PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Debate Trotskyist

Will Not Defend CP

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 - Louis

Weinstock, the leading Stalinist

spokesman in AFL Painters

District Council 9, last Wed

night first accepted and ther

turned down an invitation to

debate a representative of the

Socialist Workers Party on the

positions of the SWP and the

CP with regard to past and

present trials under the Smith

The question arose in District

Council 9 when Secretary-Trea-

surer Martin Rarback read to the

delegates from the notorious Weinstock letters, whose con-

tents were reported in The Mili-

'ant (Jan. 3 and 31). Recalling

the conviction of 18 SWP mem-

bers in the Minneapolis case,

"When a part of the labor and

iberal movement had rallied

defend them on the civil rights

issues that were at stake under

the Smith Act, Brother Wein-

stock and the Communist Party

slandered and besmirched the

called for the government to

send them to jail for their poli-

"Today, the same Communist

came Smith Act for their poli-

ical opinions and we can under-

tand why it is embarrassing for

Weinstock and his Communist

Party cohorts for these letters

o be published in all the news-

papers in the city since the labor

novement convicts them as being

stool pigeons and betrayers in

he fight for civil rights in this

Rarback then told Weinstock

that he would be willing to have

an SWP representative debate

him on their respective positions

oward the past and present

trials under the Smith Act.

Weinstock answered, "It's OK by

But when Rarback added that

he would invite representatives

of the press to the Council meet-

ing where the debate would be

neld, Weinstock immediately lost

heart and refused to commit him-

self any further on participation

in such a debate.

these men in order to

Rarback said:

behind

country."

Role in SWP Trial

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

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Wall Street Sets Up Clamor to Speed CP Trial

By Farrell Dobbs

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

clamoring for an end to this filling with jurors from the rigged monkey business about investigating the jury system. They want a jury picked from the rigged

John F. X. McGohey, the government prosecutor, is using all legal tricks in the book to defend the hand-picking of jury panels. He contends that so long as there is not total exclusion of a class of people, a disproportion between classes is entirely legal.

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

Last week Chief Judge John C. Knox of this judicial district said in a public speech, "Unless re-

justice. He halted examination of the trial jury panel with only six of the 525 members heard.

DAMNING EVIDENCE

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

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

ously to endorse the efforts of

Kutcher. The secretary-treasurer

of the State CIO Council, An-

tonio DiPinto, is sending notice

of the Executive Board endorse-

make whatever financial dona-

tions they can to the Kutcher

The Slovene National Benefit

Society through its President

Joseph Culkar, has also endorsed

the work of the Kutcher Civil

Rights Committee and contribut-

ed to its defense fund. This is

the largest fraternal order of

Slovenians, with headquarters in

Chicago and lodges in all large

In addition to financial aid

from numerous union locals, the

Members of the crew of the S.S.

Ernie Pyle took up a "tarpaulin

City branch of the Workers De-

the country.

Big Business doesn't like the enough, these maps have occupied way the trial has boomeranged. the empty seats the government The capitalist press and radio are has so far been prevented from

> The pattern of the pins on the maps is a dead give-away of the jury-packing scheme. Dense ribs of red appear along Park Avenue, Fifth Avenue and Central Park West where penthouses of the wealthy are concentrated. Large clusters of pins stand out at Gracie Square, Sutton Place and similar points where the well-

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

Then you become aware of the barren areas where a red pin indicating the residence of a juror

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

'OUR PEERS"

Rhode Island CIO Pledges

To Help Kutcher Committee

Island State Industrial Union Council last week voted unanim-

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

mittee to win justice for James were the free choice of political

Following similar action by the Connecticut, New Jersey

To date 21 of the 23 grand jurors who indicted the Stalinists have been questioned on the witness stand. There was not a single period of peak inflation? The score is that all these price poned" Negro among them. They turned out to be corporation directors and stockholders, bankers, brokment figures. According to the from the ALL-TIME highs estabmore than a few percentage points from the standpoint of the from the ALL-TIME highs establikely in All-TIME highs estabcapitalists, such "labor statesmanon a series of maps to indicate ers, wholesalers, an editor and B L S index, compiled several

They have served on an average

COST OF LIVING

knox of this judicial district said in a public speech, "Unless restrained by an authority I cannot resist, jurors in my district will continue to be handpicked." Presiding Judge Harold R. Median has accused the defense of delaying tactics and of attempting to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher to take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the administration of the lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the lower East Side the Lower East Side, Hell's Kitcher take over the lower East Side ta

By John G. Wright

the need for a "fourth round" of wage increases. Nor did it even ers to publicly soft-pedal this justifiable demand.

How could it be otherwise in a squeeze upon the workers is months after the "third round" of wage rises, the situation since ViJ Day shaped up as follows: Wages were up 20% while prices had soared by 35%. In the same period profits went sky high, increasing by 155%.

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

gent need of higher wages? On top of this, productivity per "Enclosed you will find \$1 to by the corporations who keep tion while intensifying the speedcreed you hold to and preach. You find themselves in the intolerable costs, electric and gas rates, medshould have a right to your be- situation of having their living ical services and the like. liefs! I wish that I could send standards cut at a time when they you \$1,000 or \$100,000. Fight

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

that such authoritative represent- are coming up for discussion, the few signs of such recognition atives of Big Business as Mr. Hen- monopolists are training their among the top union officials. ry Ford publicly acknowledged biggest guns against any further On the contrary, signs of softkeeps playing up the consecutive becoming more and more apparenter the minds of top union lead- declines in "primary market pri- ent. The crassest action thus far ces," in the "wholesale price in- has been taken by the CIO Amalindex." What they omit to under- officials have voluntarily "postchanges represent declines of not | wages. lished in August and September of last year.

According to Labor Department of living since last August had bridging the gap between prices increased the purchasing power and wages, but also to the no less of the dollar by one cent." (N. Y. vital struggle for raising the liv-Times, Jan. 30.) In plain words, a worker with an "average wage" of \$50 has benefited to the extent of 50 cents.

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

round" wage negotiations. The gap between prices and wages has not been bridged at all. For families in the low-income worker has been climbing sharply | brackets the few rennies, recentsince V-J Day, a fact slurred over ly lopped off here and there by help your fight for your right to yowling for ever greater produc- instances more than offset by the price gougers, are in most ment to all its affiliates and not what political or religious up in the plants. The workers thus those in rents, transportation

> The need for aggressively pushshould actually be rising. All the ing the "fourth round" and counbenefits of higher productivity ter-acting the cynical lies of the

would appear, is dictated by all Now that many union contracts these salient facts. But we find wage increases. The daily press pedalling this urgent issue are dex" and in the "commodity price gamated Clothing Workers, whose

ship" is, of course, highly laud- tical opinions. able. From the standpoint of labor's interests, it is a stab in the | Party is being tried under the estimates, "the decline in the cost back not only to the struggle for ing standards at least a notch or two above the existing depressed

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

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

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

Of Injunctions Weinstock Backs Bloc in Congress Prepares Out on Offer to Other Anti-Labor Provisions

By George Breitman

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

on unions, including the specific D anti-strike injunction weapons it had granted the administration. But it would not deprive the adninistration of the power to go restoration of the Wagner Act, This was clearly indicated by

Truman's Bill

No Bar to Use

Attorney General Clark's testinittee. He said the "inherent protect the national health, safety

Jnited States in this respect." The duplicity of the measure was also demonstrated by Secretary of Labor Tobin's reply to Sen. Humphrey's question if the Truman bill "provided for government seizure of struck facilipolitical views of this group and

In short, Truman's bill makes ile at the same time he retains the power to circumvent 30 day's notice before terminaor negate many of these con- tion or modification of contracts.

The main concessions in the proposed measure include: Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and nto court for injunctions to break with certain amendments. Retrikes.

in the area of interstate commerce in states where it is mony before the Senate Com- banned. Abolition of the anticommunist affidavit. Withdrawal power of the President to deal of the ban on political expendiwith emergencies" is "exceedingly tures by unions. Termination of rreat" and the government would the NLRB general counsel's nave "access to the courts to separate investigation and prosecution powers. Provisions proand welfare. . . . This bill, as hibiting strikes by federal emread it, does not purport to ployees and permitting employers circumscribe the rights of the rot to bargain collectively with foremen are also omitted.

BIG LOOPHOLES

On the other hand, the Wagner Act is amended to extend certain "unfair labor practice" curbs to unions. The "unfair" practices ties." Tobin refused to give a yes include "unjustifiable secondary or no answer, saying the ques- boycotts and jurisdictional strikes; tion should be directed to Clark. strikes to compel an employer to bargain when he is under obligaa number of formal concessions tion to bargain with another union; and failure to give at least (Continued on Page 4)

New Stalin Plea: "I Want a Deal"

By Joseph Hansen

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

capitalist press about the mean- 5 ng of the Generalissimo's statement. Is Moscow ready to make deal with Washington?

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

CACHIN INTERVIEW

How quickly the entire world Stalinist movement would make ward Anglo-American imperialreached was indicated by Marcel Cachin at a press conference in man of the French Communist ploded Stalinist dogma that world capitalism and the Soviet Union can exist side by side indefinitely

He praised the Marshall Plan, saying in direct contradiction to the current Stalinist line that the Stalinist press. The work-"nobody questions that the American offer to help economies

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

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

'PEACE OFFENSIVE" The capitalist press calls this

"peace offensive," as if wantng to stave off war constituted crime. This strange label is designed to help justify Washington's open preparations for atomic slaughter. While Moscow calls for peace and a deal, Washington coolly goes ahead with organization of the most farreaching military alliance in history, the Atlantic Pact, and prepares to convert the countries bordering the Soviet Union into a springboard for attack. These bellicose preparations alarm the working people of Europe and the rest of the world, hence the need of the Washington propagandists to try to discount Moscow's advances and to picture them as 'nothing but propaganda."

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

ing people naturally conclude (Continued on page 2)

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

cities and in many steel and mining communities throughout turned to his boss and said:

"Now, you cook for me."

party, religious beliefs, etc.

the Communists. They lectured tung, which like the program of with special passes from General Kutcher defense fund last week the cook, put him to work and the Mensheviks in Russia in 1917, Fu, with resident's cards and with Leighton Stuart, asking for his eral different sources. An ad- caused any trouble.

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

They came back dumbfounded. The Communists put them on a muster" of \$16 to help the 10-hour day and cut their wages victimized veteran. The Twin

fense League gave \$25 for the Kutcher Committee's work. word for word in the Feb. 1 N. Y. Post. It reveals in the most A reader of the Newark News from Montclair, N. J., self- graphic way the attitude of the light and pumped water into nouncement that "people of all described as "An American Chinese Stalinists toward the Peiping," says Canham. "They walks of life are requested to Lutheran Protestant," wrote the working class. The Stalinists at chligingly kept right on running carry on as usual and avoid all CUNNING MANEUVER following letter to James Kutpeasantry enter the cities not to through the siege." cher: "I wish to say my whole family and our entire circle of liberate the workers from slavery to the capitalist class but to friends are in sympathy with prevent the workers from rising. your cause. These various boards The Stalinist aim is not to estab-

Communists, a discontented cook a coalition regime with the operate their own radio station in Nanking. Chinese capitalists.

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

STALINISTS OBLIGING

What happened in Tientsin was repeated in Peiping. Erwin D. Canham of the Christian Science The above report appeared before they started the siege. "The Communists controlled the the head of the insurgent the plant, a little erratically, all

This was not all, "The Communist delegates were inside are confident they can do business the knowledge and consent of the why the embassies of the westare missing the foundations of lish a Workers and Farmers Nationalist commander, Gen. Fu ern powers are anxiously await- coalition they are already problism.

from inside the beleaguered city, PREPARE COMEBACK This course proceeds directly and communicate with the besieg-The employer complained to from the program of Mao Tse- ers outside. They were equipped

"CARRY ON AS USUAL" The negotiations ended with an agreement, according to Andrew Roth of The Nation, setting up a "joint governing council whose members have been appointed by Fu and the Communists." The Monitor reports that the Stalin- property of foreigners and forists began negotiating with the eign diplomats is "guaranteed." Kuomintang city regime even This guarantee is being enforced "by police and by supplementary troops from both armies." And electric plant which furnished the agreement ends with an anpublic panic."

This policy explains why western business men and bankers

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

The Chinese Stalinist policy a minority within the future with Chinese and world capital-

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

maneuver works remains to be Ambassador has followed Chiang Kai-shek to Canton is an indicafacilitate a later comeback for any bridges to an understanding wing of the Kuomintang at the xpense of the Chinese Stalinists. What makes this Nanking of collaboration with former maneuver possible is Stalin's Kuomintang officials has open- perfidiousness and his readiness ed the way for a cunning to doublecross his most loyal Peiping during the siege, with with the Chinese Stalinists and maneuver by these politicians. As lieutenants to promote a deal

Whether this desperate a flip flop in its attitude toseen. The fact that the Soviet sm should a temporary deal be tion that Moscow is not burning Rome Jan. 23. This top spokeswith even the most reactionary Party repeated the long-ago-ex-

Professors Ousted in Witch-Hunt

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

By N. Henri

PARIS - After a little more has undergone a split.

At its foundation, the WFTII might have appeared as a powerful force from which the world to say flatly that from the viewworking class could derive great | point of the interests of the workbenefit. Never had the trade ing. people, its record it abunion movement known such an solutely shameful. international organization. Moreover, it was organized at the very moment when virtually the majority of the working class aid not organize any action whatthroughout the world was regrouping in trade unions.

of the WFTU except the reactionary officialdom of the Ameri- the war on the Indo-Chinese peo- tries. can Federation of Labor. Along- rile. It did not even dream of side the British trade unions, the lifting a little finger for the In-CIO, the French General Con-donesian people although it would federation of Labor and the Soviet trade unions (which, so Washington nor Moscow would far as trade unionism is concerned, are one of the Kremlin's instruments for oppressing the SILENT DURING STRIKES Soviet masses) there were grouped in the WFTU a whole series of trade union organizations of States and during all the other the colonial and semi-colonial big workers' struggles. countries, first powerful ex- The WFTU not only said noth-

movement in those lands.

What is the balance sheet of split, after the split had already occurred on a national basis in several countries, it is necessary Some examples:

The WFTU sent delegations, notably to Greece. But the WFTU ever to help the Greek workers. It did not organize any action to appear that in this case neither be opposed.

The WFTU was silent during the big strikes in the United

MOURN UNTIMELY DEATH OF BELGIAN TROTSKYIST

Comrade O. Henry, well-known of the party's May 1, 1939, in the Belgian labor movement manifesto against the war, one 44. He was a member of the Poli-Committee of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Belgian section of the Fourth Indeath was not reported.

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

Concert for Kutcher

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

> SAN FRANCISCO & OAKLAND NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

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

Allen Willis

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

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

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

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Fourth International

Address

One Year

under the pen-name of Sem, died of the basic documents of the suddenly Jan. 14 at the age of Belgian Trotskyists. . When the Belgian Trotskyist tical Bureau and of the Central party was forced underground at the outbreak of war and many of the older leaders of the party dropped into inactivity, Comrade ternational). The cause of his Sem became the leading militant around whom the party leadership was reconstituted. Three times-in 1939-40, in 1944 after ihe Gestapo arrested almost all

> and in 1947—he carried the heavy responsibility of guiding the organization by himself. Sem was the organizer of the International Pre-conference of

written by Leon Trotsky. With the death, of Comrade

Sem, the Belgian section and the entire Fourth International lost working people, none of the bureaucracy. one of its most seasoned cadres, bureaucrats - those of the one of its most capable leaders "Russian party" as well as those DRAIN SATELLITES and a comrade and friend of of the "American party" - have The CEMA will help bring the into the open. stainless honesty and integrity. any interest in such matters. economies of the satellite powers | In addition there is widespread torial rule of Stalinism.

Japanese workers; insofar as its sections were involved in action, than three years existence, the this trade union international? it was to collaborate with the World Federation of Trade Unions Up to the time of the official military governments to try to create domestic organizations in these countries which, while calling themselves trade unions, were deprived of all rights in the question of wages.

The WFTU did nothing to support the trade union movement n the colonial and semi-colonial countries. On the contrary, it encouraged the reactionary currents in France and Great Britain who wished to convert trade unionism in the colonies into a No one stayed outside the ranks help the workers of Spain. It did simple appendage of the movenot organize any action against ments in the imperialist coun-

PART OF COLD WAR

And why the split? Because a evolutionary tendency opposed a reactionary tendency? Not at all. Today's split is only a part of the cold war. When the "Big Three" reached an understanding at Yalta and Potsdam, the trade ers, thick as thieves with their rulers, also reached an under New Bid Made by Stalin union bureaucrats of these powstanding. Their aim was to get the masses to accept the governmental decisions and thus turn the masses back into the framework of the old order of things - submission to capitalist exploitation or the oppression of the Kremlin.

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

STALINISTS INDIFFERENT

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

As for the interests of the

into closer integration with the oppositional sentiment to the economy of the Soviet Union. The Stalin regime inside the USSR that American imperialism must Stalinist aim is more systematic as is indicated by the following Show Rising Unrest be the aggressor, since it spurns draining of the satellite countries interesting report of the wellthe Kremlin's advances and goes for the immediate benefit of right on stockpiling atom bombs Moscow's position. and lining up its allies in a world-

University of Washington professors Herbert J. Phillips (left), Joseph Butterworth (center)

and Ralph Grundlach, fired as "Communists" after a witch-hunting expedition of the state Can-

well Un-American Activities Committee. The Seattle Socialist Workers Party joined in the de-

fense of the three professors, distributing a leaflet which linked the case with the purge of Tucker

P. Smith at Olivet College, the trial of 11 Stalin ist leaders and the discharge of James Kutcher.

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

A few examples will show how the bureaucracy has been operating in the satellite countries since the first days of outright plunder. Poland was forced to sell 6,000,-000 tons of coal to the USSR last year for the equivalent of \$1,20 a ton when world prices ranged from \$14 to \$20 a ton.

The Kremlin charged Czechoslovakia the Chicago price for wheat last year and added half of what it would have cost to ship the wheat from Chicago to senant with its bureaucratic rule, Czechoslovakia.

On a loan of \$32,000,000 to Czechoslovakia for supplies, Moscow charged 31/, %, which is nounced Jan. 25. It is a Council 1% more than the Export-Import Bank gets for such loans.

DOMESTIC OPPOSITION

Eastern Europe with the ex-When Rumania, Hungary, Fin-This is the culmination of the land etc. make deliveries of economic counter - moves to the goods as payments on reparations Marshall Plan. Like the Marshall imposed by Stalin, they are allowas the Marshall Plan is really much as 100% in world market more time for the bureaucracy. prices since that time. The vancing American imperialism, so CEMA is designed to intensify will continue to counter Anglo-

informed Foreign Policy Bulletin:

"If the judgment of observers who have recently spent conbut of ridding it of some of system work better and more humanely."

Besides evidence of this kind, purges in all spheres of cultural big gains. and scientific life were a certain indication, as in previous purges, that dissatisfaction with regime is profound.

KREMLIN WORRIED

The Stalinist bureaucracy is unrest and believes that a deal with American imperialism would facilitate "pacification" of the and stamp out "communism." satellite countries and liquidation of the disturbing trends at home. understanding could be the throttling of the Tito opposition.

On top of this, a deal would postpone Wall Street's projected in Japan has been to safeguard \$9,000. mutual aid project. However, just inflationary increases of as military assault, thus winning the Mikado from the anger of the Without such a deal, Moscow working class revolution and ing restoration of his holdings the CEMA is aimed at fortifying this kind of "mutual assistance." American blows by bureaucratic an ally in Wall Street's pro- areas. The size of his fortune and advancing the Stalinist Such exploitation engenders in- devices like the Cominform and jected war against the Soviet tense dissatisfaction among the CEMA whose defense value to Union. satellite countries. In the case the USSR the Kremlin measures of Yugoslavia, resentment flared by only one yardstick - how well they strengthen the dicta-

American imperialism underits charges. Stalinism has indeed A deal with the Kremlin could glut of goods on the market be- working class. But Washington must continue to sing this tune. from a political and economic masses to buy them at prevailing For it must justify the backprices, capitalism can survive only breaking burdens placed on the hy siphoning off production for American taxpayers and the non-consumption purposes. War failure to produce the muchneeded housing and other vital

> fully replace armaments in stay-ments can be stepped up under ing off a depression. Such in- such circumstances. It won't creased exports, confined in the make sense to the American peomain to heavy industry, help to ple. The inadequate purchasing industrialize the less advanced power of the masses will bring countries who on the morrow be- about a greater and greater glut come the competitors of Ameri- of consumption goods, necessitatcan imperialism in the world ing still more astronomical figures markets. Moreover, in the im- for armaments to avoid economic

> > In the end, American imperial-

World Events

National Conference Of Italian Trotskyists Is Held in Rome

The Italian Trotskyist groups magazine IVa Internazionale that they might triple their after the Second World Congress of the Fourth International, held four to 12. To their own astonishtheir first national conference on Jan. 2 in Rome. Twenty-five delegates from ten local and provincial groups attended.

The conference discussed and adopted an important political report which drew a balance sheet on all the currents in the Italian labor movement since 1944. A resolution on the political orientation and practical work of the Italian Trotskyists was adopted. This will soon be published.

The conference took up the reports of various committees on organization, education, trade union work, etc. A Central Committee was elected.

In connection with the conference an 8-day seminar was held on problems of the revolutionary movement. Twenty comrades participated and found the tudy and discussion very fruit-

Elections in Japan Among City Workers

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

The victorious Premier Yoshida is closely connected through marriage to the Mikado and also to a family of wealthy coal barons. His aims in office are to strengthen Japanese capitalism, cut down the number of governworried about this bitterness and ment employees, launch a government drive against the labor novement, impose wage controls

MacArthur hailed Yoshida's victory as a triumph for the "con-One of the first "benefits" of the servative philosophy of government."

MacArthur's elation is understandable. One of his major aims working people, to head off build up Japanese capitalism as in the rich Saar and Rhineland

entrenchment of reaction in notorious criminals who have reof Taft-Hartley type legislation, from the occupation authorities ending of democratic reforms, exerting direct pressure on unions to call off strike action for higher wages and repressive measures against the Communist Party.

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

members of the Social Democratic party.

But the vote for the Communist Party rose from about 1,000,000 in the previous election in 1947 to more than 3,274,000. The which were organized around the Stalinists themselves had hoped representation in the Diet from ment they won 35 seats. With about 10% of the total ballots, they now constitute the fourth argest party in Japan.

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

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

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

Allied Court Frees Ace Nazi Diplomat; Restores His Fortune

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

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

Von Papen revealed that he was not revealed.

The rehabilitation of this Nazi Recently MacArthur took a follows similar action in hundreds number of steps to hasten the of other cases. Among the Japan. These consisted of passage ceived demonstrative leniency was Ilse Koch, the foul "Beast of Buchenwald."

Washington and London are restoring the former Nazi and their backers to power in preparation for the constitution of the North Atlantic Pact. Amerimobilization of 500,000 German

The Economic Causes of U.S. War Drive staving off revolutions in the investments in colonial countries. With America's tremendous pro-lin's good faith toward the

wide coalition for war.

However, Moscow's propaganda

gain is only incidental. The

Kremlin is not bluffing. Stalin

really wants a deal - on terms

the bureaucracy can meet. But

ever since the profitable trans-

action in which the Kremlin saved

French and Italian capitalism at

the end of the war in return for

government posts for its agents,

American imperialism has re-

ected even a temporary under-

Thus the Moscow bureaucracy

has been forced to take what it

considers to be the most effective

possible defensive steps, con-

against the obvious preparations

for military attack. The first of

these was organization of the

for Economic Mutual Assistance

(CEMA) for the countries of

ception of Yugoslavia.

standing with the Kremlin.

By John Saunders

barked on its "get tough" policy. It is Washington which has studiously held aloof from entering into another deal. It is Washington which has the final say. American imperialism is aware that European capitalism survives primarily because of Stalinist treachery to the working class. With the masses of Asia in ferment, a deal with Stalin might prove the only means of

Six Months

in favor of a deal with Wash- groundwork for a more thorough well as to China. ington. On this point we can exploitation of the colonial lands. give an unequivocal answer: This breathing spell could also Such a deal has been Stalin's be used to bolster the new alliance aim ever since the end of the war being formed against the Soviet when American imperialism Union and keep the latter from brusquely terminated its war everrunning all Europe and Asia point of view on only one condialliance with Moscow and em- when the Third World War tion. Under no circumstances breaks out.

DANGER OF BUST

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

Among many factors there was work. the Marshall Plan which prevented last year's decline in exports tributing to Kutcher's defense from becoming much more drastic, fund were Bell Local 501, Buf-But the most important factor falo; Amalgamated Local 280, for the continued period of Detroit; Chevrolet Local 659, prosperity following the break in Flint; Local 663, Anderson, Ind. prices of agricultural commo- Local 407, West Allis, Wis.; Lindities almost a year ago has been coln Local 900, Detroit: White the increased tempo in war Motor Local 32, Cleveland. preparations. Truman now finds Following Kutcher's appear it necessary to step up armament lince as a guest speaker before spending and to add another two the Connecticut CIO convention, billion dollars to the budget, with contributions were also received additional funds envisaged for from the Greater Hartford Joint the purpose of sending lend-lease Board of the CIO Textile Work-

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

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

ONE CONDITION

must there be a let-down in war preparations. It cannot even be said that the actual use of these There is, however, one big cloud weapons in the coming war is

Union Locals Aid

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

Among the UAW local con-

of disarmament.

be advantageous to Washington cause of the inability of the preparations and war itself become the perfect destroyers of consumption goods, replacing the less efficient dumping and "plowng under" policy of the depression

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

ROLE OF STALINISM

its aim of continuing and even casting aspersions at the Krem- exorably to war.

would collapse overnight in case stands only too well the falsity of With the existing and potential been treacherous, but to the world

> necessities. Equally important, American imperialism knows that any deal

with the Kremlin will be transitory in nature. For one thing, there is a limit to which arma-

ism must abrogate any deal it bill. . . . \$40 of the enclosed industrialized European countries, might make with Moscow and go amount represents proceeds from all out for war preparation. our recent Militant celebration." Facing either bankruptcy if this mad whirl is continued, or economic collapse if it is not, the Socialist Workers Party disimperialists will gamble on war tributed copies of last week's get 1947 bound volumes at \$4.50 as their only alternative for saving Militant at the New York AFL each. 1948 bound volumes will be the capitalist system. Thus any Painters Union Locals 848, 892, How can Washington achieve deal with Moscow can be nothing 51, 261, 442, 905, and 1011. This more than a slight breather in a stepping up its war preparations continuing cold war in prepara- story on how Louis Weinstock and at the same time make a deal tion for the shooting war to come. Stalinist and former secretary with the Kremlin? Only by stress- Nor does it matter who happens treasurer of Painters District war equipment to the countries of ers; New Haven Local 125 of ing and imputing to Moscow a to be President or Secretary of Council No. 9, used his union the Amalgamated Clothing Work- perfidious role and an aggressive State. It is economic compulsion ers; and Local 338 of the CIO intent and thereby masking its of a decrepit capitalist system Stalinist campaign against the

MILITANT ARMY

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

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

The New York Local of the issue contained the back page position to further the scabby roaded to prison during the war

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

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

A.E.O. of Chicago, a new subscriber, has asked that his subscription start with the first issue of 1949. We are glad to supply these back issues. Other readers who find back issues useful can

READ



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

Vol. XIII - No. 6

Bundle Orders (5 or more THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Monday, February 7, 1949



TROTSKY

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

- Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938.



LENIN

Memo to the AFL on Civil Rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peace-- A Lull in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Stalinist Replies to the "Star"

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

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

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

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

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

The Star didn't "insist"; it specifically admitted that the Stalinist tactic was "justifiable." But when a Stalinist hack is

out to make a point, a small falsification like that is the least to be expected.

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

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

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

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

party is put on trial." If history happens to say otherwise, too bad for history.

Signed articles by contribu tors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in it

Negro History Week and the Workers

By J. Meyer

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

tion after generation, distinguished and learned bourgeois professors, historians and publicists poured out a mass of lies, distorions, falsifications of the history of the Negro people in the United States.

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

These lies and falsifications. taught in every school in the country, built up and maintained among white workers the feeling of separation from the Negroes and superiority to them. They were read abroad and this helped to make the shameful Jim Crow policy of American society seem reasonable and natural, an inevitable outcome of Negro in-

All this the Negroes had to nced to right their own historical vrongs. But now after some thirty years they have not only undermined the vast structure of bourgeois lies about Negroes. They have done more. They have undermined the foundations of American historical writing, not only about Negroes but about crucial aspects of American history. Most important of all, they have given the proletariat an example to be followed. How and why this is so is of extreme importance to Marxists and to all

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

GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS

Before the end of World War I Dr. Carter Woodson, as editor of the Journal of Negro History and author of many books and articles, had begun his life-long task of organizing and publishstudies on Negroes before and during the period of the Civi

To mention only one. In 1926 he published a mighty volume of nearly 700 pages, The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860. Once and for all was established in irrefutable form the powerful role played by the Negroes in the Abolitionist Move-

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

EFFECT ON LIBERALS

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

In a later book, A Basic History of the United States, published in 1944, he tries to correct the omission. He repeats the legend about the majority of Negroes in the South having been faithful to their masters and mistresses during the Civil War. Then he adds self-consciously, "There were exceptions, to be sure, thousands of exceptions. At least 100,000 Negroes had served in the Union armies as soldiers and laborers. . . . In the South as well as the North, hundreds of Negroes, intelligent and educated, furnished some leadership for their bewildered people." of Abolitionism — Garrison and nish no evidence, opens Douglass Despite the work of DuBois and Phillips. The author describes to charges of rankest careerism.

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

BASIC FOR UNDERSTANDING It may seem that the issue is small. It is not. Without this enowledge you cannot understand the Abolition movement. Beard is baffled by the Abolitionists. In the Rise of American Civilization he says: "The sources of this remarkable movement are difficult to discover. Westermarck, in two huge volumes devoted to the history of moral ideas, gives no clue to the inspiration of such a crusade." Both these gifted writers cannot understand how the Abolitionists came to be what they were.

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

One more example must be given. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, published in 1934, has on its lists of editors and contributors, such names as any number of liberal and progressive historians, ex-Marxists, vould-be Marxists, materialists tains the following about Negroes in the Civil War:

"In war time neither belligerent found much use for Negroes. As class will have to follow the trail had been foretold in the South, blazed by the Negroes. Organized they did not rise in insurrection labor will have to organize its but remained peaceful and incommunicado on the plantations. Tradition says that very many in the critical episodes of Ameriwere obsequious and solicitous to the end - faithful friends. . . There is no ground for doubting the truth of such reports."

min Quarles, the Associated

By George Lavan

A new biography of Frederick

Douglass has long been overdue.

The accounts of the fascinating

life of this runaway slave who be-

came one of the greatest orators,

thinkers and leaders of the Aboli-

This is the first serious full-

erick Douglass in almost half a

this great fighter for freedom

pp., \$4.

material.

difficult to find.

UNCERTAIN ATTITUDE

tionist movement.

It should be stated, however,

that this is by far not the defini-

tive biography of the greatest Ne-

gro leader in United States his-

tory. This is not because of any



Scottsboro Case, Northern Style

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

side and put them on the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

The Negro historians have circulation. Against tremendous

ALL OVER THE WORLD

What has happened to American history by its degradation of the Negroes is not unique to teristic of history all over the French Revolution a hundred years before began to be made known. The American workingrole of he workers and farmers

inevitably be done, the history of the United States will have to But Abraham Lincoln himself, he rewritten from top to bottom.

A New Book on the Life

Of Frederick Douglass

terms of possible opportunist mo-

tives. No attempt is made to eva-

luate the correctness or incorrect-

ness of Douglass' step in advan-

The closest the author comes to a

political evaluation of this central

strategical problem in the Aboli-

tionist crusade is the statement

pounded by Booker T. Washing-

The book's failure to present

derstandable personality flows

be charged against the early bio-

position. In this volume the de-

bunking is often by implication

For instance, in the chapter

dealing with the outbreak of hos-

guises, would assume increasing

rather than proof.

FALSE APPROACH

ton, is suspect in motive and un-

cing the destruction of slavery.

Publishers, Inc., 1948, vi + 378 tarian anti-political position in cannot help but draw.

tionist movement have till now that "Douglass' position, in con-

been available to the reader only tradistinction to that of Garrison,

in the old biographies or in nov- was one of reform, rather than of

elized reworkings of the same revolution." This thesis, first pro-

century. Previous biographies of Douglass as an integrated and un-

were written either during his from the author's contradictory

lifetime or within a dozen years attitudes toward his subject. Too

of his death by men who had felt often Quarles leans over back-

the living impact of his person- wards to avoid any of the ele-

ality. And today these books are ments of hero-worship which may

Thus Quarles' book is the first graphers of the great Negro

view of Douglass through the eyes | fighter. There is no objection to

of modern historical scholarship. historical debunking, even though

It is obvious that the writer is a one might argue the need is not

painstaking scholar who studied to debunk Douglass today but to

all known source material on make him known to high school

Douglass and brought to light a and college students of history

good deal hitherto unknown. Any who have yet to hear his name.

student of Douglass or the Abo- But the debunker should justify

litionist movement will have to his destruction of previously-held

put this volume on his "must" list. views and substantiate his own

lack of material about Douglass tilities between the North and the

but rather because of the author's | South, the author describes Doug-

uncertainty about Douglass' his- lass' reaction as follows: "If hos-

torical position and character and | tilities continued indefinitely, the

about the dynamics of the Aboli- Negro problem, in its various

While the reader closes the vol- proportions, and as the nation's

ume with much knowledge about most articulate colored man, he

Douglass and his multifarious ac- [Douglass] would shine in reflect-

tivities, he does not finish the last ed importance. The prospect of

page with a clear picture of the position and preferment put him

kind of man Douglass was or in high spirits. . . . "This kind of

where Douglass stands historical- posthumous mind reading, for

ly in relation to the other giants | which the author is able to fur-

length biographical study of Fred- warranted by history.

hundred thousand men from our in the Civil War is only a special the world over.

brought such truths back into odds they have succeeded.

Sidney Hook, Lewis Corey, and the United States. It is characworld. It took the rise of the labor and socialist movement in Europe etc. Yet the article on American before the role played by the slavery by Ulrich Phillips con- workers and the peasants in the own societies for the study of the can history.

When this is done, and it will

the Negro soldiers: "Take two slaves, i.e., against Negro labor, moment, has bred a growing case of the discrimination against labor as a whole consistently historical writing, which was at practised by bourgeois historians one time great, is declining.

History is never a history only

cerned with the present and of the younger Negro historians are delving into the Abolitionist novement and the conflicts between whites and Negroes inside his movement. They are not doing this merely for history's sake. They are seeking to find answers to the difficult relation

general struggles in the nation problem in 1840-1865. It is a serious problem today. The Negroes have been impelled to this, among other Stalinists. The Stalinists did some very good work in the field of Negro history. But here, as

between the special struggle for

Negro emancipation and the

distrust of them. The direct influence of the Stalinists on Negro. The whole situation presents 2

powerful challenge both to the of the past. It is always con- genuine Marxists and the labor movement as a whole. The Negro therefore with the future. That historians have done a remarkis why the bourgeois historians able work that extends beyond write as they do. But two can the writing of history as such. play at that game. Today some Their probings into the Abolition movement will have great iniluence in helping to shape future mass political movements in the United States. But to do this work as it ought to be done they need to master historical method, Marxism, the science of history as developed by Marx, Trotsky, and other great proletarian writers, not excluding Daniel de Leon. That science toas a whole. This was a serious day is corrupted by Stalinism but it is vigorously practised by the Trotskyist movement in the United States and all over the world. There is a fruitful field casons, by the policies of the of mutual collaboration here by Negro historians and the genuine representatives of the great in-

tellectual tradition of Marxism. everywhere else, their manipula-But here, as everywhere else, ing studies in Negro history in during the Civil War, said about The discrimination against Negro tory, to suit the policy of the be done by organized labor and the most fundamental task can organized labor alone. It must udy the causes of the great successes and the serious limitations of the Negro historians. It must recognize the need for labor to help the Negroes in the great work that they have begun, to subsidize it, to read it, to spread its results. But organized labor Frederick Douglass by Benja- | Douglass' turn to political action | One wonders if the author realiznow has the power and the reand his break with Garrison's sec- ed the inferences that the reader sources to begin such an investigation into American history as will right not only the Despite the faults which mar wrongs of Negroes but will rout this book it has the merit of prethe professors and historians senting new information. The who have slandered all labor and chapters describing Douglass' deceived us and the rest of the first and second (to a white woworld for so long. man) marriages are excellent.

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

Visit your local headquarters of the

These had been "decorously" pass-

ed over by the early biographers.

Also the author examines Doug-

lass' failure to make an alliance

with the post-Civil War labor and

agrarian movements. All this and

the wealth of collateral informa-

tion and observations on the Abo-

movements make this book worth

Negro history and by class con-

scious workers.

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San Francisco's long-suffering car riders have something new to think about as they squeeze, bounce and jostle on their way to work. All who "swing and sway with the Muni Railway" must now pay ten cents for the privilege instead of three tokens for a quarter. This is the third increase since Sept. 1944 and how it happened is a fascinating aspect of local transportation transactions over the years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Letter to a Student

By Grace Carlson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Upon the heads of the American Medical Association bureaucrats and the system of private medicine and private enterprise for which they speak rests the terrible responsibility for these

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

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

Far more important, I hope that you will come charges. to see that only under socialism will we have a real program of socialized medicine. In a socialist society, doctors will be freed from the fetters of private profit. They will be able to apply the benefits of modern science to all who need medical care—and in the measure in which each one needs it. In the socialist society, health will not be just a negative thing, i.e., the absence of pain or disability. We will return to the original Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word "health" wholeness. Under socialism we will offer a whole, full, long, rich and productive life to all.

'Democrat' and Smith Act

By Sam Taylor

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

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

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

Not at all. He openly defends the Smith Act and its present application and couples his defense with a statement that could come only

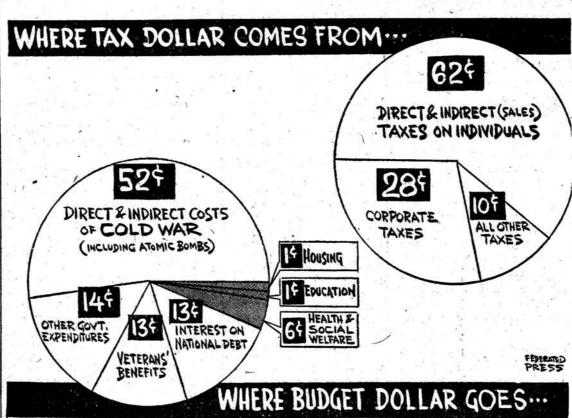
from a political ignoramus or a conscious liar: "In order to counteract the new communist danger, in order to protect themselves against the communist 'fifth-column,' it was necessary for the democratic countries to pass new laws, that would defend the democratic system. And, to this end, America also passed a special law spiracy to suppress facts impor-(the 'Smith Act'), which is being invoked for the first time and applied in the trial of the communist leaders." (Our emphasis.) That is exactly the same lie that is being

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

Fogelman's crude effort to whitewash the government's assault on democratic rights is printed in a newspaper that daily carries in its masthead the unforgettable words of Karl Marx: "Workers of the World, Unite!" and "The Freedom of the Workers is the Task of the Workers Alone!" How little the Forward has in common with the spirit of Marxism is shown not only by Fogelman's article but also by a "democratic" ad on Page 7 of the same issue (Chicago edition): "Colored help for day, or week, women and men, for housework, dish washers, factory labor. Call | 116 University Pl., New York 3, WAgner 4-6964."

THE MILITANT

Democrats and Republicans Combine to Save Filibuster



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

Big Business Clamors For Speed in CP Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

Later in the day Judge Medina announced he had received hostile letters, some marked with red pencil. He added that accusations by defense counsel that he is prejudiced might be creating a wrong impression about the administration of justice in the trial. Here was plenty of fodder for the next editions of the papers, and the evidence about the packed juries was more or less lost in the shuf-

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

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

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

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

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

32-page pamphlet. Send for PIONEER PUBLISHERS

used against the Stalinists. The Stalinists supported the government's attack on the Trotskyists and tried by every foul means to sabotage the struggle against Again speaking correctly, Gold-

smith says not just the Stalinist defendants but rather 140 million people whose rights are imperilled will sit in the prisoners' dock. But he fails to add that among the same millions, who also sat file of the Communist Party.

ent thought-control attack on the Communist Party. Goldsmith refers to people op-

posed to the thought-control attack on the Stalinists who say: Let the trial proceed and depend upon the Supreme Court to knock out the Smith Act. His only answer is that every democratic tradition is destroped when men must face trial for their ideas. That is true. But he deliberately fails to mention a big and stub- Smith Act is repealed.

Eighteen Trotskvists were im- | born fact showing the real attiprisoned during the war under the tude of the Supreme Court tosame thought-control law now | ward thought-control in this coun-

> The 18 Trotskyists appealed three times to the Supreme Court and were three times refused a hearing, while 18 men and women served prison terms because the political party in power disliked their ideas, the nine life-termers on the Supreme Court sat in silence. The Stalinists applauded them for it.

Writing on this question in the Jan. 29 Nation, Robert Bendiner as well as measure, was never in the prisoners' dock with the 18 says that although the Supreme Trotskyists, were the rank and Court rejected the appeal of the non-Southern Senators don't fa- more conclusive. And their de-Trotskyists, "it does not follow vor such a "radical" move be- feat would be certain because the The Stalinist leaders betrayed that the course the court took in cause they feel that some day they dramatic tie-up of all business in their own rank and file in that war time would be the one adopt- too might be in a position where the Senate would result in such fight and helped the government ed now." I don't know whether they wouldn't want the majority establish a precedent for the pres- Bendiner is a Social Democrat or to rule. an ADA liberal. It makes little | Aside from this consideration, difference because both think very | most Republicans are leery of the much alike - muddle-headed and idea of closure by majority vote with Micawber-like faith in capin because they are hoping sooner talist "democracy."

> again that reliance on the Su- Southern Democrats and don't preme Court to protect civil rights | want to offend them too much at is a trap. The fight against this point. thought-control prosecutions must begin right now, on all fronts, Secretary Walter White, an arand continue until the infamous dent Trumanite, was compelled to the struggle for the formation of

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

filibusters. That is the sum and or substance of the hearings by the grams last week complaining Senate Rules Committee, which were closed Feb. 1. The Senate is often described as

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

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

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

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

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

or later in the present session to History has proven again and cement an alliance with the

> As for the Democrats, NAACP send Truman and Barkley tele- an independent Labor Party.

about "the strange apathy and silence of Democrats during hearings on amendment of Senate rules. . . Not one Democrat has as yet fought for or even spoken out to end filibusters."

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

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

But the Senate's best is not good enough. Since it will not prevent filibusters by the Southern Senators, minority rule will continue to obstruct action on civil it is possible to get closure (close rights legislation. On the whole, despite blustering, the Southern Democrats will accept such a "compromise" because it won't

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

The Southern Democrats would rally all their energy and forces for such a fight, but that would even discussed seriously. Most only make their defeat all the the South as well as the North that even the Bourbons would have to give heed and to back

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

TO USE OF

(Continued from page 1)

Another restrictive provision requires that disputes over existing contracts be submitted to

"final and binding" arbitration.

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

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

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

UNION LEADERS CONTENT

Despite its dangerous loopholes. the Truman bill is no worse than measures which some labor leadhad asked for the retention of ers, at least for a time.

offer it any real opposition if it | Fourth International. Its careful | cessions in return for major conwhich is by no means certain.

Truman for a two-package deal, which would repeal the Taft Act | HARD COP, SOFT COP and restore the Wagner Act before any amendments were considered. Truman chose to follow a single-package procedure, which leaves the unions under the disadvantages of the Taft Act and weakens their bargaining position while the debate goes on. This opens the way for the adoption of T-H amendments to Truman's bill, and puts him in a "lesser evil" and "only alternative" to the existing Taft Act.

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

the likelihood that Congress will for power. modify the bill, the fact remains support; Dubinsky, for example, be regarded as such by the work-

clauses. The union leaders, on "The Election Results and the class forces. the whole, are well-satisfied with Tasks of the SWP," adopted by or another clause, they will not February issue of the magazine, by granting them minor con- world.

is passed in its present form - study by union militants will cessions, rather than by demand-The union leaders had asked to preserve the independence and make concessions; by offering

Briefly stated, this is the situation: After the war, the capitalist class set out to establish "class peace" by the methods of the "hard cop." The aim was to put the unions "in their place"; to make their leadership more conciliatory and conservative: to instill the workers with a feeling of dependence on the position to sign virtually any bill good will of the employers and finally adopted by Congress as a "lesser evil" and "only alterna" with a sense of their own subordinate position in society; to weaken the unions by reducing their bargaining power while Moves to "stiffen" the bill are raising that of the corporations. The method adopted was the

The 1948 elections showed that it failed to do what was intended. The capitalists had underestithe union-consciousness of the workers, and provoked a reaction mere appendages of the capitalist tion of the class struggle and its extension onto the field of politics in the form of a labor party union leaders and their liberal Despite Truman's duplicity and challenging the two-party system

The Truman bill is a recognithat it represents a concession tion of this fact. It is also an man's bill and a struggle for the ers had voluntarily offered to to the labor movement and will attempt by the administration to restoration of the Wagner Act. achieve by "soft-cop" methods with no ifs, ands or buts. The most of the ends which the Taft- premise for this struggle should These questions answered the anti-communist affidavit This development was predicted Hartley Act could not achieve by Joseph Hansen in this along with other restrictive and analyzed in the resolution on with the present relationship of the labor movement, which repre-

> It seeks to secure "class peace" Truman's bill. While for tactical the SWP National Committee by placating the labor leaders, rapacious capitalist class which reasons they are objecting to one last December and printed in the rather than by antagonizing them; is out to dominate the whole

serve as a guide for the struggle ing that they be the only ones to militancy of the labor movement. them a junior partnership if they will cooperate, rather than by threatening them with the loss of everything if they won't.

DEADLY DANGERS

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

2. Acceleration of the trend toward the integration of the union movement into the machinery of the capitalist state, which would utterly deprive them of their independent role as interests and transform them into

These dangers, which are increased by the policies of the allies, must be combatted vigorously. The starting point for this fight should be opposition to Trube the need to apply curbs not to sents the interests of the vast majority, but to the rule of the