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

"tone," his "moderation," as even or the precise legislation he will the ultra-conservative press ob- push. However, his Congressional served. He "stuck to his guns on colleagues have already indicated the Fair Deal program," a they will make, at most, only a Scripps - Howard commentator token gesture on one point, the guns."

There was none of his last plan. year's tirades against the "privi-ledged few" and "the trickle-down these continue to be "good." He concept of national prosperity." boasted that the country had "met Absent this time were any threats and reversed the first significant about the government building its own steel plants if the steel industry refuses to expand on its plain why his government economists will not venture to predict own.

ALSO MENTIONED

A modest three sentences were

Stalinists Agree To 11% Wage Cut For Fur Workers

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 - Stalinist leaders of the CIO International factured in this country.

Gold, announced last week that today. they had agreed to a resumption

has prevailed in the industry be- and specific. The "dominant facfore the war. Under this system | tor in our fiscal policy" is the the workers are paid lower wage demands of war, which Truman scales during the slack season called "work for world peace." than in the busy season.

Jan. 1, 1950 to June 16, 1950, every federal tax dollar. But he restores the method whereby the was adamant against the "folly of the workers with the financial would reduce arms spending. load of every decline in the industry.

Few members were in at-

a continuation of "good times' past the next six months. In place of concrete analysis of

devoted to suggesting the repeal today's economic situation, he subof the Taft-Hartley Act - which stituted grandiose predictions on his Congressional lieutenants had the "state of the union" 50 years already announced they will not from now, when it can be reasoneven bring up in this session. He ably assumed he will no longer be covered his promised civil rights in office and won't have to take responsibility for his promises.

> WHAT HE OMITTED 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 25¹/₂-million families -two-thirds of the nation-with Fur and Leather Workers Union incomes last year under \$4,000, have agreed to an 11% wage cut including about 10-million who for 12,000 fur workers here who lived on less than \$2,000. He minproduce most of the furs manu- imized the monstrous control of ILFWU leaders, headed by Ben threat, rather than the reality of

the monopolies as of a future There was just one thing on "two-wage" system that which Truman was very emphatic

War costs, past and present, he The new agreement, to run from admitted, take 70 cents out of

fur bosses before the war saddled attempting budget slashes" which

tendance at the union meeting last sage was the "warfare state" not week where the Stalinist leaders the "welfare state." American pushed through the new wage- capitalism, rich as it is, cannot cutting contract. The Jan. 2 Daily buy social welfare and gigantic Worker, prodded by reports in militarism at the same time. Be-

Vol. XIV - No. 2 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1950 **PRICE: FIVE CENTS** of Truman's "State of the Union" message to Congress on Jan. 4. Conciliatory, of course, to the capitalists, the southern Democrats and the Re-publicans. Truman repeated most program in one sentence — care-of the proposals he made a year fully refraining this time from ago. What was notable was his enumerating its specific ten points "the production" as your or the precise legislation he will of the production or the precise legislation he will intra-conservative press ob-red. He "stuck to his guns on Fair Deal program," a pros - Howard commentator - "but they weren't blazing "" here was none of his last "

Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Spelling It Out

Fake promises Arimaments Increased unemployment Red_baiting

Discrimination

Ever bigger profits Atomie war Loyalty purges

703 TPEL

would reduce arms spending. His "Fair Deal" talk was pap. There wasn't a hint of fight in SIU Officials Continue it. The red meat of his mes-sage was the "warfare state" not the "welfare state." American capitalism, rich as it is, cannot

On Dec. 19 The Militant report- in Seattle to the "Trotskyites" record. The entire 20-year history

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, 9-N. J., to sign a contract granting the company power to fire alleged 'subversives" and "poor security risks.

Acting on this advice by Reu-ther 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" ad-

vises the company "to restrict ready, the main victims have been on individuals and organizations any member of the Union from work on or access to classified in- militant unionists and strike lead- kept under political surveillance ers, like the six fired at Bell Air- by the FBI.) formation or material, the Union

and the International will not craft in Buffalo. Approval of this clause by Reu- Coplon trial had sought to raise hold the employer responsible for such action as it [the employer] may reasonably take to comply porations throughout the auto, of telephones because the Suwith its contractual obligations to aircraft and other major indus- preme Court has ruled in a numthe government."

If the union has any complaint 'that the employer has acted im- of the largest union in the CIO in federal courts if it has been properly in attempting to comply" with so-called "security regulations," this complaint "shall be dustry.

subject to the grievance procedure and arbitration provisions of "loyalty" purge is an illegal and Coplon trial refused to permit any unconstitutional usurpation of inquiries into this matter. this agreement."

But the local union and Inter- power by the Truman Administranational "recognize that the em- tion and the brass hats. It subployer has certain obligations un- jects to public branding and de- In last month's pre-trial hearder the law pertaining to security, privation of their livelihood per- ing, however, Federal Judge Syland in its contract with the gov- sons who are alleged to be con- vester Ryan gave greater latitude

By George Breitman

Coplon Case

Illegal Acts

Revealed in

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 stoolpigeons paid out of government funds to spy

Defense counsel in the earlier

OUT IN THE OPEN

ment officials.

pare himself.

ment" agency and other govern-

On Dec. 12 Raymond P. Whear-

y, another special assistant to

he Attorney General, submitted





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 "twowage" 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 "twowage" system that was imposed on the workers back in the most exploitative days of the industry.

By Joseph Hansen

the Truman administration has

found little difficulty in recogniz-

ing any number of new regimes

in Latin America that have seized

tween these two there is no combut hard cash to the war program.



derway 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, sec-

ond deputy chairman of the party, has publicly complained: 'How' deep in the mire of Titoism have some of our brothers sunk!"

ed threats of gangster action and uses it as a pretext for an of American Trotskyism demonpatibility. That is why Truman against the Socialist Workers open threat against the SWP in strates that not only has it never budgets words to human needs, Party by individuals in New York New York. condoned violence as a means of

the AFL Seafarer's International on the theory that all disputes movement, but it has always been Union, among them its Secretary- within unions and between unions in the forefront of the struggle Treasurer, Paul Hall. This report can be settled by the blackjack, against gangsterism in all ite has now been directly confirmed is now attempting to extend his forms. The SWP had as much to by the makers of the threats jurisdiction to political parties do with the Fox case as Tor

which presume to criticize his Mooney had with the dynamiting themselves. The Dec. 30 Seafarer's Log, criminal policies. His exaggera- of the Preparedness Day parade Hall's personal organ, devotes tion and misrepresentation of the in 1916 in San Francisco 21% pages to the terroristic cam- Seattle incident is an old trick Just the opposite is true of the paign against the SWP. Under of hooligans who accuse their record of the Hall-Lundeberg mathe pretext that the AFL sea- victims of "picking fights" with chine. It is branded as men's union is in danger of at- them. Shadow of the Blackjack" by ar "We also wonder," states the editorial in the official paper of tacks from "the Trotskyites," the anonymous threats made by phone editorial in the Seafarer's Log, the independent Pacific Coast are now openly repeated in the following the hooligan pattern, Marine Firemen's Union (Nov. SIU press. There is not even the "if they [the SWP] have any 17): "We would have no great SIU press. There is not even the "if they [the SWP] have any 17): "We would have no great hind of the charges idea of starting the same thing interest in what happens in the SWP FUND COMPLETED on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. SUP if it were not for the fact made in the Dec. 19 Militant. It appears that James Fox, an of partial to them, by any means. Sup men down the stairs for IN FULL AND ON TIME It appears that James Fox, an We are not, as the record shows, that the goons who have pitched the Pacific, was beaten up in a But we'd like to give them some daring to stand up and voice their bar-room brawl in Seattle. The friendly advice. Don't try it." This is a crude frame-up, but opinions, also have been used or Seafarer's Log, without any basis whatever, attributes this incident it cannot conceal the facts on (Continued on page 4)

ernment as required by the secur- nected with or sympathetic to or- to the defense attorneys, and ity regulations of the armed for- ganizations which former Attor- public got a chance to observe ces, and agree that nothing con- ney General Clark put on his "sub- some examples of deliberate evaassociated with the officialdom of Paul Hall, who has proceeded settling disputes in the labor tained in this agreement is intend- versive" list. These organizations sion, squirming and outright pered to place the employer in viola- have been denied even the right jury on the part of the nation's tion of such law pertaining to se- to know the "evidence" against most glamorized "law enforcecurity agreements with the gov- them, let alone a fair and public hearing on the charges. ernment."

This means that the union ac- Although he doesn't dare en-Under questioning in November, two FBI agents admitted that epts the whole system of the dorse the "loyalty" purge openly, "loyalty" purge as such and re- Reuther is obviously not averse to they had "heard" about wiretapping in the Coplon case. But on tains only the right to protest it in practice, particularly since Dec. 5 John M. Kelley, Jr., speagainst any "improper" victimiza- he looks on it as a way of gettion of workers whom the com- ting rid of his opponents in the cial assistant to the Attorney General, told the court he was pany may fire under the pretext UAW. If they are fired as "poor "not prepared" to say if the FBI of "security." As the purge has security risks"-is that Reuther's had engaged in wiretapping. The operated in a number of cases al- fault? judge gave him a week to pre-

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager The Socialist Workers Party's three-month campaign for a

\$12,000 fund scored a smashing success. On Dec. 31 when the scoreboard was posted for the of the campaign. An outstanding last time, the grand total was example was the help Detroi \$12,057. The campaign slogan - gave Youngstown.

IN FULL AND ON TIME - was thus carried out to the letter in fident of completing a \$400 quot: Raising this fund was not easy. workers were forced out on strike Inemployment, strikes, and the The comrades on the picket line increased cost of living were big felt the financial squeeze acutely obstacles for the working people They told us they could see no who believe in socialism. The way of completing their quota i achievement of a 100% success, fui.

by cach and every branch, shows how well the comrades and friends this and decided to do what they of the party understand the need could to help their hard - hi to put their dollars where they Youngstown comrades. This was will count the most in the strug- not easy as they had already ingle against reaction and for a creased their own quota from

Trots yists turned their pockets plenty. The campaign finished with inside out to scrape together what

Seattle Branch in first place. The they could. A day before the dead New Haven, Akron, Toledo and line the following wire came from Flint branches likewise crossed Detroit: "\$100 to aid Youngstowr the 100% mark. But every branch complete fund quota. Detroit wins top honors for the sacrifices Branch is eager to express if that put the finishing punch in revolutionary solidarity. We rethe campaign.

Our special thanks to the many Branch and others gave us when friends of the party who rallied the class struggle imposed with nickels, dimes, quarters and similar need upon us." folding money to push the "General" quota over the top. Two Youngstown branch filled its

"Truman and his advisors would developing profitable relations a chain reaction throughout the more contributions remain to be quota in full and on time, as did acknowledged: \$1 from J. B. of all the other branches.

a number of affidavits admitting that the FBI had tapped phones in the Coplon case. But, the affidavits alleged, the wiretapping Cleveland and \$.32 from J. H. of had disclosed no "information of Philadelphia, bringing "General" value" to the prosecution. Furto \$717. (The final scoreboard thermore, they said, Tom Clark, is on Page 3.) then Attorney General, had au-

The spirit of solidarity played thorized the tapping. a big role in the 100% conclusion RULED ILLEGAL Judge Ryan then ruled that the FBI agents had acted illegally

and that it was now up to the Youngstown Branch was con government to prove its evidence had not stemmed from "the taintby the deadline. Then the steel ed source" of wiretapping or "interception" of the defendants' mail. Regarding the part played by Clark, he said: "Whether there was a written authorization or not, it does not

change the fact of the illegality The Detroit Branch heard abou f wiretapping and divulging." The next day the FBI inspector n charge of the Coplon-Gubitchev investigation, Howard B. Fletcher told the court the FBI had deworld of peace and boundless \$800 to \$1,100. But the Detroit (Continued from page 2)

> **Beginning** in **Our Next Issue** A series of articles by the well-known Amerimember assistance Youngstown can Marxist, Arne Swabeck, on "Atomic Ener-

gy and Capitalist Socie-So, with the help of Detroit. ty."

whelming majority of China's their grasp. The Chinese people outpost of American empire and ernment, and so gaining the Since the end of World War II, teeming millions have declared: We don't want the government of Truman's choice. We want to cheose our own form of govern ment!

Instead of bowing to the will power through force and violence. The State Department has not of the Chinese people, the Trurequired that these reactionary man administration stands blinkregimes represent the will of the ing at the wreck of its costly people. None of them could meet attempt to keep Chiang in power. that requirement. If the new still hoping to salvage something regime made clear that it would from the ruins.

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 ing up a new stage of developseizures of power in Latin ment that can lead to the overthrow of capitalism has upset the America with its current quandary over what to do about the world balance of power. American imperialism sought new regime in China!

The hated dictatorship of the military bases in China as part butcher Chiang Kai-shek today of its grandiose blueprint of rois on the garbage dump,

WORED BALANCE UPSET

This is not so easy. The success of the Chinese people in ridding holdings. themselves of Chiang and open-

Republican Party, hoping to make

are even willing to risk war to hang on to the island of Formosa. Herbert Hoover, apparently, in collusion with General Mac-

Washington's Big Dilemma--Chinese Policy

assault on the Soviet Union. It attracting only blowflies from hoped to convert China into a the camp of outright reaction happy hunting ground for Big. like Taft, Hoover and MacArthur. Business. This dream has been sions of Formosa, the Pescadores hanging on to at least most of war and civil strife since 1931, In the greatest peasant uprising punctured. The militarists have and possibly Hainan Island." since the February revolution of been forced to retreat. The pro-1917 in Czarist Russia, the over- fiteers see China slipping from like to convert Formosa into an with the Chinese Stalinist gov-

have entered the arena of world a convenient haven for a dicta- possibility of throwing their politics as a new colossal force. torial Chinese government-in- weight against further develop- true Trotskyist fashion. This far - reaching defeat has exile. But even if more arms ment of the Chinese revolution. weakened the camp of imperialism would enable Chiang to prevent That requires silk glove diploand opened up rifts in its ranks. the Stalinist - led armies from macy at which the British are A section of the American capital- succeeding in an amphibious ist class, who consider the main operation, there is still the defenseless villages of rebellious game lost in China for the time problem of the people in Forbeing, are now pressing for early mosa who are seething with

recognition of the Mao govern-ment. They hope to do business portunity to cleanse their island with the Stalinists, taking them of the Nationalist rats. on their word that capitalism will

POLITICAL COST TOO BIG be maintained in China. They see

Direct intervention would true. no other way of saving their deliver a fatal blow to the bat-An opposite group of diehards tered pretenses of the Truman imperialism in the Far East is find recognition a very bitter pill administration that it favors the the fear of revolution. It supto swallow. A section of the aspirations of the people in the ported Chiang's regime not only political capital from the debacle, political cost would far outweigh the Soviet Union but even more the military advantages.

In addition, the Truman administration feels the pressure of British imperialism. The British Arthur, on Jan. 2 called for U.S. see the possibility of keeping their "naval protection to the posses- fingerhold at Hong Kong, of

as adept as in bombing the colonials. WHAT THEY FEAR The State Department, in the

opinion of some commentators, is now drifting without a policy. However, this is not altogether The great fear of American

"The

Far East to independence. The as part of its war plans against 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 their investments and even of that explosion could spread like

(Continued on page 4)

road to disaster precisely as they

question the decision.'

The U.S. Plot to Rearm Germany Workers Forum

The American people are "being He asked "whether the Atlantic died to defeat, is about to be standpoint of "American secur-led down a garden path which Alliance shall be permitted to nominated as our new comrade in ity." He wants to keep an Amer-arming of Germany is the aspir- treat on the matter, much to the leads to German rearmament" carry us beyond the point of no arms to stand guard over the ican army indefinitely in Germany ation of the German people them- embarrassment of his American In Article on and are going to be gagged if return, before we have a chance frontiers of American security." to crush the German people. they make any protest about it. to reverse the present drift to-It is indeed a dastardly con-That is the warning issued by ward disaster." The North At- spiracy against which Warburg James P. Warburg, well - known lantic pact and the Military Aid correctly warns. And it is in- bitterly opposed to re-establish- ganda that the Wall Street-Wash-American banker and economist, Program, he said, are being used escapable that the administration to a meeting of the American by the Truman Administration will try to extend its witch-hunt They are still freezing and stary- campaign to rearm Germany. Political Science Association in and the State Department as a attempt to silence opponents of guarantee that Western Europe its foreign policies even to those of the last war. If they had their American militarists do not dare selves to deal with the militarist ment of fact, the other an in-New York on Dec. 29.

"As things are going now," said would not be overrun in any who speak out against the plot way they would destroy forever to proclaim openly their desire Warburg, "the American people future war. This policy must lead to rearm Germany." will not be given any chance to to "a heavy increase in our althink about this problem and to ready top-heavy military budget" false reason for attacking the reexpress their will. They will be and in the end, to the rearma- armament of Germany. He says it REASON FOR OCCUPATION faced with the final step in the ment of Germany.

But Warburg uses a totally of the Wehrmacht.

would be falling into a "Russian | One of the main reasons why Thus, they forced their Western be the day the German people will The American people, he declar- trap" because it would then "seem the Allied occupation troops re- German puppet, Chancellor Ade- begin to take care, once and for were faced with all the steps that ed, are opposed to a rearmed unreasonable not to withdraw our main' in Germany is to gag the nauer, to first broach the ques- all, of the cartelists, Junkers, exled up to it. They will wake up Germany, "but how many Amer- occupation troops." He doesn't German people and prevent them tion publicly.

some morning to find that we ican citizens realize that we are disagree with the objective of from making any effective athave agreed to rearm the Ger- now right up against this ques- maintaining armed forces on Ger- tempt to halt American imperial- lic reaction primarily in this count regain their total power over the mans - in some polite and 'safe' tion? . . . How many American man soil as a spearhead for at- ism's plans to rearm Germany try. But it turned out that the German people by serving as merform of course - and that it has families have any idea that the tack on the Soviet Union; he just and transform that country into greatest opposition to the scheme cenaries and drill-masters for U. now become 'unpatriotic' to would be conqueror, whom their fears that a new Wehrmacht a springboard for invasion of the arose in Germany itself, despite S: imperialism in one zone and the sons and husbands and brothers would not be dependable from the Soviet Union.

selves, who are supposed to be masters.

But it is precisely the German "militaristic" and "yearning for people themselves who are most revenge." This aids the propament of the military machine. ington Axis is putting out in its ing amid the shambles and ruins the possibility of the resurrection and intentions to convert Germa- and strengthened by both the U.

the Allied occupation and repres-| Stalinist bureaucracy in the other.

Notes on -

END THE OCCUPATION

The best way to assure that there will be no resurgence of a The State Department and the to free the German people themelements who are being protected ny into a military bastion. They S. Government and the Kremlin. have tried to make this appear as The day the occupation troops the desire of the German people. are withdrawn from Germany will

Wehrmacht officers and all the

"refrained from attacking Stalin-

Latin-America

By J. Gomez

War and Negroes Editor:

In the article "War and The Negro People" by J. Blake in necessary to edit the article for rearmed neo-fascist Germany is The Militant of Dec. 26, there the purpose of condensing it. are two errors, one a mis-state- Comrade Blake gave us permiscorrect political estimation. I feel had no opportunity to re-examine 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 principally because of his concern At the same time, his policy and actions lead to an objective support of U.S. imperialism. Ran-

Jim Crow restrictions, etc.

wishes of the mass themselves.

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 sion to do this, but unfortunately 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 with the interests of Wall Street. the view that objectively (to quote the whole sentence) "Randolph's main concern [with regard to the warl is the protection of the indolph, like most union leaders terests of U. S. imperialism; today, is hoping that by support- that is why he is willing to suboring the foreign policy of big dinate the interests of the masses business be can gain a concession in this country."

or two from them, an easing of A careful re-examination of this formulation leaves us with In another part of the article the results of the 1917 Russian the opinion that while it might have been improved by greater Revolution are described in such a way as to run the danger of elaboration along the lines sugism and Peronism" when it called misunderstanding this titanic gested by Alvin, it is funfor united front action against event. Blake writes, "... which in- damentally sound as a concise In Bolivia, another semi-colo- the government with the bourge- stituted fundamental progressive statement of the objective role nial country subjected to impe- ois-nationalist National Revolu- reforms after the 1917 revolu- on the war question played by the tionary Movement (MNR) and tion. . ." (my emphasis). I am present Negro and labor leader-

> With regard to his second In his "answer," Rey never even revolutionary changes as reforms point, it is true that the stategressive reforms instituted the revolutionary abolition of the workers to the fact that they the word "reform" is used - and come from and are based upon we see no good reason for rethe mass itself. This latter factor. so full of contradictions in their jecting it as one of the scientific designations for the changes policies, will lead to their replacement by other leaders, more brought about by a revolution honest, more daring and more its context should make clear capable of fulfilling the needs and what it is talking about. We Milton Alvin, think that was the case in the Toledo, O. article being discussed.

> > THE MILITANT ARMY

J. S. of Canada sent \$8 to renew his subscription to The Militant and Fourth International, although the cost for the

Literature Sales two publications in combination Literature Agent Howard is only \$4. "Buy a few stamps," Mason of Detroit reports a busy he writes, "for what's over. I lways wish I could give

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 working people to fight back in D-

defense of their civil rights One part of this lie is that the against all the forces of reaction American ruling class and its attacking them. He urged the government agents stand for demorganization of resistance to the ocracy and civil rights; the other freedom-haters and the building part is that Stalin's Russia is a of a united front by everyone who land of Socialism and that Stalinwants civil rights. "We stand for ism stands for communism. No real progress in the civil rights civil rights for all," he said.

The main enemy is "organized fight can be made until the masscapital — the ruthless industrial- es recognize the falsity of these ists, bankers, landlords, white su- contentions.

Making it clear that he was not premacists and race haters who have opened a long range cam- attacking the Communist Party paign to rob the workers of all rank and file, Dunne sharply derights everywhere," he continued. nounced the CP leadership's "Their best helpers, because they treacherous role on civil rights are not so easily recognized, are in the Minneapolis trial of 1941 the motley crew of yes-men and where 18 Trotskyists were conwomen who occupy high posts victed, with the Stalinists apin the government and the publi- plauding, under the same Smith city and educational systems." Act which was used to persecute

The capitalist-minded labor bu- them last year.

reaucrats were cited by Dunne as "But everywhere that our the most dangerous obstacle in rights are under assault, resistthe way of a victorious struggle ance is appearing," he declared. against the capitalist witch-hunt- "It is our job to organize this re-ers. These officials misuse the sistance into a mighty mass movetrust of their members by taking ment that will preserve and ex- early hours of the morning, long hunt stem directly from Wall Bolivia to defend himself and the interest of the "nation" and "soorders direct from Washington. tend our civil rights. The Trotadjourned. Having abandoned a genuine fight skyists will fight until this goal against the Taft-Hartley Act, is won."

they are now trying to outlaw socialism in the unions at the bid- Dunne spoke before a meeting was responsible for the most sucding of their State Department masters. Assisting these attacks group, inspiring his audience with has held in the last year. Despite quest until they have brought the open the whole truth about the one that the so-called "third Group, inspiring his audience with is the FBI, a political police built an account of the experiences of layoffs, the audience contributed American labor movement to government's strikebreaking reon the pattern of Hitler's Ges-the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis \$16 to help carry on the fight of heel," he said. The audience of pression of the workers and its ment of the ruling class. As class labor movement, which demon- the SWP for civil rights; tapo and Stalin's GPU. This is the epoch of the fantasstrated how much could be achieved by revolutionary socialists tion of the trade union bureaucra- Rights" and remained to ask terests who dominate the country. not with the exploited masses, the tic double-lie, Dunne declared. to their principles. Schedule of Dunne's Saturday night he was the **Tour on Civil Rights** guest of Detroit SWP at its an-Buffalo — Jan. 12. tinue his tour on behalf of civil purging opposition from the un- ges and red-hunts are all parts conditions. Rochester - Jan. 13. Buffalo — Jan. 14. rights and socialism. Everyone who heard him in Detroit could Boston - Jan. 15-16. understand why the employers Lynn - Jan. 17. Wall Street's drive to prevent the and their flunkies have good rea-Worcester - Jan. 18. rank and file from organizing to son to fear this man and his ideas.



This chart from the December AFL Monthly Survey tells the unemployment story of the last 20 years.

dressed an overflow crowd of auto in Washington and want to know workers, students and other Flint how they can fight back.

residents at the Socialist Workers Party Hall. His talk on civil TOLEDO, Dec. 27 - "The govafter the meeting had formally Street's Washington agents' plans imprisoned miners.

sponsored by the SWP Youth cessful meeting the Fint branch on this voyage of world-wide con- knows would try to bring into the The strikes are showing every-

40 are paying with their liberty and the Stalinist-controlled Party of certain that Comrade Blake does ship. blood as well as sweat for their the Revolutionary Left (PIR). not mean to characterize the When they struck last May for mentions, let alone discusses, this in the sense that that word is ment may be subject to misinefforts to live like human beings. 30 better living conditions, as we question. He was caught with the generally used. However, the terpretation. Fundamental prohave reported previously, the goods and couldn't wiggle out. statement is subject to missemi-feudal ruling class massa- But observant readers will under- interpretation. cred hundreds of them. In addi- stand that his silence on this point The policies of the leaders of capitalism (which the article was tion it has sent hundreds of other speaks louder than a million the Negro and worker masses discussing) should not be conmilitants to rot in the prisons and words. The fact that he doesn't have a two-sided character. On fused with reforms introduced concentration camps, such as the even have the decency to apolog- the one hand, they fear an out- within the framework of capitalone in Laja, without any means ize for his distortions of the facts right struggle against the capital- ism, which certainly cannot be of legal defense. Among them are confirms the suspicion that they ist class. But on the other, they fundamental even if they may be Melquiades Luna and other work- were deliberate and blows to owe their positions as leaders of progressive. We agree that when ing class victims belonging to the pieces his self-avowed claim to POR (Trotskyists).

iamentary immunity was removed Argentina, waged in defiance of so that he could be tried for the the Peron government and the 'crime" of leading the miners in Peron-controlled General Labor Confederation, is dealing heavy

Now Lora has written a letter blows not only to the government to the Bolivian ambassador in but to the concept of Peronism as Uruguay, where he is exiled, ask- an intermediary force between or rights kept the audience till the ennment loyalty' purge and witch-

cial justice." Illusions and dema-

We don't know what the reply gogy can't, in the long run, re for a Third World War," stated Comrade Dunne's excellent rep- Vincent R. Dunne at his meeting was or will be, if any. But we place the fact that the "nation" is Detroit Reports Thursday evening Comrade utation in the labor movement tonight at the Fort Meigs Hotel. doubt that the ruling oligarchy composed of classes with antago-**Busy Week End of** "They do not want to embark will welcome a defense which it nistic interests.

'objectivity." Guillermo Lora, a leader of the The Strikes Miners Federation and a member

of the Chamber of Deputies, was In Argenting The growing wave of strikes in forced into exile and then his par-

New Britain - Jan. 19. New Haven - Jan. 20. New York — Jan. 21. Philadelphia - Jan. 27-28. New York - Feb. 3.

the impending economic crisis. FLINT, Jan. 1 - Appearing in The response to Dunne is indi- daily papers where he was de-

eral years, Vincent Dunne ad- are conscious of what is occurring leader from the northwest.

Toledo workers listened attentive- submissiveness to the native min- contradictions and struggles shar-Vincent Dunne's characteriza- ly to his talk on "Labor and Civil ing lords and U.S. imperialist in- pen, the Peron government sides

Whearty, it is important to authorized these crimes by the to the governing few, including

through perseverance and loyalty cy as "labor lieutenants of the questions of the speaker. It is the duty of workers every-The role played by most union where to raise their voices in soli- but with the exploiters. The re-State Department" met with hearty accord with those present. leaders today was described by darity with the Bolivian tin min-Dunne demonstrated how these Dunne in sharp terms. "They have ers who have been victimized in sugar plantation workers in the nual New Year's Eve party, and labor leaders even ape the State transferred the witch-hunting in- the cause of labor everywhere -Department 'loyalty' program in to the unions; 'loyalty' oaths, pur- the struggle for decent living

of the State Department's plans

The "loyalty" purge, Dunne to tame the workers and are weak-One more thing about Bolivia: showed, is only the first step of ening the unions," he said. My article in the Oct. 31 issue, The audience responded gen- calling attention to Juan Rey's smashed was due only to the milierously to a plea for funds to slanderous statements against the tancy and solidarity of the workrank and file from organizing to help carry on the work of the So- Bolivian Trotskyists in Labor Ac-fight the twin evils of war and help carry on the work of the So- Bolivian Trotskyists in Labor Ac-ers.

struggle.

cialist Workers Party. The Dunne tion, has been "answered" by Rey meeting was noted in both Toledo in the Dec. 5 issue of that paper. The main point of my article Flint for the first time in sev- cative that many Flint workers scribed as an outstanding labor was to prove the malicious falsity of Rey's charge that the POR

northern provinces of Tacuman, Jujuy and Salta was a good example. The Peron government

outlawed the strike, arresting some of its leaders and doing everything possible to break it.

The fact that the strike was not featuring Scott Nearing.

pamphlets and a Militant were The latest developments not sold at a meeting of Briggs UAW only have exposed the demagogy Local 212. At Budd UAW Local of the Peronists seeking to con-1306, a copy of Fourth Internafuse the workers for the ends of tional, two Labor Party pamphthe ruling class. They have also lets and 14 Militants were sold;

struck a crushing blow to the il- at Dodge UAW Local 3, two lusions of those petty-bourgeois Militants; at a meeting of the nationalist forces (including some NAACP, three Militants and five who call themselves Marxists) copies of The Struggle for Negro who put great hopes in Argentine Equality; and at an All-Slav capitalist efforts at industrializa- Festival sponsored by the Staltion as a means of breaking or inists, one Militant and nine loosening the chains of imperialcopies of the Fourth Internaist domination not only over Ar- tional. why should a thing come across to these questions, just as every- disregard of the laws binding on gentina's national life, but even

can Negroes.

comrades?

established regular sales of our

literature each Thursday on the

ampus of Wayne University

These are going well. Last week

That's good going for the

nembers of the Militant Army

n the Detroit area. How about

some of the rest of you oiling up

your typewriters or getting a re-

fill for the old ball-point pen and

letting us know how your record

compares with that of the Detroit

they sold eight Militants."

specially pleasing," writes What these people failed to un derstand is that this is an epoch o get into contact through disnot only of imperialist control but tributions with some of the of the chronic and incurable deanguage groups in the city. This is the most successful attempt to date." The articles on Titoism and

32 pp. 15c

BUY NOW

Stalinism and the Labor Movement:

- Leon Trotsky: Stalinism and Bolshevism James P. Cannon:
- American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism 48 pp. 15c The End of the Comintern 36 pp. 10c Art Preis: 32 pp. 10c

Stalinists on the Waterfront Order from

Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. (send coins, stamps or check)

Interatur and maybe I could, but my earnlowing the successful conclusion of the ing power is getting pretty recent subscription nearly exhausted I guess at the age of past 73. My wife is almost campaign for The Militant. 70 too, but both of us are going

strong yet and hope to see a Here is the record taste of socialism yet. That will On Saturday two copies of The Mili be our heaven."

tant and a copy of Thanks a lot, J. S. That's the the pamphlet, Amer spirit that keeps The Militant on ican Workers Need the firing line. a Labor Party, were

sold at a meeting L. B. Courts, an old-time Socialist of Sharonville, Ohio, On Sunday three Labor Party

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. "This last distribution was" "Kindly mail the numbers I missed so far," he asks, "as I'm eager Howard. "We have been trying for the general analysis of events as seen through the eye of your wonderful paper.'

We were sorry to learn from Stalinism were of special interest | Winifred Nelson. Literature to those who came to the meet- Agent of St. Paul, that J. P. Rasmussen of Siren, Wis., died "Last week," continues Howard, recently. "He was a socialist in 'a couple of comrades covered a the old country. And now in his meeting of Chu Tong, editor of later years he has read The Mili-The Chinese Daily News. They tant faithfully, awaiting its sold two Fourth Internationals, arrival eagerly each week. Comfour Militants and three copies rade Rasmussen was one of the of the pamphlet, Letter to Amer- many friends who, taken collectively, help such a great deal in the struggle for socialism." "The youth section has now

BOSTON

hear VINCENT R. DUNNE LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS 8 PM Mon., Jan. 16 **30 Stuart Street**

FBI Commits Crimes, Gets Away With It questioning that he himself-last if it wasn't a consciousness of who committed perjury, as FBI uphold - what more fitting name (Continued from page 1) stroyed many of the wiretapping February !- had destroyed reports guilt, a consciousness of the ac- agents did? can be applied to it than a polit-

belief or speculation."

records in the case. He swore that of conversations obtained by wire- tivity in which she was engaged- Everybody knows the answers ical police system operating in the records contained nothing of tapping in the Coplon case. On Dec. 27 it was disclosed that her mind, a thing of this nature?" body knows that the man who the majority, and responsible only all of Latin America. "value" and that the FBI didn't use such material for developing the FBI had learned through evidence in prosecutions anyway. wiretapping that Judith Coplon note, had objected to any ques- FBI was rewarded with a seat on Hoover himself? He didn't explain why, if that is planned to take a trip from Wash- tioning about wiretapping in that the Supreme Court.

true, they even bothered taking ington to New York on Mar. 4, trial. So did Kelley, who at that In the current issue of Confi- scription, then neither do Hitler's the day when she was arrested time was asked if he would deny dential — From Washington, a Gestapo and Stalin's GPU. And tem. Under these conditions even Later, however, Fletcher admit- in the company of Gubitchev. This that wiretapping had been com- publication of the George Wash- if the American working class an advanced and aggressive semi ted under cross-examination, that blasted to smithereens the FBI's mitted and had answered only ington University Victory Council, doesn't awaken to the menace of colonial bourgeoisie, such as in where an "important clue" is re- claim that it had learned "noth- that "I have no knowledge at all there is an article in which FBI the Department of Justice's in- Argentina, is not in a position to

FBI uses it.

On Dec. 21 FBl Agent T. Scott

Miller was asked by Judge Ryan

"no knowledge" of wiretapping.

had had "no personal knowledge"

A little while later, however,

it down.

about it.

Another example of perjury DAMNING ADMISSIONS was the testimony on Dec. 28 of

cluded these remarks:

wiretapping.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN? Only a small part of this sor-

Alan H. Belmont, boss of the FBI Agent Richard E. Brennan FBI New York Division, testified that he knew last February that did story has come out into the too but claimed a loss of memory the Coplon wire was tapped. At open; the judge forbade the press when asked the names of the the first trial on May 3, how- to print all the facts unearthed agents who had tapped the ever, Brennan had sworn that he through the FBI affidavits. But

phones. Later on, however, some had "no knowledge" about any enough has come out so that im-30 FBI agents who had engaged wiretapping. in this work were compelled to FLAGRANT EVASION submit affidavits.

portant conclusions can be drawn, especially if the following questions are asked: Special assistants Whearty and

What would happen to a radical Kelley, who had run the govern- who broke the law (as the FBI if he had not known, at the first ment's case against Miss Coplon, did by wiretapping)? Would he will of the majority, and obeying Copion trial, that several FBI had not opened themselves to be prosecuted for it, no matter only the dictates of the governagents were guilty of evasion on charges of direct perjury. But how trifling or unintentional the ing few."

May 13 when they said they had they were certainly guilty of eva- violation, or would he not? sion, at the very least. Whearty's What would happen to a radical Miller answered that in May he summation in the first trial inwho evaded direct questions in court, as FBI agents and gov-

"What made her [Miss Coplon] think her line was tapped? What ernment officials did? Miller admitted under defense reason would she have to think,

"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

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 im-What would happen to a radical punity the laws it is supposed to

handle the Communist menace." HOOVER'S DEMAGOGY Setting up such a system and which he heads. violating freedom of speech for "communists," he said piously,

ver protesting all the time that of course he is "emphatically" resting the growth and expansion opposed to the kind of system of the Argentine industrialization plans.

vealed through wiretapping the ing of value" in the case through about it, sir, and we will not have boss J. Edgar Hoover dons a "lib- fringements on democratic rights, realize historic tasks of emancieral" pose and says he is "em-phatically" opposed to establish-and more into a replica of the dictions arising out of the death ing "a national police system to Gestapo and the GPU, with Hoo- agony of capitalism that have

If the FBI doesn't fit that de-

scriptions: \$2 per year; 11 for 6 months. Foreign: 3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 8. 1879."

THE MILITAN' Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9339) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN **Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN**

Monday, January 9, 1950

editorials.

Bundle Orders (5 or

copies): Sc each in U.S., 44

each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contribu-

tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its

LENIN

TROTSKY

Vol. XIV - No. 2

"Surplus-product must have been produced by the slave, or the slave-owner would not have kept any slaves. Surplusproduct 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 surplusproduct 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.

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 powermad 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-

B

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 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 per-

Social Scientists' and Labor Labor's strength so frightened with some original studies that

By F. Forest The keynote struck at the an- helped to clarify the trends in J. J. Spengler, professor at the nual conventions of the high the economy, the relations of "Harvard of the South" (Duke

American Economic Association, lenge or at least criticize the "decline" of the whole world as Economic History Association, monopolist powers. Those days, a result of it. He concluded that the Industrial Relations Research however, seem to have ended. Association, the American Poli- What we witnessed this year was tical Science Association and a the spectacle of a John Foster dozen others, was strongly anti- Dulles and of a brass hat speaklabor. This note was sounded on ing of a "hypothetical" enemy, the first day of their conventions and of eminent names in the ecoin New York City and it con- nomic field abandoning their tinued throughout their four day findings of years for the sake of sessions, Dec. 27-30. "peace."

Thus E. H. Chamberlin of No matter whether these top. conomists and self-styled "social Harvard University, who had in scientists" dealt with history and fluenced American economic economic progress or present-day thought for more than a decade nflation and high military ex as the father of the theory of "Imperfect Competition," n o w pend tures, or trends in the ecorose to state that it had been nomy and concentration of ecowidely"misunderstood" and wrong nomic power, they found themtheories of "exploitation" derived elves doing nothing more origina' Sian echoing Big Business' from it. Chamberlin admitted that thoropoly has been "built into" lemand for a docile labor force. the economy, but insisted at the No-wonder that these savants same time that "the welfare state abdicated so much of their time ideal itself involves both comin favor of "outside" speakers. petition and monopoly,"

NAM DARLING SPEAKS

we should move" - to more com-Thus, at the session on "Capital sm and Economic Progress," dispetition or more monopoly. This ussed under the joint auspices of the American Economic Asso as must of the others. eiation and Economic History PATHETIC LEVEL Association, and presided over by the erstwhile liberal ("nearliberal thought were appeals Marxist" during depression peragainst considering Keynes as ? od) Louis M. Hacker, one of the hief speakers was George W. Terbough of the reactionary Machinery and Allied Products In- to which liberal thinking has sunk papers that ostensibly take assue titute.

This darling of the NAM is alled upon in any emergency to Blocs and American Capitalism," reality kowtow to them. And inswer any and every criticism in which most of "the allied social finally there is the 97% rank and of the "free enterprise system." in the New Deal days he was including the American Economic jobs, or none at all, and who hope called upon to give Big Business' Association, American Political to improve their lot by "conanswer to the TNEC findings on Science Association, American tacting" the right people and the concentration of economic Sociological Society and the Inower. In recent days he provided dustrial Relations Research Assothe answer to the Nathan report, riation. Lest any unsuspecting reader and "proved" /that the steel

barons could not "afford" the think that this topic referred in pension plan. He asked the American capitalism's relations to audience "to relax" and treat other capitalist powers, let me what he had to say as a sermon. hasten to assure that in "scien-And a sermon against "the con- tifie" lingo "economic power spiracy of the unions and the blocs" means "interest groups" government" against "private in- and - you can guess it - that entives to enterprise" it was. . the most powerful "economic There were years when these bloc" against which the entire a struggle to reconstruct society inventions used to be presented session was directed was - labor. in their common interests.



The American Stalinists are ap- | United States and Western capital- | Council but on the field of the parently trying to make up for isri generally is primarily the international class struggle. One of the major weapons the

osi time in lying about and hand work of the Kremlin. Yugoslavs have in their struggle slandering Yugoslavia. They now to blame the Yugoslavs for let no opportunity slip. And the entering into trade agreements against the Gremlin is the prolatest occasion has been provided or taking loans is to blame them gram of the Balkan Federation. them by the projected \$25,000,000 or objective conditions over which oan by the World Bank of Yugoslavia — which has yet to be There is nothing whatever reprehens ble about their conduct here. concluded, incidentally - and the signing of the trade agreement What is reprehensible is the with Britain. Here, shricks the Daily Worker, abandoning internationalism, in ist confederation is being felt s proof positive that Tito is a dropping the fight for the estab-'fascist," that he is being paid lishment of the Balkan federation. When it comes to internaoff for "services rendered" to imperialism, and so on. This kind tionalism, the policies of Tito are of tripe is becoming harder and hard to distinguish from the harder for the Stalinists to policies of Moscow. The Kremlin peddle to their own following. It is bitterly opposed to a Balkan s well known that the economic federation; the Titoists favor it blockade imposed by Stalin and, but do nothing to promote it. on his orders, by the satellite Without appealing to the incountries has made it necessary ternational working class and mobilizing its support, the posifor Yugoslavia to seek loans abroad and to enter into trade tion of Yugoslavia remains untenable. But internationally the agreements with Western Europe. In general it would not have Titoists continue to place stress peen possible for the Yugoslavs on their diplomatic maneuvers as for the other East European especially in the United Nations countries, to get along without Kardelj recently hailed Yugo rade ties and credits with the slavia's success in obtaining a West. Stalin's policy of blockade seat on the Security Council as has made them imperative for a major victory, assuring Yugo-Yugoslavia. The degree to which slavia's independence. This is a the Yugoslavs have become more delusion. The fate of Yugoslavia dependent economically on the will be decided not in the Security

academic societies, including the social forces, and even to chal- University), that he foresees the 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 panaceas, but felt that if Professor Lindbloom was right in his book on Unions and Capitalism the "unions are incompatible with private capital. ism.

PITIFUL BLINDNESS

Within the ranks of some 4,000 people attending these conventions there are quite sharp caste distinctions. There is the top 1% and who have climbed as high as the hence it "is no longer clear where academic ladder will take them who have become members of the Executive Boards of these orcontribution was about as useful ganizations and who try to make contacts in the world of finance with philanthropists to endow academic chairs. About all that was left of

Then there is another 2% who are fledgling "social scientists" "cinister revival of Marx in who came as "discussants" modern dress." The pathetic level that is, they come prepared with can best be illustrated by the with the papers of the older men session on "Economic, Power or invited speakers, but which in science association" participated file who have very poor teaching 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 everything to gain by allying the uselves with the workers in

THE STRANGE CASE OF **GENERAL YAMASHITA**

Page Three

By John G. Wright

The Case of General Yamashita by A. Frank Reel is an excelently documented and eye-witness account of the first American war crimes" trial. It was staged under Gen. MacArthur's orders n Manila toward the end of 1945. (University of Chicago Press, 949. 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 opinons 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 ole 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 59 more specifications "of the same general character, involving perhaps as many incidents occurring over an equally wide area." capitalist insecurity and have The defense was never granted an opportunity to prepare for the supplementary bill, although this was originally promised and subequently arbitrarily denied.

> Taking the stand in his own defense, Yamashita denied all the charges against him, pointing out that nine days after his arrival n 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 peronal 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 preessure 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.

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 wiretappers 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

mit corporations to kick out workers they accuse of "disloyalty."

"Un-American activities" investigations, frame-up "conspiracy" and spy trials, purges and "loyalty" oaths, wiretapping 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.

SCOREBOARD	FOR S	WP Fl	JND
Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Seattle	\$ 200	\$ 230	115
New Haven	25	28	112
Akron	100	105	105
Toledo	75	78	104
Flint	200	204	102
Allentown	50	50	100
Boston	200	200	100
Buffalo	500	500	100
Chicago	400	400	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Detroit	1,100	1,100	100
Los Angeles	1,500	1,500	100
Lynn	75	75	100
Milwaukee	250	250	100
Morgantown	25	25	100
Newark	350	350	100
New Britain	30	30	100
New York	3,000	3,000	100
Philadelphia	600	600	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
San Francisco-Oakland	800	800	100
Worcester	40	40	100
Youngstown	400	400	100
General	705	717	102
TOTAL through Dec. 31	\$12,000	\$12,057	100

To vigorously promote such they have little or no control. program is to arouse tremendous sympathy and response among the mass of the people not alone in the Balkans but throughout policy pursued by Belgrade in Europe where the need of Socialmore 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 scitles 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 tself has been and will continue

extort reparations from former elligerent" countries and still pes for a whopping indemnity om Germany. In this respect o, the Titoists show how deeply red they still are in the ideas d methods of Stalinism, the ly school of politics through ich they have passed. Stalinism has been working ight and main to drive the agoslavs into the embraces of pitalism. Thus far they hav iled. The Tito regime has up I now capitulated to neithe e Kremlin nor Washington and ndon. But their policy helps ive the masses, especially astern Europe, into the hand Stalinism, or at best disorient d demoralizes them. At th me time, it drives Yugoslavia self deeper and deeper into ind-alley.

A sharp turn in Yugosla olicy offers the only way ou ugoslavia's road to salvation es in a resolute turn to the in ernational working class, lifting nce again the banner of interna onalism and vigorously advance

ig the fight for the Socialis Balkan Federation.

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 counter-part 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.

Visit your local headquarters of the			
SOCIALIST WO	RKERS PARTY		
AKRONFor information, write P.O.	NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)-116 Univer- sity Place. Phone GR 5-8149.		
BOSTON-Worker- Educational Center. Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., ocial last Sat. of month.	HARLEM-103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m. BRONX-Hunts Point Palace. 953		
BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main	Southern Blvd; Room 25. Every		
t., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every	Thursday night at 8:30 p.m.		
fterngon except Sun.	BROOKLYN Mandel's Manor,		
CHICAGO-166 W. Washington Street, 32-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.	343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8, CHELSEA-130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.		
CLEVELAND Every Sunday, 9 p.	All 0-2305.		
n., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off	OAKLAND (Cal.) For information,		
Vade Pk. Ave.) Liberty 5606.	phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar		
DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone	2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cy-		
ry 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.	press St., Oakland 7.		
FLINT-Socialist Workers Party Hall,	PiffLADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard		
15 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496.	Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.		
Jpen House Saturday evenings.	Open every Friday evening.		
LOS ANGELESMilitant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 061.	PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marrist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.		
LYNN, (Mass.)Militant Publ. Assn.,	SAN FRANCISCO-1739 Fillmore Ave.,		
4 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed.	4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except		
:30-9:30 p.m.	Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.		
MILWAUKEE-917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl.	ST. LOUIS "For information,		
Jun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone	phone PR 5305."		
Hopkins 2-5337. MINNEAPOLIS10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m p.m. Library, bookstore.	SEATTLE-Maynard Bidg., 1st Ave. R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9276; Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, book- store.		
NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For infor-	TOLEDO — Address inquiries to So-		
nation write P. D. Box No. 659 or	cialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502,		
phone 3-3287.	Toledo 3.		
NEW HAVEN-For information	WORCESTER, (Mass.) - For informa-		
write, P.O. Box No. 1019.	tion write P.O. Box 554, Worcester,		
NEWARK-423 Springfield Ave. Phone	YOUNGSTOWN - 234 E. Federal St.,		
Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open	Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to		
haily,-12-4 and 7-10 p.m.	4 p.m.		

Wall Street's Achilles Heel

A Letter of Thanks

By Rose Karsner

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

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

I am just recovering from the dizziness occa-

sioned 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

Although the entire party knew about the din-

ner, I was completely in the dark about it. This

was possible because in the first place I was re-

cuperating 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

the rank and file activists in our party, who

plod along doing the day-to-day work, year in

I was a symbol that night. A symbol of all

indeed! More precisely stated, it was a shock.

of her 60th birthday.]

up and can speak out.

Dear Comrades:

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 withdressed of profiles to America These manys 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 total unemployment "estimates" Union and to secure Wall Street's domination of are "not very meaningful," that the globe.

But Lenin pointed out, in his book Imperialism, if capitalism "could raise the standard of living arbitrary and fail to include of the masses, who are everywhere still povertystricken 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 on public relief rolls, and still utilized for the needs of the people. So long as private profit remains the mainspring of American economy, the accumulation of capital must the fact that they're not working. remain a source of war and imperialist exploitation of the world masses.

VOLUME XIV

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1950

NUMBER 2

Jobless Estimates 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 the methods for determining just who are the unemployed are 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 others who somehow are not classified as unemployed despite

More detailed "statistics" presented in Hauser's paper rip the cover from the current so-called "low level" of unemployment 51%% 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 disand year out, unsung and frequently unnoticed. criminated against workers, Ne-

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,



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 20 was unemployed in October 1949, 11.2% or 1 in 9 male Negro In Toronto Mayoralty Race

for mayor, the Toronto branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party rolled up 15,600 votes behind its candidate, Ross Dowson. Ex-police constable C. 9-

H. Mahoney, campaigning on a respectability. They vigorously "common sense" platform, re- avoided their party labels and ceived 19,658 votes, while the in- gave no labor content to their cumbent, Tory wheel-horse Hiram pitiful little patch - work "prodealing with the real issues, they offered themselves to the elecorate as the solvers of all problems. The RWP, on the other hand

that actual total unemployment the entire labor movement in bared the question as it is is more than 5 million, or 1.5 Canada's second largest city. labor versus capital. Dowson million beyond the "total" ret Neither the influential reformpointed out that the City Hall ported by the Census Bureau. I ist Co-operative Commonwealth ward-heelers are not guilty of The mass of the government Federation nor the Stalinist Labor "incptitude" or "bungling" but o - called unemployment data Progressive Party put forward a of defending capitalism. The party issued a clarion call to the organized labor movement of this city, 100,000 strong, to adopt

Their campaigns for the lesser offices were permeated with tant class struggle, aimed at the



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 .he size or effectiveness of the 9-

NECRM conference which is other American minorities than scheduled to meet in Washing- they are with the rights of the ton Jan. 15-17 to press for the inhabitants of Mars. The Democratic and Repuadoption of FEPC and other civil blican parties certainly fit into

rights legislation. But this decision raises crucial this category; if they didn't. problems that can have disastrous there wouldn't be any need for a consequences for the organiza- conference in Washington. (Intions participating in the con. cidentally, most of the organizaference, especially for the tions in the NECRM are led by NAACP, its initiator and spark- members of these parties, but they are not barred - which plug.

The NAACP leadership had makes the exclusion of bona fide previously explained its refusal unions led by members of other parties all the more indefensible.) to invite the Civil Rights Congress and other Stalinist-front parties like the Socialist Workorganizations to serve as sponsors of the mobilization on the crs Party (Trotskyist), who were ground that the Communist Party. fighting for full social, economic and political equality for minoribetraved the Negro struggle during the war and has shown on ties at a time when many of the many occasions that it favors NECRM affiliates were them-"civil rights for some people, but not for all." out not for all."

THEIR OWN BLACKLIST

Roy Wilkins and secretary Arnold Washington. There is only one Aronson have issued a letter on name for the exclusion of such behalf of the steering commit- groups, and that is rank political tee saying that they "do not want discrimination.

such ['communist dominated'] organizations to be registered" : the Washington conference be cause they don't consider them to

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: Amer-

ican 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 vote for a program of miliand Warehousemen; Marine Cooks and Stewards; United real issues confronting them, and Furniture Workers." to sweep a labor mayor into office

All that is achieved by this

meinod is to bar thousands of

leader, from a fight in which they

belong as the union allies of the

Negro people. Instead of hurting

But how do you judge if an not trafficked in "loyalty" oaths; organization is "motivated by a and its constitution does not dis-

the SWP was the first to hail the dea of a united Negro and labor Since then, NECRM chairman conference on civil rights in We Trotskyists don't condemn the NECRM blacklist procedure because. we are opposed to fightbe "motivated by a sincere desire ing Stalinism; we condemn it because it does not and cannot fight Stalinism effectively. The way to fight Stalinism is by counterpos-

On the other hand, there are

ing 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 olicy 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 cor-"ectly followed the policy of nondiscrimination with regard to the politics of its members; it has

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

through strikes. In that year 4,600,000 workers

ure was 1,960,000; and last year it was 3,100,000.

* 10 11

under close scrutiny. were involved in work stoppages; in 1948 the fig-

The dinner was a testimonial to these comrades. groes and laborers. While one worker out of every 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

Rose Karsner

one out of every ten workers was McCallum, who boasted after his grams." Instead of a program unemployed for 6 months or more electoral victory that he had "no in 1949. With more than 500,000 program," polled 133,320 votes. reported as having exhausted The RWP, the Trotskyists. their unemployment insurance again carried the banner of inbenefits today, this would mean | dependent political action for

shows clearly that the detailed candidate to challenge the capitalfigures contradict the totals and ists for the highest seat in civic that the questionable statistics office. become even more questionable



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.

* * *

WASHINGTON'S

(Cont. from page 1)

ism sky high.

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

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.

-- CHINESE POLICY

of western imperialism, Washing-Ibillions of dollars poured down

THE N. Y. SUN, one of the oldest dailies in the we'll resist it. It's just as bad as tialing committee, all on the union country, has been bought out by the Scripps-How- the nammer and sickle." ard newspaper trust. The former owners of the Sun hypocritically blamed the unions for "forcing" in Seattle had any connection their books returned after signing signs, cruised through the crowdthe paper out of existence. The transaction, doubt- with the internal struggle in the a statement retracting support of ed streets broadcasting its inless a highly profitable one, was kept a deep se- AFL Seamen's union, responcret up to the last moment. 1,200 employees have sibility for it cannot be attributed 3. "The machine," writes the been thrown out on the streets.

consulted about this reactionary

SIU OFFICIALS THREATS AGAINST SWP

(Continued from page 1) 2. A young seamen, Tony De members of the Marine Fine-Marco, was pulled off the SS men's unions." Chief Washakie in Oakland, and

After marshalling names and his SUP union book was taken places in two full editorial columns from him. He was then charged and personnel, was hard-hitting to demonstrate the methods of with thinking that Mahoney had and impressive. It was the only cannibal unionism employed by not had a fair trial and expelled. Hall-Lundeberg, and Co. against A replacement was sent by the the Firemen's Union, the paper union officials to take his job on concludes: "While the shadow of the ship. De Marco was "tried" the blackjack hangs over us, by members of the union's nego-

payroll. Three other members of class areas. The Toronto branch's Whether or not the Fox incident the crew of the same ship had sound truck, emblazoned with Mahoney.

to the Trotskyists except by Defender, "is yanking members scoundrels and liars. It must be off ships, pulling books, and laid directly at the doorstep of forcing retractions from members the Hall - Lundeberg machine under the threat of expulsion.' which has created an atmosphere [An entire page of the Dec. 16 of terror and intimidation for West Coast Sailors, is filled with the purpose of stifling all opposi- "retractions" from seamen who tion to their bureaucratic, dicta- had in any way opposed Mahoney's expulsion]. "In addition to the The Hall-Lundeberg reign of retractions forced from the crew terror is reported in elaborate of the Mission San Gabriel and of communism," has meant above ernment of India in acting as a guish between the Truman ad- detail in the Dec. 20 Defender, the expulsions of Brothers Warall the prevention of revolution native pillar of western imperial- ministration, which supplied organ of the Mahoney Defense ren Gillard and Warren Stiles. Committee. Here are a few of the two members of the India Mail

developments they recount which and six members of the Terminal Knot have suffered from the Mahoney, a veteran member of Machine's witch hunt." the Sailors Union, was expelled 4. An old-time member of

in violation of the union's con- the union took the floor in an To win back that friendship stitution, for the "crime" of SUP meeting in San Francisco will not be easy. A start can be having asked a "point of in- on November 14 to complain that made by demanding recognition formation" at a union meeting shoring up of cargo on shins was of the new government without about Hall - Lundeberg's strike- too much work for one man and further delay and the renunciation breaking in the Canadian Sea- should be done by the longshoremen. This was Lundeberg's reply

1. The entire deck department "You're a Commie. You must has strengthened its own bases as | Food and clothing should be of the SS Island Mail was ordered be or you wouldn't be giving sent at once to relieve the worst expelled by the Lundeberg ma- away our jurisdiction to the In carrying out the Truman distress. We should help rebuild chine for having contributed to Commies. If you don't like this Doctrine in the Far East, Amer- the land and industries gutted the Mahoney Defense Committee, union, get the hell out and join To The pretense at "democratiz- forced to drop back from its the Truman administration bears tions prior to the adoption of a make his point more emphatic, ing" Japan was cut short. Reac- front line trenches in China to a big share of the responsibility. resolution by an intimidated mem- Lundeberg added: "I can bring tion was given the green light. the second line of defense reach- Economic and financial aid to bership forbidding such contribu- you up on charges on the basis And now MacArthur has gone ing in the arc from Japan to speed the long - range develop- tions. The crew had been ordered of your not protecting our jurisso far as to enunciate the "right" India. The squabble over Formosa ment of China should be offered off the ship by union officials in dictional rights and I will do so

> Seattle and stand trial. Fort- At this point a member at the That's in the spirit of the real unately their refusal to comply rear of the hall should out what America, the America of the with this order was backed up everyone must have been thinkworking people who feel the by the Seattle membership who ing: "There have been enough ran Germany."

Workers and Farmers Governincore desire" for the passage of ment. It pointed out that the only civil rights bills? Do you use a ultimate solution to the crisis of crystal ball? When two organizamankind was a new society based tions say that they are for such on production for use, not profit legislation, how do you decide - the co-operative society of that one is sincere but the other socialism. is deceitful?

as a big step on the road to a

The RWP campaign, though Clearly enough, the criterion greatly limited by lack of funds being used by the NECRM leaders is arbitrary in the extreme and it lends itself to all kinds of real labor campaign of the elecdiscriminatory abuses. No movetion; as it has been for the last ment dedicated to a fight against four years. Almost 40,000 copies discrimination can benefit from of the party's election program the practice of discrimination: were distributed at factory gates on the contrary, it serves only and door-to-door in the working to discredit itself and detract from its own efforts to secure passage of the civil rights bills HARMFUL EFFECTS

spiring message of class strug-The stupid and reactionary efgle and socialism. fects of this policy are illustrated

Dowson spoke at more than : in the case of the ten labor orscore of election meetings, exganizations on the NECRM's "blacklist." They may not be posing the capitalist politicians large and they may suffer from and putting forward the RWP a rotten leadership (which can program on unemployment, housing, taxation, the franchise, etc. also be said of some of the groups The press, with last year's poll of permitted to participate) but that doesn't change the fact that 23,645 votes staring them in the face, was no longer able to mainthey are genuine unions, representing thousands of workers. tain as an effective black-out on the RWP campaign. Scattered Even if the NECRM leaders are convinced that the leaders reports were printed on sections of Dowson's many speeches. of these ten unions are not "sincere," can they say the same

about the members of these On election night hundreds of unions and do they have the right thousands of listeners heard to bar these union members from Dowson over the air between elec- | participation in a fight for civil tion results. He pointed out that rights legislation which vitally his defeat was a defeat for all affects their welfare?

labor, ending with a declaration that the RWP pledges to carry workers, whose sincerity is as forward its campaign for socialgreat as that of any NECRM ist emancipation every day of the year, through every possible

While the total vote rose in this the Stalinists, it only plays into election, the labor vote for the their hands by enabling them to pose before the members of these most part declined or remained unions as advocates of united static. Last year the workers action for civil rights who are were inspired by the electora' being victimized and discriminattriumphs of the CCF; this year ed against by the NECRM leadership. the crushing federal election

defeat thrust many into apathy. | POLITICAL PARTIES This general condition, however, Just as false is the ban on "all gives even greater weight and political parties." We all know that some political parties express importance to the RWP vote. It interest in civil rights legislation is not only a labor vote, but to only for demagogic reasons and vote also. with the rights of Negroes and

qualify 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 ircles 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.

SPECIAL OFFER "Writings and Speeches of E. V. Debs' List price \$4.00 Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS for \$2.25 116 University Pl. 3, N. Y.

to other positions.

defense," which is a diplomatic in the general retreat. way of calling for the rearmament of Japan.

In Indonesia, where a servile

autonomy. The hope is that friendship. The people in the Far torial and strikebreaking rule. Thus, in the Far East the Tru-Sukarno will follow in the path East, who constitute the majority man Doctrine, "the containment marked out by the Nehru gov- of mankind, do not easily distinand its containment if it did ism. Chiang's dictatorship in lavish The French capitalists have style with money, arms and polibreak out. In accordance with this policy, the State Department tried to speed establishment of tical support, and the American have taken place since John has consistently fostered and the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China. working people who were never

Far East and blow the whole ton pressured its Dutch cousins the Nationalist drain, America

colonial empire of world imperial- into granting them a degree of has lost incalculable resources of

DILEMMA

bolstered up those native elements, Since this unclean puppet governmainly the colonial bourgeoisie, ment, however, lacks the slightest foreign policy. who were inclined by their own semblance of mass support, Washeconomic interests to fall in line ington has listened sympatheticwith imperialist aims. ally to French pleas for more Consequently, when the flames arms to hold the line there. The Philippines have not been

of the peasant uprising spread like a grass fire across China, left out of the calculations. There of any further support of Chiang lighting the skies of the whole Far East, the State Department hastened preparations to fall back well as native reaction.

POLICY IN FAR EAST,

HIGH COST

native bourgeoisie opened up the ple of Truman's reactionary warmest friendship and sympathy refused to take the jobs of the expulsions already. You are trypossibility of a nationalist regime policy in China and the Far East for the long-suffering Chinese men under charges and they ing to run this union like Hitler a very large extent a socialist that they are no more concerned that would act as a loyal agency has been high. Aside from the people

strings attached.

The cost to the American peo-

the American military machine or his reactionary clique. ican imperialism has thus been by the prolonged strife for which The crew had made its contribu- the rest of the Commies."

of the Mikado's regime to "self- represents only a tactical phase on a generous scale with no Seattle and instructed to go to if you don't shut up!"

men's strike.

remained aboard ship.

RWP PLEDGE