

THE MILITANT

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Starts This Issue

ATOMIC ENERGY AND CAPITALIST SOCIETY

By Arne Swaback

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Public Protests Mounting Against FBI Lawbreaking

By George Breitman

The FBI's violations of the law in the Coplon-Gubitchev case are so flagrant and shocking that a former Cabinet member has called for the abolition of the FBI, a former high government official has asked for a congressional investigation, a U. S. Senator has announced that he is considering an inquiry by the Judiciary Committee, and the U. S. Attorney General has found it necessary to explain publicly that he has "re-viewed" the situation but does not intend to do anything about it.

As last week's Militant reported in detail, the pre-trial hearing in New York on the Coplon-Gubitchev case has revealed three scandalous practices by the FBI, all of them in violation of specific provisions in the law: 1. Wiretapping. 2. Use of leads obtained through wiretapping as evidence introduced by the government at the first Coplon trial in Washington last spring. 3. Perjury by FBI agents who swore at that trial that they had "no knowledge" of wiretapping in the Coplon case although some of them have since admitted that they not only knew about it but helped to get it and used it.

When the evidence about these crimes began to pile up in the New York court where Judge Sylvester Ryan had permitted defense counsel to ask questions about them, it was revealed that the FBI had not only planted a microphone in Miss Coplon's of-

ice and tapped her wire before her arrest, but that its agents had even listened in on her conversations with her lawyer after arrest.

This violation of the "privileged" relationship between lawyer and client so outraged Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, that he wrote an article in the New Republic calling on the American people "to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds." (See article below.)

James Lawrence Fly, ex-chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and an official of the American Civil Liberties Union, sent the Washington Post a letter saying that the Justice Department was flouting the laws it was supposed to enforce by indulging in wiretapping. This practice, he charged, was clearly contrary to the intent of the Federal Communications Act and a grave threat to American liberties. He urged a congressional investigation.

A few days earlier Senator William Langer (R, N.D.) said that as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee he was giving thought to the request he had received for an investigation of FBI wiretapping by that committee.

The view of the liberal press was expressed in an editorial in the Jan. 6 N. Y. Post, which stated: "We cannot imagine a more loathsome weapon of law-enforcement than eavesdropping on the dialogue of lawyer and defendant — whoever they may be, whatever the alleged crime." It quotes J. Edgar Hoover's hypocritical remark in the George Washington University bulletin that, "The well-trained police officer, schooled in the democratic tradition, respects the civil rights of the accused and observes the rules of fair play and decency." The Post hopes this article will be made "compulsory reading at the FBI" and wishes "J. Edgar (Continued on page 3)



HAROLD L. ICKES

ICKES URGES AMERICAN PEOPLE TO ABOLISH FBI

"If the FBI so disregards legal propriety — to say nothing of common decency — as to tap telephone wires in order to hear what a lawyer and a client may say to each other, then it is time for a free people who never have and, it may be hoped, never will, tolerate a secret police, to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds," writes ex-Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in the Jan. 9 New Republic.

Ickes expresses great shock to learn that FBI agents tapped phone conversations between Judith Coplon and her lawyer, Archibald Palmer: "This was a treacherous and cowardly blow at the liberties we hold so dear. Neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor Franco, nor the Soviet Politburo, has ever sunk lower.

"The relationship between client and lawyer is highly privileged," he continues. "Only the confidential is more sacred. . . . The FBI has no more right to intercept a conversation between a lawyer and his client, like a sneak thief, than it would have to hide a dictograph in a confidential. Such debased behavior is even worse than the third degree in which policemen sometimes indulge to force the admission of a crime."

Taking note of the defense counsel's charge that the FBI had 81 agents on her trial and of the government's reply that it had "only" 40, Ickes observes: "Even if the lower figure is correct, it will be seen that, quite aside from the ethics and morals involved, it has cost the taxpayers a pretty penny to pay for the FBI's cynical breach of the

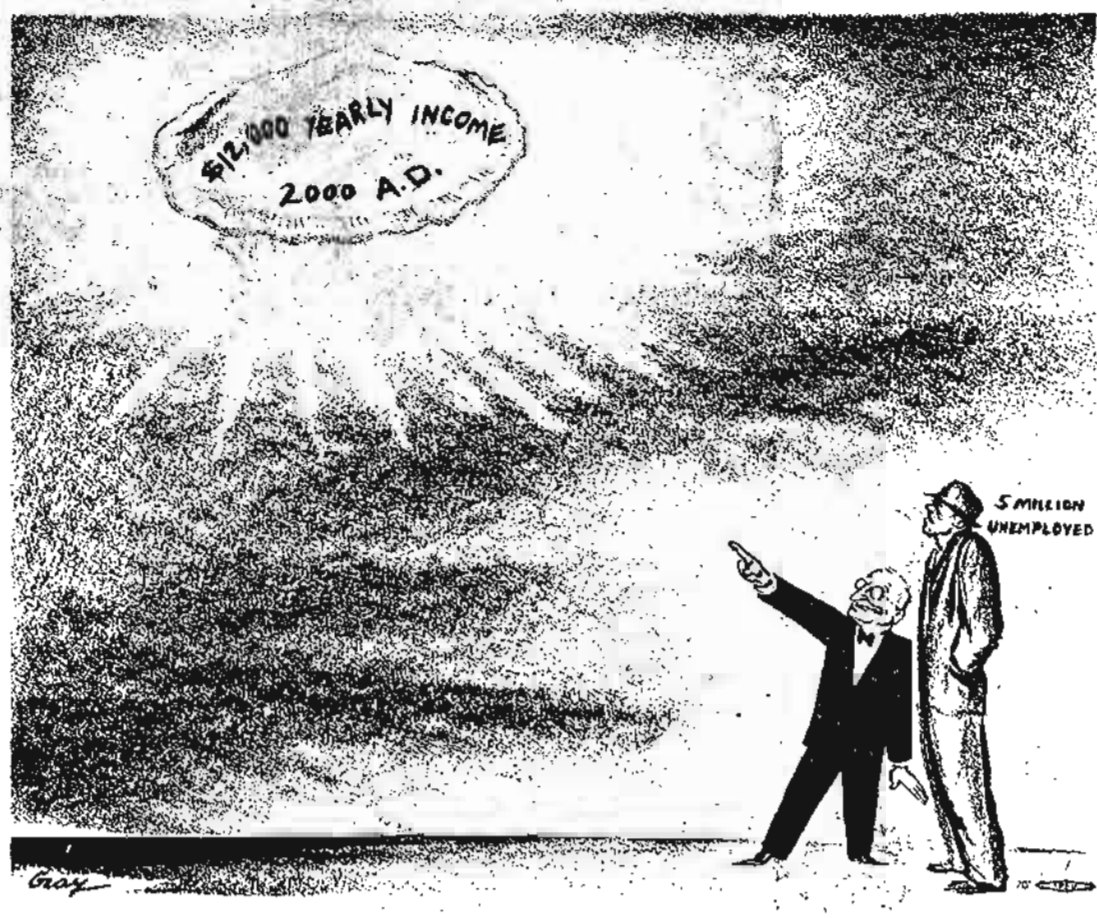
law and disregard of every concept of human decency."

Even the FBI's "proud record" at gang-busting, he declares, "cannot serve as justification of the Bureau's 'Peeping Tomism' and door-crack listening in order to pick up envious or malicious gossip to be used against government employees and others who are denied their constitutional right to defend themselves. Nor will it excuse the offenses that have been brought to light in the Coplon case."

"DANGEROUS IMMUNITY" "In the circumstances," he concludes, "it is proper to recall that whereas every other police official of high or low degree is responsible to someone else, the FBI alone seems to have a dangerous immunity from responsibility to some higher authority. Even the President must account to the people for his acts every four years — and in between times to Congress.

"No group, especially one set up with the sanction of law, should be allowed to operate as a Mafia. It is undemocratic and dangerous for one man, whoever he may be, to have such powers as J. Edgar Hoover has arrogated to himself. . . . The federal law forbids wiretapping, yet on Feb. 2, 1949, Mr. Hoover, in effect said that the FBI is above the law. The late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes called wiretapping 'a dirty business.' Today it is even dirtier."

Pie in the Sky



Japanese CP Rejects Kremlin Order for Purge

Revolt against the arbitrary domination of the Kremlin which flared in Yugoslavia twenty months ago has now spread to the Far East where the Japanese Communist Party has flouted the Cominform directives for a purge of its leadership and has instead expelled one of the leaders who publicly backed the Cominform.

The chief target of Cominform attack is the Japanese CP leader Sanzo Nosaka. The charges against him allege that he is a "deceiver of the Japanese people" who maintains that Japan can attain Socialism under the occupation rule" of the U. S. Nosaka is also denounced for claiming that he has achieved "the naturalization of Marxism-Leninism on Japanese soil." Other unnamed Japanese leaders are coupled in these attacks with Nosaka.

The Cominform charges have received the backing of the Moscow Pravda, Stalin's personal Russian daily, which has denounced Nosaka as "anti-democratic," "anti-socialistic," and "anti-Japanese." These charges and attacks are reminiscent of the tone of the Cominform's original denunciations of the Yugoslav CP leadership.

Nosaka is said to have issued no public reply as yet to the attacks against him, amounting to orders for his immediate purge. Instead he has acted to purge Cominform supporters.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, Jan. 10, this counter-purge has struck Ko Nakanishi, a veteran Japanese Stalinist, who is a member of the Japanese Parliament.

Nakanishi reportedly sided with the Cominform immediately upon the publication of its attack on Nosaka. "The Cominform criticism of our party this time is fully warranted," he declared, adding that this "criticism" offered the Japanese CP "the best chance to strengthen itself" and to effect an "over-all change in the Communist front."

He was expelled by the decision of the party's control Commission for "disruption." There has been no official comment by the Japanese CP on the Cominform attacks.

Nosaka's name has been frequently linked in the press with that of Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Stalinists who is now in Moscow negotiating a treaty of "amity and friendship." During the war Nosaka was with Mao Tse-tung in North China, the central base of the peasant guerrilla armies who later crushed Chiang Kai-shek.

If the press reports are correct, the Japanese leaders headed by Nosaka have by their actions broken irrevocably with the Kremlin and will presently be attacked much in the same way as have been the Yugoslav dissidents. At all events, the developments in Japan cannot fail to greatly intensify the international crisis of Stalinism touched off by the Yugoslav rebellion.

Bitter Campaign Expected in New British Elections

The new elections in Britain have been officially fixed for Feb. 23. The Labor Party leaders have apparently decided that they cannot afford to wait any longer. This leaves approximately six weeks for a campaign that promises to be more bitterly fought, and demagogic (on both sides) than the previous election, five years ago, which swept the Laborites into power.

From the standpoint of program there is far less difference between the opposing sides than appears from the highly colored dispatches carried by the American press. The Labor program proposes to introduce no changes in the reforms already instituted. It simply claims that Tories are regressive and run the "welfare state" more efficiently and cheaply than the Laborites and proposes to halt further nationalizations.

Their chief weapon in the campaign will be sacrifices and sufferings imposed on the masses under the Laborites to preserve bankrupt British capitalism and the natural resentment and discontent among the workers.

The coal miners have flatly rejected the government wage-freeze in the face of rising living costs resulting from the recent devaluation of the pound. The engineers, railwaymen and electrical workers are other big unions expected to take a similar stand. This mass discontent is even more serious for the Laborites to combat than are their Tory opponents.

The odds still favor a return of the Laborites to office but by a narrower margin than last time.

Coal Miners Need Aid of All Labor

By Joseph Keller

Probing for a vital spot in the mine owners' solid front, the coal miners on Jan. 9 began striking at the "captive" pits of the major steel companies which have been the main hold-outs in the seven-month battle of the United Mine Workers for a new and improved contract.

In spite of their magnificent solidarity and militancy, the miners have so far failed to make any significant breach in the operators' line. They are now concentrating pressure on the steel companies, which are operating at close to capacity, in the hope they can force a settlement before their depleted resources reach exhaustion.

The long struggle appears headed for a showdown. The mine owners, backed by the whole capitalist class and government, are plainly seeking to impose a crushing defeat on the coal miners.

Since the first of the year, the offensive against the miners has been mounting in intensity. They

now face a two-pronged threat of court action — a federal injunction and ruinous damage suits.

Last week all sections of the industry joined with the Southern operators in petitioning Truman's National Labor Relations Board to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction to halt the miners' three-day week and to forbid action — including strike — that the NLRB says is intended to enforce "unfair labor practices." At this writing, the NLRB is "studying" the issue.

PRESSURE MOUNTING

From all sections of Congress, including its own supporters like Democratic majority leader Senator Scott Lucas and Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, pressure is being brought to bear on Truman to intervene against the miners. He can do this under cover of his hand-picked NLRB and avoid the direct presidential action required in invoking the "national emergency" clause of the T-H Law.

Meanwhile, eight large Ohio coal companies have brought suit against the UMW for \$8,000,000 "double damages" under an old state law forbidding any group or association from "interfering" with the production of any commodity. This law was originally designed to halt price-fixing, production quotas and other monopoly practices of the corporations.

The "Hate-Lewis" mob has scented blood. They are evidently convinced the time is ripe to break the UMW as an effective fighting union. Washington correspondent Louis Stark points out in the Jan. 8 N. Y. Times that federal officials and mine operators are hopefully recalling the 1927 struggle, when the decline in the coal industry and the failure of Lewis' strategy to crack the companies' front resulted in a terrible defeat from which the UMW did not recover for almost a decade.

Today the entire Big Business class has a greater incentive than ever to smash the miners. The

Truman Asks More for War In New Budget

BUDGET HIDES MANY WAR COSTS UNDER OTHER TITLES

You need persistence and a sharp eye to find the innumerable hidden war costs buried under misleading titles in Truman's budget. The listing of atomic-bomb development (\$17-million) under "natural resources," subtitle "atomic energy," is but one example, and the easiest to trace.

There's another sizeable item, under "transportation and commerce," that strictly speaking should be listed under war preparations. That's "promotion of the merchant marine" — which means federal subsidization of the shipping interests to the tune of \$222-million. As Truman explained it, "Our national security requires an efficient nucleus of merchant shipping and shipbuilding adequate to permit such expansion as may be required by a future emergency" — meaning war.

You'll find \$568-million for the Army Corps of Engineers listed under "land and water resources" and \$20-million for the Department of the Navy under "mineral resources."

A total of \$64-million is allocated for the improvement and expansion of roads, railroads and communications in Alaska, which is just across from Siberia. And there's a small item of \$4-million, listed under "general government," for the administration of the Pacific island possessions like Guam and American Samoa, which are nothing but military bases.

Also under "general government" are such costs of past wars as "cemeterial program (Army and American Battle Monuments Commission)" — \$21-million; and for the selection of an Unknown Soldier of World War II and entombing him in Arlington National Cemetery — \$1-million.

STRIKEBREAKING STIRS FIGHT IN CLEVELAND AFL

CLEVELAND, Jan. 9 — Repercussions of the recent transit strike are still being felt in labor and political circles here. A sharp fight has developed in the Cleveland Federation of Labor over the shameful conduct of its officers, Secretary William Finegan and President Jack Burns, who had condemned the Transit Union and its officers for striking and had supported the strikebreaking tactics of Democratic Mayor Burke for his threatened use of strikebreakers.

CIO DISCUSSION During the CIO meeting's discussion, one delegate remarked it was fortunate that Burke revealed himself before they supported him for Senator. The role of the PAC in its support of Democratic politicians was discussed at some length. Several delegates pointed to this strike as proof of the need for a Labor Party.

The next day Cleveland AFL Secretary Finegan attacked the CIO for supporting the transit strike "without knowing the facts." At the Federation meeting the following week, Finegan in a 45-minute speech, alibied his strikebreaking actions and launched a bitter personal attack against Thomas Meany, leader of the 4200-member local of the AFI Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, the union that had been on strike.

It was difficult at times to tell whether Finegan was a labor leader or a torch-bearer for the mayor. He slandered strike-leader Meany as a man who couldn't keep his word, but claimed scab-herder Mayor Burke had always been a "friend of labor" and obviously always would be. Finegan summed up his own actions in one whining sentence: "I have to live with the Burke administration." We have come to expect opportunism from the labor bureaucrats, but rarely has crass opportunism been so openly flaunted.

Time and again in the past decade the miners have pioneered far-reaching demands, like company-financed pensions, which have inspired the struggles of other sections of labor. Time and again their militant methods have won gains that have spurred the rest of labor to action. Above all, the miners have relied on their own strength rather than on the government for their gains.

The employing class knows that if it can smash the miners it will have cleared the main roadblock to a direct offensive against the other industrial unions, whose leaders are weak, yielding and

(Continued on page 4)

Human Needs Sacrificed to Militarism

By Art Preis

More than seven times as much for direct war preparations as for social welfare, health and security — that's what Truman's "Fair Deal" program adds up to in cold dollars, according to his proposed federal budget for the next fiscal year.

Direct military expenditures, "cold war" foreign aid and the atom bomb total \$19,178,000,000 (that's billions) — or about 47% of the whole budget of \$42,438,767,406. Social welfare, health and security get only 6% — or \$2,713,000,000.

Truman's promised military "economy" turns out to be an increase for the army, navy and air force. These will get \$13,544,000,000, or \$397-million more than in this year's budget. Development of bigger and better atom bombs — listed under the non-military item, "natural resources not primarily agriculture" — will cost the American people \$817 million next year compared to \$673 million this year.

FOREIGN ARMS

Only the item "international affairs and finances" shows a reduction, from \$6,964,000,000 to \$4,711,000,000. This is mainly a proposed cut in spending for "international recovery and relief." But "foreign military assistance" — arms for war against the Soviet Union and to slaughter rebellious workers and colonial peoples — gets an increase from \$355-million to \$645-million.

Added to the cost of preparing for future war is the cost of the past war. This includes veterans benefits and interest on the national debt. Aid to veterans will be slashed \$874-million, to \$6,079,000,000. The capitalists will collect \$5,625,000,000 in interest on blood-money lent the government, which, Truman's budget message explains, "represents predominantly the cost of financing the last war."

Here and there in the budget report you can find minute increases proposed for social benefits or for new social legislation. Most of the new measures are confidently expected by Truman not to be passed by Congress anyway.

SOCIAL APPROPRIATIONS

Thus, he proposes \$250-million for operation of a health insurance fund, \$328-million more for housing and \$312-million for school aid. All three together amount about equal to what will be spent on atom-bomb development — besides which there is little prospect that the Democratic-controlled Congress will approve them. A proposed increased expenditure of \$1,200,000,000 for old-age pensions will be no gift — it will come out of a further increase in payroll taxes.

War, past and planned, will cost the American people 30-billion dollars, "or about 71 per cent of the total budget," Truman admits. And he stresses that this monumental burden of imperialism, militarism and war will not abate in the foreseeable future.

"Specifically, the largest item in the budget, national defense expenditures, is expected to approximate the 1951 level in the next few years," Truman emphasized. This is the real perspective of Truman's "Fair Deal," not his glib forecast that average income will rise \$1,000 per year by 1955.

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Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swaback

The announcement by President Truman that an atomic explosion had taken place in the USSR set into motion a veritable chain reaction of conjectures, based on both reality and fancy. It reverberated on frayed nerves in the Pentagon. The feud of brass hats and gold braids over global military strategy grew more tense.

Armchair strategists began painting horrid pictures of V-2 Rockets, with ranges of thousands of miles, propelled by atomic power and carrying atom bombs in the heads, equipped with proximity fuses and accurate enough to hit a city of 100,000, coming over the Polar Sea where less radar detection and fewer ships, or bases, are capable of intervening. Nightmarish conjectures appeared of such unheard of things as deadly radioactive ray barrages. Dr. Leo Szilard, an atomic scientist, actually suggested as a possibility a new poison gas, made of neutrons, that might kill a human being within a radius of one kilometer.

Prior to this announcement the most zealous adherents of the cult of air power, disciples of Douhet, Mitchell and Severson, had projected the idea of a thirty day blitz on Russia. It was all to be very simple. Seventy major Russian cities were earmarked for atomic destruction; this would result in shattering of civilian morale and paralysis of the economy, it would be a quick and decisive knock-out war. The United States was in sole possession of the bomb, zealously guarding its "secret."

SITUATION CHANGES

Now such tempers are somewhat cooled off. It is assumed that Russia now describe her large fleet of jet fighters, with long range jet bombers going into mass production. Generally it is now conceded that what the United States can do to Russia in atomic warfare, Russia can do to the United States.

Assuredly it would be fatal to harbor the slightest doubts that the Kremlin oligarchy will be just as ruthless as the American imperialists.

Speculations on the advantages of a head start in bomb manufacture, size of stockpile, or available natural raw materials, do not bring great comfort to military planners. It is known that there are rich uranium deposits in the Central Asiatic provinces of Russia. Moreover, there have also been reports that Soviet scientists have pursued their studies in the direction of two atomic mixtures for the manufacture of bombs. These are: uranium 235 plus plutonium, which is the American bomb material, and thorium, which can also be transmuted into fissionable material.

Enormous reserves of thorium are said to have been discovered

The writer of these articles wishes to acknowledge the collaboration of Comrade Roy Brown, whose assistance in the presentation of the strictly scientific data has proved invaluable. Roy Brown is an industrial chemist who has attained his bachelor's degree and is now continuing research for his master's degree.



on the northern spurs of the Altai Mountains. The same reports affirm that the USSR possesses the most important thorium reserves in the world.

NO LETUP ON ARMS

So, American military strategists seem to be giving renewed attention to the old maxim that wars are lost or won by armies. But there is no let-up in preparations for atomic warfare. Advice for the defense against atom bombs is given out freely by the National Security Resources Board. For business, relocation of factories is recommended — for safety of property — in smaller communities of less than 50,000 population. For the individual citizen six feet of earth is described as adequate protection. But how? Could this possibly have reference to the graveyard?

Although American scientists predicted a relatively early arrival of the Russian atom bomb, it came at least several years sooner than official public propaganda had led people to expect; apparently, the world is now headed for an atomic arms race. The atomic explosion in Russia attests at the same time to the high degree of Soviet technological development.

A couple of examples of what is required for the production of atomic fission material will suffice to illustrate this.

THE NEW ATOMIC AGE

When the Manhattan Engineering District, as it was named,

took over 59,000 acres in Tennessee to build the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, erected at a cost of \$500 million, one of the greatest technological projects of all time got underway. The central part of this huge plant, erected for the diffusion process of separating uranium 235 from the slightly heavier uranium 238, was called K-25. A partial description of this plant was given in Fortune magazine as follows:

"Heart of K-25 is a gigantic U-shaped building, each wing about 400 feet wide and half a mile long. Inside, uranium hexafluoride, a gas, is pumped a distance of some eleven miles through thousands of porous barriers, each perforated by billions of holes smaller than two-millionths of an inch. Gas molecules containing U-235 move slightly faster than molecules containing heavier U-238 and thus find their way through the barriers slightly more easily. Acres of barriers were mass produced by Houdaille-Hershey Corp., thousands of novel pumps, some whirling at velocities above the speed of sound, were built by Allis-Chalmers, over 100,000 control instruments were provided by Taylor Instrument Companies to make the prodigious operation go."

The second largest atomic fission material plant, the Hanford Works, in the state of Washington, was erected at a cost of \$350 millions. It was the first nuclear chemical factory in the world. Within this plant, in immensely large "ovens," with walls three feet thick, atomic "fires" are built as part of the process of transmuting U-238 into plutonium. This is called the atomic pile.

The nature and the purpose of these atomic "fires" will be described later. Suffice it to say here that these "fires" can generate a heat intensity of hitherto unthinkable proportions, having a potential heat intensity of millions of degrees.

Such are the descriptions of but a part of the gigantic technological and engineering developments inaugurated by the atomic age. These examples are taken, of course from the most industrially advanced nation in the world. However, the atomic explosion in the Soviet Union would indicate a technological development, for this particular purpose, certainly approaching what has been described above. Once again this brings home an important lesson to the working class.

VERIFICATION IN USSR

During the 32 years of existence of the Soviet Republic, starting out with an extremely backward economy, industrialization has unquestionably made great strides. Comparatively, taking into account this backward basis as well as the relatively brief time element, these strides overshadow developments of a similar character in nations of capitalist "free enterprise." Certainly this brings a historic verification of the superiority of nationalized economy, of planned economy. The verification comes in spite of the strangulating influence of the totalitarian rule of a degenerated bureaucracy.

Russia's obtaining the atom bomb has brought a greater sense of awareness of the fact that mankind has indeed entered the atomic age. The disturbing and agitating idea of the titanic and terrifying power locked within the atom has penetrated more and more deeply into the consciousness of the masses everywhere.

Its discovery and further development pose questions directly affecting the fate of mankind. The alternative of barbarism or socialism becomes more definite and more concrete.

In order to appreciate fully the far-reaching implications of this alternative we must attempt to understand all that the layman is permitted to know about this terrifying atomic power that was first demonstrated in the explosion at Hiroshima and is now heard as an echo out of the Soviet Union. We must attempt especially to understand the meaning of the atomic age in its present-day social context.

[The second article in this series will appear next week.]

Unemployment Victim



George Fisher of San Francisco is out of work. His wife and youngest child need hospital care. Unable to raise the needed money, he has offered one of his eyes for sale. Here he poses with his family, waiting for a customer.

Dunne Flays Witch-Hunters At Meetings in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 7 — "We must nail the two big lies of modern times," Vincent R. Dunne told a gathering of steelworkers and others here tonight. "The first lie is that Stalin and the Kremlin gang represent socialism, the second is that the rulers of America represent democracy. We must nail these two lies and spread the truth."

Dunne spoke here in the course of a two-day stop in Youngstown as part of his current national tour. Earlier in the day he presented a similar speech on "Labor and Civil Rights" to a smaller gathering of steelworkers who were prevented by their working shift from attending this evening's meeting. Both meetings were held in the Socialist Workers Party hall.

RADIO INTERVIEW

During the afternoon, V. R. Dunne was interviewed by the Program Director of radio station WBBW. In response to questions, Comrade Dunne outlined the fundamental causes of the past world war, the war now in preparation, and the attacks against civil liberties. He labeled the United Nations as a tool of

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

- Lynn — Jan. 17. Worcester — Jan. 18. New Britain — Jan. 19. New Haven — Jan. 20. New York — Jan. 21. Philadelphia — Jan. 27-28. New York — Feb. 3.

STRIKEBREAKING ACTION STIRS CONFLICT IN CLEVELAND AFL

(Cont. from page 1)

suspend Meany as a delegate to the Federation until he gave a satisfactory explanation of his actions as a strike leader. A motion to accept the minutes was made and seconded. The question was then raised: Did approving the minutes mean accepting the recommendation? Burns, chairman, ruled yes. A. I. Davey, vice-president of the Cleveland Federation and editor of the Cleveland Citizen, Federation weekly paper, denied this, stating that the recommendation would have to be voted on separately.

It seemed at that point as though Burns changed his opinion and agreed. The minutes were accepted and discussion began on suspensions. Davey took issue with the method of discipline, claiming it didn't conform to Federation laws which called for the filing of charges and a hearing. Numerous other delegates, including Louis Friend, secretary of the ILGWU Joint Council, agreed on this point. Finegan's backers interpreted the issue as one of supporting or rejecting the policies of the CFL officers.

A motion was then made to suspend Meany for ninety days. It was resoundingly defeated. Finegan rose and shouted "Thanks for the slap in the puss." The meeting then adjourned. It was the longest in many years and the first time in six years that

any recommendation of the Board of Business Agents had been challenged.

WHAT STRIKE ACHIEVED

The newspapers the next day reported that Burns had ruled that Meany was suspended. What will develop now is difficult to predict. It is to be hoped that the Transit Workers in their justifiable anger against the CFL leaders take no rash steps by breaking from the CFL. To do so at this time would be to admit defeat and desert their supporters inside the Federation. These supporters, with the Transit Union, have challenged the decadent influence of the bureaucracy. This could mark the beginning of a new period of militancy in the Federation in Cleveland. In the CIO too, the transit strike has awakened a new fighting spirit. If they accomplished nothing else, the transit workers are owed a vote of thanks for this.

But they did accomplish more in addition to gaining part of their demands, they shook the Transit Board, challenged the autoeracy of the management. The newspapers have quoted the Transit Board as admitting that labor relations were bad and efforts would be made to improve these conditions. The union should not count too heavily on this, however. Its continued militancy is its only guarantee of good working conditions.

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A Letter from Australia On the Recent Elections

SYDNEY, Dec. 13 — All the shouting is over now. The Australian petty-bourgeois has given his vote to the parties of Big Business. He will regret this within the next

few years, but in the meantime the Australian worker, who hung on to the Labor Party, will suffer too. Actually the problem of winning elections here is that of winning the petty-bourgeois, who swings between the camps of the capitalists and workers. If he cannot find a solution for his problems under the leadership of the workers, he will look for it in the camp of Big Business. It is true that in his present frame of mind he is scared of "socialization" but this is only due to the fact that he has not seen any genuine socialization at work and identifies it with regimentation, shortages and high taxation which are in reality concomitants of a decaying capitalist system.

The fundamental reason for the defeat of the Chifley government was its futile attempt to make capitalism work. The only alternative to capitalist anarchy which now threatens the world with a new terrible depression or with atomic destruction in a new world slaughter is a socialist society of peace and plenty based upon a planned economy.

It was not with this objective in mind that the Labor government originally took office. The saying that "Mr. Menzies is the best asset of the Labor Party" was not just a joke but a sad reality, for Labor was put into office primarily because the people were fed up with the Tory administration.

WHY LABOR PARTY LOST

While the Labor government introduced some progressive legislation, the extent of its "socialization" was strictly confined to the limitations of capitalism. Thus the proposed bank nationalization was not considered a step towards a socialist economy but a measure necessary to pad the effects of a coming "recession." Any improvements of the conditions of the people had also to be compatible with the maintenance of the capitalist system. On one hand the government ran up against the active opposition of the very class whose system it was trying to preserve and who defeated it merely by using the Constitution against it. On the other hand the government was forced to deal ruthlessly with its staunchest supporters, as was exemplified by its strikebreaking action in the mining dispute.

The continuous rebuffs given by Big Business to Labor (Airways, Bank-Nationalization, Free Medicine, Petrol) and the apathy and disappointment of the rank and file due to actions like the use of troops in breaking a strike — in direct violation of Labor's platform — created the atmosphere in which the parties of Big Business could launch their scare campaign about "socialism," a campaign the exorbitant cost of which was fully repaid by its success.

To what extent the new government which is run directly by the capitalists and their immediate agents will try to carry favor with the people by granting child-endowment for the first child, reducing taxation, etc., remains to be seen. The Chifley government had accumulated a certain reserve for the lean days to come. The "liberals" may draw on this reserve to maintain their popularity, but they will not escape the reckoning when the lean days do come. It also remains to be seen how strong the conflicts within the capitalist camp are. Most of Labor's propaganda was to the effect that it could govern, in contradistinction to the leading parties of Big Business.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

One thing is clear, however, and that is that the accession of the capitalist parties to office has given the green light for an all-out offensive of the employers "to put the workers back into their place." The immediate task is to fight against intensified exploitation (speed-up and extension of working hours); to maintain the standard of living in conditions of continuing inflation; to resist the repressive measures planned by the government against workers' organizations; to resist interference in trade union affairs and the institution of thought-control.

The victory of the Liberals while constituting a set-back for Labor is certainly not a disaster. It will not hold up the course of history but finally accelerate it. The masses will learn again by their own experience of the "blessings" of the direct rule of Big Business and will become receptive to the message of Socialism. One day the Liberals will find that they no longer enjoy the confidence of the people. Who is going to replace them?

Given a condition of relative social stability the see-saw game between Labor and the Tories may continue indefinitely. But social stability is not safeguarded by decaying capitalism. The bosses will find that while they could no longer afford the luxury of letting Labor governments prop up their moribund system, the outmoded Tory machine will be completely inadequate to cope with the situation; and if by that time there is no genuine socialist party to lead the people towards a reconstruction of society, then fascism will make its bid.

NEED TO PREPARE NOW

Now is the time to rally all socialist forces. Within the Australian Labor Party differentiation is bound to occur in spite of the apathy which follows a

defeat. While some right-wing forces will press for a repudiation of the socialist objective, many rank and file will be stimulated by the set-back into doing some solid thinking. Those who only recently advocated government interference in trade union affairs will think twice before propounding this again. Many a bureaucrat divested from the responsibilities of office will feel the urge to turn militant.

A concerted effort must be made to defend the socialist objective against all attempts to emasculate it. It must be linked up with day-to-day demands of the masses. All those who have been fooled by the capitalist scare propaganda will become aware of the brutal truth about "free enterprise" by their own bitter experience. They will turn to Socialism as the only solution to their problems. Socialists must prepare now.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

The Fate of Tan Malaka

The fate of Tan Malaka, revolutionary leader of the Indonesian masses, remains shrouded in mystery. A recent bulletin by the Republic of Indonesia of Dec. 13 in New York repeats the report that he was murdered by Republican forces last April 14 — just two days after the resumption of the Sukarno-Hatta negotiations with the Dutch imperialists — apparently as part of the price demanded by the imperialists for a settlement in Indonesia.

But there have also been dispatches from Indonesia since last April mentioning Tan Malaka as a living political figure, active and in opposition to the present government. To clarify the situation, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland (Trotskyist) addressed several inquiries to Premier Hatta and the Indonesian delegation at the Hague, reminding them of the ROP's incessant activity for Indonesian independence and requesting the courtesy of a reply.

On Oct. 16 Dr. Darmasetiawan finally answered "in the name of Minister-President M. Hatta." We cite the following astonishing excerpt from this letter, printed in the Nov. 5 De Tribune:

"... I acknowledge with surprise your deep interest in the alleged death of Tan Malaka, a person who is currently disfavored by the Soviet Union and held to be a renegade. As I understand that your sympathies are extended toward the Soviet Union and this individual is designated as a deviationist, I must ask you in all seriousness how you expect to answer for that. More especially my attention is drawn to the question of what retaliatory measures the Soviet Union would take against you were your very strange attitude on this matter to become known."

The above excerpt alone is sufficient to indicate not only the amazing ignorance of the new statesmen of Indonesia but something far more important, namely, their intention to use the dastardly repression against Tan Malaka and his revolutionary co-fighters as a bargaining point, not only with the Dutch colonial interests and their overlords in Wall Street, but also with Stalin's GPU.

It is still not clear if Tan Malaka was murdered. But the whole episode casts sufficient light on the criminal character of Sukarno-Hatta's police methods for all those forces who have supported Indonesia's fight for independence in the past to raise their voices and demand a full and unambiguous explanation on this score from the new government of the United States of Indonesia.

Greek Centrists in Marshall Plan Camp

A national conference was held in Athens on Oct. 16 and 17 by an organization known as the

BRONX

Hear John G. Wright on

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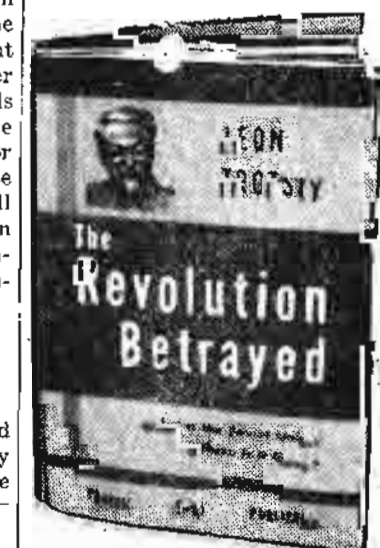
Archio-Marxists. This organization belonged for a short time to the international Trotskyist movement, in 1934 joining the London Bureau, that catch-all outfit which served as a half-way station for all kinds of centrist organizations who found it impossible to maintain their revolutionary character and broke with Trotskyism on the ground that it was too "sectarian" in its approach to the masses. Even after the war, with the London Bureau defunct, the Archio-Marxists have maintained close fraternal relations with such of its vegetating remnants as the British ILP and the Spanish POUM, the newly-found friends of the Shachtmanites in this country.

All of the old centrist organizations have degenerated considerably and moved to the right. But it appears that the Archio-Marxists are moving with far greater speed than the others. The Greek centrists on this occasion came out for the Marshall Plan and even went so far as to send congratulations to the "National Army" of the Athens Government on its "victories" against the "bandits" — that is, the Greek guerrilla fighters.

The POUM organ La Batalla of Nov. 30 publishes a communique on this conference sent by the Archio-Marxist leader Witte, dressed up as to give the impression that this organization is fighting against the present regime in Greece and against American imperialism.

Does La Batalla know that this conference was legal, that is, authorized by the Athens Government, which imposes complete illegality not only upon the Stalinists but also upon the Trotskyists? Is the POUM aware that this conference sent congratulations to the army of the Greek Royalist assassins on its victories against the guerrillas? Is it aware that the Archio-Marxist organization has shamefully betrayed its one-time revolutionary banner under the cloak of becoming a "neo-socialist" tendency in Greece "fighting under the conditions of legality," that it really serves as a left cover for the bloody Athens butchers?

An answer from the POUM would be interesting, and so would a comment from their friends and supporters.



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GREETINGS

To the Civil Rights Mobilization Delegates

We hope you enjoy this copy of The Militant and find it both informative and thought-provoking. Our aim is to consider the most important current events in the light of the long-range interests of the working people of all races, colors and nationalities. The struggle for full equality is, in our opinion, inseparably linked with labor's great historic task of ending capitalist reaction and establishing socialism, a new way of living that can assure a world of peace, plenty and the brotherhood of mankind.

The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly. We have no connection with the purge regime of Washington or the police regime of Moscow. We have no high-paying advertisers or wealthy backers like the capitalist press. We represent native American socialism in the great fighting tradition of Eugene V. Debs. Our funds come from working people who understand the need for an uncompromising Marxist newspaper to stand up against the moneyed interests and the bigots.

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Monday, January 16, 1950



TROTSKY

"The elimination of competition by monopoly marks the beginning of the disintegration of capitalist society. Competition was the creative mainspring of capitalism and the historical justification of the capitalist. By the same token the elimination of competition marks the transformation of stockholders into social parasites. Competition had to have certain liberties, a liberal atmosphere, a regime of democracy, of commercial cosmopolitanism. Monopoly needs as authoritative a government as possible, tariff walls, 'its own' sources of raw materials and arenas of marketing (colonies). The last word in the disintegration of monopolistic capital is Fascism."

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



LENIN

Don't Rely on the Courts

An important victory for civil liberties was won when the New Jersey Supreme Court on Jan. 10 declared the McHorter-Tumulty "loyalty" oath law unconstitutional. This law, passed in 1949, required candidates for public office within the state to swear that they do not believe, advocate or advise the violent overthrow of the government nor belong to any organization so believing, advocating or advising.

Credit must go to James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for governor last November, and 29 other PP candidates, for taking the initiative in challenging the law and carrying an appeal against it to the highest state court. The appeal was backed by numerous organizations and the court's decision was a response to popular hostility to "loyalty" oaths and other forms of thought-control.

However, Imbrie subsequently did the cause of civil rights a distinct disservice when he hailed the state court's ruling as "a great victory for constitutional government" which "shows the folly of the all too frequent attacks by the far-left against our judiciary."

This can only spread the dangerous illusion that the courts are dependable guardians of the rights of the people and that we can rely on them to halt encroachments on civil rights.

We have only to examine the record of the courts to see that for every instance where an isolated court or judge renders a decision favorable to the people's rights, there are a hundred cases where the courts have trampled upon and nullified them. Within the last few weeks, the U. S. Supreme Court itself has shown

how little the judiciary can be relied on to safeguard civil rights — and on the very issue of "loyalty" oaths. By a shyster resort to technicalities, it refused to review a key test case involving the "loyalty" oath law for public employees in Los Angeles County. At the same time, it also ducked a review of the appeal by two CIO unions against the non-"communist" oath of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

The true nature of the U. S. Supreme Court was glaringly revealed by its two vindictive rulings that upheld anti-strike injunctions and huge fines for "contempt" against the United Mine Workers. And we recall, in connection with the recent frame-up trial and conviction of 11 Stalinist leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act, that the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the constitutionality of that act in the similar case of the 18 Trotskyists who were railroaded to prison in 1944.

The courts as an institution function to uphold the interests of the ruling class, that is, the capitalist class. They are political and reflect the views and aims of those in power. And, generally speaking, they lean to the most conservative and even reactionary policies.

The real safeguard of the people's rights is the organized power and action of the people themselves. It was their mass pressure, their opposition and protest that at bottom determined the ruling of the New Jersey court on the "loyalty" oath law. Imbrie should know that, inasmuch as the action of his own organization and other groups was responsible for victory in this instance.

The "Welfare City"

New York is the richest city in the richest country in the world. It is also controlled lock-stock-and-barrel by the loudest proponents of the "welfare state," the Truman Democrats. Its mayor, William O'Dwyer, is an ardent "Fair Dealer." So are 23 of its 25 city councilmen. All its department heads and administrative officials are beholden to O'Dwyer for their jobs.

Here, you might say, we have the prerequisites, if not for a "welfare state," then for a large-scale model of it — what you might call a "Welfare City."

This "Welfare City" has some 320,000 needy people on relief who have been receiving an average of \$40.68 — per month — to enjoy the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Last month O'Dwyer's Commissioner of Welfare, Raymond M. Hilliard, announced that "falling prices" allow these blessings to be secured at bargain rates and that relief allowances would be cut an average of from \$2 to \$6 per month starting Jan. 16, 1950.

This wasn't the "Welfare City" the local CIO and AFL leaders had envisaged and so, two months after they had joined in urging the re-election of that dyed-in-the-wool "welfare-stater," O'Dwyer, they rejoined in a loud protest against his administration's cuts in welfare.

O'Dwyer — who since his re-election has considerably improved his own welfare with a \$35,000 raise in salary — didn't halt the relief cuts. In the face of protests of labor organizations representing a million workers, Hilliard has replied that the relief slash is going through per schedule.

The labor leaders blame the "failures" of the "welfare state" in Washington on the Republicans and the Dixiecrats. They can't do so in the case of New York City. A good Republican can't get even a floor-sweeper's job in City Hall. And the local Dixiecrats faded out with the Civil War. So if you want to see what Truman's "Welfare State" will be like, look at a fair sample — O'Dwyer's "Welfare City."

The Trials in the CIO

The bureaucracy's drive to totalitarianize the CIO is speeding ahead with the trials now going on against unions under Stalinist control. Through these trials, the Murray machine tries to preserve a legal fiction of democratic processes. But even the mechanics of the trials smell of the kangaroo court. The members of the trial committees are hand-picked lieutenants of Murray and leaders of the drive to kick out the "communists."

But even if all the forms of democracy were preserved in the process of expulsions, the bases for the expulsions are thoroughly anti-democratic. These are the constitutional amendments, pushed thru the last CIO convention, which place political qualifications on membership rights and give the top leadership unprecedented power to throw out whole unions if their members or leaders do not conform to the political dictates of the Murrays and Reuthers.

There is not an iota of difference between the principles of the "loyalty" purge and thought-control in the CIO and the witch-hunt against "subversives" being waged by Truman, the FBI and the

House Un-American Activities Committee. Indeed, they both flow from the same source.

The purge of government employees, the spread of "loyalty" oath laws, the spy trials based on illegal wiretapping and perjured testimony, the conviction of the Communist Party leaders under the unconstitutional Smith Act — these are all part of the government's drive to silence critics and opponents of its "cold war" foreign policy.

It is in support of this same foreign policy that the CIO leaders are expelling the Stalinists — and laying the basis to victimize anyone else who dares to disagree with Murray and his faction on this or any other matter. Editor Allan L. Swimm, in the Dec. 19, 1949, CIO News, states candidly: "Don't get the idea that the 'cold war' is being fought by the generals and diplomats alone. A small but important part of it is being fought in the union halls of America."

The Stalinists in the CIO are not being tried by the membership for their real crimes against labor; they are being court-martialed by the CIO brass hats as part of the "cold war."

Truth About Economic 'State of the Union'

By John G. Wright

The universal spirit of optimism which now pervades the entire business community found, as was to be expected, its most exaggerated expression in the economic section of President Truman's annual "state of the union" message.

Without a single dissenting voice, the economic forecasters, government and civilian alike, see nothing but "smooth sailing for the first six months of 1950, with many holding their fingers crossed about the developments in the second half of the year. But the general expectation is that the year as a whole will approximate the levels of 1949 without any real trouble in store.

Truman expressed confidence not merely for 1950 but for the next five years, predicting an "expanding economy" which will be, in effect, within five years lift this country to a gross output of \$300 billion a year; raise the purchasing power of each family by \$1,000, with all the rosy tints that such a prospect implies. All this is, of course, an indispensable part of the "Fair Deal" demagoguery.

REGAIN HALF OF LOSSES
However, the general business optimism, unlike the pretenses early last year, is this time grounded in something more than mere wishful thinking.

In the first place, there is the fact that in the second part of last year the economy recovered from the sharp dip into which it appeared earlier to be heading. By the year's end, production was up 9% compared with the lowest set in July, or had recovered approximately half of its losses. They had expected the classic pattern of a bust and were naturally more than relieved that it turned out to be — for 1949 — only a "moderate recession."

The strongest sector of the economy, the auto industry, instead of gutting the market, had its banner year, attaining the peak production of 6,200,000 vehicles. This acted to bolster up the lagging metals, lifting them, especially steel, from the doldrums. There was, in addition, a pick-up in the badly hit light industries, in the first instance textiles and leather, and this could not fail to add to the growing spirit of optimism.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING
The current year will see the distribution of approximately \$2 billion dollars in GI insurance benefits. For the next six months the domestic market will have injected into it an average of half a billion dollars a month. No one knows how much of this money has been already spent or will go to pay debts previously contracted. But on the whole, it is quite a shot in the arm.

In addition, government spending will continue on virtually the same scale as before, with another huge deficit piling up.

Deficit government spending at a rate of 5 to 6 billion dollars annually is indeed a strong inflationary dose — a highly artificial stimulant for the economy but a temporary one nonetheless.

All these factors are new in the situation and must be taken into account. The situation is not at all the same as it was six months ago. It is foolish to pretend as do the hacks of the Daily Worker that the depression or crisis is already here, and that we are merely passing through a minor and meaningless fluctuation. On the other hand, it is just as false to pretend, as do Truman and the capitalists generally, that the postwar "readjustment" is definitely over and that a long period of stabilization lies ahead.

STILL TRANSITIONAL
The economy is still in its transitional phases. Last year marked the first head-on collision of the hugely expanded productive forces against the limits set by constricting markets at home and abroad. The sharp fluctuation of 1949, or more accurately the violent paroxysm, demonstrated that, while gravely dislocated, the domestic market, propped up by huge arms expenditures, was still strong enough to sustain the economy temporarily on reduced but relatively high levels. Such has been the case for the last six months. Can this last for another six months? It is impossible to give the answer in advance.

One of the unknowns in the situation is the auto industry. How many more cars will it be able to sell in the next period? The Department of Commerce estimates the number at 5 to 5 1/2 million, or 10 to 20% below 1949. Only an actual test will show how good or bad this guess is. Should the decline prove worse, auto instead of remaining a prop to the economy will help pull it down.

There are important indications that 1950 will provide the acid test for the domestic market. It can be said with certainty that the economy as a whole is not stronger but much weaker today than it was at the beginning of last year.

To list only a few of the weaknesses: There is stiffer competition and there are fewer outlets in the world markets where a trade war is now in progress. The tendency of U. S. exports will be to decline, especially with drastic reductions in Marshall aid.

Unlike the beginning of 1949, when the purchasing power of the farmers was only slightly impaired, this year begins with the farm income slashed by one-fifth and more, and further cuts — by one-third and more — seem unavoidable. Agricultural surpluses are a fact, not a prospect. The government, already holds almost half a billion bushels of

wheat, two-thirds of a billion bushels of corn, 5 million bales of cotton, and a huge quantity of other farm produce. Further gigantic surpluses loom. Truman has the Brannan plan as the sole solution, and appears to be stuck with it, since there is little likelihood of its passage through Congress.

This year begins with the jobless easily double the total at the beginning of 1949. The army of more than 5 million unemployed represents not only vast misery but a vast loss of purchasing power.

LESS PURCHASING POWER
The gravely impaired position of the mass of the farmers and millions of working class families was translated last year into a marked decline of retail trade. It was at the same time the major condition underlying the "moderate recession." The fact is that despite the upturn since July 1949, despite credit and installment buying at the unheard-of rate of a quarter billion dollars a month, there has been no significant improvement either in the unemployment situation or in the trend of retail sales.

The 1949 decline was signalled by a sharp drop of retail sales in October 1948. This decline continued through the last quarter of 1949, with sales dipping below the low levels of 1948 which spelled so much trouble at the time. It is possible, but not at all certain, that the GI insurance benefits plus continued credit buying and government deficit spending, may check this decline. Should this fail to materialize the current moods of optimism will evaporate as swiftly as they have arisen. The department store cash registers will spell out, as before, the story in the next period, and we may be sure, they'll be anxiously watched by the most bullish of speculators on the stock market today.

Finally, the growing government deficits and consumer debts (now amounting to \$18 billion!) can easily turn from factors of temporary stimulants into those of acute fiscal and credit disturbances. International currency crises — which are by no means over — can enter here as a most serious aggravating element.

MAIN DIFFICULTIES AHEAD
From all this we conclude that the current phase of relative stabilization is highly unstable and vulnerable. Abrupt turns in developments are just as inherent in the situation as is the prospect of six or more months of relatively high production. The trends, as matters stand, cannot be gauged in terms of six months or a year, but literally on a week-to-week, if not day-to-day, basis. In short, the major postwar economic difficulties lie not behind but still ahead so far as American capitalism is concerned.

FLAGRANT LAWBREAKING BY FBI AROUSES GROWING PUBLIC PROTEST

(Continued from page 1)
Hoover, FBI director, showed more respect for the writings of J. Edgar Hoover, essayist.

McGRATH'S "REVIEW"
The criticism was so sharp and so widespread that Attorney General J. Howard McGrath had to issue some answer. The best that could be said for it was that it was not very convincing. McGrath, former Senator and Democratic National Chairman, was hailed as a "liberal" when he replaced Tom Clark as head of the Department of Justice last summer. But, like all previous liberal Attorneys General during the last quarter of a century, he does not dare to cross Hoover, who is technically his subordinate.

McGrath announced that he had "fully reviewed" the FBI's wiretapping activities, but: "In view of the emergency which still prevails and the necessity of protecting the national security, I can see no reason at the present time for any change."

Violations of the law by the nation's top agency for enforcing the law are thus given the sanction of the Truman administration. Furthermore, since the "emergency" (probably meaning the cold war) is expected to continue for a long time, and since the "national security" presumably is in permanent need of protection, McGrath is serving notice that the Justice Department-FBI's violations of the law will continue not only for the "present time," but forever, if it is left up to them.

Knowing that a violation of the law was involved, McGrath sought to brush it away by explaining that policies condoning "limited" use of wiretapping were laid down many years ago by President Roosevelt and three

Attorneys General — Francis Biddle, Robert H. Jackson and Tom Clark, the latter two of whom are now members of the U. S. Supreme Court. But all that such an argument proves is that they too are to be condemned for authorizing infractions of the law.

MORE EVASIONS
Meanwhile, as the pre-hearing in the Coplon-Gubitchev case continued last week, there were additional signs that the FBI was still trying to keep the whole story of its offenses from the court.

Previous FBI witnesses had testified under oath that it was "routine" FBI policy to destroy all wiretap recordings within 60 days. But on Jan. 3 two agents of the FBI and one of its special employees declared on the witness stand that they had never heard of any such policy. Somebody, clearly enough, was either lying again or evading telling the truth: Why?

The legal issue involved is this: The prosecution has to show that its evidence against the defendants is not based on information or leads supplied by wiretapping. The defense lawyers want to examine all the wiretap records to show that the prosecution has no "untainted" evidence. It can't do this unless it has access to all the records. First the prosecution insisted there had been no tapping; when that was disproved, it insisted many of the recordings had been destroyed; and when finally compelled to produce the recordings from the microphone planted in Miss Coplon's office, it now turns out that for some mysterious reason they are completely unintelligible. This deprives the defense lawyer of a chance to prove Miss Coplon's contention

that on the day she was arrested, her boss in the Department of Justice, aiming to "entrap" her, told her to take along for study on her trip to New York certain government documents which were found in her possession when she was arrested.

Her lawyer said it was strange that the FBI had the recordings for ten months but "nobody ever found out that they were unintelligible" until the government was forced to produce them in court. But the "strangeness" disappears in the light of the FBI's previous evasiveness and perjury, and of the possibility that the recordings might have supplied information that would aid the defense.

IN BRIDGES CASE TOO

Simultaneously, on the other side of the country, it was shown that wiretapping is by no means an offense limited to the Coplon case. James M. MacInnis, defense counsel in the Harry Bridges perjury case in San Francisco, revealed in court on Jan. 5 that after another lawyer had telephoned him about some important information related to the trial, that lawyer had been visited by a government agent and queried.

As MacInnis pointed out, the only way the government could have learned about the matter was by wiretapping. The judge in San Francisco, unlike Judge Ryan in New York, ruled that the wiretapping complaint was irrelevant. But the significant thing is that the government prosecutor (like the prosecutor in the Coplon case) that he was introducing any evidence obtained by wiretapping; did not deny that wiretapping was taking place.

Prof. Emerson's Speech on Kutcher and Bill of Rights

[The Militant is pleased to print the following extracts from the speech made by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School at the New York City meeting of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee on Dec. 15, the anniversary of the Bill of Rights.]

It was 158 years ago today that the State of Virginia ratified the first ten amendments, thereby being the eleventh state to do so, and the Bill of Rights became effective as part of our Constitution. The Bill of Rights was hardly incorporated in the Constitution, however, when it was subjected to a severe test in the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Alien and Sedition Laws were directed to a large extent against the French. But I think it is interesting to note also that in large part they were directed against the Irish immigrants, because the winds of revolution were blowing at that time both from France and from Ireland.

These laws prohibited the publication of any false, scandalous or malicious writing against the government and attached the criminal penalties. The first person prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Laws was Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, and he was convicted for having referred to President Adams and saying that President Adams had demonstrated an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice. That was Matthew Lyon's crime. Old-fashioned words, perhaps, but they have a certain current application and some of us may want to use the same sentiments some day.

There were others convicted of similar offenses under the Alien and Sedition acts, mostly editors of newspapers that supported the Jeffersonian Party. Fortunately the country rose in protest against the Alien and Sedition Laws and in the election of 1800 the Federalists who had sponsored them were decisively beaten; Jefferson and his party came in; those who had been convicted were pardoned and eventually they were recompensed for any fines they had paid.

Another period of hysteria arose somewhat later, during the 1830's and 1840's. This time it was an anti-Catholic hysteria. For instance, when President Pierce appointed a Catholic to be Postmaster-General, the outcry was tremendous. It was asserted that Catholics in the Post Office would become members of a spy ring for the Pope and it was solemnly claimed that Catholic immigrants could not and would not be loyal to the nation. This eventually mostly disappeared.

A Continuing Struggle for Free Speech

Then we come to the period where in the South it was impossible for anyone to utter any opinions or views in opposition to the institution of slavery. It took a Civil War to dispose of that problem and during the Civil War there were suppressions of civil rights which were kept in check by the wise and tolerant statesmanship of President Lincoln.

And then we come to the first World War. Under the Espionage Acts which were passed during the first World War there were nearly two thousand prosecutions and of those there were 877 convictions. People were convicted under those acts for having advocated the subversive idea that the war ought to be financed by taxation and not by Liberty Bonds, and that there was some doubt, before the Supreme Court passed on the issue, about the constitutionality of the Draft Act, or even for saying that there should have been a referendum before the war was started.

Not only were there federal Espionage Acts but there were similar acts passed in the states, and here abuses of the same sort occurred. There is one case in Minnesota, for instance, in which a woman was convicted and sentenced to jail for making the remark to one of her neighbors, discouraging the woman from knitting socks for the soldiers by saying: "The soldiers never see those socks." That was a violation of the Minnesota statutes.

It was not only Espionage Acts. That was a period of the Lusk Committee, of teachers' oaths, of laws that prohibited the display of red banners. There were suggestions that laws prohibit the wearing of red neckties. It was the era of the Palmer raids, it was the era when Victor Berger, elected on the Socialist ticket, was denied a seat in Congress on the ground that he didn't support the war.

It was also the time when five members of the New York State Legislature, elected on the Socialist ticket were refused their seats in the State Legislature. The grounds for refusal were: "The Socialist Party is not a real political party but in reality a subversive organization which adheres to revolutionary principles of Soviet Russia." A familiar ring!

We Fight in a Glorious Tradition

Now we are in a somewhat comparable situation. The loyalty order is typical of the problems with which we are now faced. We are here to protest the discharge of James Kutcher, a member of the Socialist Workers Party discharged merely because he was a member of that party. Recently a case in New Haven came to my attention whereby a stenographer was discharged from a government position on the ground, among others, that she played Paul Robeson records. In another case of a government employee in Detroit, when his loyalty proceedings came before the board, one of the relevant pieces of evidence was that his mother, 17 years before, voted the Socialist ticket in New Haven!

So when we meet here tonight we are fighting in a tradition that has been a glory in this country for 150 years. It is important to realize this. This sort of meeting is nothing new. True American citizens, those devoted to the highest principles of democracy, have been holding meetings like this for a century and a half and for more. In part we have been victorious in these fights. The prosecution of Matthew Lyon, the attacks on the Catholic Postmaster-General, the Palmer raids, the expulsion of the five Socialists from the New York Legislature, these things are considered today disgraceful performances, unworthy of American citizens. I am confident that the time will come also when the Kutcher case will be considered equally shameful, equally unworthy of America.

(To be concluded next week)

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The Fredric March Case

By Ruth Johnson

Actor Fredric March and his wife Florence Eldridge have finally forced the slander-sheet Counterattack to retract a charge that they are "communists." We're glad to see them chalk up a score against the red-baiters, but there is no victory in sight to cheer about. By far the most significant part of the "apology" published Dec. 23 is the ominous concluding statement: "Counterattack's information confirms the Marches' testimony that they are no longer active in any organization deemed subversive."

What "information" is Counterattack talking about? Has it access to the secret files of the FBI? Are all the thousands of stoolpigeons and informers hired by Washington also put at the service of this professional smear-sheet? On the evidence of the March case, it seems not at all unlikely! The false charges hurled at the Hollywood stars by Counterattack early in 1948 were produced in court in the Coplon case a year and a half later, when they became the most notorious example of the FBI at work. Counterattack, a 4-page "newsletter" published weekly by the "American Business Consultants, Inc.," claims to be a collection of "Facts on Communist Communism." It covers all fields, from movies to local trade unions, and from national magazines to hotels that rent meeting-rooms to "subversive" organizations. The scope of its information also indicates that behind it somewhere are some of the same forces that have imposed a vast network of "anti-red" ferrets on this country.

What recourse has the average victim of this obviously powerful outfit? It took Fredric March and his wife nearly two years, with expensive

legal help and the filing of a \$500,000 libel suit, to make their reply heard. No worker can afford such a suit. And even the Marches by no means won a clear decision. They dropped their suit and signed a non-communist oath, in return for a public statement restoring them to the good graces of the red-baiters. Counterattack was able to retreat with all guns blazing furiously at the "red menace."

"Up to a couple of years or so ago," said the Counterattack retraction, "the Marches publicly supported a number of organizations, which United States Attorney Generals have declared subversive and totalitarian." But now, it adds, the stars have signed an oath that proves them thoroughly red-white-and-blue.

"We condemn the Russian regime and its agent, the Communist Party of the United States, as a totalitarian system, and we condemn the totalitarian practices of their leader Joseph Stalin," the March statement says in part. "We believe deeply in the Constitution of the United States and in our system of government. . . . We believe in the system of free enterprise. . . . We shall continue in the future as we have in the past to try to preserve our democracy by exposing and attempting to eradicate its weaknesses and by extolling and practicing its virtues."

One of the ways in which Fredric March and Florence Eldridge could really help, "to preserve democracy" now would be for them to begin "exposing and attempting to eradicate" such outfits as Counterattack by making public their experiences and the information they have gained in the course of the two-year legal fray.

Truman on Formosa

By Joseph Hansen

One of the curiosities of the marine world is the squid. When embarrassed it lets fly a discharge that thoroughly inks up the water and so permits it to retire gracefully from the scene.

This happy method of defense is not confined to the squid. It can be observed among the vertebrates too. Thus the typical capitalist politician caught in a spot that does him no good with the voters will at once let loose a resounding statement about principles, lofty aims, noble intentions and how it wasn't him anyway — at least not right now.

For instance, take Truman's statement Jan. 5 on Formosa where ex-dictator Chiang Kai-shek, after being run off the mainland by the Chinese people, is now bidding for more American arms and dollars. China was one of the big prizes for which the imperialist powers fought World War II. But peasant uprisings spoiled Wall Street's dream of shortly running up its house flags from Shanghai to the Gobi desert. Then when Britain and other junior partners and satellites of American imperialism started recognizing the Mao regime, Truman felt the irresistible urge.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory," he said. What were all those U. S. troops doing in China at the end of World War II? Does it take bayonets to convince the Chinese people that American imperialism has no predatory designs?

"The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time," Truman continued. A short time ago, Truman had the desire it seems to establish military bases on Formosa. "At this time" he doesn't desire it, perhaps because his military and political advisers

don't think Chiang can last long on Formosa and they couldn't get away with an American expeditionary force "at this time." Later on, things may look up again for the American militarists. Then Truman can say that the old colonial powers may have had "predatory designs" but all Wall Street wants "at this time" is special rights, privileges and military bases.

"Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed force to interfere in the present situation," continued the head of the Democratic Party. A few days after this pious pronouncement about intentions in the "present situation," it was revealed that Chiang is still buying arms — at bargain rates — in America with dollars handed him from the U. S. Treasury. All Army markings are being scrupulously "painted out" on the engines of death so that it's a sale, you see, not "interference."

"The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China," Truman promised in a final flourish. That really fouled the water! You can hardly see the billions of dollars Truman gave the Chiang dictatorship, the scores of top-rank brass sent to master-mind Chiang's campaigns, the American ships and planes used to ferry Nationalist troops into battle position, the vast stores of arms turned over to the infamous butcher to slaughter the rebellious Chinese peasants.

Some people claim there's nothing in this world without a final goal and purpose. Truman shows what even the lowly squid can evolve into if this view is correct. A vertebrate that stops at no means to justify an end! Especially a foul end like interfering in China's internal affairs and trying to save a hated executioner from his long-overdue doom.

Two Significant Films

By Charles Hanley

Among the excellent foreign motion pictures we have seen in 1949, two stand out for their consciousness of social questions and impressive realism. The Affair Blum and Bicycle Thief do not offer a solution to those questions (and this is not their aim); but they more or less suggest that there is now a very honest attitude greatly superior to Hollywood's method of spreading illusions about social problems to be solved in the framework of capitalist society by mere "good will."

The Affair Blum, based on the story of a frame-up which actually took place in Germany in 1926 — seven years before Hitler seized power — is a German film made by Germans in the Russian occupation zone, (fortunately without any notable injection of typically Stalinist slogans): A Jewish capitalist (who probably thought this could never happen to him) is suddenly accused of a murder he did not commit. The real murderer, a former member of one of the ultra-nationalistic "Free Corps," and the reactionary police and judges work together to build up a case against the completely innocent Blum. They need such a case to whip up Anti-Semitism.

Blum's (non-Jewish) wife appeals to the Social Democratic Minister-President of the State who, in spite of his sympathy with the Blums, is unable to do anything against the reactionary state apparatus he is supposed to direct. The judges do not allow any "interference with the independence of the judiciary" and openly scorn the Social Democratic government. But, a well known detective of the Berlin police, whom the Minister-President asks for help, succeeds, after overcoming many discouraging difficulties, in proving Blum's innocence, unmasking the real murderer and foiling the whole frame-up. Thanks to the revelations of the murderer's girl friend who knows the truth and whom the detective convinces she must not allow an innocent man to be beheaded, the victim of the frame-up escapes. The judges are furious, but have to release Blum, as the murderer, faced with overwhelming evidence, confesses everything.

A "happy ending?" Not quite. For Blum, who is an intelligent man and has learned quite a few things in prison, clearly understands that this individual victory over the reactionary state apparatus and his narrow escape from the executioner's axe are due to mere luck, and that the problem as such remains unsolved, the same state apparatus remaining in command; and that other "Affairs Blum" will follow.

In the final scene, which is accompanied by the menacing music of a Nazi march, Mrs. Blum tries to comfort her husband, saying "It's all over now." "No," replies Blum, "it's only beginning."

With some variations, different forms and circumstances, the same sort of thing can still

happen in many countries all over the world: against Jews, against Negroes, against other minorities. And the purpose of the instigators of "Affairs Blum" is always the same: To divert the dissatisfied masses and especially the petty bourgeoisie from the real culprit — the capitalist system and its consequences — by finding convenient scapegoats.

Victor deSica's Bicycle Thief is a masterpiece. By its natural simplicity and profound truth it ranks high in the field of cinematographic art. After searching for a long time, an unemployed worker, who has a wife and a little son, finally gets a job. There is a condition attached to it: he must have a bicycle. His bicycle is in the pawnshop; he gets it out by his wife pawning their blankets instead. He can start working again. But his precious bicycle is stolen on the first day of his new job. The police are not interested; they cannot help him to find the thief. Besides, there are so many bicycles stolen every day.

So he is obliged to help himself and after a dramatic chase finally finds the thief — but not the bicycle. And he has no evidence against the thief. So there is nothing he can do about it. And then, in his bitterness and despair, he tries to steal another man's bicycle. The attempt fails. However, the bicycle owner does not want to have him arrested. With his terrified son the worker goes home, ashamed of himself, without a job, without help, without hope.

And that is the end of this story. No stroke of good luck comes to that man's aid. The comedy of capitalist charity which, by coincidence, he witnesses while chasing the thief, often benefits scoundrels and vagabonds; a worker is too proud to accept it; he wants a job, a decent wage, he wants justice. The police officers, i.e., the state, are not interested and will not help him; they do not defend the poor and the hungry. Some individuals succeed in helping themselves by injuring others. Our "hero" tries it half-heartedly and is trapped. For him, there remains no way out.

Only by getting together with other proletarians, by struggling with them against the injustice of this society could he seriously hope to achieve something. The worker in Bicycle Thief is not a bad fellow, but he seeks only for an individual solution and cannot find one. The solidarity of a few personal friends and of his family is not enough. (And he fails so completely, that at a certain moment he finds himself almost stripped of his dignity.) DeSica does not force those conclusions on us. What we have just said is only suggested by his "hero's" loneliness and failure, by the futility of his individual struggle. This is not a political but a social picture, a human picture. A perfect one of its kind.

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New Political Policy Needed By Civil Rights Mobilization

By Albert Parker

Wants Troops in Formosa



Just before President Truman announced the U. S. government would not send military aid to Formosa, Sen. William F. Knowland (R, Calif.) urged such intervention. Here the senator uses a map in his office to point out the island where he would want U. S. youth to go and die in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek.

Curran Machine Expels 4 Opponents in NMU

The purge of all opposition to the Curran machine in the National Maritime Union received a new impetus with the expulsion of four members at the New York meeting of the union on Jan. 4. Despite open intimidation by New York police and Curran goons, it was clear that a majority of the membership at the meeting had voted against the expulsion of Charles Keith, one of the leaders of the anti-Curran, Independent caucus. But the votes were brazenly counted by administration supporters who acted as counters and Curran announced from the chair that Keith had been expelled by a vote of 1,641 to 496.

As shouts of protest mounted throughout the hall, Robert McElroy, a seaman, took the floor on a point of order, demanding that a recount be taken with both sides represented as counters. While still before the microphone at the front of the hall, McElroy was assaulted by several masters-at-arms who beat him to the ground in the presence of the entire meeting. Angered members rising to their feet in the rear of the hall were set upon by another gang of hooligans. The police, present in large numbers, did nothing until the goons ran into trouble when they intervened on their side and broke up the fracas at the rear of the hall.

COAL MINERS NEED THE AID OF ALL ORGANIZED WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

lacking in any fighting capacities. That is what lends exceptional ferocity to their attacks on the miners.

They are pressing for a showdown now not only because the economic situation of the coal industry is unfavorable to the miners and their resources are low, but because the UMW battle has been isolated. The rest of organized labor is quiescent. The corporations were able to settle with the CIO steel and auto unions for crumbs and clear the field of the class struggle for a concentrated assault on the miners.

What particularly emboldens the labor-haters in their present drive against the miners is the failure of the CIO and AFL leaders to lend any support to the UMW, even though these leaders must have some inkling of what a defeat for the miners would mean for their own unions.

These union leaders have remained criminally silent as the corporations and government conspire in an attempt to cut the miners to pieces. They have always resented the fact that Lewis' aggressive methods have won big gains and have exposed their own lickspittle dependence on the government for small shabby favors. No doubt, down in their narrow little souls many of them feel if the UMW and

The National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, which will meet in Washington for three days beginning Jan. 15, will mark a high point of Negro and labor struggle for enactment of civil rights legislation. No matter how much or how little this movement achieves in Washington, it already has the following progressive features:

1. It is a genuinely broad united front movement. Instead of acting individually, as they did in the past, the NAACP, CIO, AFL and 49 other national labor, minority, fraternal and church organizations have pooled their efforts in the mobilization which speaks for a combined membership running into the tens of millions, despite the self-defeating decision to exclude all political parties and Stalinist-led organizations.

2. The mobilization represents an important — if limited — step in the direction of mass pressure and mass action against the Jim Crow forces. In previous years these organizations relied primarily on letters and telegrams to Congress; this time they are sending representatives in person to demand enactment without delay in this session of the civil rights program, starting with the FEPC.

3. The mobilization reflects the growing understanding by the mass of the people that the Democrats and Republicans cannot be depended on to fulfill their civil rights promises. In short, the Washington conference itself is objectively an expression of distrust in the capitalist politicians — distrust which experience has proved to be well justified and which will be transformed into more active hostility to the capitalist politicians who continue to stand in the way of first-class citizenship for Negroes and other minorities.

MORE IS NEEDED

It would be unrealistic, however, to expect that the Washington conference will be enough to turn the tide and force Congress to override filibusters against civil rights.

In the first place, official announcements make it clear that the conference itself will be largely a routine lobbying affair, with the delegates assigned to visiting their congressmen and holding a couple of meetings at which politicians and their own leaders will deliver some pep-talks. The same kind of lobbying that has proved so ineffectual in the past will prevail this year, although the form will be changed a little and more people will be involved. The members of Congress, who knew last year that the same participating organizations favored the passage of civil rights bills, will not feel the addition of serious pressure through this conference and will not be much more inclined to act favorably than they were in 1949.

In the second place, all signs indicate that attendance at the conference will not be anywhere nearly as large as it can and should be, if the real strength of the participating organizations is taken into account. But the most serious shortcoming is the fact that the delegates will not be reinforced by powerful mass demonstrations in the communities from which they come.

WHY THE APATHY?

The original plans for the mobilization included the organization of such mass pressure on a grass-roots level. Attempts to hold mass meetings were actually made in some communities, but by and large they were not big and therefore not very successful. Even where genuine efforts were made, the masses were not aroused, they remained apathetic. Knowing why this happened and how to correct the situation is the key to victory in the civil rights fight, for only when the rank and file workers are actively aroused and set into motion will Congress begin to do something about it.

Why did the masses fail to respond in large numbers? Not because they are indifferent to the civil rights bills; everybody, even the capitalist politicians, know they are for them. What is involved is a POLITICAL question. Their leaders have given them the false impression that the Trumanites are sincerely working to pass these bills and that it is necessary only to rely on the Trumanites and everything will turn out right in the end. Where the impression prevails that there is no need for a fight, you will naturally be unable to arouse people to engage in one.

YOUNGSTOWN NAACP RALLY GETS ENCOURAGING RESPONSE

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 9—Almost 700 people answered the call of the Youngstown Branch of the NAACP to attend a mass meeting to build support for the National Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington next week. The meeting, held in Tabernacle Baptist Church last night, was more than three times the size of the meeting called by the NAACP a few weeks ago, shows that the mobilization for civil rights is gathering momentum.

The main speaker was Herbert Hill, assistant field secretary of the NAACP, who has been touring the mid-west to gather forces for the Washington mobilization. He called attention to the new militant spirit that is pervading the movement for civil rights, and said it must be wedded to the organized strength of the labor movement in order to accomplish the aims of both. The burning determination among Negroes to win the fight for civil rights was impressed upon the audience by Nathaniel C. Lee, NAACP branch coordinator. "I am not going to thank you for coming," he said, "because this is where you ought to be." The mobilization is being called, he said, "because we must take different steps to impress upon those in authority that civil rights must be passed now."

This false political conception, shared by all the leaders of the mobilization, must be rooted out of the civil rights movement before it can make further progress. It must be understood, and publicly stated to the masses, that the Trumanites are quite content to go on with things as they are, to keep on making pro-civil rights statements and gestures, etc.

TRUMANITE RECORD

They proved this conclusively last year by the sham battle they staged over the filibuster, which they were perfectly willing to lose as soon as they saw how they could put the blame for it on the Republicans. Truman himself has proved it over and over again by refusing to use his power to end segregation in the armed forces and to withhold federal funds from discriminatory housing. For the Trumanites the whole question of civil rights is a political maneuver, and no headway can be made until they are branded for it and held EQUALLY responsible with the Republicans and Southern Democrats for the defeat of the rights bills.

When the masses are told the truth, when they are shown that they have no real friends in Washington, then they will understand the need to fight for themselves and will act accordingly. Once that happens, there will be a genuine upsurge by the people. Then broad and deep pressure will really be exerted on the capitalist politicians.

The ruling class may be compelled to grant some concessions, but in the course of the struggle the Negro and labor movements will find out that the achievement of their full objectives requires a complete break with capitalist politics and the formation of an independent Labor Party that will undertake to replace the capitalist politicians in Washington with real representatives of the masses.

At present the prospects in Congress are no better than they were last year. The same fancy political footwork will be offered as a substitute for what the people want. The Trumanites, instead of being worried by the mobilization in Washington, will even welcome it and try to exploit it for their own ends; at any rate, feeling that they have the labor and Negro vote "in their pocket" because of their demagogic gestures last year, they will see no reason for not repeating them this year.

WHAT WE MUST SHOW

But the picture can be changed radically and rapidly if the delegates to the Washington conference rid themselves of false political conceptions, break with the illusion that civil rights bills can be passed by reliance on the Trumanites in any form, and go back home determined to build a mass movement of militant struggle for equality which no capitalist politician will be able to ignore, manipulate or prevent from reaching its goal.

What we need to show Congress is not that the masses want civil rights legislation — which they already know — but that they are ready to defeat and sweep aside any force that stands in the way of their getting it.