection with the con-

ference an 8-day seminar was

held on problems of the revolu-

tionary movement. Twenty com-

rades participated and found the

tudy and discussion very fruit-

This will soon be published.

cial groups attended.

mittee was elected.

The Jan. 23 general elections in Japan revealed a significant siderable time in the USSR is polarization of political sentito be trusted, Russians who differ ment. Premier Shigeru Yoshida's with the Kremlin are not think- ultra - conservative Democratic ing in terms of replacing the Liberal Party won a majority of Soviet system by one patterned reats in the lower house of on the United States or Britain, Japan's parliament, the Diet. The but of ridding it of some of so-called "center" parties - the the bureaucracy has been operat- its most ruthless controls and Democrats, People's Cooperatives bureaucratic deficiencies - in and Social Democrats who conshort, of making the Soviet stituted the coalition government system work better and more that carried out MacArthur's orders-lost heavily. The Stalin-Besides evidence of this kind, ists, appearing as a revolutionar the recent series of far-reaching party to the voters, registered The victorious Premier Yoshida

is closely connected through marriage to the Mikado and also to a family of wealthy coal barons His aims in office are to strengthen Japanese capitalism, cut down the number of governworried about this bitterness and ment employees, launch a govunrest and believes that a deal ernment drive against the labor novement, impose wage controls and stamp out "communism."

MacArthur hailed Yoshida's victory as a triumph for the "conservative philosophy of govern-

MacArthur's elation is underworking people, to head off

Recently MacArthur took a Iapan. These consisted of passage of Taft-Hartley type legislation, ending of democratic reforms, exerting direct pressure on unions to call off strike action for higher wages and repressive measures against the Communist Party.

One of the results of this policy, ing of the Communist Party. Just before the election his headquarters had gleefully announced can militarists already envisage a drop in "communist influence" in the trade unions and predicted youth as the first contingent of a that the Communist Party would new Prussian army to be used in make only slight gains in the another invasion of the Soviet clection due to temporary fac- Union in Wall Street's projected tional dissension among left wing world war.

members of the Social Demo-National Conference cratic party. Of Italian Trotskyists

But the vote for the Communist Party rose from about 1,000,000 in the previous election in 1947 to more than 3,274,000. The which were organized around the Stalinists themselves had hoped magazine IVa Internazionale that they might triple their representation in the Diet from of the Fourth International, held four to 12. To their own astonishment they won 35 seats. With about 10% of the total ballots, they now constitute the fourth argest party in Japan.

Principal strength of the Stalnists is among the workers in the industrial centers. In the country districts they trailed far behind the other parties. This resolution on the political orienta- can give MacArthur and his puppets little comfort, however. The revolutionary fire among the Chinese peasantry is bound to soon cast a warm glow on the poverty - stricken peasants of Japan. They will then easily respond to the lead of the city vorkers.

The general elections in Japan thus registered growing political ferment among the working people and a sharp increase in the political tension. This portends no easy sailing for the Yoshida

As Gordon Walker, correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, observed in a dispatch from Tokyo: "Although Japan now is assured of a unified conervative government under Mr. Yoshida, the atmosphere here in Tokyo, meanwhile, is gloomy, Occupation authorities take an extremely serious view of the sudden spurt in communist voting strength. And undoubtedly here will have to be a reassessment of the popular theory that Japan is at least an ideological bulwark against the spread of mmunism in Asia."

Allied Court Frees Ace Nazi Diplomat; Restores His Fortune

The latest incident in the effort of Anglo-American imperialism o groom former Nazis and their backers for a puppet German government was the liberation on Jan. 26 of Hitler's top-drawer liplomat, Franz von Papen.

Condemned to serve eight years nt hard labor as a major war riminal, von Papen was not only freed by the Allied "denaziication" court after four years' imprisonment but all his properties, confiscated by previous court decision, were returned to him except for a token fine of

Von Papen revealed that he working class revolution and ing restoration of his holdings build up Japanese capitalism as in the rich Saar and Rhineland was not revealed.

The rehabilitation of this Nazi follows similar action in hundreds number of steps to hasten the of other cases. Among the entrenchment of reaction in notorious criminals who have received demonstrative leniency from the occupation authorities was Ilse Koch, the foul "Beast of Buchenwald."

Washington and London are restoring the former Nazi and their backers to power in preparation for the constitution of apparently quite unexpected to a Western German government. MacArthur, was the strengthen- | Plans are to include this puppet regime under the provisions of the North Atlantic Pact. Amerimobilization of 500,000 German

The Economic Causes of U.S. War Drive

By John Saunders

ington. On this point we can aim ever since the end of the war brusquely terminated its war alliance with Moscow and embarked on its "get tough" policy. It is Washington which has studiously held aloof from entering into another deal. It is Washington which has the final say, American imperialism is aware that European capitalism survives primarily because of Stalinist treachery to the working class. With the masses of Asia in ferment, a deal with Stalin might prove the only means of

in favor of a deal with Wash- groundwork for a more thorough well as to China. exploitation of the colonial lands. give an unequivocal answer: This breathing spell could also Such a deal has been Stalin's be used to bolster the new alliance being formed against the Soviet when American imperialism Union and keep the latter from from a political and economic masses to buy them at prevailing For it must justify the backbreaks out.

DANGER OF BUST

There is, however, one big cloud weapons in the coming war is on the horizon which becomes the most important consideration. ever more threatening and which motivates Washington's thinking and planning. It is the danger of economic collapse. Truman was absolutely correct when he stated in his Economic Message to Kutcher Defense Congress "that our unparalleled prosperity has not been maintained by chance." If American ferent sections of the country capitalism had relied only on and from several Internationals filling the shortages created by last week 'responded to the the war, we would have long ago Kutcher Civil Rights Commit-

Among many factors there was work. the Marshall Plan which prevented last year's decline in exports tributing to Kutcher's defense from becoming much more drastic. But the most important factor falo; Amalgamated Local 280, for the continued period of Detroit; Chevrolet Local prosperity following the break in Flint; Local 663, Anderson, Ind. prices of agricultural commo- Local 407, West Allis, Wis.; Lindities almost a year ago has been coln Local 900. Detroit: White the increased tempo in war Motor Local 32, Cleveland. preparations. Truman now finds it necessary to step up armament lince as a guest speaker before spending and to add another two the Connecticut CIO convention, billion dollars to the budget, with contributions were also received additional funds envisaged for from the Greater Hartford Joint the purpose of sending lend-lease Board of the CIO Textile Work-

Western Europe. In order to further bolster U.S. exports it is now contemplated to United Rubber Workers in New own imperialist appetite. It means which is driving the U. S. in- 18 SWP members who were railguarantee American capitalist Haven

staving off revolutions in the investments in colonial countries. With America's tremendous pro-lin's good faith toward the Orient in the immediate period. Nor does the administration over- ductive potential any laxity in capitalist powers and playing up The capitalist press is filled A modus vivendi could be utiliz- look the fact that a deal with this respect can be easily Stalinism as a world revolutionary with speculation as to a possible ed by Washington to crush the the Soviet Union would increase remedied. The main reason is that force. "change of line" by the Kremlin incipient revolts and lay the exports to Eastern Europe as our whole economic structure

ONE CONDITION

A deal with the Kremlin could be advantageous to Washington everrunning all Europe and Asia point of view on only one condiwhen the Third World War tion. Under no circumstances must there be a let-down in war preparations. It cannot even be said that the actual use of these

Union Locals Aid

CIO local unions in many difbeen in the throes of depression. tee's requests for support in its

Among the UAW local confund were Bell Local 501, Buf-

Following Kutcher's appear war equipment to the countries of ers; New Haven Local 125 of the Amalgamated Clothing Work- perfidious role and an aggressive State. It is economic compulsion

would collapse overnight in case of disarmament.

With the existing and potential cause of the inability of the preparations and war itself become the perfect destroyers of consumption goods, replacing the less efficient dumping and "plowng under" policy of the depression

mediate period an increase of collapse. American exports would sharply cut into the foreign sales of the thereby further undermining their shaky economic foundation. And American imperialism cannot afford to permit its allies to sink deeper into the mire.

ROLE OF STALINISM

ts aim of continuing and even casting aspersions at the Krem- exerably to war.

American imperialism under-

stands only too well the falsity of its charges. Stalinism has indeed been treacherous, but to the world glut of goods on the market be- working class. But Washington must continue to sing this tune. prices, capitalism can survive only breaking burdens placed on the by siphoning off production for American taxpayers and the non-consumption purposes. War failure to produce the muchneeded housing and other vital necessities. Equally important, American

mperialism knows that any deal with the Kremlin will be transitory in nature. For one thing, Even increased exports cannot there is a limit to which armafully replace armaments in stav- ments can be stepped up under ing off a depression. Such in- such- circumstances. It won't creased exports, confined in the make sense to the American peonain to heavy industry, help to ple. The inadequate purchasing industrialize the less advanced power of the masses will bring countries who on the morrow be- about a greater and greater glut come the competitors of Ameri- of consumption goods, necessitatcan imperialism in the world ing still more astronomical figures markets. Moreover, in the im- for armaments to avoid economic

In the end, American imperialism must abrogate any deal it bill. . . . \$40 of the enclosed industrialized European countries, might make with Moscow and go amount represents proceeds from all out for war preparation. our recent Militant celebration.' Facing either bankruptcy if this mad whirl is continued, or economic collapse if it is not, the Socialist Workers Party dis- who find back issues useful can imperialists will gamble on war as their only alternative for saving | Militant at the New York AFL | each. 1948 bound volumes will be the capitalist system. Thus any How can Washington achieve deal with Moscow can be nothing 51, 261, 442, 905, and 1011. This more than a slight breather in a issue contained the back page stepping up its war preparations continuing cold war in prepara- story on how Louis Weinstock and at the same time make a deal tion for the shooting war to come. Stalinist and former secretarywith the Kremlin? Only by stress- Nor does it matter who happens treasurer of Painters District ing and imputing to Moscow a to be President or Secretary of Council No. 9, used his union ers; and Local 338 of the CIO intent and thereby masking its of a decrepit capitalist system Stalinist campaign against the

THE MILITANT ARMY

Angeles Local of the SWP is Act. about to plunge into an election campaign to last through March. We would like to attempt a greater utilization of The Militant for this. We would like to be able to get some front and back page space-go door to door selling the paper as well as at plant gates, meetings, etc."

Virginia Barrett of Milwaukee: "I inclose an express money order in the amount of \$50 which as possible. . . ." we wish to apply on our Militant

The New York Local of the these back issues. Other readers tributed copies of last week's get 1947 bound volumes at \$4.50 Painters Union Locals 848, 892, position to further the scabby roaded to prison during the war

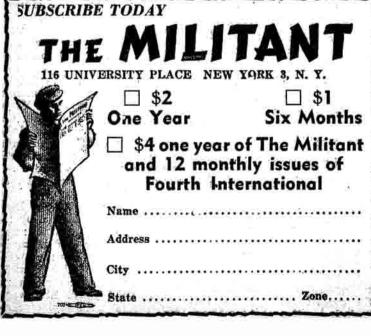
Al Lynn writes: "The Los under the provisions of the Smith

"For the first time in the short history of our branch," says Lillian F. of Oakland, Calif., "we intend to enter local politics in the Councilmanic elections coming up in April. We are putting forward one candidate for City Council. One of the main objectives of the campaign will naturally be to get as many people to subscribe to The Militant

A.E.O. of Chicago, a new subscriber, has asked that his subscription start with the first issue of 1949. We are glad to supply ready soon

READ





Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$3 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York. N. Y., under the act of Mar.

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Bundle Orders (5 or more

Vol. XIII -- No. 6

Monday, February 7, 1949



"A means can be justified only by its end. But the end in its turn needs to be justified. From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the profetariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of man over nature and to the abolition of the power of man over man, . . That is permissible. . . which really leads to the liberation of mankind. Since this end can be achieved only through revolution, the liberating morality of the proletariat of necessity is endowed with a revolutionary character. It irreconcilably counteracts not only religious dogma but all kinds of idealistic fetishes, these philosophic gendarmes of the ruling class. It deduces a rule for conduct from the laws of the development of society, thus primarily from the class struggle, - Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938.



LENIN

Memo to the AFL on Civil Rights

At your last convention, John P. Prey of the Metal Trades Department introduced Resolution No. 92 on the government "Loyalty Investigation" calling for the rescinding of Truman's witch-hunt Order No. 9835 because it "has been conducted in violation of lawful and constitutional rights.' You passed this resolution unanimously.

What has been done since then to implement this resolution which aimed at putting the powerful weight of the AFL fully behind the struggle to force withdrawal of Truman's infamous "loyalty" order? Are you waiting for Truman to carry out his campaign pledge on civil liberties?

To wait for Truman to keep his campaign promises appears to us to be a grave mistake. Truman will not rescind his fascist-like order unless he deems it politically advisable to do so. And he will not reach that conclusion unless organizations of such standing as the AFL vigorously press for immediate action.

You could, for example, take up the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who

was recently discharged from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration under Truman's witch-hunt Order No. 9835 because his political views happen to differ from those of the administration. Many AFL locals as well as other labor bodies have rallied to the defense of this veteran, anderstanding as they do the importance of the case in the defense of the democratic rights upon which the very existence of organized labor hinges. But the AFL as a whole has not been mobilized into action.

It would be difficult for you to find a case at present that better symbolizes the danger the government "loyalty" purge and witchhunt holds for a free America. By taking up this case you could dramatize in the most effective way the great concern the AFL has for the preservation of civil liberties. Such action would bring enormous pressure to bear on Truman and greatly facilitate early realization of the highly desirable objective embodied in your resolution.

Peace--A Lull in

The Militant has often pointed out how periods of peace are growing shorter and shorter as capitalism declines.

Up until the turn of the century, wars between the imperialist powers ended in relatively stable periods of peace. Today the periods of peace resemble those lulls in war when the opposing sides hold their positions waiting for fresh supplies to mount a new offensive.

Thus the period of "peace" we are now enjoying is no more than a short breather so far as the ruling capitalist class is concerned. With the Marshall Plan they are patching up the worst ruins left by World War II and reviving the battered capitalist economies of Europe. The North Atlantic Pact picks up where the Marshall Plan leaves off. Its aim is construction of a vastring of military bases around the Soviet Union, rearmament of the Western Powers and mobilization of new armies from the thinned ranks of Europe's youth.

The North Atlantic Pact is even designed to by-pass the old legal hurdle that America cannot be committed to war without Congressional approval. It is an open secret that the Wall Street rulers have already made a deal with the other imperialist powers to plunge America into atomic war when the

These open preparations for war are outlined in detail in the capitalist press even down to the specific bombing bases that will become available to the U.S. Air Force and the approximate cost in dollars and cents. Could better evidence be found to confirm the Marxist analysis that capitalism cannot achieve enduring peace, that it can bring the world only new and more terrible wars that threaten the destruction of civilization?

Every class-conscious worker should study the meaning of the North Atlantic Pact. Your life and that of your friends and relatives may hinge on the way the Senate votes on this proposed military alliance.

But it would be the greatest naivete to believe that the Senate will reject the pact. Most likely these Wall Street politicians will railroad it through in record time and with a record vote in favor of it.

Only one course can prevent World War III and that is to replace the government of Wall Street by a Workers and Farmers Government. This will require heroic efforts. It means giving up the comfortable notion that somehow or other war can be avoided without taking action.

Every worker who wants enduring peace must help organize to achieve it. That means joining the Socialist Workers Party and actively participating in the struggle against imperialist war and for a socialist world.

the "Star" A Stalinist Replies to

In one of the final issues of PM's successor, the liberal N. Y. Star which went out of business last week, the editor devoted his column to the current thought-control trial of 11 Communist Party leaders.

The Star opined that the attempt of the Stalinists to quash the indictment because of biased jury selection is "justifiable" and "we certainly don't blame them for skirting a procedure that would mean a long and costly journey to the Supreme Court for a test of the Smith Act."

However, continued the editor, if the Stalinist legal tactic should prove successful this would regrettably leave the Smith Act still on the books for use against "Communists and any other left wingers"; inasmuch as the Supreme Court would not be given an opportunity to rule on its constitutionality.

If you know the precedents under the Smith Act, you can't help asking: Do these liberals really pay attention to what is happening in the struggle for civil liberties? Don't they know that the Supreme Court has refused three times to rule on the constitutionality of the Smith Act? Don't they know that 18 Trotskyists were imprisoned under the Smith Act on virtually the same charges as those now being pressed against the Stalinists?

Last Sunday, Jan. 30, the Stalinist newspaper, The Worker, ran a reply by one Milton Howard. This champion of civil liberties found the "logic" of the Star editorial both "horrifying" and "fantastic." What! the Star "insists that the Communists shall submit themselves to the mercies of a 'test' to see if there can be a police state in the United States"?

The Star didn't "insist"; it specifically admitted that the Stalinist tactic was "justifiable." But when a Stalinist hack is out to make a point, a small falsification like that is the least to be expected.

Howard claims that the Stalinist legal tactic is justifiable because the Supreme Court cannot be trusted to hand down a favorable decision on the Smith Act. To prove his point, he digs into history: In the 1850's the Supreme Court "ruled in the Dred Scott decison that chattel slavery must be upheld by every American." In "later days" the Supreme Court did nothing to halt the frameup of the Haymarket victims. Then came Tom Mooney; the Supreme Court "kept him in jail for more than 20 years." And what about Sacco and Vanzetti? Did the liberals on the Supreme Court bench "lift a finger" to save them?

After that record on previous Supreme Courts, you get braced for the jaw-smasherthe refusal of the present Supreme Court three times to rule on the constitutionality of the Smith Act in the case of the 18 Trotskyists. But a Stalinist hack would sooner bite off his tongue than mention this prece-

And so this ornament to Stalinist journalism does not even mention the Supreme Court action in the case of the 18 Trotskyists! He refuses to use the most powerful argument in the arsenal against placing trust in the Supreme Court - an argument that might have convinced the Star and its 140.-000 readers to exert greater efforts in support of the defense in this thought-control

If you ask us, Howard's reply was intended not so much to answer the Star as to bolster up the Daily Worker's insistence that the current Stalinist case "is the first time in America's century and a half that a political party is put on trial."

If history happens to say otherwise, too bad for history.

Negro History Week and the Workers

By J. Meyer

Negro History Week is no celebration of mere academic sterest in the truth about Negroes. The Negroes had to organize themselves to find out and teach their own history as a

weapon in the struggle. Generation after generation, distinguish- Woodson and the contributors to ed and learned bourgeois professors, historians and publicists poured out a mass of lies, distorions, falsifications of the history of the Negro people in the United States.

By so doing they helped to provide the justification for the economic exploitation and social and political segregation of the Negroes by capitalist society. They helped to keep the Negro people in a state of doubt and demoralization about their own capacity to participate as equals in the life around them.

These lies and falsifications, taught in every school in the among white workers the feeling of separation from the Negroes and superiority to them. They evitable outcome of Negro in- they were.

All this the Negroes had to thirty years they have not only undermined the vast structure of bourgeois lies about Negroes. They have done more. They have undermined the foundations of crucial aspects of American history. Most important of all, they have given the proletariat an example to be followed. How and why this is so is of extreme importance to Marxists and to all workers.

The Negro historians have had special interest in the central episode in American history, the Civil War. No historical subject is more important for the nation. What was its cause, what were the economic, social and political forces which led up to it, how was it fought and won, what were the consequences flowing from it? Without clear answers to all this, it is impossible to make a theoretical, a scientific analysis of the contemporary United

GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS Before the end of World War I

Dr. Carter Woodson, as editor of the Journal of Negro History and author of many books and articles, had begun his life-long task of organizing and publishing studies in Negro history in general and some remarkable studies on Negroes before and during the period of the Civil War.

of nearly 700 pages, The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860. Once and for all was established in irrefutable form the powerful role played by the Negroes in the Abolitionist Move-

In 1935 came the publication of Dr. DuBois' Black Reconstruction. Dr. DuBois made some serious mistakes which we cannot co into here, but the creative role of the Negroes in the great crisis of American history was established with sound and brilliant scholarship and a genuine sense of historical style. His onslaught at the end of the book upon some of the famous writers' on the period of the Civil Way is a landmark in American hisorical writing.

EFFECT ON LIBERALS

So deep was the corruption of history by the official historians that even the liberal and the pseudo-Marxist writers could not escape its influence. The Rise of American Civilization by the late difficult to find. Charles Beard, though not a Marxist work, helped substantially to correct many misinterpretations of the Civil War. When he called the Civil War "The Second American Revolution" and wrote of it as such, he took the writing of American history a step forward. But read the book with the work of Woodson or DuBois in mind. Beard does not know the role played by the Negroes before, during or after the Civil War.

In a later book, A Basic History of the United States, published in 1944, he tries to correct the omission. He repeats the legend about the majority of Negroes in the South having been faithful to their masters and mistresses during the Civil War. Then he adds self-consciously There were exceptions, to be sure, thousands of exceptions. At least 100,000 Negroes had served in the Union armies as soldiers and laborers. . . . In the South as well as the North, hundreds of Negroes, intelligent and ship for their bewildered people."

the Journal of Negro History, Beard's facts are still wrong. The number of Negro soldiers and laborers was infinitely greater than he thinks. But his whole conception falls short. The great leadership of Negroes, educated and uneducated, was not so much after the Civil War as before it. BASIC FOR UNDERSTANDING

It may seem that the issue is small. It is not. Without this knowledge you cannot understand the Abolition movement. Beard is baffled by the Abolitionists. In the Rise of American Civilization he says: "The sources of this country, built up and maintained remarkable movement are difficult to discover. Westermarck, in two huge volumes devoted to the history of moral ideas, gives were read abroad and this helped no clue to the inspiration of such to make the shameful Jim Crow a crusade." Both these gifted policy of American society seem writers cannot understand how reasonable and natural, an in- the Abolitionists came to be what

To understand this you have to know above all about the confight. They began solely with the tributions of the Negroes, the need to right their own historical escaped slaves who became worldvroigs. But now after some famous propagandists, the escaping slaves, the Underground Railroad, the constant slave rebellions in the South, the battles over civil rights for escaped slaves in the North. These made American historical writing, not the Abolition movement what it only about Negroes but about was and also what it was not Thus a world - famous political creation of the American people the Abolition movement, remains a mystery because of the rejection of the Negroes as a historical force.

One more example must be riven. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, published in 1934, has on its lists of editors and contributors, such names as Sidney Hook, Lewis Corey, and gressive historians, ex-Marxists, would-be Marxists, materialists etc. Yet the article on American slavery by Ulrich Phillips contains the following about Negroes n the Civil War:

"In war time neither belligerent found much use for Negroes. As they did not rise in insurrection but remained peaceful and incommunicado on the plantations. Tradition says that very many were obsequious and solicitous to the end - faithful friends. . . There is no ground for doubting the truth of such reports."

But Abraham Lincoln himself,

Scottsboro Case, Northern Style



Latest in the long series of frameups against Negro victims, six Trenton, N. J. youths have been condemned to die for the alleged murder of a white man. The six were condemned on the basis of "confessions" obtained through torture and drugs. Two "eyewitnesses" could not identify the men or the alleged murder car. The murdered man's wife changed her testimony. Evidence requested by the defense to confirm the strong alibis offered by the defendants was suppressed. Five of the six are shown here (left to right): Collis English, Ralph Cooper, James, Thorpe, McKinley Forest and Horace Wilson.

we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

The Negro historians have

What has happened to American history by its degradation of the Negroes is not unique to the United States. It is characany number of liberal and pro- teristic of history all over the world. It took the rise of the labor and socialist movement in Europe before the role played by the workers and the peasants in the French Revolution a hundred years before began to be made known. The American workingclass will have to follow the trail had been foretold in the South, blazed by the Negroes. Organized labor will have to organize its own societies for the study of the role of he workers and farmers in the critical episodes of American history.

When this is done, and it will inevitably be done, the history of the United States will have to

the Negro soldiers: "Take two slaves, i.e., against Negro labor, moment, has bred a growing hundred thousand men from our in the Civil War is only a special distrust of them. The direct inside and put them on the battle- case of the discrimination against fluence of the Stalinists on Negro field or cornfield against us, and labor as a whole consistently historical writing, which was at practised by bourgeois historians one time great, is declining. the world over.

brought such truths back into circulation. Against tremendous odds they have succeeded.

ALL OVER THE WORLD

History is never a history only

tween whites and Negroes inside in the United States. But to do this movement. They are not this work as it ought to be done doing this merely for history's they need to master historical sake. They are seeking to find method, Marxism, the science of answers to the difficult relation history as developed by Marx, between the special struggle for Trotsky, and other great prole-Negro emancipation and the tarian writers, not excluding general struggles in the nation Daniel de Leon. That science toas a whole. This was a serious day is corrupted by Stalinism problem in 1840-1865. It is a

serious problem today.

pelled to this, among other the world. There is a fruitful field reasons, by the policies of the of mutual collaboration here by Stalinists. The Stalinists did some very good work in the field of Negro history. But here, as everywhere else, their manipula-

The whole situation presents 2

powerful challenge both to the of the past. It is always con- genuine Marxists and the labor cerned with the present and movement as a whole. The Negro therefore with the future. That historians have done a remarkis why the bourgeois historians able work that extends beyond write as they do. But two can the writing of history as such, play at that game. Today some Their probings into the Abolition of the younger Negro historians movement will have great inare delving into the Abolitionist fluence in helping to shape movement and the conflicts be- future mass political movements but, it is vigorously practised by the Trotskyist movement in The Negroes have been im- the United States and all over Negro historians and the genuine representatives of the great intellectual tradition of Marxism.

But here, as everywhere else, he rewritten from top to bottom. tion of economics, politics, his- the most fundamental task can during the Civil War, said about The discrimination against Negro tory, to suit the policy of the be done by organized labor and organized labor alone. It must successes and the serious limitations of the Negro historians. It must recognize the need for labor to help the Negroes in the great work that they have begun, to subsidize it, to read it, to spread its results. But organized labor now has the power and the recources to begin such an investigation into American history as will right not only the wrongs of Negroes but will rout the professors and historians who have slandered all labor and deceived us and the rest of the world for so long.

The proletariat must fight the capitalists in every field. When they suppress the truth about Negroes and workers in American history they are fighting to maintain their rotting society. When the proletariat, as only the proletariat can, opens up the road that the Negro writers are so patiently charting, a'nother mighty blow will have been struck at the tottering tower of bourgeois ideology. The time is ripe.

War. To mention only one. In 1926 the published a mighty volume of nearly 700 pages, The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters written During the Crisis 1800 Of Frederick Douglass Of Frederick Douglass Frederick Douglass by Benja- | Douglass' turn to political action | One wonders if the author realizmin Quarles, the Associated and his break with Garrison's sec- ed the inferences that the reader

Publishers, Inc., 1948, vi + 378 pp., \$4.

By George Lavan

A new biography of Frederick Douglass has long been overdue. The accounts of the fascinating life of this runaway slave who became one of the greatest orators, thinkers and leaders of the Abolibeen available to the reader only in the old biographies or in novelized reworkings of the same

This is the first serious fullength biographical study of Frederick Douglass in almost half a century. Previous biographies of Douglass as an integrated and unality. And today these books are

Thus Quarles' book is the first view of Douglass through the eyes It is obvious that the writer is a good deal hitherto unknown. Any

UNCERTAIN ATTITUDE It should be stated, however, rather than proof.

that this is by far not the definitive biography of the greatest Negro leader in United States history. This is not because of any but rather because of the author's tionist movement.

ume with much knowledge about Douglass and his multifarious acpage with a clear picture of the kind of man Douglass was or where Douglass stands historical-

tarian anti-political position in cannot help but draw. terms of possible opportunist motives. No attempt is made to evaluate the correctness or incorrectness of Douglass' step in advancing the destruction of slavery.

The closest the author comes to a

political evaluation of this central strategical problem in the Abolitionist crusade is the statement tionist movement have till now that "Douglass' position, in contradistinction to that of Garrison. was one of reform, rather than of revolution," This thesis, first propounded by Booker T. Washington, is suspect in motive and unwarranted by history. The book's failure to present

this great fighter for freedom derstandable personality flows were written either during his from the author's contradictory lifetime or within a dozen years attitudes toward his subject. Too of his death by men who had felt often Quarles leans over backthe living impact of his person- wards to avoid any of the elements of hero-worship which may be charged against the early biographers of the great Negro fighter. There is no objection to of modern historical scholarship. historical debunking, even though one might argue the need is not painstaking scholar who studied to debunk Douglass today but to all known source material on make him known to high school Douglass and brought to light a and college students of history who have yet to hear his name. student of Douglass or the Abo- But the debunker should justify litionist movement will have to his destruction of previously-held put this volume on his "must" list. views and substantiate his own position. In this volume the debunking is often by implication

FALSE APPROACH

For instance, in the chapter dealing with the outbreak of hoslack of material about Douglass tilities between the North and the South, the author describes Douguncertainty about Douglass' his- lass' reaction as follows: "If hostorical position and character and | tilities continued indefinitely, the about the dynamics of the Aboli- | Negro problem, in its various guises, would assume increasing While the reader closes the vol- proportions, and as the nation's most articulate colored man, he [Douglass] would shine in reflecttivities, he does not finish the last ed importance. The prospect of position and preferment put him in high spirits. . . . "This kind of posthumous mind reading, for educated, furnished some leader- ly in relation to the other giants | which the author is able to furof Abolitionism - Garrison and nish no evidence, opens Douglass Despite the work of DuBois and Phillips. The author describes to charges of rankest careerism.

Despite the faults which mar

this book it has the merit of presenting new information. The chapters describing Douglass' first and second (to a white woman) marriages are excellent. These had been "decorously" passed over by the early biographers. Also the author examines Douglass' failure to make an alliance with the post-Civil War labor and agrarian movements. All this and the wealth of collateral information and observations on the Abolitionist and Woman's Rights movements make this book worth a critical reading by students of Negro history and by class conscious workers.

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4 p. m.

Until 1945 the municipal system competed with the private Market St. Railway, charging five cents while the MSR charged seven. The city could have taken the system over because of the MSR's failure to keep the street-paving and tracks in repair. But that would have caused "undue hardship" to the stockholders who earned a nice steady income from their shares while the rolling stocks and tracks went to the dogs. The administration of shipping magnate Mayor Roger Lapham arranged a deal. The city "bought" the

transactions over the years.

Fares on the municipal railway were immediately raised to seven cents to make things even all the way around. Bond issues were floated to pay off the MSR stockholders. These bonds were bought up by the banks at a "fair rate" of in-

Under city management the old equipment still broke down, accidents increased and service declined. Motormen were warned of their accident ratings, expensive transportation experts were called in and grand plans were laid. That cost money. Mounting costs necessitated another slight increase of fare. Three tokens for a quarter would suffice to solve all the ills of the system.

Transportation was a big issue in the 1947 elections when Elmer ("I have a plan") Robinson was elected Mayor. All the candidates for that office except the Trotskyist Frank Barbaria approved raising a final bond issue to pay off the Market St. stockholders.

Soon big developments took place. More cars were junked and a single track put down Market St. Trolley buses and gas buses replaced some of the antiquated cars. Again came a cry for a fare increase-"the system was running in the red." Over the opposition of consumers, labor organizations and minority parties, the Public Utilities Commission voted three to two to in-

Mayor Robinson opposed the increase on the ground that service had not been improved enough to warrant it. The motion was voted down by the Board of Supervisors, an elected body, by a vote of six to four.

Thus the matter rested until one James Hurst, president of the Municipal Conference, a taxpayers organization, petitioned the State Supreme Court to invalidate the action of the Supervisors. The taxpayers, he claimed, would have to pay for the deficit, thus compelling them to support a burden which should be borne by those who ride the cars. This was unfair. The court saw the point and voted six to one, backing the decision of the Utilities Commission. The Commission then voted unanimously to raise the fare, while Mayor Robinson and the Board of Supervisors, still expressing their disapproval, claimed their hands were tied.

Undoubtedly, as we have seen after each fare raise, some private firm will now offer to take over the system and run it for the "benefit of the community" at a "fair profit." The next election will probably be accompanied by a propaganda campaign to the effect that this city-owned system, acquired by generously compensating a bankrupt capitalist enterprise, controlled by a capitalist-minded Utilities Com mission, with its fares regulated by the capitalist courts in the interests of the well-padded "taxpayers," is nothing but a "dangerous experiment in socialism."

The workers who put up with the poor service, crowding and discomforts were at no time consulted. The carmen's unions whose members are held responsible for poor service and accidents were never considered. In fact, the idea that they could run the system better than high-salaried "experts" is completely abhorrent to the administration. All they are asked is to bear their burdens in silence.

Meanwhile the tinkle of dimes in fare boxes makes pleasant music to the "wronged" taxpayers. But they still want justice and seem determined to get it. To prepare for any eventuality the Utilities Manager has ordered that six million tokens be kept in reserve for any future revision in the fare. Knowing these gentlemen we can assume that they have begun the campaign for a 121/2 cent fare.

Letter to a Student

By Grace Carlson

Your letter inquires about the "necessity of medical reform in the United States." This is a big problem and I will not pretend to answer it fully in one letter. But inasmuch as a more rounded personal discussion on the subject seems to be ruled out for the moment, let me jot down

In reply to your question as to whether the proposed Dingell-Murray Bill is "really socialism," I would give an emphatic No! In fact, I might use the words of Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, who says that the proposed national health insurance program is "no more socialistic than fire insurance."

Of course, the bureaucratic American Medical Association does not agree with this estimation. Their vociferous spokesman, Morris Fishbein, describes this Truman-sponsored bill as "the first step towards socialization of the entire United States economy." As a Marxist, I am a profound believer in the necessity of socializing the "entire United States economy" if the world is to be saved from atomic disaster, but I know that the initiative for such a revolutionary move will never come from Harry Truman or any other representative of the American capitalist class.

Harry Truman's Fair Deal, like F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal, is only an attempt to make the millions of American workers believe that capitalism can bring them health and security and a chance for happiness-or, as the Declaration of Independence puts it, "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But in its declining days American capitalism cannot do any of these things. What is the proof?

Here is the record of private medicine in the richest country in the world:

1. Twenty-three million persons have some chronic disease or impairment-one out of five. 2. Five million young men were rejected for war service because of inadequate physical or

mental health-40% of all young men from 18 to 35, the prime of life.

3. One out of every 22 persons in the United States spends time in a hospital for the mentally-

4. Twelve thousand mothers die every year in childbirth. Over 100,000 babies die annually before the end of their first year.

5. Every year, 14,000 children die of whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever; 4,000 from tuberculosis; 19,000 from diarrhea and dysentery; 35,000 from influenza and pneumonia; 4,000 from cardiac conditions.

Upon the heads of the American Medical Association bureaucrats and the system of private and fight for dear old Big Busimedicine and private enterprise for which they speak rests the terrible responsibility for these

These are emotionally-tinged words, to be sure, but how else can one speak of the horrors of want in the midst of potential plenty?

If you find it possible to stop in to visit us, 1 can weight you down with leaflets and pamphlets and statistics favoring the Wagner. Bill and a program of socialized medicine. We are for the Wagner Bill as a forward step on the road and trumpeting news of the arrest toward better health for American workers. I in this city of Sam Carr, a Canhope that you will support this bill in your adian Stalinist, who is held for de-

Far more important, I hope that you will come charges. to see that only under socialism will we have a real program of socialized medicine. In a socialist society, doctors will be freed from the fetters letters, some marked with red of private profit. They will be able to apply the benefits of modern science to all who need by defense counsel that he is premedical care—and in the measure in which each one needs it. In the socialist society, health will impression about the administranot be just a negative thing, i.e., the absence of pain or disability. We will return to the original Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word "health" wholeness. Under socialism we will offer a whole, full, long, rich and productive life to all.

'Democrat' and Smith Act

By Sam Taylor

"The present trial of the twelve Communist leaders is an unusual development," says L. Fogelman, political "expert" of the Social Democratic Jewish Daily Forward on Jan. 25. "It is unusual, if only because America, as a free, democratic country, does not usually occupy itself with political trials. Where political freedom exists, there is, of course, no room for political trials; because in a free country no one is persecuted either for his political convictions or for his political activities."

It so happens that American history is filled with "unusual developments" of this kind. There was Haymarket, and what followed. The persistent hounding of Altgeld. The persecution of Debs. The years of political trials of socialists, anarchists, IWW's. The famous case where the N. Y. Legislature refused to seat five elected members of the Socialist Party. The Mooney-Billings case and the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The infamous Lusk Laws and the Palmer raids (including a raid on the Social-Democratic Rand School). The denial of political freedom to "unorthodox" teachers, students and writers. The political discrimination against the Negro people. The "subversive" list, resulting in the political victimization of legless veteran James Kutcher. And that's only a very small part of

Dodging these well-known facts because they don't libe with his declaration about "unusualness," Fogelman says: "The chief question is simply whether there exists at present any basis for such a political trial in America, and whether this type of a trial jeopardizes the political freedom and the country's democratic system." And how does this great democrat - pardon, Social Democrat — answer this question? Is he, perchance, disturbed even a little over the turn of events in the U. S.?

Not at all. He openly defends the Smith Act and its present application and couples his defense with a statement that could come only from a political ignoramus or a conscious liar: "In order to counteract the new communist danger, in order to protect themselves against the communist 'fifth-column,' it was necessary for the democratic countries to pass new laws, that would defend the democratic system. And, to this end, America also passed a special law spiracy to suppress facts impor-(the 'Smith Act'), which is being invoked for the first time and applied in the trial of the communist leaders." (Our emphasis.)

That is exactly the same lie that is being spread by the Stalinists. although for different reasons. The Stalinists keep mum about the famous Minneapolis Trial, in which 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were sent to jail under the Smith Act, because they don't want their sympathizers to recall that the Stalinists supported the government in that trial and opposed the efforts of the labor movement to is a brazen lie. help the defendants smash the Smith Act. The Social Democrat Fogelman suppresses the facts about the precedent-setting Minneapolis case too because it isn't in accord with his "democratic" analysis and because he wants to quiet the fears of the Forward readers who are alarmed by the spread of thought-control. This isn't the first time that Social Democrats have peddled falsifications invented by the Stalinists, and it won't be the last time either. Social Democrats and Stalinists basically have more in common than

they have in dispute. Fogelman's crude effort to whitewash the government's assault on democratic rights is printed in a newspaper that daily carries in its masthead the unforgettable words of Karl Marx: "Workers of the World, Unite!" and "The Freedom of the Workers is the Task of the Workers Alone!" How little the Forward has in common with the spirit of Marxism is shown not only by Fogelman's article but also by a "democratic" ad on Page 7 of the same issue (Chicago edition): "Colored help for day, or week, women and men, for housework, dish washers, factory labor. Call 116 University Pl., New York 3,

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1949 VOLUME XIII

Democrats and Republicans Combine to Save Filibuster

WHERE TAX DOLLAR COMES FROM ... 62¢ DIRECT & INDIRECT (SALES) TAXES ON INDIVIDUALS 284 DIRECT & INDIRECT COSTS CORPORATE OF COLD WAR TAXES (INCLUDING ATOMIC BOMBS) 14 Housing EDUCATION 64 SOCIAL WELFARE INTEREST ON NATIONAL DEBT WHERE BUDGET DOLLAR GOES...

Based on figures from Truman's proposed budget, this chart shows where the tax dollar comes from and where the budget dollar goes. The so-called "fair deal" items, totaling 8c of the budget dollar, actually add up to a 1c expansion of existing social welfare expenditures.

Big Business Clamors For Speed in CP Trial

Stalinists supported the govern-

sabotage the struggle against

Again speaking correctly, Gold-

people whose rights are imperil-

led will sit in the prisoners' dock.

file of the Communist Party.

Let the trial proceed and depend

upon the Supreme Court to knock

out the Smith Act. His only an-

swer is that every democratic

tradition is destroped when men

must face trial for their ideas.

Communist Party.

(Continued from Page 1)

of four grand juries apiece. Big Business drew four royal flushes in a row, as somebody said in the courtroom. The last few jurors to testify were extremely hostile and smart alecky. They must have been briefed by the Wall Street lawyers and given an old-fashioned college pep-talk to go in there

The capitalist press is seeking o bury these damning facts about jury-rigging under a barrage of hysterical red-baiting. Take events last Friday, for example.

Court opened Friday with the morning papers screaming about the House Un-American Committee's charge that the primary ain of the Stalinists is "espionage" portation to Canada to face "spy"

Later in the day Judge Medina announced he had received hostile pencil. He added that accusations judiced might be creating a wrong tion of justice in the trial. Here was plenty of fodder for the next editions of the papers, and the evidence about the packed juries was more or less lost in the shuf-

In the press room a newspaper photographer asked, "How come the high-and-mighty FBI was so cooperative on the Sam Carr deal?" His buddy replieed, "If the guy's a red, the sky's the limit."

Meantime the Stalinists have published a pamphlet on the trial - "Ideas Behind Bars," by Len Goldsmith - put out in the name of the Civil Rights Congress. In t you will find a Stalinist contant to their own defense and the usual quota of outright lies.

Goldsmith correctly states that he day any man goes to jail for advocating opinions not in conformity with those of the majorty, on that day democratic government in this country has been overthrown. Then he says, "That this day will never come to America is the goal of the Civil Rights Congress." The latter statement

"Socialist Workers Party - What It Is -What It Stands For"

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party?

32-page pamphlet. Send for PIONEER PUBLISHERS

These questions answered the anti-communist affidavit This development was predicted Hartley Act could not achieve by Joseph Hansen in this along with other restrictive and analyzed in the resolution on with the present relationship of the labor movement, which repre-

Eighteen Trotskyists were im- | born fact showing the real attiprisoned during the war under the tude of the Supreme Court tosame thought-control law now ward thought-control in this counused against the Stalinists. The

The 18 Trotskyists appealed ment's attack on the Trotskyists three times to the Supreme Court and tried by every foul means to and were three times refused a hearing, while 18 men and women served prison terms because the political party in power disliked their ideas, the nine life-termers smith says not just the Stalinist on the Supreme Court sat in sidefendants but rather 140 million lence. The Stalinists applauded them for it.

But he fails to add that among Writing on this question in the the same millions, who also sat Jan. 29 Nation, Robert Bendiner as well as measure, was never in the prisoners' dock with the 18 says that although the Supreme even discussed seriously. Most only make their defeat all the Trotskyists, were the rank and Court rejected the appeal of the non-Southern Senators don't fa- more conclusive. And their de-Trotskyists, "it does not follow vor such a "radical" move be- feat would be certain because the The Stalinist leaders betrayed that the course the court took in cause they feel that some day they dramatic tie-up of all business in their own rank and file in that war time would be the one adopt- too might be in a position where the Senate would result in such fight and helped the government ed now." I don't know whether they wouldn't want the majority establish a precedent for the pres- Bendiner is a Social Democrat or | to rule. ent thought-control attack on the an ADA liberal. It makes little | Aside from this consideration, Gold'smith refers to people opposed to the thought-control attack on the Stalinists who say: talist "democracy."

again that reliance on the Su- Southern Democrats and don't preme Court to protect civil rights | want to offend them too much at is a trap. The fight against this point. thought-control prosecutions must begin right now, on all fronts, Secretary Walter White, an ar-That is true. But he deliberate- and continue until the infamous dent Trumanite, was compelled to the struggle for the formation of ly fails to mention a big and stub- Smith Act is repealed.

Filibustering must be outlawed in the U. S. Senate if civil rights legislation is to be passed, but both capitalist parties are united in opposing any change in rules that would really bar

filibusters. That is the sum and substance of the hearings by the grams last week complaining Senate Rules Committee, which about "the strange apathy and were closed Feb. 1.

The Senate is often described as the "last wholly free forum" in the world, the "greatest legislative body" in history, and so on. But the truth is that in this "chamber of democracy" the majority of the members generally cannot even vote on a measure without the consent of the minor-

Thus the Southern minority, usually abetted by non-Southerners of both parties, has for decades blocked a vote on legislation to punish lynching, end the poll tax, etc., by talking or threatening to talk indefinitely until the majority agreed not to consider the legislation. The most elementary concept of democracy — that which the majority should rule gives way to unbrindled minority rule, masquerading under the name of "freedom of speech."

The indignation of the people, repeatedly frustrated by this travesty of democracy from securing the legislation they want, has compelled the 81st Congress to at least make some gestures in the direction of correcting the situation. But that's all they have been — gestures.

According to the present rules, of debate) in the Senate by a twoterpreted in practice to apply only to close of debate on a pending 'measure" and not on a motion to bring up a measure. Thus if someone makes a motion to bring up an FEPC bill, a filibuster cannot be stopped even by two-third's vote. Under those circumstances and defeat a filibuster to prevent the Senate could never get to consideration of the FEPC bill itself (where a two-thirds vote could bring about closure).

The Senate Rules Committee held an open hearing on the prob- filibuster and amend the rules to lem, at which only Senators could make them impossible in the futestify. The proposal to amend the ture. rules so that a majority could end debate on any matter, motion

difference because both think very | most Republicans are leery of the much alike - muddle-headed and | idea of closure by majority vote | track. with Micawber-like faith in capi- because they are hoping sooner or later in the present session to History has proven again and cement an alliance with the

As for the Democrats, NAACP

silence of Democrats during hearings on amendment of Senate rules. . . Not one Democrat has as yet fought for or even spoken out to end filibusters." The Southern Democrats, acting

NUMBER 6

as though the Dixiecrats had won the election, were arrogant as ever, making threats to tie up all business if they did not have their way. Stennis of Mississippi had the effrontery to make two proposals in the guise of "concessions" - first, to permit closure by majority vote on measures having to do with foreign policy only; and second, to permit closure at any time, on any issue, if 86 of the 96 Senators favored it. The surprising thing is that some non-Southern Senators seemed to give favorable attention to these as "compromises!"

The Senate committee is preparing the following proposition: To permit closure at any point when two-thirds of the Senate approves. The alibi will be: 'That's the best we can get under the present circumstances."

But the Senate's best is not good enough. Since it will not prevent filibusters by the Southern Senators, minority rule will continue to obstruct action on civil it is possible to get closure (close rights legislation. On the whole, despite blustering, the Southern thirds vote. But this has been in-terpreted in practice to apply only "compromise" because it won't hamper their power.

And that's why the workers and Negroes cannot and should not accept this proposition either. To prevent filibustering in general, the Senate will have to face, meet the abolition of filibustering. The sooner this is done, the better. The sooner it is begun, the sooner it will be finished. If the Senate is serious, it can smash such a

The Southern Democrats would rally all their energy and forces for such a fight, but that would an outcry from the masses the South as well as the North that even the Bourbons would have to give heed and to back

Filibustering can be smashed but only if its opponents in the Senate really want to do it. Neither capitalist party wants to. That's why, side by side with the struggle for democratic rule in the Senate and for civil rights throughout the nation, must go send Truman and Barkley tele- an independent Labor Party.

TRUMAN'S BILL NO BAR TO USE OF INJUNCTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

Another restrictive provision requires that disputes over existing contracts be submitted to "final and binding" arbitration.

These provisions definitely empower the NLRB to use injunctions and to order compulsory arbitration. In comparison with the Wagner Act, they considerably extend the power of the government to intervene in and regulate the internal affairs of the labor movement.

In case of important strikes, the administration would be authorized to declare a "national emergency," requiring a 30-day "cooling-off" period and setting up a board to make recommendation within 25 days. This provision, which replaced the T-H authorization for 80-day injunctions, does not stipulate any penalties for non-compliance.

Tobin says the administration will rely on "public opinion" to compel settlement of disputes under this provision. In the background, of course, will be the "implicit" injunction and seizure powers referred to by Clark and Humphrey.

UNION LEADERS CONTENT

Despite its dangerous loopholes, the Truman bill is no worse than measures which some labor leadsupport; Dubinsky, for example, be regarded as such by the workhad asked for the retention of ers, at least for a time. clauses. The union leaders, on "The Election Results and the class forces. the whole, are well-satisfied with Tasks of the SWP," adopted by Truman's bill. While for tactical the SWP National Committee by placating the labor leaders, rapacious capitalist class which

which is by no means certain.

Truman for a two-package deal, which would repeal the Taft Act HARD COP, SOFT COP and restore the Wagner Act before any amendments were considered. Truman chose to follow a single-package procedure, which leaves the unions under the disadvantages of the Taft Act and weakens their bargaining position while the debate goes on. This opens the way for the adopman's bill, and puts him in a a feeling of dependence on the tion of T-H amendments to Truposition to sign virtually any bill good will of the employers and finally adopted by Congress as a "lesser evil" and "only alterna-"lesser evil" and "only alternative" to the existing Taft Act.

Moves to "stiffen" the bill are raising that of the corporations. sure to get strong backing from Democrats as well as Republicans. Taft-Hartley Act. Since Truman, voluntarily made use of T-H injunctions on many occasions and since he removed The capitalists had underesti- of their independent role as some "teeth" from his own bill mated the resistance as well as defender of the workers' class only at the last minute and under the union-consciousness of the interests and transform them into strong labor prodding, it is unlikely that he will really crack the that could lead to the intensifica- government. whip to force all Democrats to vote for his measure in its present

Despite Truman's duplicity and the likelihood that Congress will for power. modify the bill, the fact remains that it represents a concession

reasons they are objecting to one last December and printed in the rather than by antagonizing them; is out to dominate the whole or another clause, they will not February issue of the magazine, by granting them minor con- world.

Briefly stated, this is the situation: After the war, the capitalist class set out to establish "class peace" by the methods of the "hard cop." The aim was to put the unions "in their more conciliatory and conservative; to instill the workers with weaken the unions by reducing their bargaining power while The method adopted was the

The 1948 elections showed that it failed to do what was intended. workers, and provoked a reaction mere appendages of the capitalist tion of the class struggle and its extension onto the field of politics in the form of a labor party union leaders and their liberal challenging the two-party system allies, must be combatted vigor-

tion of this fact. It is also an man's bill and a struggle for the ers had voluntarily offered to to the labor movement and will attempt by the administration to restoration of the Wagner Act, achieve by "soft-cop" methods with no ifs, ands or buts. The most of the ends which the Taft- premise for this struggle should

It seeks to secure "class peace"

offer it any real opposition if it Fourth International. Its careful cessions in return for major conis passed in its present form - study by union militants will cessions, rather than by demandserve as a guide for the struggle ing that they be the only ones to The union leaders had asked to preserve the independence and make concessions; by offering militancy of the labor movement. them a junior partnership if they will cooperate, rather than by threatening them with the loss of everything if they won't.

DEADLY DANGERS

The workers are faced with dangers under this policy no less deadly than those that were presented by the Taft Act, namely. 1. The growth of classcollaboration practices that undermine the fighting spirit of the workers and prepare the ground for a new Taft Act and a new offensive of the capitalists when the workers' resistance is dis-

2. Acceleration of the trend toward the integration of the union movement into the machinery of the capitalist state, which would utterly deprive them

These dangers, which are increased by the policies of the ously. The starting point for this The Truman bill is a recogni- fight should be opposition to Trube the need to apply curbs not to sents the interests of the vast majority, but to the rule of the