

# Wildcat Strikes Win Wage Gains In Auto Industry

By Howard Lerner  
SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan

DETROIT, Sept. 4 — The rank and file auto workers have once again shown they are the pacemakers of American labor. The Chrysler wage increases and the new Ford wage, pension and insurance adjustments. The pressure of stoppages by thousands in all Ford plants won out. The new Ford agreement brings the Ford workers in line with the GM escalator agreement plus additional concessions.

## HOW THEY STARTED

The strikes started in the Chrysler plants with thousands walking out daily, making production of cars impossible. Picket lines were set up at Chrysler Highland Park, where the police were fought off. Such militant fighting actions forced Chrysler to grant the increase. Throughout Detroit plant after plant went down as the workers felt the need to exert pressure to win cost of living wage increases.

Before the Chrysler development, President Stellato of Ford Local 600 answered the company's stubborn refusal with a threat to strike — but only after the contract ran out Jan. 1. However, when the Ford workers took their cue from the Chrysler workers, Stellato was forced to change his tune. He was compelled to adopt a diplomatic attitude to this rank and file movement. So popular and widespread was the wildcat movement that not a single worker has yet been penalized anywhere in Detroit for participation or leadership.

## Escalator Clause, 8c at Ford, But With 5-Year Pact

DETROIT, Sept. 4 — On Labor Day, the Ford Motor Co. in conjunction with the UAW announced the signing of a new contract. It provides for:

An immediate 8c hourly cost-of-living increase; an escalator clause geared to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, similar to the one at GM; a \$25 monthly increase in pension benefits; a basic pay raise of 4c an hour on June 1, 1951 and an additional 4c on each June 1 thereafter through June 1, 1954; an improved insurance plan with the company paying half of the hospitalization plan; paid-up life insurance policies of \$1,000 for retiring workers who qualify for the \$125 monthly pensions; an additional 5c for skilled workers and the production foundry workers, and premium pay of 5c an hour for workers on seven day operations; increased differential pay for afternoon and midnight shift workers; and three week vacations for 15 years or more seniority.

The new contract grants economic gains, but does not solve either of the two biggest problems facing the Ford workers, namely, speed-up and the run-away shop. It does not change any of the non-economic clauses that deal with working conditions, production standards and a badly needed increase in union representation.

The new contract is to run for five years, and will expire two days after the GM expiration date. Acceptance depends upon ratification by the Ford workers.

## WHAT WAS DECISIVE

If the auto workers had followed Reuther's policy of "No strikes, live up to your contracts," no progress would have been possible. Not one of these strikes had the backing of the International officers. Where meetings were held in connection with these strikes, the International representatives ordered the workers back to work in each case. Three weeks of action on an industry-wide basis brought greater results than Reuther's entire 1949 economic drive. In addition it won (Continued on page 2)

# MYRA T. WEISS RUNS FOR CONGRESS IN CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 5 — A Declaration of Intention to run for Congress in the November election was filed here today by Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles.

She will contest the Congressional seat in the 19th California District. Her sole opponent will be the incumbent, Chet Holifield, a "liberal" Democrat who won both the Democratic and Republican nominations in the primaries. Holifield is also supported by the Stalinist-dominated Independent Progressive Party, which refused to run a candidate against him.

Myra Tanner Weiss will appear on the ballot as an "independent." California election laws make it impossible for the Socialist Workers Party to get on the ballot and are among the worst in the country.

Her candidacy is being sponsored by the Committee for Myra Tanner Weiss for Congress, which has opened an election campaign headquarters at 3012 East 1 St., near Evergreen, in the 19th Congressional District.

The committee is busy now collecting the necessary signatures to nominating petitions to put the name of Myra Tanner Weiss on the ballot. It also plans to sponsor the candidate in a series of speaking engagements before various organizations in the district, arrange radio and television ap-

## NEXT WEEK:

Yugoslavia and Korea

To the Memory of Oscar Coover, by Farrell Dobbs

SWP Enters Election Campaign in Minnesota

Workers of the World, Unite!

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# Senate "Fair Dealers" Push Concentration-Camp Measure

## Hitting the Pipe



# Boss Parties Endorse Machine-Made Tickets

By Gladys Barker  
SWP Candidate for Lt. Governor of N. Y.

NEW YORK, Sept. 6 — The state conventions of the major parties convene today to select their candidates for the coming elections. The horse trading, machine maneuvers and triple-crosses have been completed behind the scenes, and all that remains is the formal nominations, with perhaps a few squabbles on secondary posts.

The Democratic bosses have picked for Governor a hack from the Bronx, Walter A. Lynch, who has done what he was told for the last ten years as a member of the House of Representatives. His latest act in Congress was to vote in favor of the Wood police state bill.

Lynch's nomination was due to the fact that the bosses' previous selection, Judge Albert Conway, was too raw for even the compliant labor and Liberal Party leaders to swallow. But while the labor leaders have a certain amount of limited "veto power" over some of the Democratic nominees, they don't have any pow-

er to get the nomination for their "preferred" list. At best, they were lukewarm for Lynch before his nomination, that is, assuming that they had ever heard of him before.

The Republican gubernatorial nomination goes (big surprise!) to Thomas E. Dewey, who broke his word given a few months ago and decided to draft himself for re-election as his "sacrifice" in the present "crisis."

## DUBOIS' CANDIDACY

The Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party decided to run a candidate for Governor (to keep their place as a "legal" party on the ballot) but chief interest in their state centers around the U.S. Senatorial nomination of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 82-year old founder of the NAACP and noted historian and sociologist. (A penetrating evaluation of his role was printed in the May-June issue of Fourth International.)

Dr. DuBois' willingness to let himself be used by the Stalinists in recent years has been pitiful, but never more so than in the present case. For it is not the in-

tervention of the Stalinists to wage a genuine independent campaign around his candidacy, but merely to utilize his prestige to promote their "spite" efforts to negotiate another dirty deal with the capitalist parties.

Last year the ALP abstained from running anyone against Democratic Senatorial candidate Lehman, which represented a form of underhanded support for him. This was the Stalinist way of offering the Democrats a deal in return for being allowed to reelect Marcantonio in the 18th District.

But this time the Democrats rejected the offer, and ganged up with the Republicans and Liberals on a single anti-Marcantonio candidate. The DuBois candidacy is the Stalinist answer. Last year they helped Lehman get elected, this year they are running against him in a tight race. Their sole aim is to prove to the Democrats that it doesn't pay not to make deals with the ALP. In other words, their policy has no more resemblance to independent labor political action this year than it did last year.

# Truman Defends Unpopular War

By Joseph Keller  
Truman's "Report to the Nation" on Sept. 1 was a personal effort to stir up a little popular enthusiasm, both here and abroad, for his undeclared war in Korea and to lull suspicion of his military moves toward Formosa and Indo-China.

This was the most widely broadcast speech in radio history, aimed at reaching every part of the globe. It was evident that Truman attached extraordinary importance to the fact that hundreds of millions would hear his words from his own lips, as though he wanted to impress on all listeners that the U. S. President personally was reassuring them about U.S. aims in Korea and the Far East.

The significance of the speech lay not in its words — glittering generalities that have become shop-worn with long use — but in its timing and, most of all, the circumstances that led up to and inspired it.

First of all, Truman and the Democratic Party are alarmed at the popular reaction to the Korean war. Never have the American people been so unenthusiastic about any war. Washington is being flooded with bitter letters against the war, rising prices and profiteering. Arthur Krock, N. Y. Times political commentator, writes of the "bewilderment and anxiety at the Capitol" because "the Democrats glean from their correspondence that the war is unpopular" and Democratic Party influence has visibly waned as a result.

Second, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Europe, as attested by all observers, have been aroused to fear and loathing of the United States because of Washington's support for the murderous dictatorship of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, the terrible U. S. bombings of Korean

civilian centers and the sending of the American fleet to "defend" Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek's regime. This country is fast becoming isolated behind a wall of world hatred.

Third, a "war of aggression" and the seizure of territories are being advocated openly by powerful elements within the top government and military circles. It is known that Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson has been talking "preventive war." Navy Secretary Francis Matthews has urged that the U. S. pay "even the price of instituting a war" to "compel peace." General MacArthur, U.S.-UN commander in Korea and commander of all U. S. forces in the Far East, has called for seizure of Formosa as a key base from which to bomb Asia "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

Truman's speech was timed expressly, and broadcast on such wide a scale, to offset the effect on American and world opinion of the views publicly expressed by

such figures as Matthews and MacArthur.

Whoever heard Truman's speech could not fail to be struck by its repetition, like a monotonous incantation, of the words "peace," "freedom" and "free nations." It was as though he were trying to convince people by dimming the same slogans over and over again into their ears, like cigaret advertising.

## EFFECTS OF KOREA

Why has the U. S. invaded Korea? Truman answered, for "your liberty and mine" — "the right to express our opinions, the right to raise our children in our own way, the right to choose our jobs, the right to plan our future, and the right to live without fear."

In the same speech, however, he proposed the immediate increase of the armed forces to three millions "for a long time to come." He said that "we must now divert a large share" of America's (Continued on Page 2)

# WITCH-HUNT AIDED BY BOTH PARTIES IN HOUSE

It would be a good thing if every American would go to the library and read in the Aug. 29 Congressional Record the text of the debate held that day in the House of Representatives on the Mundt-Nixon-Wood-McCarraan "anti-subversive" bills. It would be a good thing because then every American would know that the Bill of Rights is in deadly danger and that neither of the two major parties has the slightest intention of blocking or defeating this danger.

The House was considering its own variant of these police-state measures — the Wood Bill (H.R. 9490), bearing the title, "Subversive Activities Control and Communist Registration Act." The debate ended with the adoption of the bill by a vote of 345 to 20 — 211 Democrats for, 17 against; 134 Republicans for, 2 against; one ALP member against, and 56 Representatives not voting.

It was a scene to gladden the heart of any fascist. There, in the name of combatting "subversive" activities, the House was subverting democratic rights. Not only that, but the handful of opponents to the Wood Bill were disorganized, ineffective, intimidated and conciliatory. The most reactionary elements had the upper hand, they knew it and they showed it.

The unspokeable Rankin (D, Miss.) speared his usual filth against those who are not "white gentiles." Harrison (D, Va.) baited the opponents of the bill and gloated that "the time is nearly at hand to put the Communists underground — six feet underground." And a number of Representatives went out of their way to threaten the few who were not ready to vote for the Wood Bill.

THREATS  
Rep. Lyle (D, Tex.) took the floor for that sole purpose. He said: "Mr. Speaker, not one word, not one paragraph, not one section in this bill ought to be offensive to any good American. Those it does offend I think ought to be required to step up and register so that they could be reviewed by all good Americans."

A similar attempt at intimidation was made by Rep. Jennings (R, Tenn.), who took the line that "some of these fellows who claim they can see danger to the liberties of the people in a bill like this" are as "dangerous" as those who are "a party to the conspiracy to overthrow this country or to betray it."

Watch out! they were saying. Watch out because not even members of Congress who oppose this bill will be able to escape its penalties if it is enacted into law. In their own way they were confirming the charge that the bill is an all-embracing attack on ideas which are currently unpopular with the ruling class, and that it will be used even against liberals.

## HOW THE POLICE STATE BILL WILL AFFECT YOU

By John F. Petrone

Everybody who belongs to any organization is a potential target of the Wood Bill ("Subversive Activities Control and Communist Registration Act") passed by the House of Representatives on Aug. 29.

For this bill would empower a five-member board to designate any organization in the country as "communist" or "communist front" and order it to register as such. The penalty for non-compliance by the organization would be a \$10,000 fine for each offense, the penalty for officers or members required to register would be a \$10,000 fine and/or imprisonment up to five years for each offense. (Each day of failure to register would constitute a separate offense.)

The language in the bill is so broad that the board could decide almost anything. For example, its decision on whether or not an organization is a "communist front" would be based in great part on "the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those of any Communist-action organization, Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement."

That is thought-control with a vengeance. Thus a pacifist group could be dubbed a "communist front" solely because over a period of time its "positions" happen to coincide with those of the Stalinists. As Rep. Bardick of North Dakota, one of the two Republicans to vote against the bill, said:

"THE FIRST STEP"  
"Under this bill when a citizen thinks out a certain plan of action

that ought to be followed in government, and some communistic group announced a similar conclusion, then that citizen can be declared a Communist and branded as an undesirable citizen and excluded from all government employment or any employment in any way connected with the government. Is that the doctrine our fathers fought for when this government was established? . . .

"If this bill became law every citizen will be afraid to speak his mind for fear that he might announce a thought that some Communist organization had at some time or other announced. Criticism of the government will end and that is the first step to destroy freedom and replace it with a dictatorship."

In at least one respect the Wood Bill is even worse than the notorious Mundt-Nixon Bill. The latter had a provision exempting labor unions from its operation, but that has been removed from the Wood Bill. Thus any union "that might be extremely liberal could easily come within the four squares of the definitions of Communist organizations," according to Rep. Celler (D, N. Y.). The same would apply to any Negro organization, student group, debating society, religious body, etc., whose policies fell under the definition of "communist" given by the five-member board.

No organization could long exist under the provisions of the (Continued on Page 4)

# Nazi-Like Bill Would Nullify Trial by Jury

By Art Preis  
Leading Trumanite "Fair Dealers" in the Senate have presented a new bill "with tough legislative teeth" to give the administration the power "when a national emergency requires it" to throw anyone into a concentration camp without jury trial or bail and to detain them there indefinitely.

Sponsored by Senators Kilgore (W.Va.), Lehman (N.Y.), Douglas (Ill.), Graham (N.C.), Humphrey (Minn.) and Kefauver (Tenn.), this "Fair Deal" bill is so Nazi-like that even Senator Mundt, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon-Wood "Red Registration" bill, called it more "repressive" than his now police-state bill and charged it "adopts the tactics of the Gestapo and the OGPU."

Under the bill proposed by the "Fair Dealers," the Attorney General could intern anyone charged by him with being a "danger to national security." He need only claim "reasonable grounds" to "suspect" that an individual "might" be engaged in "espionage or sabotage."

The Attorney General's powers would become operative in case of an invasion, a declaration of war by the U. S., "an insurrection in the U. S. in aid of a foreign power" or simply by the declaration of an "internal security emergency" by Congress or the President.

Any time the President saw fit to find a state of "internal security emergency" — during a coal or railroad strike, for instance? — the Attorney General could round up thousands upon thousands and toss them into concentration camps, hold them without trial, bail or the right of habeas corpus. They could not be released even on the orders of a federal judge.

## BURDEN OF PROOF

Those arrested would have only the right to a "hearing" before an officer of the concentration camp who would "screen" the prisoners. If not released, an individual could appeal to an appointed administrative board where the "detainee" would have to supply the burden of proof of his innocence.

The Attorney General would only have to show this board "reasonable grounds" for the detention of a "detainee." He would not have to reveal the "evidence" if it comes from "agents or officers" of the government — the FBI — or if such information is considered "dangerous to national security."

"Reasonable grounds" for internment without trial, as defined by the bill, includes membership in the Communist Party after January 1949, "having knowledge of, or giving or receiving instructions in" sabotage or espionage "in the service of" the Communist Party, a foreign government or party, or "other parties" that seek the "overthrow of the government by force or violence." Even "an investigation . . . made in the past, which serves to indicate probable complicity" in an act of espionage or sabotage constitutes "reasonable grounds" for indefinite incarceration without jury trial.

Truman has not said a word against this bill offered by his senatorial henchmen. They presented it after consulting with him at the White House. It is unquestionably being pushed by the administration. It is known that it was drafted with the aid of the FBI which considers bills like those requiring registration of "subversives" unworkable.

This bill empowering him to set up a concentration-camp state is what Truman meant when he spoke several weeks ago about "preserving our basic liberties."

# Lee Pressman -- Graduate of Stalinist School

By George Clarke

The addition of Lee Pressman to the long gallery of recreants and turncoats produced by the Stalinist movement in this country would be of little more than passing interest — so familiar has the pattern of debasement become — were it not for the light it sheds on the phenomenon of renegacy.

The Daily Worker, obviously embarrassed and with no stomach to discuss the broader aspects of Pressman's apostasy, calls him a "stoofie" and lets it go at that. But the subject is not so easily dismissed. Pressman was one of the biggest fish in the Stalinist pond. In his capacity as general counsel for the CIO — a post he held for 12 years — he was in effect the key man in the CP network in the unions; he was the go-between for the Stalinist tops with Philip Murray, the chief instrumentality for their policies and maneuvers. In saying this, a matter of common knowledge, we are not revealing any secrets.

What kind of man was Pressman? Without knowing him in-

imately, his record indicates he was typical of the "figures" associated with Stalinism in its heyday in the Thirties — typical as a blade of grass in a meadow. After a brief sojourn with the Roosevelt administration, he switched his career to the labor movement, by far the fairest of all fields during the depression years for an ambitious young man or a promising lawyer. There Pressman made good.

**PEOPLE'S FRONT SCHOOL**

The recipe for success was simple: stay close to those in power; never let principles get in your way; don't scruple at any means, no matter how base or perfidious. Following this prescription, Pressman was the ideal man for the Stalinists. While he feathered his own nest — and the reward was more than ample — the Stalinists consolidated their hold in many unions, smashed the rising left wing, warred against all militant action, chained the workers to the Democratic Party and broke up all moves toward the

formation of a labor party. It was a game that had many virtues: prestige, respectability, the benediction of those in power, and last but not least, the emoluments of office.

One thing not required were principles and the guts to stick by them in adversity, no matter how unpopular at the moment or how small the minority willing to risk their espousal. Pressman claims that he joined the CP because of concern over the rise of Nazism in Germany and a desire to improve economic conditions in this country. Laudable ideals, but broad enough for almost anyone, even a Matthew Woll, to share. That precisely was the policy of the Stalinists in that period — to keep the struggle for socialism in the background, to blur the class lines, to let every careerist, office-seeker and scoundrel get under their People's Front umbrella.

Stalinism is not a doctrine, a school of thought, a system of ideas; it is unprincipled, opportunist politics, pure and simple. Those who rise to leadership in its

ranks are indoctrinated with the conception that all that counts is power and that no principle is too great, no movement of the masses important enough that it cannot be trampled upon or betrayed in the interest of that power.

**AN ADEPT PUPIL**

Pressman was an adept pupil in this school. So adept in fact that when Stalinist lost its influence in this country with the break-up of the war-time alliance, Pressman finally found his way to the real power, to the rulers in Washington and Wall Street. In joining them, it is noteworthy that he repeats word for word the Stalinist line of the Thirties, substituting only "communism" for "fascism" and "Russia" for "Germany." Nor is it surprising that he should inform on his former comrades and associates; he is merely following a precept he learned and practiced in the Stalinist school.

"The future," says Pressman, "under present grave conditions,

should be of paramount importance in the life of individuals as in the case of nations."

That is undeniable. It looked bad enough in 1948 when he had to leave the employ of the CIO, "of his own accord" as he says. It looks worse today when the Stalinist influence in the union movement is being smashed to smithereens. And to top it all off, there's almost a certain jail sentence awaiting any attorney who defends the Stalinists these days. A man has to know when to get in out of the rain.

Pressman is typical of the innumerable Stalinist turncoats who have been parading before the Un-American Committee and the courts. They fall into two categories: honest, principled men corrupted by the Stalinists, or self-seekers who easily accommodated themselves to Stalinist corruption. Whichever category Pressman fits into, it is clear that he is but another example that Stalinism breeds renegades and informers, not principled socialists and courageous revolutionists.

# Truman Tries to Defend Unpopular Korean War

(Continued from page 1)

productive power to war purposes, which would mean "many changes in our living and working," "hard work and sacrifice," "give up many things we enjoy," "work harder and longer," "impose certain restrictions on ourselves."

For the indefinite future, then, America is to be militarized, the standard of living curtailed, civil liberties abrogated. Our children are going to be raised not "in our own way," but for cannon fodder. Our "right to express our opinion" will be limited to opinions that do not conflict with the war program and militarism.

To the Koreans, Truman said that "we believe that Koreans have a right to be free, independent and united." But for the Koreans, whose country was divided to begin with by a deal between Truman and Stalin, Truman's deeds speak louder than his words. Their country is being systematically pounded into dust by U. S. "strategic" bombings. Thousands of civilians are being massacred.

**EMBARRASSMENT**

Moreover, they are now informed that they are going to get their "independence" through a "United Nations trusteeship," which will rule their country until a "fair election" can be held. Thomas J. Hamilton, UN correspondent of the N. Y. Times, disclosed "the difficulty is that there is a strong probability of an over-all Communist majority if the elections were held before the communication of North Korea had been undone, and before a United Nations reconstruction program had assuaged the bitterness of North and South Koreans against the destruction of their homes during their liberation by United Nations forces. In that case communism would win by an election what it failed to obtain by an invasion."

So, discussions at Lake Success "are turning on the possibility of expanding the powers of the present United Nations Commission for Korea so that it would carry out a reconstruction and re-education program before it held the elections." It is admitted that it would be embarrassing to have the Koreans vote for the

"communist aggressors" instead of their U. S. "liberators." That's where their "independence" would stop.

The people of the rest of Asia are not likely to be reassured by his speech either. Truman may say that the U. S. fleet is in Formosa to "keep it out of the conflict," that "we do not want Formosa or any part of Asia," and "that we believe in freedom for all the nations of the Far East."

But these people in Asia ask, if the U. S. can send armed forces to protect Chiang Kai-shek and keep Formosa from China, if the U. S. can support with money and arms, and possibly soon with troops, the French imperialist rape of Indo-China, why can it not intervene ANYWHERE it considered the "peace" endangered by civil war or "communist aggression?"

**WORDS VS. FACTS**

What are they to think of his talk of "free nations," when they see how Washington supports the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, votes loans to bloody Franco, backs the French puppet Bao Dai in Indo-China, joins with fascist Portugal in the Atlantic Pact — in short, allies itself with every putrid, brutal capitalist dictatorship?

Nor was Truman apt to convince them when he said "we

don't believe in aggressive or preventive war." Shout this as loudly and often as he might, these people — especially those in Asia — regard the whole U. S. policy in the Far East as nothing but "aggressive or preventive war." If Truman does not want to start any world war now by dropping atom bombs on the Soviet Union, as some of those in the administration are urging, that's because he figures that the U. S. is not ready militarily or politically. But the statements of men like Matthews and MacArthur have shown that the ruling circles of America are not morally against "aggression" and the seizure of territories.

Truman may say, over and over again, that he doesn't want a "preventive war." But the fact remains that this involves no moral compunctions. The man who dropped the first atom-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki will not hesitate to "fire the first shot" in a world war if he thinks it advisable and sound tactics. He doesn't find the idea so revolting that he will scrap persons like Matthews, Johnson and MacArthur who advocate "aggressive war." That's what the people of Asia and Europe observe and that's what convinces them rather than Truman's solemn verbal assurances to the contrary.

# AFL Maritime Leaders Uneasy on Purge Rules

A mild protest has been made by officials of AFL seafaring unions against the procedure of the U. S. Coast Guard in "screening" seamen aboard American ships. The statement is signed by Harry Lundberg, Paul Hall and Morris Weisberger, top officials of these unions. It is directed exclusively at the procedure established for appeal and not against the sweeping Nazi-like purge which is victimizing hundreds of militant seamen and making a shambles of the union hiring hall.

The statement served notice that the unions involved would withhold appointment of representatives to the appeal boards until agreement was reached on rules and procedure. These are tri-partite boards, consisting of representatives of the ship-owners, Coast Guards and unions.

It is noted that no conference between the government and the unions has been held on this ques-

tion although the decision to begin the screening purge was made on July 24. In fact, these so-called appeals boards are still not functioning even though the Coast Guard has been wildly swinging its Gestapo ax against the seamen for almost a month.

**PROTEST MOTIVES**

The fakers of the AFL unions are somewhat concerned that the Coast Guard may infringe on union rights, but not to the extent of organizing an effective action. They remain bound, voluntarily, to their own agreement not to tie up any ship in a dispute over screening. On the basis of this commitment the Coast Guard can blandly ignore any protests against the victimization of "legitimate" seamen as so much ineffectual whining.

Frustration in their unscrupulous jurisdictional plans also motivates the protests of Lundberg and Hall, and this is probably the

most important motive in their protest. They had hoped that the Korean war would lead to the government bestowing its blessings on their unions as the officially-favored shipping agencies. Their statements are full of vindictive remarks about the other unions being infested with "commies" while the AFL is "pure," having purged all "reds" (i.e. opponents) on its own. They point with pride to their strikebreaking role in the Canadian seamen's strike a year ago.

In his own bilious, idiotic way, Lundberg even denounces the Coast Guard for having "played Buddy-buddy with the Commies." He is referring here to the failure of the Coast Guard to uphold some prejudiced members of his union who tried to drive Negro seamen off the SS President Wilson.

But far from having any intention to grant Lundberg a shipping monopoly, the government is exploiting the crawling and capitulation of all the maritime union leaders — including Lundberg — to weaken and smash the union hiring hall. The Navy has set up its own shipping agency, the Military Sea Transport Service, and it is hiring non-union seamen to man the ships under its charter.

Lundberg is screaming about the ingratitude of this move. His organization, he shouts, has thousands of "loyal American seamen"; "we do not tolerate Commies or other saboteurs. . . . But the shipowners' government is unmoved by Lundberg's fervent "patriotic" avowals or the laurels he has won as a "Commie purger." It's the union itself they want to smash. Said Rear Admiral Callahan, Commander, Military Sea Transport Service, in response to Lundberg's letter of protest:

"The Civil Service Personnel are all, except in emergency to prevent delay in sailing a vessel, properly licensed or certificated by the Coast Guard and may or may not be Union members. As I am sure you will appreciate, MSTs, in its capacity as Government Agency, cannot require that these employees belong to any Union as a condition for employment."

Meanwhile on the East Coast, the Coast Guard purge is proceeding full blast. In innumerable cases the seamen victimized are being fingered by members of Curran's stool-pigeon officialdom who proceed directly aboard ships for the purpose of giving their blacklist to the Coast Guard. Those who have been screened are being forcibly deprived of their union books, an action equivalent to expulsion without trial in direct contravention of the NMU constitution.

Under cover of this reign of terror, Curran is consolidating an absolute dictatorship. The latest action of the National Council after having limited meetings to once a month, is to empower "special membership meetings" to adopt "emergency decisions." Such meetings can be called on short notice where attendance is limited to few members, mostly administration supporters, and where it is easiest to jam through any decision the bureaucrats desire.

The next move is obviously to limit regular meetings to a semi-annual or annual basis, or to do away with them altogether.

# End Packard Strike



Negotiators of the CIO United Auto Workers and the Packard Motor Car Co. sign a contract ending a 14-day strike of 3,000 employees. The agreement included pay boosts, pension gains and other improvements. In other auto plants the workers, spurred by rising prices and acting independently in wildcat strikes, succeeded in winning wage raises and other demands, including the cost-of-living escalator clause. The workers proved that their living standards are more "sacred" to them than the contract.

# Prominent Leaders of CP in East Germany Purged and Arrested

By Charles Hanley

The crisis in the West German Communist Party and the impending creation of an independent workers party by Marxist groups and former Stalinists (expelled from the West German C.P. because of Titoist tendencies) have undoubtedly increased the anti-Titoist apprehensions and suspicions of the Kremlin's East German agents.

They know that even a number of high Stalinist officials and party functionaries are disappointed about developments in the East German Republic and critical of Moscow's foreign policy. That is why the "Ministry of State Security" has gone into action and why Walter Ulbricht, East German Deputy-Chancellor, Secretary-General of the SED (Stalinist Party of East Germany) and the Kremlin's number one man in Germany, has started a sweeping purge of the party.

The main brunt of the attack appears to be against veteran communists who probably more or less clearly felt how unpopular the absolute dictatorship exercised by Moscow in the satellite countries really is, who know that it stands in the way of a true Socialist policy, and who realize that the regime can become more popular only by achieving a greater amount of independence from Russian orders and exploitation.

Six leading people were expelled from the party and are reported arrested: Bruno Goldhammer, deputy propaganda chief, a close collaborator of Gerhart Eisler; Paul Merker, state secretary of the East German Ministry of Agriculture and former Politburo member; Leo Bauer, chief editor of Radio Berlin and a former Stal-

inist agent in Western Europe; Will Kreikemeyer, general director of the East Zone railways; Lex Ende, former chief editor of Neues Deutschland, official party newspaper, and editor of the Stalinist publication, Friedenspost; and Maria Weiterer, a party organizer.

**"LACKING TRUST"**

They are accused of treason and post-war connections with "American spy Noel H. Field" (who mysteriously disappeared in Eastern Europe last year); of forming a "nest of class enemies" inside the party hierarchy; and of "lacking trust in the Soviet Union as the leading progressive force, in which no doubt is possible."

The Political Committee of the SED announced the purge would continue "until foul liberalism is finished." Four others were fired from government jobs, but so far have not been expelled from the party. Wolfgang Langhoff, manager of the Deutsches Theater, is the best known among these.

It is likely that the purge will not be limited to the higher spheres of the party, and it is certain that it will not really strengthen the Stalinist organization in East Germany. For nothing will be able to stop the crisis of Stalinism. Ulbricht's secret police can arrest party members and other "suspects"; it cannot arrest the ideas of awakening Socialism, it cannot arrest the hopes created by Yugoslavia's resistance to the Cominform.

# Wage Increases Gained By Wildcat Auto Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

the GM cost-of-living escalator clause at Ford. Unfortunately, it did not avoid the five-year agreement signed by Reuther with GM.

The strike wave was touched off in the Chrysler plants by departmental grievances involving violations of seniority rights and wage-cutting classification changes. These grievances were only the ignition sparks. Newspaper commentators had noticed widespread dissatisfaction and restlessness among the auto workers, particularly among the skilled members. It was expressed in the pro-AFL walkout at the Canton Ford plant; in the oppositional moods reflected in the factional disputes in Toledo; in the series of strikes; in the rejection of the agreements by the Hudson and Bendix workers; in the bitter opposition of the skilled tradesmen to the 1950 UAW settlements.

**THE CAUSES**

This mood came to a head in the Chrysler plants where resentment boiled over because no wage gains whatsoever had resulted from the 100-day strike under the Reuther administration. It snowballed under the impact of big galloping rise in the cost of living following the outbreak of the war in Korea.

Then there was the announcement that GM workers would get a 5c. an hour cost-of-living increase as a result of their escalator agreement. Among the skilled workers the dissatisfaction was aggravated by a widening of the difference between their wage scales and those of the AFL. The AFL crafts were obtaining wage increases of between 10 and 20c. an hour.

Daily newspapers reported record profits by auto corporations. To top it all off, there was a tight labor market, particularly among the skilled and semi-skilled workers. The daily papers were filled with want-ads. It was the chance of a lifetime to hit the companies. The workers felt something had better be done soon before the government officials cooked up a deal with the union officials for a wage freeze.

Unlike the well-paid union of-

officials, the auto workers felt the rising cost of living. The rank and file auto workers are different from their cowardly union officials. Their living standards are more important to them than the "sacredness" of the contracts. Reuther had the intention of living up to the agreements, at most to beg a little, but at all costs to avoid any action.

The auto workers knew this could not get results. Militant pressure was necessary to cut a slice of auto profits. Production had to be interrupted, even if it violated Reuther's sacred agreements! The workers in plant after plant completely ignored the international and local leaders. Local leaders either kept still or were forced to go along by the threats of revenge in the coming elections.

In the Chrysler plants day after day departments were closed down by walkouts. This continued for two weeks before the company capitulated. The corporation, thirsting for its lush profits, folded up in the face of the power of the rank and file before the union leaders did. Much the same pattern was followed at Ford. Then the corporation called upon the union leaders to come in and sign an agreement.

While inflation was cutting into the living standard of the rank and file, the International officers spent the union's time figuring out ways and means of putting over a dues increase. This, after spending only three millions on the Chrysler strike out of a seven million dollar strike assessment.

**SKILLED WORKERS**

The backbone of this entire movement was the skilled workers, confident in the knowledge that they were essential and could not be replaced, stubborn in the face of the coldness of Reuther, Mazy and Co. Their aggressiveness gave heart to the production workers who quickly caught the spirit and really crippled production.

The corporations have granted these concessions in the hope of ending the present restlessness. The only place where the present settlement was put to a democratic decision of the rank and file

was in Budd Local 306. The vote there was 151 against to 348 for, pointing to continued dissatisfaction with the present wage settlement.

This series of unauthorized actions sets a new precedent in the auto union. The auto workers can win results when they take matters into their own hands. When they once again have a leadership which responds to their needs and organizes their struggles, much greater progress will be possible.

# Workers Councils Taking Over Yugoslav Factories

Workers are taking over all factories in Yugoslavia where Workers' Committees have been elected. In other factories everything is ready for the elections to the Workers' Councils and Administrative Boards through which the workers will take production into their own hands.

The aluminum plant in Strisce Slovenia, one of the giants of the Five Year Plan, is being managed by workers. Speaking of what has been accomplished, so far, by the Workers' Council in this plant, the President of the Council stated that during the construction of the plant the Council, aided by the workers, overcame all the difficulties that were put in their way by the Cominform refusal to deliver machinery and installations which had been paid for in advance.

The workers of the Belgrade Electric Plant accepted the responsibility put to them by the new Administrative Board of taking the factory into their own hands. Speaking at a meeting of the workers, Djordje Papic, a worker himself, said: "It is difficult for us workers to find words to express exactly what we feel. But we speak from our hearts, and I can only say that today's date of August 18 shall be written in golden letters on the walls of our factory."

The Cahin factory in Lesce Slovenia was also transferred to workers' control. A commemorative tablet was put up by the workers inscribed with the follow-

ing words: "In commemoration of August 18, 1950 when the workers received this factory."

"Ivo Lola Ribar," the heavy machine tool factory near Belgrade and one of the biggest projects of the Five Year Plan, was handed over to the workers. At the formal session of the Workers' Council Vietnamese and French youth from the volunteer work brigades participated. Hong Chuong, Commander of the Vietnamese Brigade, said that the workers and students of Vietnam who came to Yugoslavia to learn the truth about the situation there, could speak freely with workers and peasants everywhere and that they had been convinced that all the accusations leveled at Yugoslavia by the Cominform were nothing but lies. "I am sure," he said, "that Yugoslavia will overcome her present difficulties because her workers are conscious of what they can do."

Workers' Councils have been elected in nearly all mines in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the main mining region of Yugoslavia. These Councils have taken over the management on behalf of the workers.

(Reprinted from Sept. 1 Yugoslav Bulletin, published in London.)

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TROTSKY

"When an ignorant peasant prays, he really wants peace. When a simple worker or citizen... comes out against war, we can really believe him — he really wants peace though only rarely does he know how to get it. But the bourgeois pray in their churches not for peace but for the maintenance and increase of their markets and colonies: if possible peacefully (it is cheaper); if impossible — by means of arms."

—Leon Trotsky, article in Socialist Appeal, Oct. 1, 1938



LENIN

The Politics of Green and Murray

Union bureaucrats like AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray seem to live in a political Never-Never Land. Their politics, as reflected in their Labor Day statements, appears to come from some realm not of this world.

Green, for instance, spoke of the need "to substitute free, progressive governmental policies for the kind of torism practiced by the last two Congresses" and complained that the present Congress "does not represent the will of the American people."

That's a fact, of course, no honest person will dispute. But when Green says it, what it really means is: "This Congress, which is nothing but a pack of anti-labor reactionaries who do not represent the will of the American people, is the Democratic-controlled Congress I told American labor to vote for in 1948 and whose election I then hailed as a great victory for labor."

So he told the workers on Labor Day to do away with this "tory" Congress that he hailed two years ago and to elect a "truly liberal" Congress — by supporting the same kind of candidates he helped to elect to the present Congress.

Philip Murray talked about fighting for "the program and the spirit of the Fair Deal," building "better homes for our people," banishing "evil discrimination," improving minimum wages and so-

cial security, adopting national health insurance — by voting for "Fair Deal" Democrats, of course.

Where has Murray been living these past few months — in Mars? Doesn't he know that the "Fair Dealers" he told us to vote for in 1948 liquidated the "Fair Deal" at the start of the Korean war? While he is still talking about a "Fair Deal," the "Fair Deal" Congress is talking about concentration camps for political dissenters and passing bills to freeze wages and protect the rich from taxation.

They are urging us to bury the Congress they brought to life two years ago — by resurrecting the same kind of Congress in 1951! They tell labor to follow the policy in the coming election that produced the Congress we now have.

Back the Democrats once more, they tell us. Put in a sprinkling of new faces — substitute that new "friend of labor" Stumblebum, say, for that ex-"friend of labor" Puffbottom. This, Green assures us, will guarantee a "truly liberal 82nd Congress."

Listening to Green and Murray is like sitting through a second showing of a punk movie. But the policy they espouse is more than merely annoying. It's also the reason why the mighty labor movement, blocked from forming its own party, is kept from taking its rightful place in the political leadership of the nation.

Eisler's New Peril

A year ago Gerhart Eisler was prominent in the news when he skipped bail in this country after being convicted on a charge of "contempt of Congress" and fled to the haven of Kremlin-controlled East Germany. Now Eisler is once more in the headlines — this time reportedly as a name prominent on Moscow's purge list.

Eisler's conviction for "contempt" of the House Un-American Activities Committee was scored by the Stalinists here as an outrage against civil liberties. They rejoiced at his escape to the "freedom" of the "people's democracy" in East Germany, where he emerged as Minister of Information to recount to the world the blessings of Stalinist rule.

It was announced on Sept. 1 that six of the leading members of the Socialist Unity (Stalinist) Party were purged and under arrest. One of them was Eisler's deputy propaganda chief, Bruno Goldhammer, and Eisler himself was reported "under investigation." Being "under investigation" is usually the first swift step to a death sentence under a Stalinist regime.

We don't know why Eisler is being considered for liquidation. Those arrested have been charged with "petty-bourgeois

ideology," "treason" and maintaining relationships with the "American spy," Noel Field. Will Eisler, who fled the witch-hunt in this country, reappear soon at some staged trial in East Germany as an "American imperialist agent"?

Will his successor as Minister of Information soon announce that Eisler's appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee, his trial and conviction for "contempt," his escape on the Polish ship Batory were all arranged, that he wormed his way into the East German regime, through a devious plot of American congressmen, the FBI and U.S. immigration authorities?

Fantastic? No more so than the charges that have been leveled at most other Stalinist purge victims, at the very leaders of the Bolshevik revolution in the Moscow frame-up trials, at Red Army leaders, heads of the government and hundreds of thousands of others both in the Soviet Union and all its satellites.

Through its purges, Stalinism gives ammunition to the witch-hunters in this country, who justify their own police-state methods by pointing to the hypocrisy of the Stalinists who complain about the attacks on civil rights in the United States but set the example for totalitarian purges and frame-ups.

They Don't Like Escalator Clauses

Cost-of-living escalator wage clauses to protect real wages from the erosion of inflation have become an important factor in the fight of labor to maintain its living standards during this period of soaring prices. In recent weeks, hundreds of thousands of workers have won such clauses.

The effectiveness of such clauses has been proved directly by the recent automatic wage increases at General Motors which inspired the workers in Ford, Chrysler, Packard and other companies to demand and win higher wages.

Further evidence of their effectiveness is now provided by a growing campaign within the government to abrogate and ban sliding scale contracts. Joseph A. Loftus, Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Times, reported in an Aug. 29 dispatch that "government experts" and "some economists" are viewing escalator clauses with alarm as "inflationary."

He reports that they are discussing the possibility of "an emergency stabilization agency" — such as the War Labor Board

provided for in the new economic controls bill — which would have the authority to "put ceilings on wages despite what these private contracts say" about escalator wages.

He recalls that during the last war, one of the first acts of the War Labor Board was to issue an order declaring that no such clause could be enforced if it provided wage increases above the limits set by the Board.

It is clear that the Big Business government regards escalator clauses as effective devices for maintaining wage standards and as barriers against the driving down of living standards. It is seeking the means for ending them.

Those persons in the labor movement, like the Stalinists, who have been attacking the program of the sliding scale of wages and falsely denouncing escalator clauses, are giving aid and comfort to the capitalist government and labor's enemies in their attempts to nullify such clauses now in union contracts and to ban future ones.

Pro-Yugoslav Writers Confused on War Issue

A growing number of American writers and public figures, many of them formerly Stalinist fellow-travelers, are being attracted to the campaign launched on July 16 by the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace. Included in this group are Louis Adamic, O. John Rogge, George Seldes and Edgar Snow, whose statements are published in the Aug. 28 Yugoslav Newsletter.

All of their comments are indicative of the deadly effectiveness of the Yugoslav counter-blow to the Stalinist slanders against that country. The lie peddled by Kremlin propaganda agencies all over the world — that Yugoslavia is preparing war against her neighbors, that the Americans are building bases on her soil, that Nazi officers are training her army — cannot withstand the open invitation to public figures in all countries, including Ilva Ehrenburg and others in the Soviet Union, to come to Yugoslavia and make their own investigation of these charges.

PROGRESSIVE FUNCTION The failure of the Stalinists to accept this offer is a confession that they have been caught red-handed in another frame-up. Even more, it reveals that the Kremlin is again trying to attribute its own crimes to others. Its accusations against the Tito regime are a smokescreen for the bellicose moves it is making throughout Eastern Europe against Yugoslavia, for its uninterrupted border provocations, for its vicious persecution of Yugoslav minorities in the surrounding countries.

By focusing attention on these criminal moves and helping to arouse public sentiment against them, Adamic, Rogge, Seldes and the others are performing an eminently progressive function. The swelling of their numbers and the attraction of forces from the labor movement will serve as a deterrent to the Kremlin's plans against Yugoslavia.

However, once the comments leave the specific field of Yugoslav-Soviet relationship and enter the broad problem of world peace, they lose their clarity and become saturated with utopianism, pacifism and confusion.

Rogge believes that a great blow for peace would be struck if the Stockholm Peace Petition were implemented by demands for the outlawing of aggression and other instruments of mass destruction besides the atomic bomb.

"In general," says George Seldes, "number one on the agenda of every honest man is an honest will toward peace."

WHAT THEY IGNORE All these express time-worn nostrums which do not improve with age or because they are now presented under Yugoslav auspices. What they ignore, in their pacifist myopia, is the fundamental causes of war, the uprisings of the colonial peoples and the struggle between the two main contending classes in society.

Men of "good will" have always been in favor of peace but that has never prevented war and never will. The capitalist rulers — not excluding Hitler and Mussolini — are always for peace, provided they can exploit their own working class and subjugate the colonial people to obtain sweated labor, sources of investments and markets. Not all the "men of good will" in the world can separate the struggle against war from the struggle against capitalism and produce anything but reams of useless resolutions and petitions.

On the same plane are the demands for outlawing aggression and armaments of all types. Such notions dominated the period of the Thirties. Litvinov trumpeted them from the League of Nations. Kellogg, an American Secretary of State, got the unanimous assent of all nations to a pact outlawing war. But their only effect was to dull the fighting power of the masses and sidetrack them from

the real struggle against capitalism. It is not armaments which cause war; their complete abolition, in fact, would only favor the power with the best productive system which could turn them out quickest at the moment of hostilities.

The concept of outlawing the "aggressor" can easily be turned into a formula for oppression — into one which perpetuates the status quo, and hence the rights and privileges of the strongest powers.

WHAT IS AGGRESSIVE?

Would the Chinese people be the "aggressor" if they chose to wrest Formosa from Chiang and the American military in violation of the robber-pact at Cairo? Or would they be the aggressor if they gave arms and troops to the struggling people of Indo-China against French imperialism? Or should the den of thieves at Lake Success be given the right to determine who is the "aggressor," as the Yugoslav propose in their Program of Peace?

Rogge admits in his statement that the Progressive Party made two big mistakes in not criticizing the USSR along with the U. S. What is the purpose of this admission? So far as it is possible to gather from his statement, it is that the Wallaceites were correct in holding that peace could be obtained by a deal between Moscow and Washington. The obstacle, he now seems to believe, was their failure to criticize the Kremlin sufficiently.

True, such a statement would have made the Wallaceites less the stooge of the Stalinists and possibly more amenable to the State Department. But it would not have solved the basic conflict with world imperialism and the Soviet Union which existed before the world ever heard of Stalin. Nor would it have seriously injured Stalinism, which can be fought successfully only with a program of revolutionary socialism.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S TROOPS DROWNED FORMOSAN INSURRECTION IN BLOOD

By J. Blake

In the Cairo Declaration of 1943 the U.S. stated its intention of restoring Formosa to China. But now that the Stalinists have taken over China, Truman says the island's status must be settled by the UN. What do the Formosans themselves desire? The answer will be found in their experiences under the Chiang Kai-shek regime, beginning with 1945. And the record of the heroic Formosan struggle for freedom may be read in the U.S. State Department publication, U.S. Relations with China, published in 1949.

The "Memorandum on the Situation in Taiwan (Formosa)," submitted by Ambassador John Leighton Stuart on April 18, 1947, was based on eye-witness accounts and official reports of American consular officials who were on the scene at the time — participated, in fact, by sheltering some of the mainland Chinese against whom the wrath of the outraged Formosans had turned. This was his story:

The Formosan Chinese, after 50 years of Japanese rule, welcomed the Chinese as brothers and liberators, but suffered a cruel disillusionment when their new and more backward exploiters proceeded to strip their economy to support the thoroughly bankrupt and corrupt Nationalist regime.

CRUEL DISILLUSION

Formosans were excluded from economic and political control in favor of government bureaucrats and their friends and relatives. Former Japanese property was taken over by government syndicates and monopolies in which "the salaried and private administrators are in a position to squeeze freely," indulging in private trading and smuggling.

All government services broke down. Cholera epidemics and bubonic plague reappeared after a long absence. Educational standards in the schools lowered and the cost of living soared. Rice lines appeared in the cities, and oppressive rice levies were enforced despite two annual rice harvests a year. Early in 1947 Chiang's Governor General Chen Yi denied the Formosans the right to elect local mayors and magistrates.

A relatively small incident set off the Formosan revolt. To quote Ambassador Stuart: "On the evening of Feb. 27 certain armed Monopoly Bureau agents and special police set upon and beat a female cigarette vendor, who, with her two small children, had protested the seizure of her small

cash as well as her allegedly untaxed cigarettes. She is reported to have died soon after as a result of the beating at police hands."

An angered but unarmed crowd set after the agents, who shot at them, killing one person. In the next few days crowds, which barred any looting, burned property of the Monopoly Bureau in the streets, peaceful protest parades were fired on, and anger against all mainland Chinese grew.

Martial law was invoked on Feb. 28. March 1 a committee for settling the so-called Monopoly Bureau incident was organized on the call of the chairman of the Taipei Peoples Political Council. Negotiations with the Governor General were undertaken, in which he made some verbal concessions to the growing demands of the people, and promised not to send for troops from South Formosa and the mainland.

The conservative leadership of the Settlement Committee insisted the aims of the movement were limited to reform of the administration, but government troops and police continued to shoot and kill unarmed civilians. More militant elements among the Formosans were advocating arming of the populace to protect itself against military action and government reprisals. Mainland Chinese were being ousted from government administrative buildings and schools, and replaced by Formosans.

IN COMPLETE CONTROL

"Without pre-arrangement or preparation," according to the report, "by March 5, Formosan Chinese were in the ascendancy or in control throughout the island." Shops opened, primary schools resumed classwork, and Taipei was returning to normal. The Settlement Committee, by then expanded into 17 local Settlement Committees throughout the island, was actually administering the government while its leaders continued to negotiate for a peaceful settlement with the Governor.

March 8 the streets of Keelung were cleared by gun-fire in the afternoon. After dark 2,000 police and 8,000 troops with light equipment including U.S. Army jeeps landed and proceeded to Taipei. Another 3,000 landed at Takao at the same time, and the slaughter began.

"Beginning March 9 there was widespread and indiscriminate killing," the official report continues. "Soldiers were seen bayonetting coolies without apparent provocation in front of a Consular

staff residence. Soldiers were seen to rob passersby. An old man protesting the removal of a woman from his house was seen cut down by two soldiers. . . . Some of the patients who were brought in (to an adjacent Missionary Hospital) had been shot and hacked to pieces. Young Formosan men were observed tied together being prodded at bayonet point toward the city limits. . . ."

BLOODY MASSACRE

The account of horrors goes on and on. General sacking took place in the stores near the Consulate. Chiang's officials conducted a systematic search for middle school students, using school enrollment lists. Formosan school teachers, all members of the Settlement Committee, lawyers, prominent businessmen — all persons who had participated or might have participated in the protest movement were sought. Bodies were found in the river.

March 10 General Chen Yi abolished the Settlement Committee to which he had made so many promises while waiting for the arrival of troops. March 13 he banned all but three government-sponsored newspapers.

The revolt was completely crushed. By May 1947 the situation in Formosa had become such a scandal that American officials finally prevailed upon their ally, Chiang Kai-shek, to replace Chen Yi with a civilian. But after a year and a half of his administration, which, the report admits, did not improve the economic situation, he was removed and replaced by General Chen Cheng and military rule.

As the Chinese Communist Army continued to defeat Chiang Kai-shek on the mainland, Formosa became and remains the last stronghold of the murderous Chinese Nationalist Government.

THEY WON'T SUBMIT

But it seems certain that the Formosan people will never submit without a struggle to new oppressors. When the decrepit Manchus ceded them to Japan in 1895 it took the Japanese seven years to subdue them with force and violence. When their Chinese "liberators" moved in and tried to conquer them anew after 1945, they, too, had a battle on their hands.

With a shift in the relationship of forces, the irrepressible struggle of the Formosan people for freedom from exploitation by foreign oppressors will undoubtedly burst forth again — this time to join the tidal wave of colonial revolts against imperialism in the Far East.

'PREVENTIVE WAR' AND THE CRISIS INSIDE THE U.S. RULING CLASS

By Paul G. Stevens

Open and undisguised calls for aggressive atomic warfare against the USSR, naturally in order to "prevent an attack," have continued to mount in "responsible quarters" in Washington. Even as President Truman was preparing his Sept. 1 broadcast disavowing Secretary of the Navy Matthews' boastful hope that "we would become the first aggressors for peace," the commandant of the Air War College was proclaiming: "Give me the order to do it and I can break up Russia's five A-Bomb nests in a week."

The commandant, Major General Orvil A. Anderson, has been suspended. Matthews has been reprimanded. But the fact of the matter is that these lesser figures were merely launching trial balloons for higher ups. The man who heads the entire military establishment in Truman's cabinet is a known advocate of the same policy. "Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson," the N.Y. Times reports without contradiction, "in private conversations in Washington has talked preventive war." As head of the military forces of the U.S. in the explosive Far East, General MacArthur voiced a policy on Formosa only recently that falls completely in line with the same "preventive war" concept. Although the administration has made official statements rejecting these views, their key sponsors remain in positions of undiminished authority.

No doubt, the disagreements can be presented plausibly as due to a clash between the military in the Pentagon and the diplomats in the State Department. A case can be made out that what is involved is really jockeying for position in the November elections between the Republican outs and the Democrat ins — although the Republicans seem to be divided between taking up the cudgels for MacArthur and espousing the "cause of peace" against the "war blunders" in Korea in their political platform. But these are really only surface phenomena.

Desperation of Policy Makers

The split in the ruling class over the question of foreign policy and war goes much deeper. The worse the going gets for the U.S. troops in Korea — all of the United Nations flags hoisted above them cannot hide the unpopularity of this war throughout Asia — the more desperate the policy makers in Washington become for some way out of the mess.

To pull out of Asia and leave the peoples of that continent to determine their own fate is unthinkable to anyone in the ruling class. That would mean to give up all dreams of world domination, without which the booming American industrial capacity could not long live on a capitalist basis. A deal with Moscow has been excluded because of the uncertainty of its value in maintaining the present imperialist positions in the face of world unrest. The same considerations cause the rejection of any kind of mediation efforts such as those of India's Nehru. And this rejection in turn not only undermines the possibility of the new Asian bourgeoisie to become a firm ally of the U.S. on that continent. It also alienates the old colonial powers in Europe, whose experience teaches them to seek more supple ways today to maneuver in order to hold on to such advantages as they retain from their former empires.

In this atmosphere it is to be expected that proponents of "preventive war" would thrive. The instances of open avowal of aggressive war, from the "loyal Republican oppositionist" Harold Stassen several months ago to the Air War College head last week, are merely manifestations of a growing preoccupation with this solution in the private chambers of the real masters of this country.

Political Bankruptcy and Unrealism

For the present, Wall Street and its more serious spokesmen have succeeded in clamping down on the "preventive war" as official policy. A sober inventory, such as that of the Times military expert, Hanson Baldwin, shows them that "The military case for a preventive war against the Soviet Union. . . is founded upon the hopes of a quick and easy victory, that glittering and unrealistic goal." Unrealistic, because "the Russians would sweep into Western Europe and politically and psychologically we would deliver Asia to the Communists;" because it "probably would put us into the war with at best confused and unwilling allies, at worst, virtually alone;" because, finally, Russia has an air force and an A-Bomb stockpile herself which makes even initial military success doubtful. Baldwin sums up:

"Preventive war is a course of political bankruptcy and moral frustration that would be militarily ineffective and which would lose for the United States the very values we are trying to defend."

He can hardly be refuted from the point of view of the ruling class. But its whole foreign policy to date is an expression of political bankruptcy inherent in the very system of capitalism today. The most sober of the capitalist politicians try to cover up this bankruptcy with a policy of "localizing" conflict, particularly "localizing" the war in Korea. That was the sum total of Truman's Sept. 1 speech, which in reality meant temporizing, playing for time. But the instruments with which the war is to be "localized" — the Johnsons, the Matthews, the MacArthurs and the Andersons — are all crying out for just the opposite, for an all-out attack everywhere. That in itself is a sign of deep crisis in the ruling class which renders the possibility of the transformation of its political bankruptcy into World War III more real than ever before. All its official talk cannot be anything but double-talk.

The danger of World War III cannot be averted by relying on the sober judgment of the ruling class. It is indeed politically bankrupt. Only labor's struggle to abolish capitalism can bring lasting peace.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

By Fred Hart

Grave concern over what is happening to freedom of speech was expressed by the N.Y. Times in an editorial on Aug. 30. Selecting two current cases — the cancellation of some speeches that Owen Lattimore was to make in New England, and the ouster of Jean Muir from a television program — the Times declared:

"It is time to ask how we as a people can expect to decide, or even to discuss, great public issues on a democratic basis if we are going to stifle the free presentation of opposing or unpopular or minority points of view. . . how are we going to remain a nation of free and self-respecting men and women if we are to allow the mere presentation of charges to destroy the standing of a fellow-citizen, however eminent or obscure?"

The Times noted that Lattimore twice in three days suddenly found himself without an audience "on the basis of Senator McCarthy's unproved allegations" and that Miss Muir was ousted "because of a handful of protests against her appearance, based on alleged Communist leanings which she has emphatically and specifically denied." And its conclusion was: "There must, of course, be a continuing fight against communism — as Mr. Pressman's testimony reminds us for the thousandth time — but in fighting it we have to keep our minds clear. Trial by character assassination must stop; and it is only the common sense of the American people that can stop it."

In short, the Times, like a great many conservatives and liberals, is distressed by the "extreme" lengths to which the witch-hunt is going, but it doesn't want the witch-hunt itself stopped. It doesn't object to the persecution of the Com-

munist Party and other groups on the "subversive" blacklist or to the victimization of James Katcher and Harry Bridges, but it wants care taken that the witch-hunt should not get out of hand and defeat its purpose by making it plain that the civil rights of all Americans are affected when the civil rights of any are abrogated. It wants a "clean" witch-hunt, more "selective" in its methods, more "restricted" in its aims, conducted with less hysteria and more common sense.

But if that is what it expects, it will remain disappointed, for there never has been and there cannot be any such thing as a genteel witch-hunt. That was convincingly demonstrated in Germany, where in the beginning many people thought the Nazis would confine themselves to destroying communism or to driving out the Jews. But it didn't work that way — the labor movement was smashed too, the reformist Socialist Party was outlawed, then all other parties but the Nazis were done away with, capitalist democracy itself was destroyed and many liberals were surprised to find themselves in concentration camps.

The American witch-hunt will inevitably follow the same course as its German forerunner because its ultimate aim is not to protect "democracy against totalitarianism," as the Times would have us think, but to undermine and then to destroy democracy altogether. The brutal McCarthy, despite his lapses in "good taste," is a more authentic symbol and spokesman for the witch-hunt, which the Times supports in principle, than the editor of the Times. And unless the entire witch-hunt is stopped by the militant action of the labor and liberal movements, it is the McCarthy that will set the standards of the witch-hunt, as they are already doing at an ever more rapid pace.

## Jim Crow As Usual

By William E. Bohannon

SWP Candidate for Congress, 11th District, N. J.

In Mobile, Ala., the NAACP last week complained that when the Army brings rural draft registrants to that city for pre-induction examinations, it feeds the whites in the regular dining room of a private restaurant while the Negroes are compelled to take their meals in the hot kitchen. When there are too many Negroes to fit into the kitchen, the remainder "must go to the back yard of the restaurant and put their trays on the ground to eat their meals." Negroes are compelled to ride in the back of buses transporting the registrants to the examination centers. In other words, things are as they always have been in the South, and the military Jim Crow pattern is a carbon copy of the civilian Jim Crow pattern.

At Fort Dix, N. J., the first draftees inducted since the beginning of the Korean war began to arrive from the New York metropolitan area last week. Most of these draftees had grown up together, gone to non-segregated schools together, etc. But as soon as they got to Fort Dix, they were separated. The whites were assigned to one outfit, the Negroes to another, and they were sent off to different barracks. Here the military pattern of race relations is different — and worse — than the civilian.

A group of reporters questioned the commanding general at Dix, Maj. Gen. John M. Devine, who is also a member of the Department of Army Board for Utilization of Army Manpower, the body which is supposed to end segregation in the Army. Yes, said the general, "it is shocking but what is the solution?" Most Americans, he said, are "probably opposed to integration. It is part of social change, upheaval. The South would oppose integration to the last ditch and that would

probably apply to many in New York." This hoary alibi is supposed to explain why the Army can take young men away from their normal lives and occupations — which is certainly change and upheaval for them — but can't treat Negroes in even the same way that they have grown accustomed to being treated in such cities as New York.

Expressing regret, but what could he do, etc., Devine added: "Separation in training is Army policy." And that's the important thing to remember. Negroes should not let themselves be misled by the talk of people like Lester Granger, the big wheel in the Urban League who goes around making speeches and writing articles pretending that "Jim Crow Ends in Korea" and pretty soon it will be ended all over. It's still Army policy to segregate Negroes in the South, in the North, and in Korea itself. Various so-called "experiments" are going on in the Army, but Jim Crow is still in the saddle, despite the government's wish to convince the people of Asia that it is not "a white man's war" in Korea.

Personally, I don't think they ever will convince the people of Asia. They haven't even convinced the people of Korea whom they are supposed to be helping, and they are not going to as long as the predominant attitude of the U.S. military forces remains that Koreans (and other Asians) are "gooks." It will take a lot more than talk to hide the ugly facts of white supremacy, or to get the colored people of this or any other country to accept the "inferior" status reserved for them in the plans of imperialism. Negro leaders who don't understand this are riding for a fall, just like the imperialists.

## Goodbye Dad

By Genora Dollinger

Well, Dad, as I stand looking down at your cold and lifeless body laid out in your casket my mind is shocked and dazed and my heart is overflowing with burning tears. It was only last year that we stood here in this very spot, torn with grief, over mother's body. You and we four kids couldn't forget that the current headlines were blaring forth about the billions of dollars being poured out for bigger and better atom bomb research to kill more human beings while cancer research was plodding along with an infinitesimal amount of financial support to save our loved ones from the great white scourge. We said to each other, "If this world were not upside down, Mother would still be with us and leading a useful and happy life."

This year our indignation burns even more intensely. What a terrible shock to answer the door and find a cop standing there to tell you that your father dropped dead on the early morning bus on his way to work — right in front of the factory gates! Talking to you on the telephone just prior to going to bed the night before, you said you were worn out from the overtime hours you had to work — a double shift of TWENTY hours on the previous Saturday and ten and eleven hours the following working days! A man of 64 years of age working such killing hours in the FOUNDRY — just to put by a little money in case of illness in your old age!

Next March you would have been 65, Dad, and you were planning to quit because you could get your GM pension. But you didn't live to receive that pittance because you were literally worked to death, as most workers are before their 65th birthday. You did your best to keep going even though the din of the foundry had impaired your hearing and tired your body so that you could only eat and sleep in order to punch that time clock each morning.

How bitter and ironic to recall that your grandfather, Rodman Albro, left the East to settle here in 1839 to find security. And that your father, serving on the City Council, voted to bring the infant Buick Motor Company to Flint by "paving the road way out to Stewart Avenue" to allow more workers a job and security. But even though streets and roads were named after your family in honor of the pioneering they did here, neither you nor your children, Dad, found that security.

How terribly symbolic! — you were found dead in front of the Buick Motor Company with the only identification on your body. . . your factory badge. . . just a number at Buick. . . and waiting for the "security" of the GM union pension!

At the next quarter when GM's huge profits are announced we'll have the aching knowledge that this time it was our father's life — and death — that went into the greedy piling up of those profits. And all that GM left for the members of the family is to stand beside a white-lined casket and whisper, "Goodbye Dad."

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## SWP Nominating Petitions Filed At State Capital

ALBANY, N. Y., Sept. 5 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor, personally filed his party's independent nominating petitions with the office of the New York Secretary of State this morning, on the opening day for such filing. A total of 17,249 signatures of qualified voters, 5,249 more than the legal requirement, was presented. The slate nominated in addition to Bartell included Joseph Hansen for U. S. Senator, Gladys Barker for Lieutenant-Governor, Harry Ring for Comptroller and Arthur Preis for Attorney General.

### CLEAR-CUT CHOICE

"We consider it a tremendous achievement," Bartell stated, "to have met the requirements this year in the face of vicious attempts by hoodlum elements and authorities in some localities to obstruct the legal processes of democratic elections by preventing our campaign workers from complying with the provisions of the law for nominating candidates."

"The Socialist Workers Party will be the only party on the ballot to provide the electorate with an opportunity for a clearcut vote against capitalist war and reaction and for a socialist society of peace and freedom throughout the world."

## How the Wood Police State Bill Will Affect You

(Continued from Page 1)

bill. Groups designated as "communist" would have to register and list all of their members and file reports on all their activities. Groups designated as "communist fronts" would have to register and list their officers. It would be illegal for members of either kind of organization (1) in seeking, accepting, or holding employment in any defense plant, to conceal the fact that he is a member of such organization; or (2) to engage in any employment in any defense plant. (A defense plant is defined as one that furnishes "any commodity or service" to the government.)

Since registration would mean, at the very least, that members would be driven or barred from almost any job, registration would constitute suicide for the organizations under attack. The alternative would seem to be for the organization to resign itself to having all its members fired (if not jailed) or to disband. Yet the sponsors of the bill have the nerve to declare that it does not penalize persons for their ideas!

### EFFECTS ON PRESS

The bill makes it illegal for any organization or publishing enterprise ordered to register to transmit through the U. S. mails or "by any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce, any publication which is intended to be . . . circulated or disseminated among two or more persons" unless the publication and the wrapper it is sent in are marked: "Disseminated by —, a Communist organization."

Thus a revolutionary socialist paper that is sternly opposed to Stalinism could be ordered to label itself in such a way as to label the public to think that it is a Stalinist paper — or else it could go out of business.

### "APPEAL" PROVISIONS

The bill provides the opportunity for organizations ordered to register by the board to appeal to the courts for redress. But the Wood-Nixon gang did not feel that this would constitute much of an obstacle to the police state regime they are intent on establishing. Their supporters in the House quoted at length from recent Supreme Court and lower court decisions upholding various aspects of the current witch-hunt — especially the Supreme Court's approval of the non-Communist affidavit in the Taft-Hartley Act and the Appeals Court decision by Judge Learned Hand upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act and the conviction of the 11 Stalinist leaders.

Judging from such decisions it would indeed be dangerous for anybody to rely on the courts to fight the Wood Bill or any variation of it adopted in the Senate. The adoption of the Wood Bill means that the police state in the U. S. has become a clear and present danger to the liberties of the American people, and only their independent mass action can repel it.

## Army Takes Over Roads



Assigned to "supervise" in operation of the nation's railroads, Army officers confer in New York immediately after the government strikebreaking action in seizing the roads to prevent a threatened strike for the 40-hour week at 48 hours pay. Despite Army "control" everything — including profits — will be as before.

## SWITCHMEN CHEATED ON 40-HOUR DEMAND

AFL Switchmen's Union leaders have bowed to the pressure of the White House, which is fronting for the railroad corporations in their opposition to the 40-hour week at 48 hours pay for operating employees.

The union officials agreed to a contract that continues their 5,000 members on a straight-time 48-hour week for at least another year. While granting the 40-hour week "in principle," the agreement sets it aside in practice for 12 months and after that it is still subject "to the desires of the employees and the manpower situation."

This settlement is now expected to be used by the Truman administration, acting for the railroad barons, to force similar terms on the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Order of Railroad Conductors.

Truman ordered the strike-breaking "seizure" of the country's rail lines two weeks ago in advance of a scheduled strike of 300,000 members of the Trainmen and Conductors. The leaders of the yardmen, roadmen and conductors had asked Truman to "seize" the lines under the notion that this would force the companies to capitulate to the unions' 18-month demand for the 40-hour week at 48 hours pay.

With the settlement he has foisted on the small Switchmen's Union, Truman has shown the railroad workers, who are now working under an Army dictatorship with seven railroad company presidents in colonels' uniforms directing operations, what his "seizure" really means.

The Switchmen's agreement provides for a 23-cent hourly wage increase, with time and a half to begin only after 48 hours of work. On a 40-hour week basis, the new wage rates would mean an actual cut in take-home pay over the present weekly wage for the 48-hour week.

### WAGE DEMANDS

In the case of the Trainmen and Conductors, Truman's "fact-finding" board had originally "recommended" a 40-hour week at 44 hours pay. The operating unions had rejected this and pressed their demand for a 40-hour week with no cut in take-home pay, equivalent to a 31-cent hourly increase, which had been won by a million non-operating employees more than a year ago.

After 18 months of crawling in vain to all the governmental agencies they could think of, the leaders of the Trainmen and Conductors were forced by the pressure of the membership to call a series of stoppages and then a national strike. At the same time, they appealed to Truman to "seize" the railroads so as to give them a pretext for calling the strike off.

The "seizure," as was to be expected, was a farce. The government gave a written stipulation to the railroad corporations that nothing would be changed. Operation and control of the railroads would remain in the hands of the company executives. All profits would be retained by the private owners. Dividends would be paid. But wages and working conditions were frozen and employees forbidden to strike. Under these conditions, the companies welcomed the "seizure."

Officials of the Trainmen and Conductors stated, on announce-

## Tax, Controls Bills Hit Labor, Protect the Rich

It has been a popular assumption since the start of the Korean war that Big Business would make a profits "killing" out of it, while the wage-earners would get it in the neck. This assumption is being confirmed by act of Congress through the economic controls bill, already passed and sent to Truman for his signature, and the \$5 billion tax bill approved by a joint conference committee of both Houses and passed last week by the Senate.

The heart of the controls bill — falsely labeled an "anti-inflation" measure — is a compulsory wage freeze. Truman is given broad powers to "control" prices on a "selective" or industry-by-industry basis — but he must freeze wages in any industry where prices are fixed.

Under the measure, Truman will be able to let prices rise as much as he wants, but if he does decide to impose price ceilings at some high point, he must freeze wages even though these may have fallen way behind prices.

### PLENTY OF JOKERS

The sly legislative agents of Big Business inserted into the price "control" section of the bill all kinds of jokers to protect various special interests from any effective regulation and left loopholes thru which individual corporations or industries may escape lower price ceilings by obtaining "adjustments" to "prevent or correct hardships or inequities."

Specifically exempted from the bill's provisions are prices or rentals for real estate, professional fees, charges for newspapers, books and periodicals, motion pictures, insurance and utilities rates, transportation fares on public carriers and margin requirements for commodities speculators.

Just to make absolutely sure that Truman administers the bill so as to favor the corporations and put the clamps on the workers, it provides for a joint House-Senate "watch-dog" committee to keep the bill's operations under surveillance.

The bill provides for the regulation of labor under a virtual presidential dictatorship. It empowers Truman to set up a War Labor Board, which could invoke compulsory arbitration and fix wages and conditions of work. Such a board, when set up, is required by the bill to operate within the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus, when Truman

signs this bill, as he is expected to do, he will be signing a bill expressly reinforcing the powers of the Taft-Hartley Act which he promised two years ago to have repealed.

One of the chief hooks in the bill is a section that permits the administration to exempt any corporation or industry from the restrictions of the anti-trust laws. Another will enable Truman to give \$2 billion in "loans" to corporations for "defense" work. No restrictions or conditions are fixed for such loans by the bill.

### THE TAX BILL

If the economic controls bill is written so as to enable the capitalists to drain off bigger profits through a cheese-cloth price "control" measure that is really intended to freeze wages, the tax bill is written to make sure that the government doesn't take back any of these profits through taxes.

The tax bill which the Senate has passed, and which Truman is expected to sign as soon as the House acts on it, is noteworthy not only for what it contains but what it does not. Most significantly, it does not contain any provisions for an excess profits tax. In fact, Truman himself urged that such provisions be left out because he didn't want the bill to be held up by a "controversial" issue.

A lot of people will say that any profits made out of war are excess. But this bill would not touch even those profits above the huge amounts made in the record years from 1948 to today, which are four times higher than profits before the Second World War. The Senate passed this "protect-the-profits" bill on Aug. 31, just three days after the *Wall Street Journal* published the report that net profits in the second three months of this year for 606 industrial firms were 44% higher than a year ago.

### WHO WILL PAY

But that's nothing to the gravy they're lapping up now with the Korean war underway and the government handing out new billions for arms orders. Somebody's going to pay for these war orders, of course.

And that somebody is everyone who works for wages. An average 20% increase in income taxes for the lower brackets will provide the bulk of the \$5 billion more the war tax bill will extract from the American people.

## Bi-Partisan Witch-Hunt

(Continued from Page 1)

ceive of a situation arising where some individual may be discriminated against a bit. Possibly he may be hurt, but in a time of crisis and of danger there are some citizens who are always hurt and injured." Meaning: so what?

But there was one especially revealing exchange. Javits (R. N.Y.) complained that the bill provided extraordinary powers for arbitrary discrimination against members of allegedly "communist-front" groups — for example, it would prohibit them from getting "a job in a government defense plant, and the way things are going today, that could mean (no) chance for a job of any character whatever, except perhaps work in a shoe-shine parlor" — and all because they have "certain ideas."

### NIXON'S TAUNT

Nixon (R. Calif.), co-author of the bill, replied as follows: "I think it is important to point out that what we are concerned with here is the present system and the change that this will make in it. At the present time the Attorney General of the United States without hearing, proceeding ex parte, with no notice to the front organization involved whatever, with no opportunity to cross examine witnesses, from time to time issues a list of subversive organizations. Those lists are the basis for the President's loyalty program, and individuals are held to be eligible for government employment by loyalty boards on the basis of whether or not they belong to those organizations now or may have belonged to them in the past."

"Now contrast that with this bill. Here the organization cannot

be cited until it has had a hearing and until it has had an opportunity to present its case and until it has had an opportunity to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Secondly, and the most important point, an individual is not prohibited from having a government job unless he is a present member of that organization and remains in it after that organization has been found to be a Communist-front, and after that decision has been upheld by the courts. I submit to the gentleman that is a great improvement over the present proceedings of the Attorney General."

### LAME RESPONSE

What Nixon was saying was: Don't you liberals talk to us about arbitrary powers, because Truman's "loyalty" program is even more arbitrary and we haven't seen you fighting against that.

It was a powerful argument, and Javits had only a lame response: "First, this bill deprives the person not only of government employment, but of civilian employment; and secondly, there is nothing in this bill whatever changing the present Loyalty Board rule. That continues. This bill is in addition."

To which Nixon could have replied: No, we don't propose to change Truman's arbitrary "loyalty" procedure, only to amend it. But we don't see you liberal trying to change it either — why then are you trying to change our "liberalized" variant of Truman's procedure?

The liberals further undermined their arguments against the Wood Bill by supporting a registration bill of their own, introduced by

Celler on behalf of the Truman administration. This was appeasement of the most shameless kind but it did not satisfy the Nixon-Wood crowd, which was out for blood.

### "SUBSTITUTE" NO BETTER

The Celler substitute bill would compel the registration of "any person who has knowledge of, or has received instruction or assignment in the espionage, counter-espionage, or sabotage service or subversive tactics of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party" except for government or police personnel and those who obtain this knowledge from academic studies pursued independently of foreign governments or parties.

What does that mean — "any person who has knowledge of . . . subversive tactics . . . of a foreign political party"? No one can say exactly, but precisely because it is so vague it gives as much repressive political power to the government as the Wood Bill would give to its proposed Subversive Activities Control Board. The major difference between the two measures is that the Celler substitute, defeated by 153 to 64, is a little more hypocritical.

While defending his substitute, Celler reported that it had the support of the leadership of the CIO, the NAACP, the ADA and the American Civil Liberties Union. This indicates that not only the composition of Congress but also the leadership of the labor, Negro and liberal organizations will have to be changed before the present threat to democratic rights is definitively defeated.