

# Truman Cloaks 'War Deal' with 'Fair Deal' Talk

By Art Preis

"Conciliatory" is the most frequent press description of Truman's "State of the Union" message to Congress on Jan. 4. Conciliatory, of course, to the capitalists, the Southern Democrats and the Republicans. Truman repeated most of the proposals he made a year ago. What was notable was his "tone," his "moderation," as even the ultra-conservative press observed. He "stuck to his guns on the Fair Deal program," a Scripps-Howard commentator said — "but they weren't blazing guns."

There was none of his last year's tirades against the "privileged few" and "the trickle-down concept of national prosperity." Absent this time were any threats about the government building its own steel plants if the steel industry refuses to expand on its own.

## ALSO MENTIONED

A modest three sentences were devoted to suggesting the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act — which his Congressional lieutenants had already announced they will not even bring up in this session. He covered his promised civil rights

## Stalinists Agree To 11% Wage Cut For Fur Workers

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 — Stalinist leaders of the CIO International Fur and Leather Workers Union have agreed to an 11% wage cut for 12,600 fur workers here who produce most of the furs manufactured in this country.

ILFWU leaders, headed by Ben Gold, announced last week that they had agreed to a resumption of the "two-wage" system that had prevailed in the industry before the war. Under this system the workers are paid lower wage scales during the slack season than in the busy season.

The new agreement, to run from Jan. 1, 1950 to June 16, 1950, restores the method whereby the fur bosses before the war saddled the workers with the financial load of every decline in the industry.

Few members were in attendance at the union meeting last week where the Stalinist leaders pushed through the new wage-cutting contract. The Jan. 2 Daily Worker, prodded by reports in the local press of the manner in which the contract was put over on the members, now claims that the "differential was restored in the agreement of May, 1948, to go into effect Jan. 1, 1950."

The Daily Worker also tries to justify the wage cut by upholding its "traditional" character — that is, that the Stalinists had failed before the war to fight effectively against this vicious "two-wage" system.

During the war, when the industry was continuously busy and prices were mounting steadily, the very specially skilled fur workers were able to break the "two-wage" system and secure generally high wages.

Instead of fighting to maintain the conditions secured during the war, the Stalinists have agreed to a return to the cut-throat "two-wage" system that was imposed on the workers back in the most exploitative days of the industry.

program in one sentence — carefully refraining this time from enumerating its specific ten points or the precise legislation he will push. However, his Congressional colleagues have already indicated they will make, at most, only a token gesture on one point, the FEPC bill. He was vaguest of all on the national health insurance plan.

As for economic prospects, these continue to be "good." He boasted that the country had "met and reversed the first significant downturn in economic activity since the war." But he did not explain why his government economists will not venture to predict a continuation of "good times" past the next six months.

In place of concrete analysis of today's economic situation, he substituted grandiose predictions on the "state of the union" 50 years from now, when it can be reasonably assumed he will no longer be in office and won't have to take responsibility for his promises.

He did not mention the tremendous corporation profits this year. He did not tell how labor's share in the national income has declined. He did not speak of deficit spending and the rise in the national debt to \$257-billion. He was silent on the 25½-million families — two-thirds of the nation — with incomes last year under \$4,000, including about 10-million who lived on less than \$2,000. He minimized the monstrous control of the monopolies as of a future threat, rather than the reality of today.

There was just one thing on which Truman was very emphatic and specific. The "dominant factor in our fiscal policy" is the demands of war, which Truman called "work for world peace." War costs, past and present, he admitted, take 70 cents out of every federal tax dollar. But he was adamant against the "folly of attempting budget slashes" which would reduce arms spending.

His "Fair Deal" talk was pap. There wasn't a hint of fight in it. The red meat of his message was the "warfare state" not the "welfare state." American capitalism, rich as it is, cannot buy social welfare and gigantic militarism at the same time. Between these two there is no compatibility. That is why Truman budgets words to human needs, but hard cash to the war program.

## West German CP Purges "Titoists"

According to Associated Press dispatches from Frankfurt a mass purge is now underway among Stalinists in Western Germany. Forty leaders are reported in recent weeks to have been expelled; forty others "either had been suspended or eased out of top party jobs." Among them is Hugo Paul, former chairman of the party in North Rhine-Westphalia. Kurt Mueller, second deputy chairman of the party, has publicly complained: "How deep in the mire of Titoism have some of our brothers sunk!"

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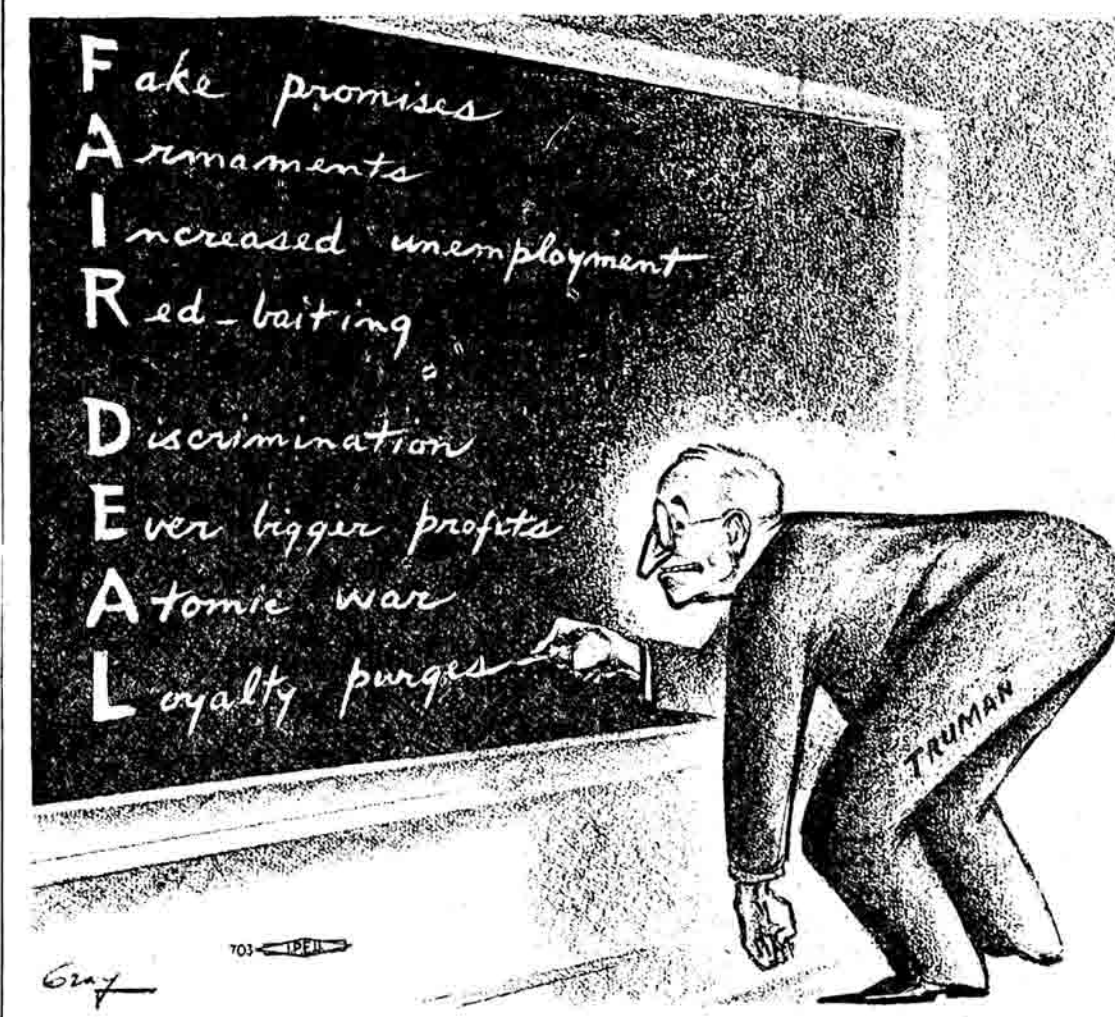


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# FBI Wiretappers, Perjurers Break Law, Get Away With It

## Spelling It Out



## SIU Officials Continue Threats Against SWP

On Dec. 19 The Militant reported threats of gangster action against the Socialist Workers Party by individuals in New York associated with the officialdom of the AFL Seafarer's International Union, among them its Secretary-Treasurer, Paul Hall. This report has now been directly confirmed by the makers of the threats themselves.

The Dec. 30 Seafarer's Log, Hall's personal organ, devotes 2½ pages to the terroristic campaign against the SWP. Under the pretext that the AFL seamen's union is in danger of attacks from "the Trotskyites," the anonymous threats made by phone are now openly repeated in the SIU press. There is not even the hint of a denial of the charges made in the Dec. 19 Militant.

It appears that James Fox, an official of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, was beaten up in a bar-room brawl in Seattle. The Seafarer's Log, without any basis whatever, attributes this incident

in Seattle to the "Trotskyites" and uses it as a pretext for an open threat against the SWP in New York.

Paul Hall, who has proceeded on the theory that all disputes within unions and between unions can be settled by the blackjack, is now attempting to extend his jurisdiction to political parties which presume to criticize his criminal policies. His exaggeration and misrepresentation of the Seattle incident is an old trick of hoodlums who accuse their victims of "picking fights" with them.

"We also wonder," states the editorial in the Seafarer's Log, following the hoodlum pattern, "if they [the SWP] have any idea of starting the same thing on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. We are not, as the record shows, partial to them, by any means. But we'd like to give them some friendly advice. Don't try it."

This is a crude frame-up, but it cannot conceal the facts on

record. The entire 20-year history of American Trotskyism demonstrates that not only has it never condoned violence as a means of settling disputes in the labor movement, but it has always been in the forefront of the struggle against gangsterism in all its forms. The SWP had as much to do with the Fox case as Tor Mooney had with the dynamiting of the Preparedness Day parade in 1916 in San Francisco.

Just the opposite is true of the record of the Hall-Lundeberg machine. It is branded as "The Shadow of the Blackjack" by an editorial in the official paper of the independent Pacific Coast Marine Firemen's Union (Nov. 17): "We would have no great interest in what happens in the SIU if it were not for the fact that the goons who have pitched SWP men down the stairs for daring to stand up and voice their opinions, also have been used or

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## PLANT PURGE CONTRACT APPROVED BY REUTHER

UAW President Walter Reuther has accepted the "loyalty" purge of workers in private industry by advising United Auto Workers Local 669 at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant, near Paterson, N. J., to sign a contract granting the company power to fire alleged "subversives" and "poor security risks."

Acting on this advice by Reuther and Irving Levy, UAW general counsel, Local 669 reversed its previous uncompromising stand against the clause and adopted a "modified" version. The "modification" would merely permit the union, after the company has fired a worker for being "subversive," to file a grievance.

The clause demanded by the company and finally accepted by Local 669 states that in the event any government agency "concerned with security regulations" advises the company "to restrict any member of the Union from work on or access to classified information or material, the Union and the International will not hold the employer responsible for such action as it [the employer] may reasonably take to comply with its contractual obligations to the government."

If the union has any complaint "that the employer has acted improperly in attempting to comply" with so-called "security regulations," this complaint "shall be subject to the grievance procedure and arbitration provisions of this agreement."

But the local union and International "recognize that the employer has certain obligations under the law pertaining to security, and in its contract with the government as required by the security regulations of the armed forces, and agree that nothing contained in this agreement is intended to place the employer in violation of such law pertaining to security agreements with the government."

This means that the union accepts the whole system of the "loyalty" purge as such and retains only the right to protest against any "improper" victimization of workers whom the company may fire under the pretext of "security." As the purge has operated in a number of cases al-



WALTER REUTHER

ready, the main victims have been militant unionists and strike leaders, like the six fired at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo.

Approval of this clause by Reuther is an open invitation to corporations throughout the auto, aircraft and other major industries to demand similar contracts. It places the seal of the leader of the largest union in the CIO upon the extension of Truman's "loyalty" purge into private industry.

Reuther is well aware that the "loyalty" purge is an illegal and unconstitutional usurpation of power by the Truman Administration and the brass hats. It subjects to public branding and deprivation of their livelihood persons who are alleged to be connected with or sympathetic to organizations which former Attorney General Clark put on his "subversive" list. These organizations have been denied even the right to have the "evidence" against them, let alone a fair and public hearing on the charges.

Although he doesn't dare endorse the "loyalty" purge openly, Reuther is obviously not averse to it in practice, particularly since he looks on it as a way of getting rid of his opponents in the company may fire under the pretext of "security." As the purge has operated in a number of cases al-

## Illegal Acts Revealed in Coplon Case

By George Breitman

The FBI breaks the law. Its agents and officials, testifying in court, commit perjury about the FBI's violations of the law. And yet nobody in the government indicts or attempts to bring to trial those people, sworn to uphold the law and paid to do so, who have admitted committing these crimes.

These are some of the sensational facts brought to light in the pre-trial hearings of the Coplon-Gubitchev spy case in New York City. (The first trial of Judith Coplon, held last summer, resulted in disclosures about the FBI's operation of a vast network of informers and stool pigeons paid out of government funds to spy on individuals and organizations kept under political surveillance by the FBI.)

Defense counsel in the earlier Coplon trial had sought to raise questions about the FBI's tapping of telephones because the Supreme Court has ruled in a number of previous cases that evidence is illegal and cannot be used in federal courts if it has been obtained directly through wiretapping or indirectly through leads discovered as the result of wiretapping. The judge in the first Coplon trial refused to permit any inquiries into this matter.

In last month's pre-trial hearing, however, Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan gave greater latitude to the defense attorneys, and the public got a chance to observe some examples of deliberate evasion, squirming and outright perjury on the part of the nation's most glamorized "law enforcement" agency and other government officials.

Under questioning in November, two FBI agents admitted that they had "heard" about wiretapping in the Coplon case. But on Dec. 5 John M. Kelley, Jr., special assistant to the Attorney General, told the court he was "not prepared" to say if the FBI had engaged in wiretapping. The judge gave him a week to prepare himself.

On Dec. 12 Raymond P. Wherry, another special assistant to the Attorney General, submitted a number of affidavits admitting that the FBI had tapped phones in the Coplon case. But, the affidavits alleged, the wiretapping had disclosed no "information of value" to the prosecution. Furthermore, they said, Tom Clark, then Attorney General, had authorized the tapping.

The spirit of solidarity played a big role in the 100% conclusion of the campaign. An outstanding example was the help Detroit gave Youngstown.

Youngstown Branch was confident of completing a \$400 quota by the deadline. Then the steel workers were forced out on strike. The comrades on the picket line felt the financial squeeze acutely. They told us they could see no way of completing their quota!

The Detroit Branch heard about this and decided to do what they could to help their hard-hit Youngstown comrades. This was not easy as they had already increased their own quota from \$800 to \$1,100. But the Detroit Trotskyists turned their pockets inside out to scrape together what they could. A day before the deadline the following wire came from Detroit: "\$100 to aid Youngstown comp. etc. fund quota. Detroit Branch is eager to express its revolutionary solidarity. We remember assistance Youngstown Branch and others gave us when the class struggle imposed a similar need upon us."

So, with the help of Detroit Youngstown branch filled its quota in full and on time, as did all the other branches.

## Beginning in Our Next Issue

A series of articles by the well-known American Marxist, Arne Swabeak, on "Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society."

# Washington's Big Dilemma--Chinese Policy

By Joseph Hansen

Since the end of World War II, the Truman administration has found little difficulty in recognizing any number of new regimes in Latin America that have seized power through force and violence. The State Department has not required that these reactionary regimes represent the will of the people. None of them could meet that requirement. If the new regime made clear that it would not interfere with the private empires of the giant Wall Street corporations, recognition followed as a matter of course.

Contrast this benign attitude of the administration toward seizures of power in Latin America with its current quandary over what to do about the new regime in China!

The hated dictatorship of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek today rots on the garbage dump, attracting only blowflies from the camp of outright reaction like Taft, Hoover and MacArthur. In the greatest peasant uprising since the February revolution of 1917 in Czarist Russia, the over-

whelming majority of China's teeming millions have declared: We don't want the government of Truman's choice. We want to choose our own form of government!

Instead of bowing to the will of the Chinese people, the Truman administration stands blinking at the wreck of its costly attempt to keep Chiang in power, still hoping to salvage something from the ruins.

## WORLD BALANCE UPSET

This is not so easy. The success of the Chinese people in ridding themselves of Chiang and opening up a new stage of development that can lead to the overthrow of capitalism has upset the world balance of power.

American imperialism sought military bases in China as part of its grandiose blueprint of assault on the Soviet Union. It hoped to convert China into a happy hunting ground for Big Business. This dream has been punctured. The militarists have been forced to retreat. The profiteers see China slipping from

their grasp. The Chinese people have entered the arena of world politics as a new colossal force.

This far-reaching defeat has weakened the camp of imperialism and opened up rifts in its ranks. A section of the American capitalist class, who consider the main game lost in China for the time being, are now pressing for early recognition of the Mao government. They hope to do business with the Stalinists, taking them on their word that capitalism will be maintained in China. They see no other way of saving their holdings.

An opposite group of diehards find recognition a very bitter pill to swallow. A section of the Republican Party, hoping to make political capital from the debacle, are even willing to risk war to hang on to the island of Formosa. Herbert Hoover, apparently, in collusion with General MacArthur, on Jan. 2 called for U.S. "naval protection to the possessions of Formosa, the Pescadores and possibly Hainan Island."

Truman and his advisors would like to convert Formosa into an

outpost of American empire and a convenient haven for a dictatorial Chinese government-in-exile. But even if more arms would enable Chiang to prevent the Stalinist-led armies from succeeding in an amphibious operation, there is still the problem of the people in Formosa who are seething with unrest and only waiting the opportunity to cleanse their island of the Nationalist rats.

## POLITICAL COST TOO BIG

Direct intervention would deliver a fatal blow to the battered pretenses of the Truman administration that it favors the aspirations of the people in the Far East to independence. The political cost would far outweigh the military advantages.

In addition, the Truman administration feels the pressure of British imperialism. The British see the possibility of keeping their fingerhold at Hong Kong, of hanging on to at least most of their investments and even of developing profitable relations with the Chinese Stalinist gov-

ernment and so gaining the possibility of throwing their weight against further development of the Chinese revolution. That requires silk glove diplomacy at which the British are as adept as in bombing the defenseless villages of rebellious colonial.

## WHAT THEY FEAR

The State Department, in the opinion of some commentators, is now drifting without a policy. However, this is not altogether true.

The great fear of American imperialism in the Far East is the fear of revolution. It supported Chiang's regime not only as part of its war plans against the Soviet Union but even more important because it viewed Chiang as the most reliable, indeed the only serious counter-revolutionary force in China.

If China exploded, as well it might after virtually continuous war and civil strife since 1931, that explosion could spread like a chain reaction throughout the

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# The U.S. Plot to Rearm Germany

The American people are "being led down a garden path which leads to German rearmament" and are going to be gagged if they make any protest about it. That is the warning issued by James P. Warburg, well-known American banker and economist, to a meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York on Dec. 29.

"As things are going now," said Warburg, "the American people will not be given any chance to think about this problem and to express their will. They will be faced with the final step in the road to disaster precisely as they were faced with all the steps that led up to it. They will wake up some morning to find that we have agreed to rearm the Germans — in some polite and 'safe' form of course — and that it has now become 'unpatriotic' to question the decision."

He asked "whether the Atlantic Alliance shall be permitted to carry us beyond the point of no return, before we have a chance to reverse the present drift toward disaster." The North Atlantic pact and the Military Aid Program, he said, are being used by the Truman Administration and the State Department as a guarantee that Western Europe would not be overrun in any future war. This policy must lead to "a heavy increase in our already top-heavy military budget" and in the end, to the rearmament of Germany.

The American people, he declared, are opposed to a rearmament of Germany, "but how many American citizens realize that we are now right up against this question? . . . How many American families have any idea that the would-be conqueror, whom their sons and husbands and brothers

died to defeat, is about to be nominated as our new comrade in arms to stand guard over the frontiers of American security."

It is indeed a dastardly conspiracy against which Warburg correctly warns. And it is inescapable that the administration will try to extend its witch-hunt attempt to silence opponents of its foreign policies even to those who speak out against the plot to rearm Germany.

But Warburg uses a totally false reason for attacking the rearmament of Germany. He says it would be falling into a "Russian trap" because it would then "seem unreasonable not to withdraw our occupation troops." He doesn't disagree with the objective of maintaining armed forces on German soil as a spearhead for attack on the Soviet Union; he just fears that a new Wehrmacht would not be dependable from the

standpoint of "American security." He wants to keep an American army indefinitely in Germany to crush the German people.

But it is precisely the German people themselves who are most bitterly opposed to re-establishment of the military machine. They are still freezing and starving amid the shambles and ruins of the last war. If they had their way they would destroy forever the possibility of the resurrection of the Wehrmacht.

## REASON FOR OCCUPATION

One of the main reasons why the Allied occupation troops remain in Germany is to gag the German people and prevent them from making any effective attempt to halt American imperialism's plans to rearm Germany and transform that country into a springboard for invasion of the Soviet Union.

Warburg implies that the rearming of Germany is the aspiration of the German people themselves, who are supposed to be "militaristic" and "yearning for revenge." This aids the propaganda that the Wall Street-Washington Axis is putting out in its campaign to rearm Germany.

The State Department and the American militarists do not dare to proclaim openly their desire and intentions to convert Germany into a military bastion. They have tried to make this appear as the desire of the German people. Thus, they forced their Western German puppet, Chancellor Adenauer, to first broach the question publicly.

This was intended to test public reaction primarily in this country. But it turned out that the greatest opposition to the scheme arose in Germany itself, despite the Allied occupation and repres-

sion. Adenauer was forced to retreat on the matter, much to the embarrassment of his American masters.

## END THE OCCUPATION

The best way to assure that there will be no resurgence of a rearmend neo-fascist Germany is to free the German people themselves to deal with the militarist elements who are being protected and strengthened by both the U. S. Government and the Kremlin. The day the occupation troops are withdrawn from Germany will be the day the German people will begin to take care, once and for all, of the cartels, Junkers, ex-Wehrmacht officers and all the other former Nazis who hope to regain their total power over the German people by serving as mercenaries and drill-masters for U. S. imperialism in one zone and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the other.

# Workers Forum

## Sees Two Errors In Article on War and Negroes

Editor:

In the article "War and The Negro People" by J. Blake in The Militant of Dec. 26, there are two errors, one a misstatement of fact, the other an incorrect political estimation. I feel these should be corrected.

Blake writes, "Randolph's main concern is the protection of the interests of U. S. imperialism. . . ." This is not true. Randolph's main aim is to become the outstanding leader of the Negro people in the United States. I seriously doubt that he is motivated in his actions principally because of his concern with the interests of Wall Street. At the same time, his policy and actions lead to an objective support of U. S. imperialism. Randolph, like most union leaders today, is hoping that by supporting the foreign policy of big business he can gain a concession or two from them, an easing of Jim Crow restrictions, etc.

In another part of the article the results of the 1917 Russian Revolution are described in such a way as to run the danger of misunderstanding this titanic event. Blake writes, "... which instituted fundamental progressive reforms after the 1917 revolution. . ." (my emphasis). I am certain that Comrade Blake does not mean to characterize the revolutionary changes as reforms in the sense that that word is generally used. However, the statement is subject to misinterpretation.

The policies of the leaders of the Negro and worker masses have a two-sided character. On the one hand, they fear an outright struggle against the capitalist class. But on the other, they owe their positions as leaders of the workers to the fact that they come from and are based upon the mass itself. This latter factor, so full of contradictions in their policies, will lead to their replacement by other leaders, more honest, more daring and more capable of fulfilling the needs and wishes of the mass themselves.

Milton Alvin,  
Toledo, O.

Ed. Note: In all fairness to Comrade Blake, it should be said that neither of the formulations objected to was printed in exactly the form she herself used in her article. This was due to a lack of space, which made it necessary to edit the article for the purpose of condensing it. Comrade Blake gave us permission to do this, but unfortunately had no opportunity to re-examine the shortened article before it went to press.

However, we do not find Comrade Alvin's specific criticisms apply, although we agree with much of what he says. It is true that subjectively Randolph's main aim is to become recognized as the outstanding Negro leader. But that does not conflict with the view that objectively (to quote the whole sentence) "Randolph's main concern [with regard to the war] is the protection of the interests of U. S. imperialism; that is why he is willing to subordinate the interests of the masses in this country."

A careful re-examination of this formulation leaves us with the opinion that while it might have been improved by greater elaboration along the lines suggested by Alvin, it is fundamentally sound as a concise statement of the objective role on the war question played by the present Negro and labor leadership.

With regard to his second point, it is true that the statement may be subject to misinterpretation. Fundamental progressive reforms instituted by the revolutionary abolition of capitalism (which the article was discussing) should not be confused with reforms introduced within the framework of capitalism, which certainly cannot be fundamental even if they may be progressive. We agree that when the word "reform" is used — and we see no good reason for rejecting it as one of the scientific designations for the changes brought about by a revolution — its context should make clear what it is talking about. We think that was the case in the article being discussed.

## V. R. DUNNE ADDRESSES 3 MID-WEST MEETINGS ON CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

DETROIT, Jan. 1 — Speaking to a large audience of workers and students in the SWP hall here Wednesday night, V. R. Dunne delivered a ringing call to the American defense of their civil rights against all the forces of reaction attacking them. He urged the organization of resistance to the freedom-haters and the building of a united front by everyone who wants civil rights. "We stand for civil rights for all," he said.

The main enemy is "organized capital" — the ruthless industrialists, bankers, landlords, white supremacists and race haters who have opened a long range campaign to rob the workers of all rights everywhere," he continued. "Their best helpers, because they are not so easily recognized, are the motley crew of yes-men and women who occupy high posts in the government and the publicity and educational systems."

The capitalist-minded labor bureaucrats were cited by Dunne as the most dangerous obstacle in the way of a victorious struggle against the capitalist witch-hunters. These officials misuse the trust of their members by taking orders direct from Washington. Having abandoned a genuine fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, they are now trying to outlaw socialism in the unions at the bidding of their State Department masters. Assisting these attacks is the FBI, a political police built on the pattern of Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's GPU.

This is the epoch of the fantastic double-lie, Dunne declared.

## Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

Buffalo — Jan. 12.  
Rochester — Jan. 13.  
Buffalo — Jan. 14.  
Boston — Jan. 15-16.  
Lynn — Jan. 17.  
Worcester — Jan. 18.  
New Britain — Jan. 19.  
New Haven — Jan. 20.  
New York — Jan. 21.  
Philadelphia — Jan. 27-28.  
New York — Feb. 3.

One part of this lie is that the American ruling class and its government agents stand for democracy and civil rights; the other part is that Stalin's Russia is a land of Socialism and that Stalinism stands for communism. No real progress in the civil rights fight can be made until the masses recognize the falsity of these contentions.

Making it clear that he was not attacking the Communist Party rank and file, Dunne sharply denounced the CP leadership's treacherous role on civil rights in the Minneapolis trial of 1941 where 18 Trotskyists were convicted, with the Stalinists applauding, under the same Smith Act which was used to persecute them last year.

"But everywhere that our rights are under assault, resistance is appearing," he declared. "It is our job to organize this resistance into a mighty mass movement that will preserve and extend our civil rights. The Trotskyists will fight until this goal is won."

Thursday evening Comrade Dunne spoke before a meeting sponsored by the SWP Youth Group, inspiring his audience with an account of the experiences of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis labor movement, which demonstrated how much could be achieved by revolutionary socialists through perseverance and loyalty to their principles.

Saturday night he was the guest of Detroit SWP at its annual New Year's Eve party, and then he made preparations to continue his tour on behalf of civil rights and socialism. Everyone who heard him in Detroit could understand why the employers and their flunkies have good reason to fear this man and his ideas.

FLINT, Jan. 1 — Appearing in Flint for the first time in several years, Vincent Dunne ad-

ressed an overflow crowd of auto workers, students and other Flint residents at the Socialist Workers Party Hall. His talk on civil rights kept the audience till the early hours of the morning, long after the meeting had formally adjourned.

Comrade Dunne's excellent reputation in the labor movement was responsible for the most successful meeting the Flint branch has held in the last year. Despite layoffs, the audience contributed \$16 to help carry on the fight of the SWP for civil rights.

Vincent Dunne's characterization of the trade union bureaucracy as "labor lieutenants of the State Department" met with hearty accord with those present. Dunne demonstrated how these labor leaders even ape the State Department "loyalty" program in purging opposition from the unions.

The "loyalty" purge, Dunne showed, is only the first step of Wall Street's drive to prevent the rank and file from organizing to fight the twin evils of war and the impending economic crisis.

The response to Dunne is indicative that many Flint workers are conscious of what is occurring

in Washington and want to know how they can fight back.

TOLEDO, Dec. 27 — "The government 'loyalty' purge and witch-hunt stem directly from Wall Street's Washington agents' plans for a Third World War," stated Vincent R. Dunne at his meeting tonight at the Fort Meigs Hotel.

"They do not want to embark on this voyage of world-wide conquest until they have brought the American labor movement to heel," he said. The audience of Toledo workers listened attentively to his talk on "Labor and Civil Rights" and remained to ask questions of the speaker.

The role played by most union leaders today was described by Dunne in sharp terms. "They have transferred the witch-hunting into the unions; 'loyalty' oaths, purges and red-hunts are all parts of the State Department's plans to tame the workers and are weakening the unions," he said.

The audience responded generously to a plea for funds to help carry on the work of the Socialist Workers Party. The Dunne meeting was noted in both Toledo daily papers where he was described as an outstanding labor leader from the northwest.

# FBI Commits Crimes, Gets Away With It

(Continued from page 1)

stroyed many of the wiretapping records in the case. He swore that the records contained nothing of "value" and that the FBI didn't use such material for developing evidence in prosecutions anyway. He didn't explain why, if that is true, they even bothered taking it down.

Later, however, Fletcher admitted under cross-examination, that where an "important clue" is revealed through wiretapping the FBI uses it.

## DAMNING ADMISSIONS

Alan H. Belmont, boss of the FBI New York Division, testified too but claimed a loss of memory when asked the names of the agents who had tapped the phones. Later on, however, some 30 FBI agents who had engaged in this work were compelled to submit affidavits.

On Dec. 21 FBI Agent T. Scott Miller was asked by Judge Ryan if he had not known, at the first Coplon trial, that several FBI agents were guilty of evasion on May 13 when they said they had "no knowledge" of wiretapping. Miller answered that in May he had had "no personal knowledge" about it.

A little while later, however, Miller admitted under defense

questioning that he himself—last February—had destroyed reports of conversations obtained by wiretapping in the Coplon case.

On Dec. 27 it was disclosed that the FBI had learned through wiretapping that Judith Coplon planned to take a trip from Washington to New York on Mar. 4, the day when she was arrested in the company of Gubitchev. This blasted to smithereens the FBI's claim that it had learned "nothing of value" in the case through wiretapping.

Another example of perjury was the testimony on Dec. 28 of FBI Agent Richard E. Brennan that he knew last February that the Coplon wire was tapped. At the first trial on May 3, however, Brennan had sworn that he had "no knowledge" about any wiretapping.

## FLAGRANT EVASION

Special assistants Whearty and Kelley, who had run the government's case against Miss Coplon, had not opened themselves to charges of direct perjury. But they were certainly guilty of evasion, at the very least. Whearty's summation in the first trial included these remarks:

"What made her [Miss Coplon] think her line was tapped? What reason would she have to think,

if it wasn't a consciousness of guilt, a consciousness of the activity in which she was engaged—why should a thing come across her mind, a thing of this nature?"

Whearty, it is important to note, had objected to any questioning about wiretapping in that trial. So did Kelley, who at that time was asked if he would deny that wiretapping had been committed and had answered only that "I have no knowledge at all about it, sir, and we will not have belief or speculation."

## WHAT WOULD HAPPEN?

Only a small part of this sordid story has come out into the open; the judge forbade the press to print all the facts unearthed through the FBI affidavits. But enough has come out so that important conclusions can be drawn, especially if the following questions are asked:

What would happen to a radical who broke the law (as the FBI did by wiretapping)? Would he be prosecuted for it, no matter how trifling or unintentional the violation, or would he not?

What would happen to a radical who evaded direct questions in court, as FBI agents and government officials did?

What would happen to a radical

who committed perjury, as FBI agents did?

Everybody knows the answers to these questions, just as everybody knows that the man who authorized these crimes by the FBI was rewarded with a seat on the Supreme Court.

In the current issue of Confidential — From Washington, a publication of the George Washington University Victory Council, there is an article in which FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover dons a "liberal" pose and says he is "emphatically" opposed to establishing "a national police system to handle the Communist menace."

## HOOVER'S DEMAGOGY

Setting up such a system and violating freedom of speech for "communists," he said piously, "would mean the tearing of law enforcement from its democratic matrix and the creation of a 'state within a state,' or a law enforcement system unresponsive to the will of the majority, and obeying only the dictates of the governing few."

But when the FBI operates a nationwide service of informers planted in labor organizations and assigned to spy on the most intimate details of people's personal lives, when it violates with impunity the laws it is supposed to

uphold — what more fitting name can be applied to it than a political police system operating in disregard of the laws binding on the majority, and responsible only to the governing few, including Hoover himself?

If the FBI doesn't fit that description, then neither do Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's GPU. And if the American working class doesn't awaken to the menace of the Department of Justice's infringements on democratic rights, then the FBI will develop more and more into a replica of the Gestapo and the GPU, with Hoover protesting all the time that of course he is "emphatically" opposed to the kind of system which he heads.

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## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Detroit Reports Busy Week End of Literature Sales

Literature Agent Howard Mason of Detroit reports a busy week end of literature sales following the successful conclusion of the recent subscription campaign for The Militant.

Here is the record: On Saturday two copies of The Militant and a copy of the pamphlet, American Workers Need a Labor Party, were sold at a meeting featuring Scott Nearing.

On Sunday three Labor Party pamphlets and a Militant were sold at a meeting of Briggs UAW Local 212. At Budd UAW Local 306, a copy of Fourth International, two Labor Party pamphlets and 14 Militants were sold; at Dodge UAW Local 3, two Militants; at a meeting of the NAACP, three Militants and five copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality; and at an All-Slav Festival sponsored by the Stalinists, one Militant and nine copies of the Fourth International.

"This last distribution was especially pleasing," writes Howard. "We have been trying to get into contact through distributions with some of the language groups in the city. This is the most successful attempt to date." The articles on Titoism and Stalinism were of special interest to those who came to the meeting.

"Last week," continues Howard, "a couple of comrades covered a meeting of Chu Tong, editor of The Chinese Daily News. They sold two Fourth Internationals, four Militants and three copies of the pamphlet, Letter to American Negroes."

"The youth section has now established regular sales of our literature each Thursday on the campus of Wayne University. These are going well. Last week they sold eight Militants."

That's good going for the members of the Militant Army in the Detroit area. How about some of the rest of you oiling up your typewriters or getting a refill for the old ball-point pen and letting us know how your record compares with that of the Detroit comrades?

J. S. of Canada sent \$8 to renew his subscription to The Militant and Fourth International, although the cost for the two publications in combination is only \$4. "Buy a few stamps," he writes, "for what's over. I always wish I could give more and maybe I could, but my earning power is getting pretty nearly exhausted I guess at the age of past 73. My wife is almost 70 too, but both of us are going strong yet and hope to see a taste of socialism yet. That will be our heaven."

Thanks a lot, J. S. That's the spirit that keeps The Militant on the firing line.

L. B. Courts, an old-time Socialist of Sharonville, Ohio, and an active supporter of The Militant, writes us about the growing danger from the Catholic hierarchy to the American tradition of keeping church and state separate. He also thinks that American imperialism should stay out of China and hopes that out of the present turmoil there, the working class can come to power.

S. H. of New Jersey forgot to send in his renewal when his subscription expired, remembering it only a few weeks later. "Kindly mail the numbers I missed so far," he asks, "as I'm eager for the general analysis of events as seen through the eye of your wonderful paper."

We were sorry to learn from Winifred Nelson, Literature Agent of St. Paul, that J. P. Rasmussen of Siren, Wis., died recently. "He was a socialist in the old country. And now in his later years he has read The Militant faithfully, awaiting its arrival eagerly each week. Comrade Rasmussen was one of the many friends who, taken collectively, help such a great deal in the struggle for socialism."

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TROTSKY

"Surplus-product must have been produced by the slave, or the slave-owner would not have kept any slaves. Surplus-product must have been produced by the serf, or serfdom would have been of no use to the landed gentry. Surplus-product, only to a considerably greater extent, is likewise produced by the wage workers, or the capitalist would have no need to buy labor power. The class struggle is nothing else than the struggle for surplus-product. He who owns surplus-product is master of the situation—owns wealth, owns the state, has the key to the church, to the courts, to the sciences and to the arts."

— Leon Trotsky, Marxism in the United States, 1939.



LENIN

## In the Shadow of the Blackjack

Every union man and woman, and every liberal for that matter, must view with the gravest alarm the threats of violence against the Socialist Workers Party by the officialdom of the AFL seamen's union. Responsible and progressive elements regardless of political beliefs, cannot be complacent towards an attempt to deprive a working class party of the rights of free speech and press by threats of brute force and raids on its headquarters. All minority opinion and organizations are threatened with intimidation and, in effect, with suppression by these power-mad gangsters in control of the AFL seamen's union.

This is no private feud between the Socialist Workers Party and the Hall-Lundeberg gang. The facts in the case have been established at great length in *The Militant*. The waterfront lives under "The Shadow of the Blackjack," as the official organ of the independent Marine Firemen's Union puts it. Strikebreaking, union-raiding and the brutal suppression of rank and file criticism have become the primary strategy of the Hall-Lundeberg machine.

Not only critics, but even those who dare ask "points of information" or presume to think differently than the administration, are pulled off ships, ex-

pelled from the union by kangaroo courts and driven out of the industry. The official union papers, which prohibit all free expression by the ranks, are jammed with "confessions" and "retractions" by terrorized workers, a spectacle that strongly parallels the procedure in the blighted lands under Stalin's control.

Above all, this unscrupulous, dictatorial machine cannot tolerate any free and open discussion which would lead to an exposure of its notorious anti-labor practices. This suppression has partially succeeded within the union because of the machine's control of the jobs and livelihoods of the seamen. But it has no such power over the Socialist Workers Party. None of the thought-control, police-state bans decreed against Trotskyists in the SIU and SUP can silence the press of the SWP.

In attempting to censor the press of the SWP by threats of violence these pint-sized Hitlers are exceeding their "jurisdiction," to say nothing of running counter to the Constitution of the United States. This constitution guarantees the right of free speech and free press, and we aim to exercise them, with or without permission from Hall and Lundeberg. We believe that liberal and progressive labor opinion will back us up in this.

## The Biggest Lie of All

"We enjoy more personal liberty in the United States today than ever before," boasted Truman in his "State of the Union" message. You don't have to go farther than Washington, D. C., where Truman spoke, to know he lied.

Can a Negro sit anywhere on a bus in Washington? Can he eat in any restaurant, get a room in any hotel, send his children to any public school, live in any residential area, work in any government department? Would Truman like to take a poll of the Negro people in Washington about whether they are enjoying "more personal liberty than ever before"?

Would he be willing to submit the question to government employees in Washington? If they weren't too scared the FBI might find out how they would answer, they'd certainly not support Truman's boast. Washington is pervaded by an atmosphere of outright terror. Truman's "loyalty" purge, with its FBI wire-tappers and snoopers, its dismissals without charges and open hearings, have made government employees afraid to open their mouths even in their own homes. They shake at the thought that maybe

some malicious person will send an anonymous letter to the FBI that they once subscribed to the *Nation* magazine or voted for Norman Thomas in 1932.

And this atmosphere has been spreading like a poison cloud over the whole country. They are forcing scientists and educators to take "loyalty" oaths; they are ferreting through the lists of public school teachers for "communists" and "subversives"; they are firing union militants as "poor security risks" and writing purge clauses into union contracts to permit corporations to kick out workers they accuse of "disloyalty."

"Un-American activities" investigations, frame-up "conspiracy" and spy trials, purges and "loyalty" oaths, wire-tapping and stoolpigeons—these scream at us every day from the newspapers and radios. And the source is the White House itself.

Who dares to speak as he chooses today in America without fear of reprisal—FBI investigation, loss of job, "disloyalty" smear, even prison? That's the "personal liberty" the average American now "enjoys."

## Labor Faces Political Betrayal

AFL President William Green has given virtual endorsement to the "strategy" of top Truman Democrats in Congress who have declared themselves opposed to any attempt to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act in this session.

Echoing the excuse of the Democratic leaders for abandoning the T-H repeal fight for another year, Green said in a New Year's statement that the prospects for repeal "do not augur well for success at the second session." He indicated the AFL would not press for action.

Rather, he said, "labor's best hope is for the election of a new Congress in November that will be committed to Taft-Hartley repeal." He failed to note that the present Democratic majority in Congress is already "committed to Taft-Hartley repeal."

The Associated Press has reported that CIO President Philip Murray said last week that "the Taft-Hartley Act will be repealed" in this session. If Murray made this statement, it can be considered conscious deception. He knows the Trumanites in Congress don't intend to make any fight on Taft-Hartley. And certainly there's no evidence that the CIO leaders intend to raise any serious fuss about it.

The Trumanites don't want the Slave Labor Law repealed—at least not in this session. They want it to remain as a campaign issue around which to appeal for the election of more Democrats to Congress next November. This is the real motivation of the Trumanite "strategy,"

as the current United Mine Workers Journal correctly points out. "It is evident the administration prefers to retain the NAM-T-H Law as an issue rather than make a genuine effort to get it off the statute books," says the *Journal*.

One of the main reasons why Truman isn't anxious to press the Taft-Hartley issue, and plans only to "make the record" on civil rights legislation, is his desire to appease the powerful right wing of the Democratic Party, particularly the Southern Democrats. He knows that if Taft-Hartley repeal comes to a vote, a large number of Democrats will vote against repeal as they did last year.

And that's one big reason why the union leaders like Green aren't anxious for the issue to come up for Congressional vote before the November elections. They'd have a hard time convincing union workers that Democrats who vote to keep Taft-Hartley are "progressives" and "friends of labor."

With few exceptions, the union leaders plan to support regular Democrats, no matter how corrupt and reactionary. This is indicated by the list of 26 Senators and 81 Representatives which the AFL's Political League has called on its members to defeat next November. Of the 26 Southern Democrats in the Senate, only one—Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, a bitter foe of Truman—is on the list. And only two Southern Democratic members of the House, Chatham and Bulwinkle, both of North Carolina.

# 'Social Scientists' and Labor

By F. Forest

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

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

### NAM DARLING SPEAKS

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

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

There were years when these conventions used to be presented

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

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

### PATHTIC LEVEL

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

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

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

### PITIFUL BLINDNESS

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

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

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

## Where Yugoslav Policy Is Basically at Fault

The American Stalinists are apparently trying to make up for lost time in lying about and slandering Yugoslavia. They now let no opportunity slip. And the latest occasion has been provided them by the projected \$25,000,000 loan by the World Bank of Yugoslavia — which has yet to be concluded, incidentally — and the signing of the trade agreement with Britain.

Here, shrieks the *Daily Worker*, is proof positive that Tito is a "fascist," that he is being paid off for "services rendered" to imperialism, and so on. This kind of type is becoming harder and harder for the Stalinists to peddle to their own following. It is well known that the economic blockade imposed by Stalin and, on his orders, by the satellite countries has made it necessary for Yugoslavia to seek loans abroad and to enter into trade agreements with Western Europe.

In general it would not have been possible for the Yugoslavs as for the other East European countries, to get along without trade ties and credits with the West. Stalin's policy of blockade has made them imperative for Yugoslavia. The degree to which the Yugoslavs have become more dependent economically on the

United States and Western capitalism generally is primarily the handiwork of the Kremlin.

To blame the Yugoslavs for entering into trade agreements or taking loans is to blame them for objective conditions over which they have little or no control. There is nothing whatever reprehensible about their conduct here.

What is reprehensible is the policy pursued by Belgrade in abandoning internationalism, in dropping the fight for the establishment of the Balkan federation. When it comes to internationalism, the policies of Tito are hard to distinguish from the policies of Moscow. The Kremlin is bitterly opposed to a Balkan federation; the Titoists favor it but do nothing to promote it.

Without appealing to the international working class and mobilizing its support, the position of Yugoslavia remains untenable. But internationally the Titoists continue to place stress on their diplomatic maneuvers, especially in the United Nations. Karadjel recently hailed Yugoslavia's success in obtaining a seat on the Security Council as a major victory, assuring Yugoslavia's independence. This is a delusion. The fate of Yugoslavia will be decided not in the Security

Council but on the field of the international class struggle.

One of the major weapons the Yugoslavs have in their struggle against the Kremlin is the program of the Balkan Federation. To vigorously promote such a program is to arouse tremendous sympathy and response among the mass of the people not alone in the Balkans but throughout Europe where the need of Socialist confederation is being felt more and more urgently. But, to all intents and purposes, Belgrade has dropped this project completely.

### A WEAPON NOT USED

The opposition of the Kremlin and the hostility of the puppet satellite countries apparently settles this issue in the eyes of Tito and his theoreticians. They see no point in appealing to the masses over the heads of the Stalinist quislings. Instead of promoting the cause of the Balkan Federation, they have resorted to such devices as demanding payments from Hungary of war reparations.

The Stalinists, especially in this country, are careful not to attack this demand of Tito, which has nothing whatever in common with socialism. They keep mum for the simple reason that the Kremlin itself has been and will continue to extort reparations from former "belligerent" countries and still hopes for a whopping indemnity from Germany. In this respect, too, the Titoists show how deeply mixed they still are in the ideas and methods of Stalinism, the only school of politics through which they have passed.

Stalinism has been working might and main to drive the Yugoslavs into the embraces of capitalism. Thus far they have failed. The Tito regime has up to now capitulated to neither the Kremlin nor Washington and London. But their policy helps drive the masses, especially in Eastern Europe, into the hands of Stalinism, or at best disorients and demoralizes them. At the same time, it drives Yugoslavia itself deeper and deeper into a blind-alley.

A sharp turn in Yugoslav policy offers the only way out. Yugoslavia's road to salvation lies in a resolute turn to the international working class, lifting once again the banner of internationalism and vigorously advancing the fight for the Socialist Balkan Federation.

## THE STRANGE CASE OF GENERAL YAMASHITA

By John G. Wright

The Case of General Yamashita by A. Frank Reel is an excellently documented and eye-witness account of the first American "war crimes" trial. It was staged under Gen. MacArthur's orders in Manila toward the end of 1945. (University of Chicago Press, 1949. 324 pp., \$4.)

The author, one of the men assigned as defense counsel in the case, was a practicing labor lawyer in Massachusetts before the war and brings a crusader's zeal to his treatment of the subject.

In Reel's opinion — buttressed by facts, arguments and detailed analysis — the trial of Yamashita was a legal farce — "unjust, hypocritical and vindictive." The defendant was deprived of his most elementary rights and condemned unjustly by a military kangaroo court. When the case came up for review before the U.S. Supreme Court, two Justices — Rutledge and Murphy — filed dissenting opinions to the same effect.

The defendant Yamashita did not arrive in the Philippines until early in October 1944, that is, shortly before the unleashing of the American offensive for the recapture of these islands. He surrendered in September 1945. He was thus in no way connected with any fighting in the Philippines prior to that time or with the "Bataan death march of 1942."

Prior to his assignment to the Philippines, Yamashita's active role in the war was confined to his feat in the Malayan campaign where with 30,000 troops he bluffed the British into surrendering Singapore with 100,000 troops. Thereafter he was sent to Northern Manchuria where he drilled troops thousands of miles away from the war fronts.

Yamashita was apparently in bad odor with the reigning Japanese Army circles, especially Tojo, and was being victimized by them before he fell — as a convenient scapegoat — into the clutches of the American Big Brass, headed by MacArthur.

Among the most flagrant features of his trial was the nature of "evidence" that was ruled admissible. MacArthur instructed the military commission of five American generals to admit any and all evidence which "in its opinion would be of assistance in proving or disproving the charge, or such as in the commission's opinion would have probative value in the mind of a reasonable man."

Guided by this sweeping directive permitting them to do as they pleased, the commission admitted not only perjured witnesses, affidavits, depositions and other statements, impossible to verify, but also hearsay and opinion evidence tendered by the prosecution. Newspaper accounts and even a Hollywood movie, "Orders from Tokyo," figured as "evidence."

While for twenty days the court heard testimony of this sort, the defense found itself denied the opportunity for any adequate preparation. Three weeks before the trial began a bill of particulars was presented "specifying 64 items setting forth a vast number of atrocities and crimes allegedly committed by troops" under Yamashita's command. On the first day of the trial, the prosecution filed 50 more specifications "of the same general character, involving perhaps as many incidents occurring over an equally wide area." The defense was never granted an opportunity to prepare for the supplementary bill, although this was originally promised and subsequently arbitrarily denied.

Taking the stand in his own defense, Yamashita denied all the charges against him, pointing out that nine days after his arrival in the unfamiliar situation in the Philippines he was "confronted with a superior American force." His troops were scattered, his communications were poor and at no time was he able "to make personal inspection and to coordinate the units under my command."

"The facts are," Yamashita testified, "that I was constantly under attack by large American forces, and I have been under pressure day and night. Under these circumstances I had to plan, study and carry out plans of how to combat superior American forces, and it took all my time and effort." How, he asked, could he be held responsible for the action of troops from whom he was cut off and of whose activities he knew nothing?

Yamashita's testimony stood up under grueling cross-examination and there was not a shred of evidence produced at the trial that he had either knowledge of or was personally connected with any of the atrocities and innumerable "war crimes" charged against him.

### Workings of the Military Mind

MacArthur, from Tokyo where he took Emperor Hirohito and other eminent Japanese "war criminals" under his wing, brought pressure to bear for haste. Justice Murphy characterized it as "needless and unseemly haste." Reel suggests that MacArthur's impatience was at least in part explainable by personal political considerations. He was anxious to get the Yamashita trial out of the way before the Nuremberg trials began. "Within a matter of weeks or even days, Nuremberg and not Manila would command the headlines in American newspapers."

In the opinion of Justice Murphy, Yamashita "was rushed to trial under an improper charge, given insufficient time to prepare an adequate defense, deprived of the benefits of some of the most elementary rules of evidence, and summarily sentenced to be hanged."

Justice Rutledge was equally emphatic in his opinion that Yamashita was denied a "fair trial." The majority of the Supreme Court, however, placed its seal of approval on the Manila travesty. MacArthur hanged Yamashita.

What makes this book particularly valuable is that it provides an insight into the workings of the military mind that is asserting itself more and more in the conduct of this country's affairs. Militarists like MacArthur are simply the purest expressions of this authoritarian type. Witch-hunter Tom Clark, who now sits on the Supreme Court, is a civilian counterpart of these ruthless enemies of civil rights.

Let us recall that what was cynically denied to a defeated Japanese general at Manila has since been denied at home to thousands of civilian employees of the federal government and other victims of the "loyalty purge" — without even the formality of public hearings, let alone a public trial.

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# Wall Street's Achilles Heel

By Joseph Keller

Capitalist economists and government forecasters have ventured to predict "good times" will last "at least six months." Their long-term outlook, however, is tinged with uncertainty and fear. This, they freely admit, stems first of all from international factors. Here is the Achilles heel of American capitalism.

The finance capitalists who control American economy have a colossal accumulation of idle capital. They cannot invest it profitably at home where production has since 1948 far outstripped the domestic market. To find fields for profitable investment all over the globe has become a life and death problem for them.

Arthur Gorman, financial writer, in the Jan. 3 N. Y. World-Telegram says that this year will provide nothing less than "a test by fire" for Truman's Point Four program, which is designed to tremendously expand American capitalist investments in colonial and semi-colonial countries. This, says Gorman, "is the biggest challenge the capitalist system has ever faced."

"If the [capitalist] system is to survive," he declares, "the United States must take over a capital exporting role similar to that played by Great Britain in the 19th Century." But the obstacles to this, he confesses, are truly "forbidding."

For one thing, a large portion of Europe and Asia, comprising the Soviet Union and countries under Kremlin control, are "out of the orbit of potential capitalist markets." Throughout the rest of the world "governments are unstable." Consequently, "the 'climate' is said to be unfavorable over most of the earth's surface for profitable foreign investment."

The "top brains in America," he adds, have been "seeking for six years now a solution to the

riddle of putting U. S. capital to work abroad in a satisfactory way" — that is, in a profitable way. But no solution has been found.

It can be solved — even temporarily — only by forcing every other nation to permit the investment of American capital on a preferred basis, with no taxes, with no restrictions on the withdrawal of profits to America. This means other nations must agree to become complete vassals to American finance capital, to Wall Street.

Alas, admits Gorman, "the prospects — except in a few scattered areas — are admittedly not too hopeful."

This dilemma — how to invest its "enormous 'superabundance of capital'" — was described decades ago by Lenin as the outstanding and unique feature of modern imperialist capitalism. The imperative need to find profitable fields for capital investment has twice exploded into world war between competing capitalist nations. It is this need which today gives terrific impulsion to American imperialism for war against the Soviet Union and to secure Wall Street's domination of the globe.

But Lenin pointed out, in his book *Imperialism*, if capitalism "could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still poverty-stricken and underfed, in spite of the amazing advance in technical knowledge, there could be no talk of a superabundance of capital."

Only under socialism can the "superabundance of capital," transformed into social wealth, be utilized for the needs of the people. So long as private profit remains the mainspring of American economy, the accumulation of capital must remain a source of war and imperialist exploitation of the world masses.

## A Letter of Thanks

By Rose Karsner

[The following letter was written by Comrade Rose Karsner to the membership of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, thanking them for the dinner they had arranged in honor of her 60th birthday.]

Dear Comrades:

I am just recovering from the dizziness occasioned by the event of my 60th birthday. Permit me, at this belated date, to thank you one and all for the beautiful luggage and the surprise dinner you tendered in my honor — and a surprise it was indeed! More precisely stated, it was a shock.

Although the entire party knew about the dinner, I was completely in the dark about it. This was possible because in the first place I was recuperating from an illness and had not been around at headquarters for a number of days when the preparations were going on. Secondly, I could not, in my wildest dreams, suspect the party would single me out for such tribute. The gesture made me so dizzy that I was not able at the dinner to give voice to the thoughts that were racing in my head. Now I have sobered up and can speak out.

I was a symbol that night. A symbol of all the rank and file activists in our party, who plod along doing the day-to-day work, year in

and year out, unsung and frequently unnoticed. The dinner was a testimonial to these comrades.

The occasion of my 60th birthday was an opportunity for the Party to publicly declare its high esteem of the valuable contribution to the building of the Trotskyist movement made by what are known as the Jimmy Higginses, to tell the activists of each and every branch how highly the Party values their work.

I feel gratified that our National Committee had the wisdom to take advantage of this opportunity. I am happy that I was able to be the medium through which the Party could tender such a public testimonial to our activists.

This is the first time in the history of the Trotskyist movement that our national leadership made such an avowal of what it always thought about the Jimmy Higgins worker. I am sure it won't be the last.

To Local New York goes the honor of organizing the first national testimonial to the rank and file activists of the SWP.

Together with all the other activists in our Party — my thanks!

Comradely,

Rose Karsner

## Notes from the News

"THE BROOKLYN EAGLE has learned that Carlo Tresca was murdered on the order of the Italian Fascists for \$500,000 paid to the crime syndicate that rules in New York and other cities of the United States," Ed Reid wrote in that paper last week. The Tresca Memorial Committee is asking that Reid appear before a grand jury to tell what he knows. The Committee's annual commemoration of Tresca will be held Wed., Jan. 11, 8:15 P. M., the seventh anniversary of his murder, at the northwest corner of Fifth Ave. and 15th St., New York City.

AFL AND CIO LEADERS are pleading with the New York City administration not to go through with the 5% cut in relief allowances scheduled to go into effect on Jan. 16. Just two months ago these same labor leaders were pleading with the voters, including those on relief, to elect the same administration instituting this cut in their living standards.

STRIKES IN 1949 accounted for the loss of 53 million man-days in the U. S. This was the second highest figure in the country's history, about 50% higher than in 1948. 1946 was the highest year, with 116 million man-days lost

through strikes. In that year 4,600,000 workers were involved in work stoppages; in 1948 the figure was 1,960,000; and last year it was 3,100,000.

THREE NEGROES were lynched in the South last year, according to the annual Tuskegee Institute report, but this does not include the many cases of murder "similar to lynching," such as killings by one or two persons rather than mobs, killings by deputies "bent on vengeance," etc.

SOCIALIST PARTY Labor Secretary William Becker has resigned that post to become an organizer of the AFL National Farm Labor Union in California. Norman Thomas deplored the lack of "financial and other resources" which prevented the SP from keeping Becker on its staff.

THE N. Y. SUN, one of the oldest dailies in the country, has been bought out by the Scripps-Howard newspaper trust. The former owners of the Sun hypocritically blamed the unions for "forcing" the paper out of existence. The transaction, doubtless a highly profitable one, was kept a deep secret up to the last moment. 1,200 employees have been thrown out on the streets.

## WASHINGTON'S DILEMMA -- CHINESE POLICY

(Cont. from page 1)

Far East and blow the whole colonial empire of world imperialism sky high.

Thus, in the Far East the Truman Doctrine, "the containment of communism," has meant above all the prevention of revolution and its containment if it did break out. In accordance with this policy, the State Department has consistently fostered and bolstered up those native elements, mainly the colonial bourgeoisie, who were inclined by their own economic interests to fall in line with imperialist aims.

Consequently, when the flames of the peasant uprising spread like a grass fire across China, lighting the skies of the whole Far East, the State Department hastened preparations to fall back to other positions.

### POLICY IN FAR EAST

The pretense at "democratizing" Japan was cut short. Reaction was given the green light. And now MacArthur has gone so far as to enunciate the "right" of the Mikado's regime to "self-defense," which is a diplomatic way of calling for the rearmament of Japan.

In Indonesia, where a servile native bourgeoisie opened up the possibility of a nationalist regime that would act as a loyal agency

of western imperialism, Washington pressured its Dutch cousins into granting them a degree of autonomy. The hope is that Sukarno will follow in the path marked out by the Nehru government of India in acting as a native pillar of western imperialism.

The French capitalists have tried to speed establishment of the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China. Since this unclean puppet government, however, lacks the slightest semblance of mass support, Washington has listened sympathetically to French pleas for more arms to hold the line there.

The Philippines have not been left out of the calculations. There the American military machine has strengthened its own bases as well as native reaction.

In carrying out the Truman Doctrine in the Far East, American imperialism has thus been forced to drop back from its front line trenches in China to the second line of defense reaching in the arc from Japan to India. The squabble over Formosa represents only a tactical phase in the general retreat.

### HIGH COST

The cost to the American people of Truman's reactionary policy in China and the Far East has been high. Aside from the

billions of dollars poured down the Nationalist drain, America has lost incalculable resources of friendship. The people in the Far East, who constitute the majority of mankind, do not easily distinguish between the Truman administration, which supplied Chiang's dictatorship in lavish style with money, arms and political support, and the American working people who were never consulted about this reactionary foreign policy.

To win back that friendship will not be easy. A start can be made by demanding recognition of the new government without further delay and the renunciation of any further support of Chiang or his reactionary clique.

Food and clothing should be sent at once to relieve the worst distress. We should help rebuild the land and industries gutted by the prolonged strife for which the Truman administration bears a big share of the responsibility. Economic and financial aid to speed the long-range development of China should be offered on a generous scale with no strings attached.

That's in the spirit of the real America, the America of the working people who feel the warmest friendship and sympathy for the long-suffering Chinese people

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## Jobless Estimates Of Census Bureau Highly Doctored

By Robert Phillips

That government estimates of total unemployment in the U. S. are questionable was admitted by Philip M. Hauser of the Bureau of the Census, in a paper presented before the American Statistical Association on Dec. 29.

In response to a question, Hauser admitted that Census total unemployment "estimates" are "not very meaningful," that the methods for determining just who are the unemployed are arbitrary and fail to include workers who are employed for one day a week, others who have become discouraged because of a long period of unemployment and who in desperation have gone on public relief rolls, and still others who somehow are not classified as unemployed despite the fact that they're not working.

More detailed "statistics" presented in Hauser's paper rip the cover from the current so-called "low level" of unemployment, 5.4% of the labor force. They show heavy concentrations of unemployment in the textile areas of New England and the South in one-industry towns, and especially among the most discriminated against workers, Negroes and laborers.

While one worker out of every 20 was unemployed in October 1949, 11.2% or 1 in 9 male Negro workers, and 12.8% or more than 1 in 8 of all non-farm laborers were unemployed. The statisticians gratuitously term these workers as "marginal," even though the extent of unemployment among them approximates the high-water mark of unemployment for all workers in the late thirties.

Further, the report states that one out of every ten workers was unemployed for 6 months or more in 1949. With more than 500,000 reported as having exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits today, this would mean that actual total unemployment is more than 5 million, or 1.5 million beyond the "total" reported by the Census Bureau.

The mass of the government so-called unemployment data shows clearly that the detailed figures contradict the totals and that the questionable statistics become even more questionable under close scrutiny.

## SIU OFFICIALS CONTINUE THREATS AGAINST SWP

(Continued from page 1)

members of the Marine Engineers' unions."

After marshalling names and places in two full editorial columns to demonstrate the methods of cannibal unionism employed by Hall-Lundeberg, and Co. against the Firemen's Union, the paper concludes: "While the shadow of the blackjack hangs over us, we'll resist it. It's just as bad as the hammer and sickle."

Whether or not the Fox incident in Seattle has any connection with the internal struggle in the AFL Seamen's union, responsibility for it cannot be attributed to the Trotskyists except by sounders and liars. It must be laid directly at the doorstep of the Hall-Lundeberg machine which has created an atmosphere of terror and intimidation for the purpose of stifling all opposition to their bureaucratic, dictatorial and strikebreaking rule.

The Hall-Lundeberg reign of terror is reported in elaborate detail in the Dec. 20 Defender, organ of the Mahoney Defense Committee. Here are a few of the developments they recount which have taken place since John Mahoney, a veteran member of the Sailors Union, was expelled in violation of the union's constitution, for the "crime" of having asked a "point of information" at a union meeting about Hall-Lundeberg's strikebreaking in the Canadian Seamen's strike.

The entire deck department of the SS Island Mail was ordered expelled by the Lundeberg machine for having contributed to the Mahoney Defense Committee. The crew had made its contributions prior to the adoption of a resolution by an intimidated membership forbidding such contributions. The crew had been ordered off the ship by union officials in Seattle and instructed to go to Seattle and stand trial. Fortunately their refusal to comply with this order was backed up by the Seattle membership who refused to take the jobs of the men under charges and they remained aboard ship.

## Backs Civil Rights Fight



Jackie Robinson, Brooklyn Dodgers second baseman, adds his voice to the growing demands for passage of civil rights legislation by the 81st Congress. Here he tells a press conference why he is "100% behind" the Jan. 15-17 Washington conference called by the NAACP and 50 other national organizations to rally public opinion in favor of the civil rights bills.

## Dowson Gets 15,600 Votes In Toronto Mayoralty Race

By Barry Brent

TORONTO, Jan. 3 — In its fourth successive campaign for mayor, the Toronto branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party rolled up 15,600 votes behind its candidate, Ross Dowson. Ex-police constable C.

H. Mahoney, campaigning on a "common sense" platform, received 19,558 votes, while the incumbent, Tory wheel-horse Hiram McCallum, who boasted after his electoral victory that he had "no program," polled 133,320 votes.

The RWP, the Trotskyists, again carried the banner of independent political action for the entire labor movement in Canada's second largest city. Neither the influential reformist Co-operative Commonwealth Federation nor the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party put forward a candidate to challenge the capitalists for the highest seat in civic office.

Their campaigns for the lesser offices were permeated with

respectability. They vigorously avoided their party labels and gave no labor content to their pitiful little patch-work "programs." Instead of a program dealing with the real issues, they offered themselves to the electorate as the solvers of all problems.

The RWP, on the other hand, barred the question as it is — labor versus capital. Dowson pointed out that the City Hall wheel-healers are not guilty of "ineptitude" or "bungling" but of defending capitalism. The party issued a clarion call to the organized labor movement of this city, 100,000 strong, to adopt and vote for a program of militant class struggle, aimed at the real issues confronting them, and to sweep a labor mayor into office as a big step on the road to a Workers and Farmers Government. It pointed out that the only ultimate solution to the crisis of mankind was a new society based on production for use, not profit — the co-operative society of socialism.

The RWP campaign, though greatly limited by lack of funds and personnel, was hard-hitting and impressive. It was the only real labor campaign of the election, as it has been for the last four years. Almost 40,000 copies of the party's election program were distributed at factory gates and door-to-door in the working class areas. The Toronto branch's sound truck, emblazoned with signs, cruised through the crowded streets broadcasting its inspiring message of class struggle and socialism.

Dowson spoke at more than a score of election meetings, exposing the capitalist politicians and putting forward the RWP program on unemployment, housing, taxation, the franchise, etc. The press, with last year's poll of 23,845 votes staring them in the face, was no longer able to maintain as an effective black-out on the RWP campaign. Scattered reports were printed on sections of Dowson's many speeches.

### RWP PLEDGE

On election night hundreds of thousands of listeners heard Dowson over the air between election results. He pointed out that his defeat was a defeat for all labor, ending with a declaration that the RWP pledges to carry forward its campaign for socialist emancipation every day of the year, through every possible avenue.

While the total vote rose in this election, the labor vote for the most part declined or remained static. Last year the workers were inspired by the electoral triumphs of the CCF; this year the crushing federal election defeat thrust many into apathy. This general condition, however, gives even greater weight and importance to the RWP vote. It is not only a labor vote, but to a very large extent a socialist vote also.

## Civil Liberties Movement Can't Afford Blacklists

By Albert Parker

The decision to exclude "communist-front" and other organizations from the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization will probably not have an important effect on

the size or effectiveness of the NECRM conference which is scheduled to meet in Washington Jan. 15-17 to press for the adoption of FEPC and other civil rights legislation.

But this decision raises crucial problems that can have disastrous consequences for the organizations participating in the conference, especially for the NAACP, its initiator and spark-plug.

The NAACP leadership had previously explained its refusal to invite the Civil Rights Congress and other Stalinist-front organizations to serve as sponsors of the mobilization on the ground that the Communist Party betrayed the Negro struggle during the war and has shown on many occasions that it favors "civil rights for some people, but not for all."

### THEIR OWN BLACKLIST

Since then, NECRM chairman Roy Wilkins and secretary Arnold Amonson have issued a letter on behalf of the steering committee saying that they "do not want and will not permit delegates of such 'communist dominated' organizations to be registered" — the Washington conference because they don't consider them to be "motivated by a sincere desire to bring about the speedy enactment of FEPC and the entire civil rights program."

Specifically banned by this letter were "the Civil Rights Congress, all political parties, and the ten unions now under investigation by CIO on charges of Communist domination: American Communications Association; Fishermen and Allied Workers; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers; United Public Workers; United Office and Professional Workers; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Fur and Leather Workers; International Longshoremen and Warehousemen; Marine Cooks and Stewards; United Furniture Workers."

But how do you judge if an organization is "motivated by a sincere desire" for the passage of civil rights bills? Do you use a crystal ball? When two organizations say that they are for such legislation, how do you decide that one is sincere but the other is deceitful?

Clearly enough, the criterion being used by the NECRM leaders is arbitrary in the extreme and it lends itself to all kinds of discriminatory abuses. No movement dedicated to a fight against discrimination can benefit from the practice of discrimination; on the contrary, it serves only to discredit itself and detract from its own efforts to secure passage of the civil rights bills.

### HARMFUL EFFECTS

The stupid and reactionary effects of this policy are illustrated in the case of the ten labor organizations on the NECRM's "blacklist." They may not be large and they may suffer from a rotten leadership (which can also be said of some of the groups permitted to participate) but that doesn't change the fact that they are genuine unions, representing thousands of workers.

Even if the NECRM leaders are convinced that the leaders of these ten unions are not "sincere," can they say the same about the members of these unions and do they have the right to bar these union members from participation in a fight for civil rights legislation which vitally affects their welfare?

All that is achieved by this method is to bar thousands of workers, whose sincerity is as great as that of any NECRM leader, from a fight in which they belong as the union allies of the Negro people. Instead of hurting the Stalinists, it only plays into their hands by enabling them to pose before the members of these unions as advocates of united action for civil rights who are being victimized and discriminated against by the NECRM leadership.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

Just as false is the ban on "all political parties." We all know that some political parties express interest in civil rights legislation only for demagogic reasons and that they are no more concerned with the rights of Negroes and

other American minorities than they are with the rights of the inhabitants of Mars.

The Democratic and Republican parties certainly fit into this category; if they didn't, there wouldn't be any need for a conference in Washington. (Incidentally, most of the organizations in the NECRM are led by members of these parties, but they are not barred — which makes the exclusion of bona fide unions led by members of other parties all the more indefensible.)

On the other hand, there are parties like the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), who were fighting for full social, economic and political equality for minorities at a time when many of the NECRM affiliates were themselves still guilty of the worst Jim Crow practices. Furthermore, the SWP was the first to hail the idea of a united Negro and labor conference on civil rights in Washington. There is only one name for the exclusion of such groups, and that is rank political discrimination.

### HOW TO FIGHT

We Trotskyists don't condemn the NECRM blacklist procedure because we are opposed to fighting Stalinism; we condemn it because it does not and cannot fight Stalinism effectively. The way to fight Stalinism is by counterposing to it a superior program and convincing the masses that it is superior, not by adopting the bureaucratic methods against political opponents which the Stalinists specialize in and which always boomerang against their users.

Aside from the effect of this policy on the NECRM, a temporary grouping, we are concerned with its implications for the NAACP, the most important Negro organization in the U. S. Up to now, the NAACP has correctly followed the policy of non-discrimination with regard to the politics of its members; it has not trafficked in "loyalty" oaths; and its constitution does not disqualify any member from holding office merely because of his political views or affiliations.

But what will be the result of this new criterion of "sincerity" which its leaders have adopted with regard to the NECRM? Does this foreshadow the adoption of similar procedure within the NAACP itself?

### NAACP FUTURE AT STAKE

We ask these questions because it is no secret that the Stalinists are engaged in a serious campaign to take over the NAACP and that they have already scored successes in the elections for executive board in some important branches. It is likewise no secret that this Stalinist campaign has been made easier because of the drastic decline in NAACP membership (a 40% loss during the last year alone).

The temptation to fight the Stalinists by witch-hunt methods (as the CIO leaders are doing) must be very great in top NAACP circles today. If they yield to it, they may be able to do some temporary damage to the Stalinists but it will be at the cost of far greater damage to the NAACP itself. In fact, we don't hesitate to predict that attempts to impose on the NAACP the discriminatory policies adopted by the NECRM would make a shambles of the NAACP and further reduce the support for which it relies in the Negro community.

The members of the NAACP have a duty to perform. They should let their leaders know that they will not tolerate any political purges within their own ranks, and that they don't view with favor the discriminatory policy their leaders accepted in the NECRM. The fight for full equality has enough difficulties to overcome without being burdened by a system of thought-control inside the NAACP.

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