

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

By J. Meyer -- See Page 3 --

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Wall Street Sets Up Clamor to Speed CP Trial

By Farrell Dobbs

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

Big Business doesn't like the way the trial has boomeranged. The capitalist press and radio are clamoring for an end to this monkey business about investigating the jury system. They want a jury picked from the rigged panel.

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

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

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

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

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

Wilkerson has inserted red pins on a series of maps to indicate the place of residence of each juror on present and past jury panels back to 1940. Ironically

enough, these maps have occupied the empty seats the government has so far been prevented from filling with jurors from the rigged panel.

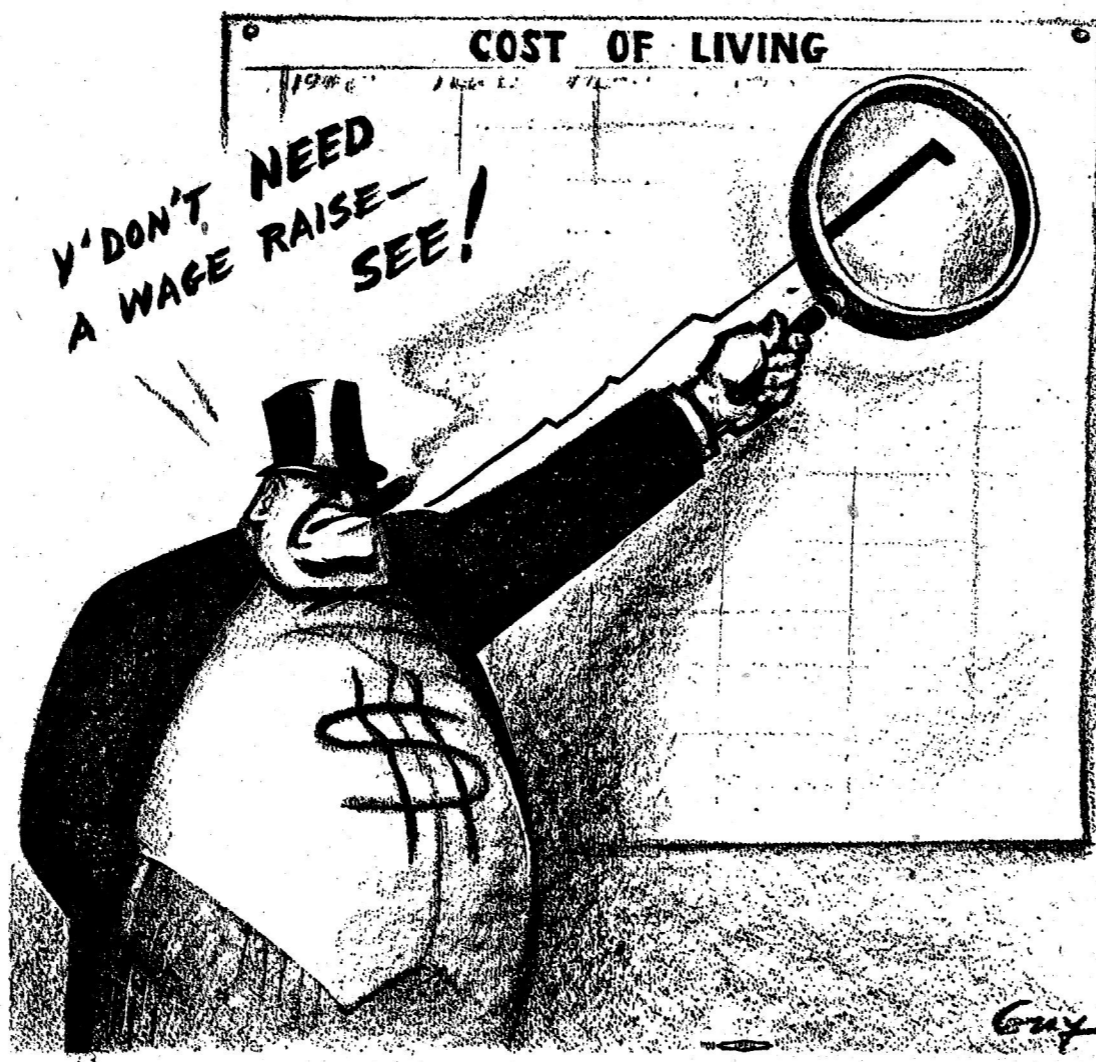
The pattern of the pins on the maps is a dead give-away of the jury-packing scheme. Dense ribs of red appear along Park Avenue, Fifth Avenue and Central Park West where penthouses of the wealthy are concentrated. Large clusters of pins stand out at Gracie Square, Sutton Place and similar points where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

Another cluster appears in full bloom at the Parkchester high-rise housing development in the Bronx. Your eye is next caught by a thin scattering of pins in the university and college communities.

Then you become aware of the barren areas where a red pin indicating the residence of a juror stands alone like a railroad water tank on a Dakota prairie. These lands of exile from jury service include the three Harlems (Negro, Puerto Rican and Italian) and working class districts like the Lower East Side, Hell's Kitchen and Chelsea.

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

"OUR PEERS" To date 21 of the 23 grand jurors who indicted the Stalinists have been questioned on the witness stand. There was not a single Negro among them. They turned out to be corporation directors and stockholders, bankers, brokers, wholesalers, an editor and the wife of a police sergeant. They have served on an average (Continued on page 4)



Monopolists Try to Hide Need for Wage Raises

By John G. Wright

It was only a brief while ago that such authoritative representatives of Big Business as Mr. Henry Ford publicly acknowledged the need for a "fourth round" of wage increases. Nor did it even enter the minds of top union leaders to publicly soft-pedal this justifiable demand.

How could it be otherwise in a period of peak inflation? The squeeze upon the workers is graphically reflected in government figures. According to the B L S index, compiled several months after the "third round" of wage rises, the situation since V-J Day shaped up as follows: Wages were up 20% while prices had soared by 35%. In the same period profits went sky high, increasing by 155%.

These figures are, if anything, an understatement. Yet they show that in the period of "peak prosperity" the workers have suffered approximately a 15% slash in their purchasing power as compared with their position at the close of hostilities. How could there be any question of the urgent need of higher wages?

On top of this, productivity per worker has been climbing sharply since V-J Day, a fact slurred over by the corporations who keep yawling for ever greater production while intensifying the speed-up in the plants. The workers thus find themselves in the intolerable situation of having their living standards cut at a time when they should actually be rising. All the benefits of higher productivity

corporation-inspired press, it would appear, is dictated by all these salient facts. But we find few signs of such recognition among the top union officials. On the contrary, signs of soft-peddling this urgent issue are becoming more and more apparent. The crassest action thus far has been taken by the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, whose officials have voluntarily "postponed" discussions of higher wages.

From the standpoint of the capitalists, such "labor statesmanship" is, of course, highly laudable. From the standpoint of labor's interests, it is a stab in the back not only to the struggle for bridging the gap between prices and wages, but also to the no less vital struggle for raising the living standards at least a notch or two above the existing depressed levels.

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

Fifty members of the present Senate voted for the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, four new members voted for it as Representatives and two others defeated labor-supported candidates. A majority of the Senate is 49.

In the House 227 who voted for the T-H Act were re-elected, and six new members were elected over union opposition. A majority of the House is 218.

Rhode Island CIO Pledges To Help Kutcher Committee

Following similar action by the Connecticut, New Jersey and Ohio State CIO Councils, the Executive Board of the Rhode Island State Industrial Union Council last week voted unanimously to endorse the efforts of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to win justice for James Kutcher. The secretary-treasurer of the State CIO Council, Antonio DiPinto, is sending notice of the Executive Board endorsement to all its affiliates and requesting individual locals to make whatever financial donations they can to the Kutcher case.

These our United States, which were the free choice of political party, religious beliefs, etc. "Enclosed you will find \$1 to help your fight for your right to believe in any philosophy. I care not what political or religious creed you hold to and preach. You should have a right to your beliefs! I wish that I could send you \$1,000 or \$100,000. Fight On!"

The Slovene National Benefit Society through its President, Joseph Culkar, has also endorsed the work of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee and contributed to its defense fund. This is the largest fraternal order of Slovenians, with headquarters in Chicago and lodges in all large cities and in many steel and mining communities throughout the country.

In addition to financial aid from numerous union locals, the Kutcher defense fund last week received contributions from several different sources. An admirer of Kutcher's fight for civil rights who had read about his discharge in The Nation mailed a contribution to the committee from Buenos Aires, Argentina. Members of the crew of the S.S. Ernest Pyle took up a "tarpaulin muster" of \$16 to help the victimized veteran. The Twin City branch of the Workers Defense League gave \$25 for the Kutcher Committee's work.

A reader of the Newark News from Montclair, N. J., self-described as "An American Lutheran Protestant," wrote the following letter to James Kutcher: "I wish to say my whole family and our entire circle of friends are in sympathy with your cause. These various boards are missing the foundations of

'Carry on as Usual,' Say Chinese Stalinists

Right after Tientsin fell to the Communists, a disoriented cook turned to his boss and said: "Now, you cook for me."

The employer complained to the Communists. They lectured the cook, put him to work and threatened punishment if he caused any trouble.

Workers in a factory grumbled over their wages and the eight-hour day. They wrecked the kitchen. Then they went to Red headquarters to complain. They came back dumbfounded. The Communists put them on a 10-hour day and cut their wages 20%.

The above report appeared word for word in the Feb. 1 N. Y. Post. It reveals in the most graphic way the attitude of the Chinese Stalinists toward the working class. The Stalinists at the head of the insurgent peasantry enter the cities not to liberate the workers from slavery to the capitalist class but to prevent the workers from rising. The Stalinist aim is not to establish a Workers and Farmers

Government in China but to form a coalition regime with the Chinese capitalists.

This course proceeds directly from the program of Mao Tse-tung, which like the program of the Mensheviks in Russia in 1917, envisages a long period of capitalist profit-making in China with the working class remaining enslaved.

STALINISTS OBLIGING

What happened in Tientsin was repeated in Peiping. Erwin D. Canham of the Christian Science Monitor reports that the Stalinists began negotiating with the Kuomintang city regime even before they started the siege. "The Communists controlled the electric plant which furnished light and pumped water into Peiping," says Canham. "They obligingly kept right on running the plant, a little erratically, all through the siege."

This was not all. "The Communist delegates were inside Peiping during the siege, with the knowledge and consent of the Nationalist commander, Gen. Fu

Tso-yi. They were allowed to operate their own radio station from inside the beleaguered city, and communicate with the besiegers outside. They were equipped with special passes from General Fu, with resident's cards and with other credentials."

"CARRY ON AS USUAL"

The negotiations ended with an agreement, according to Andrew Roth of The Nation, setting up a "joint governing council whose members have been appointed by Fu and the Communists." The property of foreigners and foreign diplomats is "guaranteed." This guarantee is being enforced "by police and by supplementary troops from both armies." And the agreement ends with an announcement that "people of all walks of life are requested to carry on as usual and avoid all public panic."

This policy explains why western business men and bankers are confident they can do business with the Chinese Stalinists and why the embassies of the western powers are anxiously await-

Truman's Bill No Bar to Use Of Injunctions

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

Bloc in Congress Prepares Other Anti-Labor Provisions

By George Breitman

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

on unions, including the specific anti-strike injunction weapons it had granted the administration. But it would not deprive the administration of the power to go into court for injunctions to break strikes.

This was clearly indicated by Attorney General Clark's testimony before the Senate Committee. He said the "inherent power of the President to deal with emergencies" is "exceedingly great" and the government would have "access to the courts to protect the national health, safety and welfare. . . . This bill, as I read it, does not purport to circumscribe the rights of the United States in this respect."

The duplicity of the measure was also demonstrated by Secretary of Labor Tobin's reply to Sen. Humphrey's question if the Truman bill "provided for government seizure of struck facilities." Tobin refused to give a yes or no answer, saying the question should be directed to Clark.

In short, Truman's bill makes a number of formal concessions to labor while at the same time he retains the power to circumvent or negate many of these concessions.

The main concessions in the proposed measure include: Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and restoration of the Wagner Act, with certain amendments. Recognition of the closed shop, even in the area of interstate commerce in states where it is banned. Abolition of the anti-Communist affidavit. Withdrawal of the ban on political expenditures by unions. Termination of the NLRB general counsel's separate investigation and prosecution powers. Provisions prohibiting strikes by federal employees and permitting employers not to bargain collectively with foremen are also omitted.

BIG LOOPHOLES

On the other hand, the Wagner Act is amended to extend certain "unfair labor practice" curbs to unions. The "unfair" practices include "unjustifiable secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes; efforts to compel an employer to bargain when he is under obligation to bargain with another union; and failure to give at least 30 day's notice before termination or modification of contracts.

(Continued on Page 4)

New Stalin Plea: 'I Want a Deal'

By Joseph Hansen

Stalin's declaration Jan. 30 that he has "no objection to a meeting" with Truman to discuss the possibility of drawing up a "pact of peace" has touched off the usual speculation in the capitalist press about the meaning of the Generalissimo's statement. Is Moscow ready to make a deal with Washington?

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

Stalin now feels his hand strengthened as a result of the victories of his followers in China. Perhaps American imperialism will be interested in a mutually profitable, over-all understanding at the expense of the Chinese people among others?

CACHIN INTERVIEW

How quickly the entire world Stalinist movement would make a flip flop in its attitude toward Anglo-American imperialism should a temporary deal be reached was indicated by Marcel Cachin at a press conference in Rome Jan. 23. Top spokesman of the French Communist Party repeated the long-ago-explored Stalinist dogma that world capitalism and the Soviet Union can exist side by side indefinitely in peace.

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

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

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

"PEACE OFFENSIVE"

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

It is true that Moscow loses nothing in the cold war by indicating its readiness to reach an understanding. And it can be added that these bids for a deal give real sting to the denunciations of Wall Street which fill the Stalinist press. The working people naturally conclude (Continued on page 2)

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

By N. Henri

PARIS — After a little more than three years existence, the World Federation of Trade Unions has undergone a split.

At its foundation, the WFTU might have appeared as a powerful force from which the world working class could derive great benefit. Never had the trade union movement known such an international organization. Moreover, it was organized at the very moment when virtually the majority of the working class throughout the world was regrouping in trade unions.

No one stayed outside the ranks of the WFTU except the reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. Alongside the British trade unions, the CIO, the French General Confederation of Labor and the Soviet trade unions (which, so far as trade unionism is concerned, are one of the Kremlin's instruments for oppressing the Soviet masses) there were grouped in the WFTU a whole series of trade union organizations of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, first powerful ex-

pression of the young workers' movement in those lands.

What is the balance sheet of this trade union international? Up to the time of the official split, after the split had already occurred on a national basis in several countries, it is necessary to say flatly that from the viewpoint of the interests of the working people, its record is absolutely shameful.

Some examples:

The WFTU sent delegations, notably to Greece. But the WFTU did not organize any action whatever to help the Greek workers. It did not organize any action to help the workers of Spain. It did not organize any action against the war on the Indo-Chinese people. It did not even dream of lifting a little finger for the Indonesian people although it would appear that in this case neither Washington nor Moscow would be opposed.

SILENT DURING STRIKES

The WFTU was silent during the big strikes in the United States and during all the other big workers' struggles.

The WFTU not only said nothing

in behalf of the German and Japanese workers; insofar as its sections were involved in action, it was to collaborate with the military governments to try to create domestic organizations in these countries which, while calling themselves trade unions, were deprived of all rights in the question of wages.

The WFTU did nothing to support the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. On the contrary, it encouraged the reactionary currents in France and Great Britain who wished to convert trade unionism in the colonies into a simple appendage of the movements in the imperialist countries.

PART OF COLD WAR

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

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

STALINISTS INDIFFERENT

The heads of the Soviet trade unions and the other Stalinist trade union chieftains could gain nothing at present from such a proposition. A year ago they could still agree to a compromise on the question of the Marshall Plan; because, dominating the French CGT and the Italian CGT, they were anxious to avoid a split. They could still derive all the advantages of their positions without too much inconvenience. But now that the split is an accomplished fact on the national scale, what difference does it make to them if there is a split that leaves them formally owners of the name of an international organization?

As for the interests of the working people, none of the bureaucrats — those of the "Russian party" as well as those of the "American party" — have any interest in such matters.

Professors Ousted in Witch-Hunt



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

New Bid Made by Stalin

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

DEFENSIVE STEPS

Thus the Moscow bureaucracy has been forced to take what it considers to be the most effective possible defensive steps, consonant with its bureaucratic rule, against the obvious preparations for military attack. The first of these was organization of the Cominform. The latest was announced Jan. 25. It is a Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) for the countries of Eastern Europe with the exception of Yugoslavia.

This is the culmination of the economic counter-moves to the Marshall Plan. Like the Marshall Plan it is being ballyhooed as a mutual aid project. However, just as the Marshall Plan is really aimed at fortifying and advancing American imperialism, so the CEMA is aimed at fortifying and advancing the Stalinist bureaucracy.

DRAIN SATELLITES

The CEMA will help bring the economies of the satellite powers

into closer integration with the economy of the Soviet Union. The Stalinist aim is more systematic draining of the satellite countries for the immediate benefit of Moscow's position.

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

A few examples will show how the bureaucracy has been operating in the satellite countries since the first days of outright plunder. Poland was forced to sell 6,000,000 tons of coal to the USSR last year for the equivalent of \$1.20 a ton when world prices ranged from \$14 to \$20 a ton.

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

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

DOMESTIC OPPOSITION

When Rumania, Hungary, Finland, etc. make deliveries of goods as payments on reparations imposed by Stalin, they are allowed 1938 prices plus 10%, despite inflationary increases of as much as 100% in world market prices since that time. The CEMA is designed to intensify this kind of "mutual assistance." Such exploitation engenders intense dissatisfaction among the satellite countries. In the case of Yugoslavia, resentment flared into the open.

In addition there is widespread

oppositional sentiment to the Stalin regime inside the USSR, as is indicated by the following interesting report of the well-informed Foreign Policy Bulletin:

"If the judgment of observers who have recently spent considerable time in the USSR is to be trusted, Russians who differ with the Kremlin are not thinking in terms of replacing the Soviet system by one patterned on the United States or Britain, but of ridding it of some of its most ruthless controls and bureaucratic deficiencies — in short, of making the Soviet system work better and more humanely."

Besides evidence of this kind, the recent series of far-reaching purges in all spheres of cultural and scientific life were a certain indication, as in previous purges, that dissatisfaction with the regime is profound.

KREMLIN WORRIED

The Stalinist bureaucracy is worried about this bitterness and unrest and believes that a deal with American imperialism would facilitate "pacification" of the satellite countries and liquidation of the disturbing trends at home. One of the first "benefits" of the understanding could be the throttling of the Tito opposition.

On top of this, a deal would postpone Wall Street's projected military assault, thus winning more time for the bureaucracy.

Without such a deal, Moscow will continue to counter Anglo-American blows by bureaucratic devices like the Cominform and CEMA whose defense value to the USSR the Kremlin measures by only one yardstick — how well they strengthen the dictatorial rule of Stalinism.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

National Conference Of Italian Trotskyists Is Held in Rome

The Italian Trotskyist groups which were organized around the magazine *Iva Internazionale* after the Second World Congress of the Fourth International, held their first national conference on Jan. 2 in Rome. Twenty-five delegates from ten local and provincial groups attended.

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

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

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

members of the Social Democratic party.

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

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

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

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

Elections in Japan Show Rising Unrest Among City Workers

The Jan. 23 general elections in Japan revealed a significant polarization of political sentiment. Premier Shigeru Yoshida's ultra-conservative Democratic Liberal Party won a majority of seats in the lower house of Japan's parliament, the Diet. The so-called "center" parties — the Democrats, People's Cooperatives and Social Democrats who constituted the coalition government that carried out MacArthur's orders — lost heavily. The Stalinists, appearing as a revolutionary party to the voters, registered big gains.

The victorious Premier Yoshida is closely connected through marriage to the Mikado and also to a family of wealthy coal barons. His aims in office are to strengthen Japanese capitalism, cut down the number of government employees, launch a government drive against the labor movement, impose wage controls and stamp out "communism."

MacArthur hailed Yoshida's victory as a triumph for the "conservative philosophy of government."

MacArthur's elation is understandable. One of his major aims in Japan has been to safeguard the Mikado from the anger of the working people, to head off a working class revolution and build up Japanese capitalism as an ally in Wall Street's projected war against the Soviet Union.

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

One of the results of this policy, apparently quite unexpected to MacArthur, was the strengthening of the Communist Party. Just before the election his headquarters had gleefully announced a drop in "communist influence" in the trade unions and predicted that the Communist Party would make only slight gains in the election due to temporary factional dissension among left wing

Allied Court Frees Ace Nazi Diplomat; Restores His Fortune

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

Condemned to serve eight years at hard labor as a major war criminal, von Papen was not only freed by the Allied "denazification" court after four years' imprisonment but all his properties, confiscated by previous court decision, were returned to him except for a token fine of \$9,000.

Von Papen revealed that he will take a vacation while awaiting restoration of his holdings in the rich Saar and Rhineland areas. The size of his fortune was not revealed.

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

Washington and London are restoring the former Nazi and their backers to power in preparation for the constitution of a Western German government. Plans are to include this puppet regime under the provisions of the North Atlantic Pact. American militarists already envisage mobilization of 500,000 German youth as the first contingent of a new Prussian army to be used in another invasion of the Soviet Union in Wall Street's projected world war.

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MOURN UNTIMELY DEATH OF BELGIAN TROTSKYIST

Comrade O. Henry, well-known in the Belgian labor movement under the pen-name of Sem, died suddenly Jan. 14 at the age of 44. He was a member of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Belgian section of the Fourth International). The cause of his death was not reported.

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

of the party's May 1, 1939, manifesto against the war, one of the basic documents of the Belgian Trotskyists.

When the Belgian Trotskyist party was forced underground at the outbreak of war and many of the older leaders of the party dropped into inactivity, Comrade Sem became the leading militant around whom the party leadership was reconstituted. Three times—in 1939-40, in 1944 after the Gestapo arrested almost all the new leaders of the party, and in 1947—he carried the heavy responsibility of guiding the organization by himself.

Sem was the organizer of the International Pre-conference of 1942 which reunited the Belgian and French Trotskyist leaders in the underground during the Nazi occupation. He participated in the European Conference of the Trotskyist movement in February 1944 and in the April 1946 World Pre-Conference of the Fourth International. During the war, he also organized the underground publication and distribution of the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International which was written by Leon Trotsky.

With the death of Comrade Sem, the Belgian section and the entire Fourth International lost one of its most seasoned cadres, one of its most capable leaders and a comrade and friend of stainless honesty and integrity.

Concert for Kutcher

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is proud to announce that they have secured the services of three distinguished musicians to help raise funds for the work of the committee. Harriet Salerno, pianist; Broadus Erle, violinist; and Seymour Barab, cellist, are donating their services in a chamber music concert at Carnegie Recital Hall, on Feb. 22. Tickets are \$1.20 each and may be secured by writing to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y. Watch for further announcements.

SAN FRANCISCO & OAKLAND NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

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

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

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

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

1739 Fillmore Street, 4th floor, San Francisco

The Economic Causes of U.S. War Drive

By John Saunders

The capitalist press is filled with speculation as to a possible "change of line" by the Kremlin in favor of a deal with Washington. On this point we can give an unequivocal answer: Such a deal has been Stalin's aim ever since the end of the war when American imperialism brusquely terminated its war alliance with Moscow and embarked on its "get tough" policy. It is Washington which has studiously held aloof from entering into another deal. It is Washington which has the final say.

American imperialism is aware that European capitalism survives primarily because of Stalinist treachery to the working class. With the masses of Asia in ferment, a deal with Stalin might prove the only means of

staving off revolution in the Orient in the immediate period. A *modus vivendi* could be utilized by Washington to crush the incipient revolts and lay the groundwork for a more thorough exploitation of the colonial lands. This breathing spell could also be used to bolster the new alliance being formed against the Soviet Union and keep the latter from overruling all Europe and Asia when the Third World War breaks out.

DANGER OF BUST

There is, however, one big cloud on the horizon which becomes ever more threatening and which motivates Washington's thinking and planning. It is the danger of economic collapse. Truman was absolutely correct when he stated in his Economic Message to Congress "that our unparalleled prosperity has not been maintained by chance." If American capitalism had relied only on filling the shortages created by the war, we would have long ago been in the throes of depression.

Among many factors there was the Marshall Plan which prevented last year's decline in exports from becoming much more drastic. But the most important factor for the continued period of prosperity following the break in prices of agricultural commodities almost a year ago has been the increased tempo in war preparations. Truman now finds it necessary to step up armament spending and to add another two billion dollars to the budget, with additional funds envisaged for the purpose of sending lend-lease war equipment to the countries of Western Europe.

In order to further bolster U.S. exports it is now contemplated to guarantee American capitalist

investments in colonial countries. Nor does the administration overlook the fact that a deal with the Soviet Union would increase exports to Eastern Europe as well as to China.

ONE CONDITION

A deal with the Kremlin could be advantageous to Washington from a political and economic point of view on only one condition. Under no circumstances must there be a let-down in war preparations. It cannot even be said that the actual use of these weapons in the coming war is the most important consideration.

With America's tremendous productive potential any laxity in this respect can be easily remedied. The main reason is that our whole economic structure would collapse overnight in case of disarmament.

With the existing and potential glut of goods on the market because of the inability of the masses to buy them at prevailing prices, capitalism can survive only by siphoning off production for non-consumption purposes. War preparations and war itself become the perfect destroyers of consumption goods, replacing the less efficient dumping and "plowing under" policy of the depression days.

Even increased exports cannot fully replace armaments in staving off a depression. Such increased exports, confined in the main to heavy industry, help to industrialize the less advanced countries who on the morrow become the competitors of American imperialism in the world markets. Moreover, in the immediate period an increase of American exports would sharply cut into the foreign sales of the industrialized European countries, thereby further undermining their shaky economic foundation. And American imperialism cannot afford to permit its allies to sink deeper into the mire.

lin's good faith toward the capitalist powers and playing up Stalinism as a world revolutionary force.

American imperialism understands only too well the falsity of its charges. Stalinism has indeed been treacherous, but to the world working class. But Washington must continue to sing this tune. For it must justify the back-breaking burdens placed on the American taxpayers and the failure to produce the much-needed housing and other vital necessities.

Equally important, American imperialism knows that any deal with the Kremlin will be transitory in nature. For one thing, there is a limit to which armaments can be stepped up under such circumstances. It won't make sense to the American people. The inadequate purchasing power of the masses will bring about a greater and greater glut of consumption goods, necessitating still more astronomical figures for armaments to avoid economic collapse.

In the end, American imperialism must abrogate any deal it might make with Moscow and go all out for war preparation. Facing either bankruptcy if this mad whirl is continued, or economic collapse if it is not, the imperialists will gamble on war as their only alternative for saving the capitalist system. Thus any deal with Moscow can be nothing more than a slight breather in a continuing cold war in preparation for the shooting war to come. Nor does it matter who happens to be President or Secretary of State. It is economic compulsion of a decrepit capitalist system which is driving the U. S. inexorably to war.

Union Locals Aid Kutcher Defense

CIO local unions in many different sections of the country and from several Internationals last week responded to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee's requests for support in its work.

Among the UAW local contributing to Kutcher's defense fund were Bell Local 501, Buffalo; Amalgamated Local 280, Detroit; Chevrolet Local 659, Flint; Local 663, Anderson, Ind.; Local 407, West Allis, Wis.; Lincoln Local 900, Detroit; White Motor Local 82, Cleveland.

Following Kutcher's appearance as a guest speaker before the Connecticut CIO convention, contributions were also received from the Greater Hartford Joint Board of the CIO Textile Workers; New Haven Local 125 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Local 338 of the CIO United Rubber Workers in New Haven.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

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

Virginia Barrett of Milwaukee: "I inclose an express money order in the amount of \$50 which we wish to apply on our *Militant* bill. . . \$40 of the enclosed amount represents proceeds from our recent *Militant* celebration."

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party distributed copies of last week's *Militant* at the New York AFL Painters Union Locals 848, 892, 51, 261, 442, 905, and 1011. This issue contained the back page story on how Louis Weinstock, Stalinist and former secretary-treasurer of Painters' District Council No. 9, used his union position to further the scabby Stalinist campaign against the 18 SWP members who were railroaded to prison during the war

under the provisions of the Smith Act.

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

A.E.O. of Chicago, a new subscriber, has asked that his subscription start with the first issue of 1949. We are glad to supply these back issues. Other readers who find back issues useful can get 1947 bound volumes at \$4.50 each. 1948 bound volumes will be ready soon.

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Negro History Week and the Workers

By J. Meyer

Negro History Week is no celebration of mere academic interest in the truth about Negroes. The Negroes had to organize themselves to find out and teach their own history as a weapon in the struggle. Generation after generation, distinguished and learned bourgeois professors, historians and publicists poured out a mass of lies, distortions, falsifications of the history of the Negro people in the United States.

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

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

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

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

GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

EFFECT ON LIBERALS

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

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

Despite the work of DuBois and

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

BASIC FOR UNDERSTANDING

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

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

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

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

But Abraham Lincoln himself, during the Civil War, said about

Scottsboro Case, Northern Style



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

the Negro soldiers: "Take two hundred thousand men from our side and put them on the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

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

ALL OVER THE WORLD

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

When this is done, and it will inevitably be done, the history of the United States will have to be rewritten from top to bottom. The discrimination against Negro

slaves, i.e., against Negro labor, in the Civil War is only a special case of the discrimination against labor as a whole consistently practised by bourgeois historians the world over.

History is never a history only of the past. It is always concerned with the present and therefore with the future. That is why the bourgeois historians write as they do. But two can play at that game. Today some of the younger Negro historians are delving into the Abolitionist movement and the conflicts between whites and Negroes inside this movement. They are not doing this merely for history's sake. They are seeking to find answers to the difficult relation between the special struggle for Negro emancipation and the general struggles in the nation as a whole. This was a serious problem in 1840-1865. It is a serious problem today.

The Negroes have been impelled to this, among other reasons, by the policies of the Stalinists. The Stalinists did some very good work in the field of Negro history. But here, as everywhere else, their manipulation of economics, politics, history, to suit the policy of the

moment, has bred a growing distrust of them. The direct influence of the Stalinists on Negro historical writing, which was at one time great, is declining.

The whole situation presents a powerful challenge both to the genuine Marxists and the labor movement as a whole. The Negro historians have done a remarkable work that extends beyond the writing of history as such. Their probes into the Abolitionist movement will have great influence in helping to shape future mass political movements in the United States. But to do this work as it ought to be done they need to master historical method, Marxism, the science of history as developed by Marx, Trotsky, and other great proletarian writers, not excluding Daniel de Leon. That science today is corrupted by Stalinism but it is vigorously practised by the United States and all over the world. There is a fruitful field of mutual collaboration here by Negro historians and the genuine representatives of the great intellectual tradition of Marxism.

But here, as everywhere else, the most fundamental task can be done by organized labor and organized labor alone. It must study the causes of the great successes and the serious limitations of the Negro historians. It must recognize the need for labor to help the Negroes in the great work that they have begun, to subsidize it, to read it, to spread its results. But organized labor now has the power and the resources to begin such an investigation into American history as will right not only the wrongs of Negroes but will rout the professors and historians who have slandered all labor and deceived us and the rest of the world for so long.

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

Memo to the AFL on Civil Rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peace--A Lull in War

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

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

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

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

A Stalinist Replies to the "Star"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



TROTSKY



LENIN

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

— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, 1938.

A New Book on the Life Of Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass by Benjamin Quarles, the Associated Publishers, Inc., 1948, vi + 378 pp., \$4.

By George Lavan

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

This is the first serious full-length biographical study of Frederick Douglass in almost half a century. Previous biographies of this great fighter for freedom were written either during his lifetime or within a dozen years of his death by men who had felt the living impact of his personality. And today these books are difficult to find.

Thus Quarles' book is the first view of Douglass through the eyes of modern historical scholarship. It is obvious that the writer is a painstaking scholar who studied all known source material on Douglass and brought to light a good deal hitherto unknown. Any student of Douglass or the Abolitionist movement will have to put this volume on his "must" list.

UNCERTAIN ATTITUDE

It should be stated, however, that this is by far not the definitive biography of the greatest Negro leader in United States history. This is not because of any lack of material about Douglass but rather because of the author's uncertainty about Douglass' historical position and character and about the dynamics of the Abolitionist movement.

While the reader closes the volume with much knowledge about Douglass and his multifarious activities, he does not finish the last page with a clear picture of the kind of man Douglass was or where Douglass stands historically in relation to the other giants of Abolitionism — Garrison and Phillips. The author describes

Douglass' turn to political action and his break with Garrison's sectarian anti-political position in terms of possible opportunist motives. No attempt is made to evaluate the correctness or incorrectness of Douglass' step in advancing the destruction of slavery.

The closest the author comes to a political evaluation of this central strategic problem in the Abolitionist crusade is the statement that "Douglass' position, in contrast to that of Garrison, was one of reform, rather than of revolution." This thesis, first propounded by Booker T. Washington, is suspect in motive and unwarranted by history.

The book's failure to present Douglass as an integrated and understandable personality flows from the author's contradictory attitudes toward his subject. Too often Quarles leans over backwards to avoid any of the elements of hero-worship which may be charged against the early biographers of the great Negro fighter. There is no objection to historical debunking, even though one might argue the need is not to debunk Douglass today but to make him known to high school and college students of history who have yet to hear his name. But the debunker should justify his destruction of previously-held views and substantiate his own position. In this volume the debunking is often by implication rather than proof.

FALSE APPROACH

For instance, in the chapter dealing with the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South, the author describes Douglass' reaction as follows: "If hostilities continued indefinitely, the Negro problem, in its various guises, would assume increasing proportions, and as the nation's most articulate colored man, he [Douglass] would shine in reflected importance. The prospect of position and preferment put him in high spirits. . . ." This kind of posthumous mind reading, for which the author is able to furnish no evidence, opens Douglass to charges of rankest careerism.

One wonders if the author realized the inferences that the reader cannot help but draw.

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

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The Saga of the 10c. Fare

By Robert Chester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile the tinkle of dimes in fare boxes makes pleasant music to the "wronged" taxpayers. But they still want justice and seem determined to get it. To prepare for any eventualities the Utilities Manager has ordered that five million tokens be kept in reserve for any future revision in the fare. Knowing these gentlemen we can assume that they have begun the campaign for a 12½ cent fare.

Democrats and Republicans Combine to Save Filibuster

By Albert Parker

Filibustering must be outlawed in the U. S. Senate if civil rights legislation is to be passed, but both capitalist parties are united in opposing any change in rules that would really bar filibusters. That is the sum and substance of the hearings by the Senate Rules Committee, which were closed Feb. 1.

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

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

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

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

The Senate Rules Committee held an open hearing on the problem, at which only Senators could testify. The proposal to amend the rules so that a majority could end debate on any matter, motion as well as measure, was never even discussed seriously. Most non-Southern Senators don't favor such a "radical" move because they feel that some day they too might be in a position where they wouldn't want the majority to rule.

Aside from this consideration, most Republicans are leery of the idea of closure by majority vote because they are hoping sooner or later in the present session to cement an alliance with the Southern Democrats and don't want to offend them too much at this point.

As for the Democrats, NAACP Secretary Walter White, an ardent Trumanite, was compelled to send Truman and Barkley tele-

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

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

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

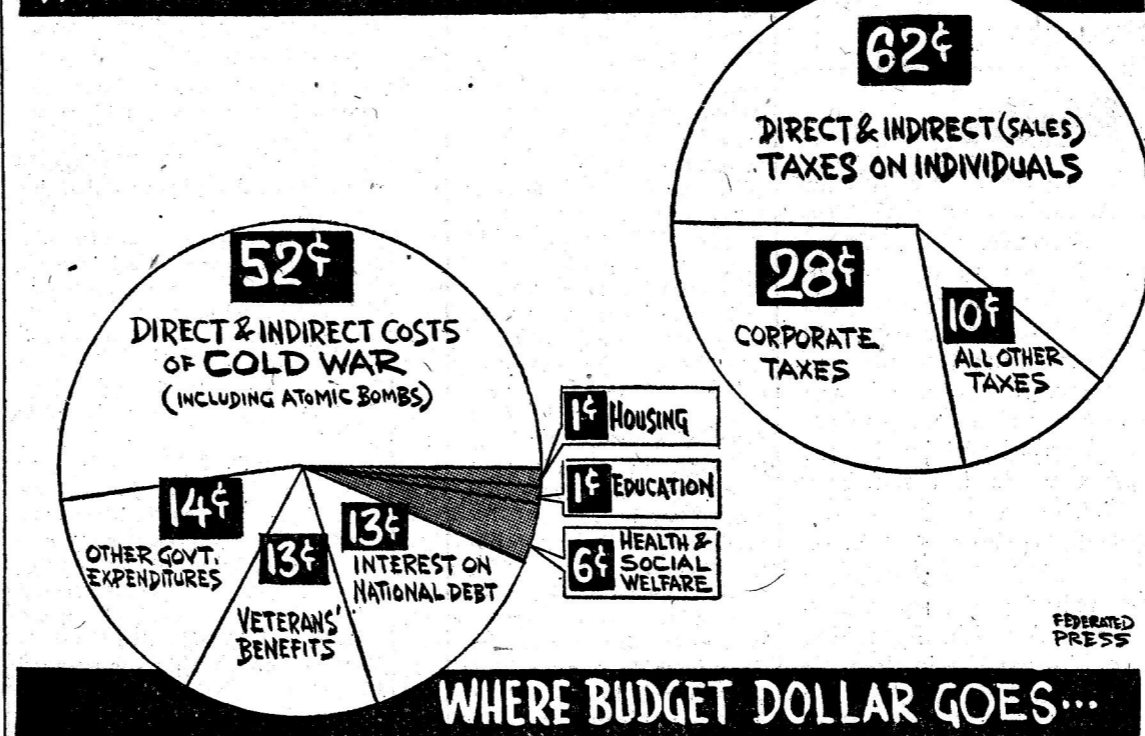
But the Senate's best is not good enough. Since it will not prevent filibusters by the Southern Senators, minority rule will continue to obstruct action on civil rights legislation. On the whole, despite blustering, the Southern Democrats will accept such a "compromise" because it won't hamper their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

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

The Southern Democrats would rally all their energy and forces for such a fight, but that would only make their defeat all the more conclusive. And their defeat would be certain because the dramatic tie-up of all business in the Senate would result in such an outcry from the masses — in the South as well as the North — that even the Bourbons would have to give heed and to back track.

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

WHERE TAX DOLLAR COMES FROM...



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

Letter to a Student

By Grace Carlson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If you find it possible to stop in to visit us, I can weight you down with leaflets and pamphlets and statistics favoring the Wagner Bill and a program of socialized medicine. We are for the Wagner Bill as a forward step on the road toward better health for American workers. I hope that you will support this bill in your college paper.

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

Big Business Clamors For Speed in CP Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

Court opened Friday with the morning papers screaming about the House Un-American Committee's charge that the primary aim of the Stalinists is "espionage" and trumpeting news of the arrest in this city of Sam Carr, a Canadian Stalinist, who is held for deportation to Canada to face "spy" charges.

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

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

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

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

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

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party? These questions answered by Joseph Hansen in this 32-page pamphlet. Send for your copy. 10c

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Eighteen Trotskyists were imprisoned during the war under the same thought-control law now used against the Stalinists. The Stalinists supported the government's attack on the Trotskyists and tried by every foul means to sabotage the struggle against that frameup.

Again speaking correctly, Goldsmith says not just the Stalinist defendants but rather 140 million people whose rights are imperiled will sit in the prisoners' dock. But he fails to add that among the same millions, who also sat in the prisoners' dock with the 18 Trotskyists, were the rank and file of the Communist Party.

The Stalinist leaders betrayed their own rank and file in that fight and helped the government establish a precedent for the present thought-control attack on the Communist Party.

Goldsmith refers to people opposed to the thought-control attack on the Stalinists who say: Let the trial proceed and depend upon the Supreme Court to knock out the Smith Act. His only answer is that every democratic tradition is destroyed when men must face trial for their ideas.

That is true. But he deliberately fails to mention a big and stub-

born fact showing the real attitude of the Supreme Court toward thought-control in this country.

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

Writing on this question in the Jan. 29 Nation, Robert Bendiner says that although the Supreme Court rejected the appeal of the Trotskyists, "it does not follow that the course the court took in war time would be the one adopted now." I don't know whether Bendiner is a Social Democrat or an ADA liberal. It makes little difference because both think very much alike — muddle-headed and with Micawber-like faith in capitalist "democracy."

History has proven again and again that reliance on the Supreme Court to protect civil rights is a trap. The fight against thought-control prosecutions must begin right now, on all fronts, and continue until the infamous Smith Act is repealed.

TRUMAN'S BILL NO BAR TO USE OF INJUNCTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

UNION LEADERS CONTENT

Despite its dangerous loopholes, the Truman bill is no worse than measures which some labor leaders had voluntarily offered to support; Dubinsky, for example, had asked for the retention of the anti-communist affidavit along with other restrictive clauses. The union leaders, on the whole, are well-satisfied with Truman's bill. While for tactical reasons they are objecting to one or another clause, they will not

offer it any real opposition if it is passed in its present form — which is by no means certain.

The union leaders had asked Truman for a two-package deal, which would repeal the Taft Act and restore the Wagner Act before any amendments were considered. Truman chose to follow a single-package procedure, which leaves the unions under the disadvantages of the Taft Act and weakens their bargaining position while the debate goes on.

This opens the way for the adoption of T-H amendments to Truman's bill, and puts him in a position to sign virtually any bill finally adopted by Congress as a "lesser evil" and "only alternative" to the existing Taft Act.

Moves to "stiffen" the bill are sure to get strong backing from Democrats as well as Republicans. Since Truman, voluntarily made use of T-H injunctions on many occasions and since he removed some "teeth" from his own bill only at the last minute and under strong labor prodding, it is unlikely that he will really crack the whip to force all Democrats to vote for his measure in its present form.

Despite Truman's duplicity and the likelihood that Congress will modify the bill, the fact remains that it represents a concession to the labor movement and will be regarded as such by the workers, at least for a time.

This development was predicted and analyzed in the resolution on "The Election Results and the Tasks of the SWP," adopted by the SWP National Committee last December and printed in the February issue of the magazine,

Fourth International. Its careful study by union militants will serve as a guide for the struggle to preserve the independence and militancy of the labor movement.

HARD COP, SOFT COP

Briefly stated, this is the situation: After the war, the capitalist class set out to establish "class peace" by the methods of the "hard cop." The aim was to put the unions "in their place"; to make their leadership more conciliatory and conservative; to instill the workers with a feeling of dependence on the good will of the employers and with a sense of their own subordinate position in society; to weaken the unions by reducing their bargaining power while raising that of the corporations. The method adopted was the Taft-Hartley Act.

The 1948 elections showed that it failed to do what was intended. The capitalists had underestimated the resistance as well as the union-consciousness of the workers, and provoked a reaction that could lead to the intensification of the class struggle and its extension onto the field of politics in the form of a labor party challenging the two-party system for power.

The Truman bill is a recognition of this fact. It is also an attempt by the administration to achieve by "soft-cop" methods most of the ends which the Taft-Hartley Act could not achieve with the present relationship of class forces.

It seeks to secure "class peace" by placating the labor leaders, rather than by antagonizing them; by granting them minor con-

cessions in return for major concessions, rather than by demanding that they be the only ones to make concessions; by offering them a junior partnership if they will cooperate, rather than by threatening them with the loss of everything if they won't.

DEADLY DANGERS

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

2. Acceleration of the trend toward the integration of the union movement into the machinery of the capitalist state, which would utterly deprive them of their independent role as defender of the workers' class interests and transform them into mere appendages of the capitalist government.

These dangers, which are increased by the policies of the union leaders and their liberal allies, must be combatted vigorously. The starting point for this fight should be opposition to Truman's bill and a struggle for the restoration of the Wagner Act, with no ifs, ands or buts. The premise for this struggle should be the need to apply curbs not to the labor movement, which represents the interests of the vast majority, but to the rule of the rapacious capitalist class which is out to dominate the whole world.