

# Liberals Ask for 'Loyal Obedience' Of McCarran Law

By John F. Petrone

Talk about repealing parts of the McCarran-Kilgore police state law grew louder in capitalist political circles last week. There were two main reasons:

1. Important sections of the capitalist class are dissatisfied with the law in its present form. (See quotations from the daily press on page 3.)

2. The more far-sighted politicians know that when the American people discover the real contents of this law there will be a mass uproar, and they want to be sure that the protest will be confined within "safe" channels.

The desire of the liberal Democrats to make political capital of present and future indignation against the law and yet to make sure that the coming protest movement does not "go too far" was exhibited on Oct. 1 in a statement issued by the ten U. S. Senators who had voted to sustain Truman's veto.

Voicing the "hope that when Congress reconvenes in the calmer post-election atmosphere, it may repeal or drastically modify this unwise law and enact a positive, effective security program," the ten said:

"Nevertheless, now that it has become law, we are confident that in the best democratic tradition, all Americans will loyally obey the measure. For it was passed by Congress under democratic procedures and represented the judgment of the overwhelming majority of the members of both houses."

They also strongly cautioned "loyal and liberal-minded Americans" not to help the "Communists" in their "hypocritical attacks" on the law but to "develop their own methods and use existing non-Communist and anti-Communist organizations" to urge the repeal of the law.

But it is much more necessary to strongly caution the American people who want to repeal the law against placing the slightest reliance on these ten Senators and their fellow politicians in both capitalist parties. Support of their policies will never lead to the restoration of the Bill of Rights.

In the first place, when they talk about enacting "a positive, effective security program" what they mean is the Kilgore concentration camp section of the bill, which each and every one of these ten Senators voted for.

In the second place, when they call for "loyal obedience" of the law, they betray and besmirch the real democratic tradition of this country.

The American colonists did not "loyally obey" King George's repressive laws; if they had, those laws might still be in effect, and the United States might never have been born.

The American people did not "loyally obey" the Alien and Sedition Acts which tried to outlaw freedom of speech; on the contrary, they exercised their freedom of speech, and resisted the law, and that is why the law was ended.

The Negro slaves, the Abolitionists and the militant members of the new Republican Party did not "loyally obey" the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850; if they had, perhaps

(Continued on page 3)

## N.J. Afro Quotes Bohannon's Denunciation of 'Worst Law'

NEWARK, Oct. 1 — The New Jersey Afro-American yesterday quoted William E. Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 11th District, as saying that the new McCarran-Kilgore law is "the worst law in the nation's history."

The paper reported that Bohannon had singled out his Democratic opponent, Rep. Hugh J. Addonizio, as one of the "fake liberals" responsible for the adoption of this Nazi-like law. It also quoted him as saying:

"Under this law, any organization, including the NAACP, could be designated as a communist-front organization, prosecuted and severely hounded in its work merely because FEPC, which it is fighting for, happens to be supported by the Communist Party too."

"This law gives the racists and Dixiecrats a terrible weapon for persecuting all who fight for equality."

Bohannon has also sharply criticized the Essex-West Hudson

## SWP on the Air in New York

WCBS (880 on the dial)

Sat., Oct. 7, 11:45 P.M.

Michael Bartell on:

"Our Answer to the Police-State Law"

WNEW (1130 on the dial)

Wed., Oct. 11, 9:35 P.M.

Fri., Oct. 13, 9:35 P.M.

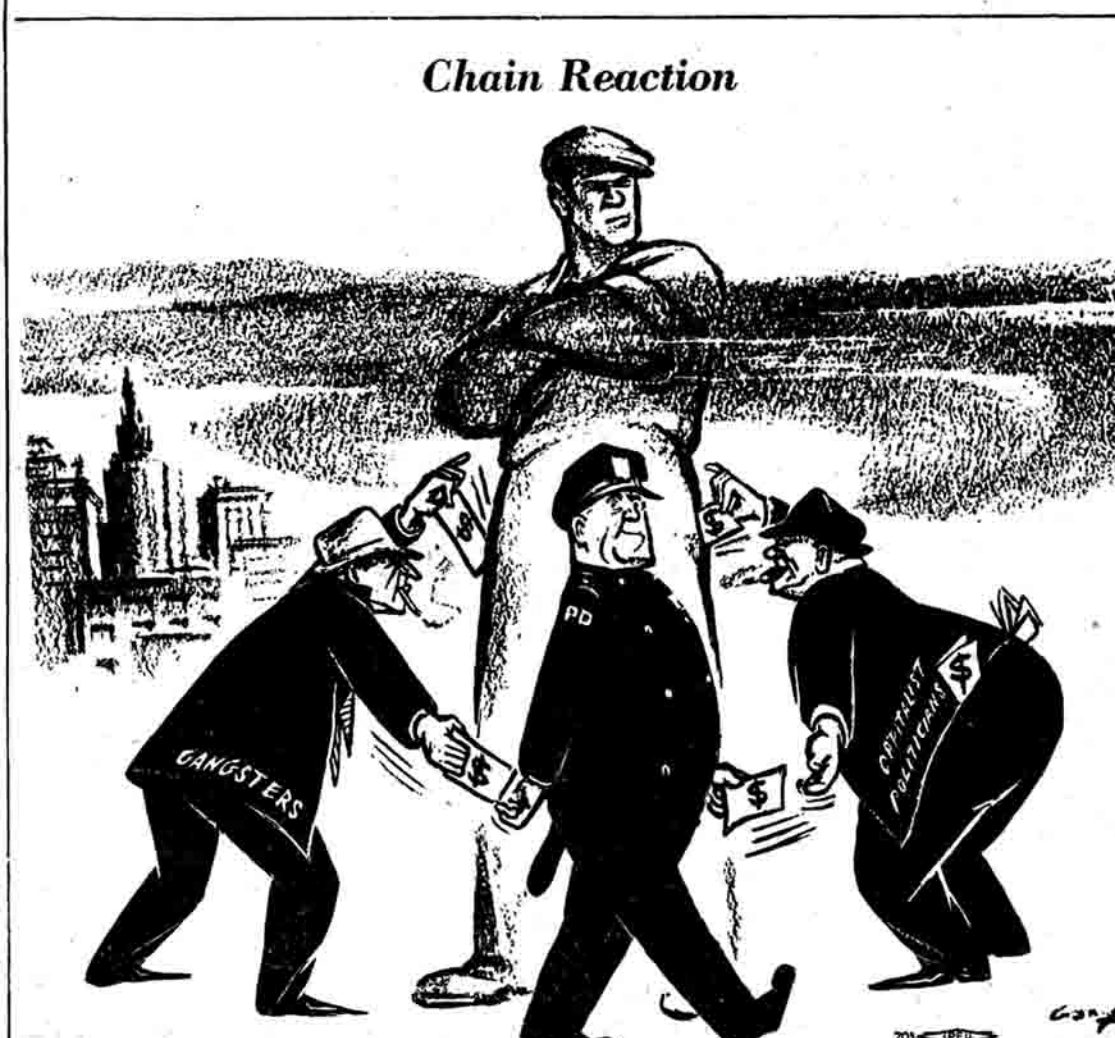
Mon., Oct. 16, 9:35 P.M.

Wed., Oct. 18, 9:35 P.M.

Fri., Oct. 20, 9:35 P.M.

Wed., Nov. 1, 9:35 P.M.

# U.N. Gives Free Hand To MacArthur in Korea



## N.Y. Police Scandal Tips Lid on Political Sewer

By Fred Hart

When Harry Gross, king-pin bookie, confessed in the Brooklyn grand jury probe that out of his admitted \$20 million annual take he paid the cops more than a million bucks, the reaction of many average citizens was: "Is that all?"

This was more than an expression of cynicism toward a state of affairs long known to everyone. It was honest disbelief that in a city where the yearly loot from organized rackets of all kinds runs into hundreds of millions, the police get such a small cut.

If there was any public surprise at the revelations about the police-gangster tie-up, it was at the fact that a Brooklyn district attorney — and a Democrat at that — dared to tip the lid on the sewer.

No one claimed ignorance of the scandalous situation except the police who collect the gambling pay-offs, the higher police and city officials who collect from the

## Plans to "Pacify" Koreans In Typical Imperialist Style

By Joseph Hansen

SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator from New York

The Korean people reeled from staggering blows last week in their struggle for independence. The world's mightiest military power, equipped with every fiendish instrument of destruction, poured sufficient troops against the North Korean forces to break through to the 38th parallel; and the United Nations placed its rubber-stamp approval on invasion of the peninsula by MacArthur up to the border of Manchuria.

At the same time, the swift advance of MacArthur's armies toward the armed forces of the USSR and China visibly heightened world tension.

Insistence by government circles that preparations for another world war must be maintained at their new accelerated pace despite victories or the failure of Chinese or Russian troops to move forward was not calculated to inspire any hope that peace might come from the smoking ruins of Korea.

Thus Truman's "police action," undertaken with the solemn promise it would halt when the North Koreans were pushed out of South Korea, has once again confirmed the charge that this is a war of brazen colonial conquest.

FOR HOW LONG

The new promise is that American troops will be kept in Korea only as long as "necessary." This can be judged in the light of the promise in World War II that American troops invading the Danish possession of Greenland would stay only until the end of "the present danger." The Danes have repeatedly reminded Washington that the present danger from Germany is now over, but American forces still occupy Greenland.

The aim clearly is to convert Korea into a beach head from which in time an invasion can be mounted into the Asiatic continent in accordance with Wall Street's grandiose schemes of world conquest. This was the route followed by imperial Japan when it set out to conquer empire. Japan took from 1894 to 1910 to win a base in Korea, guarantee its independence, convert it into a protectorate and then formally annex it.

Washington, likewise underwriting Korea's independence, now hopes in a few months to crush all sparks of resistance, something the Mikado could not accomplish in a half century.

The "pacification" in store in the areas occupied by MacArthur will go down among the most frightful ever witnessed. Already hints appear in the press of the work of Syngman Rhee's firing squads. It was ever thus. When the majority of an insurgent population is put down by force, the rivers flow red.

THE UN DEBATE

Against this macabre background, the UN debate on "peace" proposals appeared like the wrangling of ghouls. The Indian delegate, his eyes on the masses at home seething with anger and bitterness over U. S. intervention in Korea, opposed going beyond the 38th parallel.

Vysshinsky, speaking for Moscow, proposed the withdrawal of all troops and a free election by the Korean people to set up a unified government. In the circumstances the proposal was an obvious cheap bid for favorable publicity. Moscow participated in the division of Korea that sowed the seeds of the present conflict and when the Korean people discovered in life that they could establish a government of their own choice only in the way the American colonials did in 1776 Moscow advanced them only enough help — at a price not yet revealed — to probe American reaction but not to win.

Vysshinsky's empty propaganda gesture in the UN was a fitting

climax to Moscow's cynical exploitation of the freedom-struggle of the Korean people, whom it regards as highly expendable.

The U. S. demand in the UN to get on with the undeclared war in Korea won hands down naturally. The body which Moscow helped create and advertise as the world's only hope for peace once again demonstrated its utterly reactionary character.

Despite these terrible blows, the struggle is far from over in Korea. The missionaries with jellied gasoline and phosphorous bombs will not find many easy converts to Syngman Rhee's "democracy."

Fearful as the "pacification" may be, it cannot extinguish the desire of the Korean people for freedom and independence. They will surely fight on as the Yugoslavs did under the Nazis, the Indo-Chinese under the French despots and the Filipinos under the servile puppets that have ruled their land.

(Continued on Page 2)

## EXPOSE PLOT TO KEEP MINN. SWP OFF BALLOT

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 1 — Charging that there is an organized plot to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot, Chester K. Johnson, Minnesota campaign manager, declared today that hundreds of new signatures have been obtained to support Grace Carlson's candidacy for Congress in the Fifth District.

An official statement from Robert Fitzsimmons, county auditor, alleged that only 190 of the 692 signatures filed with him Thursday were acceptable. An investigation by an SWP committee revealed that the so-called "check" made by the Voters Registration Bureau had been utterly inadequate. As the committee checked the records, the Bureau was forced to admit that a number of "errors" had occurred.

Among those signers listed as "non-registered voters" were workers who signed with their initials instead of full first and second names, and married women who signed themselves "Mrs." followed by their husband's names, as well as workers with such Scandinavian names as Olson, Swanson, Carlson, Johnson and Nelson. A check of these Scandinavian names was termed impossible, because of the frequency with which such names appear on the list of the Minneapolis Voters Registration Bureau.

It became very clear that political forces organized to keep the SWP candidate off the ballot were responsible for the precedent-breaking move. "This is the first time a minority party filing by petition has been challenged in this way locally," Vincent R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the party, charged. A Minneapolis Tribune story quoted Dunne's statement.

In a statement to the press, Grace Carlson announced her determination to defeat the attempts of "would-be fascists" in Hennepin County to keep her name off the ballot. Pointing out that both Marcella Killen, the Democratic-Farmer Labor candidate, and Walter Judd, Republican candidate for 5th District Congress, are pro-war candidates, she

## DuBois Asked for Yugoslav Stand

NEW YORK, Oct. 4 — Joseph Hansen, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for U. S. Senate, today challenged W. E. B. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for the same office, to debate sending emergency food supplies to drought-stricken Yugoslavia.

In a letter to DuBois which he made public, Hansen urged the ALP candidate to make an "unambiguous declaration" favoring aid to Yugoslavia. Failure to do so, he declared, "can only confirm the widespread assumption that the Stalinist machine running the American Labor Party is cynically exploiting your candidacy for their own reactionary ends."

The full text of Hansen's letter to DuBois follows:

"Your opposition to Wall Street's preparations for another world war is, I trust, sincere. Everyone genuinely interested in advancing the struggle for peace must view your declarations on this subject with considerable satisfaction."

"However, you have not yet made public your attitude toward Yugoslavia."

"As you are aware, Yugoslavia has taken a firm stand against Stalin's police rule and reactionary intervention in the revolution of the Yugoslav people. At the same time, Yugoslavia has maintained its independence from American imperialism despite heavy pressure to divert it from the road to socialism."

"This course has done great service to the struggle for peace by demonstrating in action that it is not necessary to accept either Stalin's or Truman's claim that there is no alternative except what they offer."

DEFEND YUGOSLAVIA

"Clearly, everyone who stands for peace and the right of all peoples to freely choose their own form of government is duty bound to defend Yugoslavia against both the Kremlin and the White House."

"A serious drought now threatens the Yugoslav people

with famine. Moscow could easily send the grains needed to avert starvation but Stalin's totalitarian regime refuses to do so, hoping no doubt that hunger will bring the Yugoslavs to their knees."

"The Truman administration likewise seeks advantage from the plight of the Yugoslavs. A small loan of \$25,000,000 has been indefinitely pigeon-holed and Truman has so far callously failed to respond to Yugoslavia's urgent need for emergency food supplies."

"Your voice could help break this brutal attempt to pressure Yugoslavia into submitting to Washington's imperialist demands. Vigorous support from you in behalf of Yugoslavia could help speed ships loaded with surpluses that will otherwise deteriorate in government dumps and warehouses."

"If you have not yet spoken out because you think there might be merit to the Stalinist propaganda that the heroic Yugoslav people

do not deserve support, then common honesty demands that you make your opinions public."

OBLIGATED TO SPEAK

"In that case you owe it to the voters to debate the question. A free democratic discussion would do much to clarify this burning issue. As candidate for the Socialist Workers Party for U. S. Senate, I will be happy to present the case for speedy aid to Yugoslavia. But it is my hope that such a debate will not be necessary and that you will make an unambiguous declaration in favor of aid to Yugoslavia."

"Such a declaration is sure to strike a responsive chord among the majority of the working people of New York. If you remain silent, however, your failure to come to the defense of Yugoslavia can only confirm the widespread assumption that the Stalinist machine running the American Labor Party is cynically exploiting your candidacy for their own reactionary ends."

## Food Prices Up 20% Since June

Food prices have shot up almost 20% since the beginning of the Korean war, according to Drew Pearson. Among the examples he cites are: Butter up 16%; bakery products between 8 and 10%; milk 18%; round steak 33%; pork chops 10%; eggs 32%; coffee 13%.

Other price rises he lists are: medicine up from 25 to 50%; shoes 15%; wholesale lumber 25%.



## Report from Europe

## German Capitalism, 5 Years After the Defeat

By Ernest Germain

Revisiting Germany today is like revisiting a reborn country. The towns are still covered by ruins, millions are still lodged in inhuman conditions, hunger and misery have drawn their ugly lines over the faces of workers, refugees and ex-soldiers. But the chimneys are smoking like never before, industrial production has already surpassed by 15% the 1936 levels in the territories of the present Federal Republic — and the 1936 levels were already determined by the beginning of Hitler's armament boom. The shops are full of goods and people are again smiling and laughing in the streets, something which was very rare indeed two and a half years ago.

The theories of all those who, basing themselves on the Morgenthau plan and on a misunderstanding of the interdependence of rival imperialist powers, predicted for Germany decades of

industrial prostration and transformation of the country into a "colony" have been proved utterly mistaken. The power of German industry is today again the decisive factor between the iron curtain and the Channel.

Therefore the politics of the German bourgeoisie will become more and more important for shaping the political development of the old continent. And for the very same reason the German working class, slowly tearing itself away from years of prostration and hopelessness, is ready to enter the political scene with the same decisive specific weight of its traditions, its organizational abilities and its high level of technical qualification.

## WORKERS GET POORER

Today, let us repeat, production in Western Germany already surpasses its "normal" level, indicating thereby that the capitalist economy of Western Germany is

already participating in the new arms race of world capitalism. But this fantastically quick revival — one should not forget that before the monetary reform, which is only two years old, the level of production oscillated between 1/3 and 2/5 of the prewar "norm" — does not mean at all that profound and disturbing changes in the social structure of the country have disappeared.

The Federal Republic has within its borders millions of paupers whom one might call "the fifth estate" — former peasants, shopkeepers, functionaries from Eastern Germany who have lost everything through the war, through the annexation of the Eastern provinces by Russia and Poland, or in their flight from the Soviet zone of occupation. The misery and desperation of these millions is one product of the lost war which years of industrial reconstruction won't be able to eliminate.

A second equally harsh consequence is that the real wages of the industrial workers barely reach 70% of the prewar 1936 norm — whereas overall per capita consumption already surpasses that norm in the Federal Republic. The German working class has thus been terribly impoverished. On top of years of hunger and lack of necessities, there is now a new epoch of "stabilization" for the working class — of stabilization of its living standards at a misery level 1/3 below the level known under "normal" fascist conditions of 1936! These facts need no comment to indicate the capitalist character of German reconstruction, and its shameless plunder of the people in the interests of the ruling class.

## PROFITEERING RAMPANT

This super-exploitation of the workers has brought super-profits for other social layers. Indeed, during the first postwar period, the German peasantry, like everywhere else in Western Europe, took a big revenge on the cities for the decades of economic decline the peasants had previously suffered. By ruthlessly raising the prices of scarce food products, the German farmers, with the exception of small groups in backward or unfertile regions, paid off their debts, paid up their mortgages and in general started a new life, raising their consumption of industrial goods and building themselves new houses.

Their prosperity, of course, quickly came to an end. International competition is rapidly scaling down their margin of profits, and already rye, potatoes, vegetables and fish are suffering from real gluts. The average balance-sheet for the peasantry, especially the middle and rich peasants, is nevertheless still one of profit compared with the prewar period.

The second group to cash in on the misery of the workers were the traders and shopkeepers. Scarcely had the monetary reform restored trade to normal conditions when there was a general rush on the stores. The public, famished for goods for so many years, bought anything at any price. Competition was practically non-existent, big department stores were still very weak or had disappeared altogether in the previous years. Therefore commercial profits became exorbitant, the profit margin being around an average of 40% for the traders.

No wonder that while reconstruction of workers' flats is extremely slow, every city of Germany is full of newly-built luxury

shops and thousands of tradesmen have bought themselves new cars since the monetary reform.

But of course those who realized the biggest superprofits were the industrialists and bankers. Some time ago, the first postwar overall profits of the great corporations began to be published again. The picture they gave was really amazing. For example, a big monopoly corporation like Siemens-Halske — which together with AEG dominated the field of electrical apparatus before the war — had nearly half of its assets in the Soviet zones of Germany and Berlin, where they were nationalized or taken over by the Russians. Furthermore, a considerable number of its plants were damaged or destroyed by the war. Reichsmark notes were exchanged for Deutschmark notes during the monetary reform on the ratio of 10 to 1.

Notwithstanding all this, the current assets of the Siemens-Halske corporation in Western Germany are estimated in the same value in Deutschmark as were its assets in all of Germany in 1943 in Reichsmark. This provides a rough estimate of the enormous profits realized since the end of the war and ploughed back into capital assets by the monopoly corporations. The enormous sums of industrial invest-

ment, running at present at an annual rate of some 15 billion DM (nearly twice the corresponding figure for France!) provides supplementary proof of the huge profits realized by the big trusts.

## FOREIGN TRADE

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the German bourgeoisie goes on living as if it hadn't lost a war. If it has been able to regain great strength through a ruthless super-exploitation of its own workers, it is still in a dependent relation to the imperialist powers who emerged victorious from World War II: the United States, Britain and France. It would be ridiculous to characterize this dependency as "colonial" in nature. The industrial structure of the country and all the visible trends of development flatly refute such an allegation. But there is still visible, in the field of foreign trade, a desperate — and in the long run hopeless — attempt of some of the "victorious" imperialist powers to impose some limits to Germany's industrial revival and expansion which, made possible by the very needs of these rival powers, threatens to turn against them.

For one thing, the figures of the revived German foreign trade still sharply lag behind the figures of

general economic revival. Secondly, the import figures have increased proportionally more than the export figures, which means that Germany has been able to reconquer only a smaller part of her former foreign markets than is represented by its own present weight in world economy. The unfavorable balance of foreign trade, and therefore the dependency on foreign "aid," is bigger than before the war. Finally, the character of the exports is still different from the prewar period. Exports are no longer dominated by raw materials (coal and wood), as was the case in the first post-war years, but their main bulk is represented by semi-finished goods, and not yet by manufactured products, as before the war.

However, the rival imperialist powers are going to find it increasingly difficult to combat German competition on foreign markets by purely political means, for the whole logic of the present world situation, which obliges them to build up an imperialist united front against the Soviet Union, is working against these attempts.

(This is the first of a series of four articles on Germany today. The second, German Political Parties and the Question of Re-Militarization, will appear next week.)

## HOW GEN. MacARTHUR "LIBERATED" SEOUL

(Continued from Page 1)

to the brutal U. S. puppet Syngman Rhee, there was just enough left to put on some sort of a show.

Hugh Baillie, head of the United Press, has described how MacArthur climaxed this murder of a great city by intoning the Lord's Prayer "in the battered Korean capital building in the channel city of Seoul, in a legislative hall where shards of glass came tinkling down at intervals and where from the galleries guards kept watch in all directions and even peered down the long corridors with binoculars."

## REDUCED TO ASHES

The extent to which MacArthur "spared" and "liberated" Seoul was described by N. Y. Times correspondent, Lindsey Parrott, who reported that "Seoul was 65 per cent destroyed" and that "its large business and residential areas had been reduced to ashes." John J. Muccio, U. S. Ambassador to South Korea, claimed this was due to "wanton burning" by "Communists" before they fled the city.

That's not the way on-the-spot American correspondents saw it. A Sept. 30 United Press dispatch from Seoul reports: "Despite communications that Seoul was spared, there is evidence everywhere of the pummeling it took from United States planes and artillery. The coolness of the welcome received by the liberators is understandable in the light of the millions of dollars worth of damage."

## STREET BY STREET

How Seoul was destroyed and who destroyed it was told by Don Whitehead: "Street by street, the Marines are nearing the heart of the city behind flame-throwing tanks, heavy artillery and air bombardment. . . . Marguerite Higgins of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported from Seoul on Sept. 27 that the 'stubborn rear-guard action' of the small force of defenders 'forced American artillery and flame-throwing tanks to burn down many acres of the city.'"

"Unfortunately," she writes, "the greatest damage was to flimsy Korean homes and small office buildings. At the railway station we saw from close up a smoking hillside where thousands

of buildings were gutted and charred ruins. We talked there to First Lt. Jack N. Lerond, 25, of Stockton, Calif., who was in charge of the tank platoon that burned the hillside down."

## UNDER THE RUBBLE

MacArthur's glowing communique does not tell us, of course, how many of Seoul's million and a half men, women and children lay under the scorched rubble when he had finished "liberating" them. But Homer Bigart of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune wrote four days before Seoul's fall that "hundreds of civilians had been killed in the battle," while Marguerite Higgins even complained, "Korean civilians, especially children, would not take cover properly and thousands have been carried by all sorts of improvised litters to the aid stations." Where the trapped Koreans could find "cover" in their wooden shacks from bombs, shells and flame-throwing tanks she did not explain.

You can gather from these descriptions how to evaluate the real attitude of the "thousands" of "cheering" Koreans who greeted the "liberators" in Seoul, according to MacArthur's press handouts. Gordon Walker of the Christian Science Monitor described rather how "crowds of citizens . . . watch in silence" the burning of their homes. He said: "For many inhabitants, it is undoubtedly difficult to believe that the Americans, who only a few years ago were teaching the kindly elements of democracy, should now be forced to conduct such ruthless destruction of the city."

Speaking of roadside groups "waving hastily painted South Korean flags," Gordon says "one cannot but wonder how many feel they must put up this type of show to convince possibly suspecting neighbors that they are true followers of 'Hankuk' — the South Korean republican government."

## "RESTORING ORDER"

The Japanese-trained South Korean Marines have been given the job of "restoring order" in Seoul and "loyalist" followers of Syngman Rhee are summarily executing everyone they claim was a supporter of the "Communists." Walker tells of seeing in a huge bomb crater before the Banto Hotel "a dozen civilians, their hands tied behind their backs . . . executed by bands of roving South Korean vigilante committees. . . ." The Oct. 2 N. Y. Times says "reprisals have set in" and "block by block the campaign to root out Communists and sympathizers is under way." In Seoul today, it's "cheer" for the "liberators" — or else.

Seoul, of course, is but a sample of what American imperialism "liberation" has meant to all South Korea. As the N. Y. Times said in an Oct. 1 editorial: "It is probably too much to hope that anything less than half of the urban dwellings in the country will have been destroyed." The Korean people no doubt love the U. S. for this.

## Leon Trotsky's

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## ACTU Sheet Denounced By Michigan CIO News

DETROIT, Sept. 22 — Last week's issue of the Michigan CIO News bitterly denounced its former ally in the internal union struggle against the Stalinists — The Wage Earner, newspaper of the Michigan Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The Michigan CIO News notes with sadness that the Wage Earner, which in their joint campaign against the "communists" had "gained a most respected position in the field of labor journalism," has degenerated "into a dishonest, incompetent, bungling smear sheet. What had once been the prophet of progressive unionism has become an apostle of reaction."

It charges that the Wage Earner is now run by "outsiders who couldn't even get names, titles, and local union numbers right." It further complains that the ACTU sheet is conducting a "campaign of distortion and fabrication, employing techniques shamelessly borrowed from the Republican Party and the National Association of Manufacturers . . . whose smear technique would do credit to Westbrook Pegler."

The CIO News finally observes that the "Wage Earner had sought to smear the Michigan CIO Council through a technique of lies, distortions, and guilt by association."

"What it is evidently trying to get across is a fabrication that the Council is fronting for the Socialist Party."

The break of the Michigan CIO Council with the mouthpiece of the totalitarian-minded Catholic hierarchy is a welcome, even if belated, progressive action on the part of the CIO.

This sharp clash is a logical outgrowth of a change of tactical policy by the ACTU. Several months ago, the Wage Earner, realizing that the Stalinists no longer constituted an important obstacle to Catholic control of the American unions, extended their drive for power in the unions to another obstacle, the "Marxian Socialists."

The August Wage Earner stated "Marxian Socialism along with Communism and Fascism are ideologies to be fought and condemned by all honest American trade unionists."

## THEIR NEW TARGET

Who are these "Marxian Socialists" the power-hungry ACTU now wants to drive out of the unions? It is a well-known fact that in the Michigan CIO and the UAW the Reuther brothers and many of their errand boys are refugees from the camp of Socialism, some of whom may on Sunday occasions still faintly echo Marx's denunciations of capitalism.

As the CIO NEWS points out, the Wage Earner is not honestly attacking the presumed Socialists in the Michigan CIO, but is doing so through the method of guilt by association. The last few issues of the Wage Earner have carried a series of attacks on Social Democracy along with "news" articles of "Socialists" having a conference at the Michigan CIO Labor School, of the ADA being blasted as a Socialist front, of Ammunition, the UAW educational magazine, permitting class warfare articles to appear in its pages, etc.

A typical example is the attack on Ammunition, which it con-

demns for quoting John Ruskin as follows: "Riches is essentially power over men. . . . Becoming rich . . . is not absolutely or finally the art of accumulating much money for ourselves, but also of contriving that our neighbors shall have less." It also objects to the Ammunition statement that "The business man's place in the economy of nature is to 'make money,' not to produce goods. . . . The highest achievement in business is the nearest approach to getting something for nothing."

This language in the UAW magazine, according to the ACTU, is "class warfare."

Just as the original red-baiting by the ACTU was not an honest presentation of the Catholic hierarchy's real aims (which are to reunite the American trade union movement into the image of the Pope's and Mussolini's corporate unions), so this attack on the "Socialists" is only the next logical step in their campaign to make Catholic company unions out of the CIO.

Militants in the union movement pointed out that the red-baiting by the ACTU and the Reuther bureaucracy would in the long run not only eliminate the Communist Party, but weaken the entire union movement. On this basic point, however, the Michigan CIO still sees eye to eye with the red-baiting ACTU.

Nowhere in the attack of the CIO News on the Wage Earner is there criticism of red-baiting. There is only a large shout, "It's not me!" If the CIO is to stop the Catholic hierarchy's attack in its tracks, it can do so only by denouncing the weapon of red-baiting as a weapon sponsored by the capitalist class to strike a mortal blow at labor itself.

## KOREAN DEVELOPMENTS CREATE PEACE JITTERS

By John G. Wright

The sudden turn of military events in Korea and the flurry of "peace feelers" have brought a severe case of "peace jitters" among capitalist circles in this country and abroad. The world commodity markets, where prices have been shooting skyward, started to "ease off" on Korea news. So did the Wall Street stock market and the one in London.

The war-mongers and the architects of the police state in this country have reacted just as sensitively to the news. They lost no time in moving to counteract the impact of such unwelcome repercussions, which, if allowed to spread, could raise serious difficulties to their plans.

Prominent banks and financial houses immediately circulated assurances that there is "no chance of going back to where we were before Korea." Prominent brass hats, headed by Omar Bradley of the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, have rushed to the fore with warnings against "letting down our guard."

Truman himself felt it necessary to chime in with the declaration that "the worst thing that could now happen would be to let down our guard," and to add a warning against any "sincere effort (in Congress) that would be made to block the whole mobilization and rearmament program."

From Truman down there is not the slightest intention among the capitalist ruling circles to slacken the pace of their arms program. The stress remains on militarizing this country and Western Europe, and will be kept there.

## NEW STEPS TAKEN

To dispel any doubts on this score the Truman administration has taken a whole number of actions to show its "determination to prevent a let down following victory in Korea."

Wage-price control action has been semi-officially announced "in the next ten days." Cyrus Ching has been offered the chairmanship of the Wage Stabilization Board, readying the machinery for an early imposition of the wage freeze.

The Federal Reserve Board is expected to place new tough curbs on federal home mortgage credit,

which are bound to cut down to a trickle the already sharply reduced construction of new homes.

Orders have been issued giving priority on materials and plant capacity to the military, along with plans for steel expansion. The drafting of men into the armed forces is to continue at the same rate as before. In addition, Gen. Hershey, director of the draft, has demanded from Congress new provisions allowing the conscription of veterans, removal of exemptions because of dependents and a six-month extension of the service term for teen-agers.

## ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

Other measures of similar nature will unquestionably follow. There will be no let up on militarization! On the economic plane this means that inflationary fires will be stoked, if necessary, more violently than before. Scarcities, artificial and real, will be promoted. Prices will be driven upwards and maintained, by government action, at high levels wherever they may show a tendency to sag. Wages will be frozen at the earliest opportunity and real wages, that is, mass living standards, steadily slashed, with the labor draft in the offing.

On the political plane, there will be no relaxation in Prussianizing this country, elevating the military caste to a position of power and influence surpassing that under the Kaiser or the Mikado, sweeping away elementary democratic rights and intrinsically police-state rule.

This incident of the "peace jitters," and the vigorous reaction of this country's ruling capitalist circles against the slightest relaxation of the war fever, should help open the eyes of many workers to the real meaning of Truman's undeclared war in Korea and what the price of "victory" there really is. Korea is serving as the pretext for converting the American people into slaves of the military at home, in preparation for the next war.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and tri-weekly newspapers only.) 4,576. Joseph Hansen, business manager, Second to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1950.

REBEA G. HANSEN

(Seal) (My commission expires March 30, 1952)

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## Confessions of an FBI Agent (Part II)

As Told to Albert Parker

I had some more trouble with my boss the other day. I kept telling him I wanted to be put on the Gypsy Rose Lee case because in a backhanded way it is reflecting on the prestige of the FBI. But he ordered me to join up and work as an undercover man in a new front organization called the National Committee to Persuade Hollywood to Film Hiawatha. And when I tried to argue that Gypsy Rose Lee is a lot more important, he sneered and made a crack about this being the first time I ever volunteered and he wondered why.

That's a lie, and he knows it. Only last year I volunteered for something big. It was like this. I got to thinking about the way we send our operatives into all these organizations. And then the thought came to me — what's to stop the subversives from doing the same, that is, sending their agents right into the FBI itself?

When you stop and think about it, the possibilities are unlimited. Imagine all the damage a few subversives could do to the national security if they wormed their way into the FBI and got assigned to a job like tapping some congressman's phone, and then let him know about it.

My first impulse was to go right in to the boss and tell him. But then I thought no, how can I be sure HE isn't a commie agent himself? Besides, I know he would try to hog the credit for my idea.

## A VOLUNTEER

So I wrote a letter to J. Edgar's office itself. I outlined the dangers and the possibilities and so forth and so forth, and then I respectfully suggested that it might be advisable to quietly set up a special division within the FBI, to kind of check on our own people. In conclusion, I volunteered to act as the representative of this division in the office I work out of.

A few days later, my boss calls me in. He is burning up. I can see that right away. "First of all, I want to tell you what Washington told me to tell you," he says, "and then I want to say something for myself."

"They told me to tell you that your alertness, initiative and discretion are appreciated, and will not be forgotten, but that the matter you raised is already under control. They also say that you should not raise this issue again or discuss it with anyone after this." Then his face got purple and his voice got loud and angry:

"WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO PULL AROUND HERE — YOUR OWN ROBERTSON CASE?"

"So I'd better tell you a little about the Robertson case, which the bureau has always kept quiet about, although there are plenty of cases like it. There was a man named Dalraux, foreign-born, naturalized in 1922, who became superintendent of a zipper factory four years ago.

We got interested in him because his assistant, named Robertson, called us to his house to say he was sure Dalraux was a communist spy and saboteur. He said he'd seen him carrying radical literature, and that Dalraux was always cursing the "big shots" because "they can't even run the world without war."

I was put in charge of the investigation. First, we had to figure out an angle to explain our interest, but that was easy. In the last war, the soldiers had buttons on their pants, but this was cumbersome; I heard that many complained because zippers weren't used. Well, it's logical to expect in the next war zippers will be used, and of course on a big scale. So the zipper business will be an essential part of defense industry, and that justifies our interest in its personnel. Even

the boss had to admit that was pretty neat.

We had only four men on the Dalraux case, but we did a pretty thorough job. We learned he had been a Loyalist sympathizer during the Spanish civil war, and that when he took the job of superintendent he openly said in that as far as he was concerned, a colored worker is the same as a white worker and he'd just as soon have one hired as the other. That was pretty clearcut although we never found out anything about his reading radical literature or anybody who ever heard him speaking against war.

## DALRAUX DEPARTS

I talked to the employer myself, a fine American type, a real patriot, and I didn't have any trouble at all. I told him that he might be interested in some of the things we had discovered about his superintendent, and that we weren't recommending anything but he might be looking for defense contracts pretty soon, and be got the point. A week later, he eased Dalraux out of the job, without letting him know what was what, of course.

The next day, I went into the office and my boss was red hot. It seems that Robertson had been

promoted to superintendent, that he had got drunk the same night at a celebration, and had bragged that he had made up a cock-and-bull story about Dalraux and got the FBI to get him fired as a commie.

The worst thing about it, my boss shrieked, was he said this in front of five or six other employees and now it was all around the plant. Such things aren't good for the prestige of the FBI because most people don't



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TROTSKY

"In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the 'democratic order'."

— Leon Trotsky, Whither (France, 1934).



LENIN

## Loud Silence of the Union Leaders

Imagine the outcry that would have gone up from the labor bureaucrats if the McCarran-Kilgore law had been the product only of the Republicans, or only of the Democrats and the Southern Democrats! They would have denounced and howled and threatened and exposed till they were blue in the face, and the union members would have been bombarded with voting records and appeals to defeat those who had voted for the law.

Instead, what you hear from the labor leaders is — a loud silence. True, they sent a few telegrams to Congress pleading for the defeat of the bill, and these telegrams showed that they were aware of the great dangers it presents to organized labor. But that's all they did. None of them even uttered a word of criticism against the Kilgore concentration camp provisions.

Such behavior is of course due to the fact that the Democratic Party too supported the bill in its overwhelming majority. That of course makes everything "different" to them. In the interests of their alliance with the Democratic machine, they have decided to shamelessly "subordinate" the issue. With them political expediency comes before everything else, including struggle against the police state.

A typical example of their political cynicism was the AFL Labor's League for Political Education's publication on Sept. 27 of the "checklist" showing which

members of the Senate the AFL wants elected and defeated this year. This was four days after the enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore law and 15 days after the first decisive test on the measure in the Senate. Yet the checklist did not even include mention of the law!

So far as the labor leaders are concerned, it evidently doesn't matter how Senators voted on this life-or-death question. The LLPE gives seven of the 16 Senators it is supporting credit for a "perfect voting record" — Lucas of Ill., Meyers of Pa., Thomas of Utah, Hayden of Ariz., McMahon of Conn., Morse of Ore. and Lehman of N. Y. AFL members have the right to know that the first six all supported the McCarran-Kilgore bill and that Lehman supported the Kilgore part of the bill, but they will have to seek the information outside of the pages of their own papers.

Of course the CIO leaders follow the very same policy. "A Buck for PAC Will Bring Liberals Back" is one of the slogans in the CIO News. It neglects to add that when the liberals are brought back they are going to vote over and over again for concentration camps as the alternative to the McCarran law.

Tail-ending the liberals, the leaders of the labor movement are proving that they are more concerned with covering up for the Democratic Party than they are in defending labor's interests. Union members ought to let them know what the rank and file think about this fatal policy.

## Europe's Reluctance to Rarm

The capitalist press has started to complain publicly about Europe's "general apathy" to the huge arms program that the American imperialists are determined to impose on their Atlantic Pact allies. The other day the N. Y. Times front-paged a dispatch detailing a report to the ECA by a "seasoned observer" the gist of which is that the European governments are "either unwilling or unable to undertake a rearmament program of the dimensions suggested by the United States unless Washington foots the bill."

The reluctance of the European capitalists flows from the fact that the program of "guns not butter" does not have to be explained at any great length to the millions of Europeans. They have had their fill of it. There is not a single West European government that feels strong enough to survive even an attempt to carry out such a program.

If U. S. capitalism foots the bill, then the picture drastically alters. For then Europe would experience an arms boom similar to the one in this country in the course of World War I and, on a lesser scale, in the early stages of World War II. Not only would European capitalists reap a fabulous harvest thereby and be placed in a position to regain much of their former power and world markets, but they would also be able to maintain living standards at home, and thus at

least blunt mass resentment and opposition.

But of course, the American capitalists have not the slightest intention to permit their rivals to enrich themselves at their expense. What is still more important, even the American colossus would quickly go bankrupt financing its own arms program plus the one abroad. Recent public pronouncements such as the one by Sen. Connally, Chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the hour has come for Washington to "put the pressure and the heat on" the West Europeans to do "their share" are only mild echoes of what has been taking place behind the scenes in the secret diplomatic negotiations.

Although retiring head of the ECA Hoffman has suddenly discovered that the arms program would actually mean "guns and butter" for Europe, the old world capitalists continue to stall. The Foreign Ministers conference in New York was a resounding flop from Washington's standpoint. So far as the European capitalists are concerned, it has put them in a better position to haggle for concessions and more favorable agreements.

Such is the real context of all the current public lamentations over Europe's "apathy" and the pleas for closer "cooperation" and "mutual understanding."

## LIBERAL SENATORS ADVISE PEOPLE TO 'LOYALLY OBEY' McCARRAN LAW

(Continued from page 1)

slavery might have endured to this day. "Loyally obeying" a despotic law is the best way to prevent its defeat. The Taft-Hartley Act is a recent glaring example. If the labor movement had stood firm against it and refused to make any compromises with it and called on the masses to resist it, it would have died long ago.

Instead the labor leaders began to pussyfoot and make concessions and sign the Taft-Hartley oath and try to "live with the law." That is why it is still in effect, although most of the same ten Senators promised in 1947 that if they were listened to and re-elected, the law would be repealed.

Why should the American people place an iota of confidence in these ten Senators, when they conducted such a feeble fight against the law, making all kinds

of principled concessions to the McCarranites, offering as a substitute only the establishment of concentration camps, and apologizing now for the law as the product of "democratic procedures"? Why should anyone depend on such people to repeal the law when they couldn't or wouldn't conduct an effective fight to prevent its adoption in the first place?

### DIFFERENT METHODS

Yes, the people must "develop their own methods." But if they want them to be effective, they will have to be methods rooted in the real American democratic tradition, which means they will have to be different as day and night from the conciliatory, compromising and, in the final analysis, treacherous methods advocated by the Democratic liberals.

Attorney General McGrath is

setting up a special bureau to enforce the law and gathering "evidence" to present to the Subversive Activities Control Board; President Truman is working on the selection of the SACOB's personnel. The time for action by opponents of the police state in any form is already overdue, but all the liberals counsel is "loyal obedience" and patience while they fashion bills that would repeal parts of the law while retaining sections as bad as any they would throw out.

If a repetition of the Taft-Hartley repeal debacle is to be averted, then no further time must be lost in mobilizing mass protest which alone can bring about a satisfactory repeal of the law. Never before was there such a need for a united conference of labor and other mass organizations to plan joint action in their own defense.

## What Is Happening To the United States?

By George Breitman

Until around 1920, tens of millions of Europeans emigrated to this country because they wanted to escape the despotism (and the poverty) of their own lands. But today their grandchildren are being deprived of the very political liberties they were brought here to enjoy. Many millions more would still like to come here from Western Europe, but now it is mainly the higher living standards that attract them. For with the enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore registration and concentration-camp law, the United States has less and not more political freedom than any other big capitalist country in the world, including Germany and Japan.

The new law does not signify the triumph of fascism. It is one thing to rush through Congress a measure that, in Truman's term, puts the government in "the thought control business"; it is another to be able to enforce it effectively, that is, to get the people to submit to it. The American people are still in the dark about the real contents of the law, which has been presented to them primarily as an "anti-communist" measure that does not infringe on their own democratic rights.

When they learn the truth, as they surely will once enforcement of the law is seriously under way, there is bound to be a tremendous revulsion, and struggles that will surpass in scope and bitterness those waged against attempts to enforce the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Capitalist propaganda and Stalinist betrayals may have made many Americans hostile to "Communism" but the political climate in this country is by no means favorable to the establishment of totalitarianism.

### A NEW SITUATION

While understanding that the issue of this law has not yet been settled (even a section of the capitalist class wants it repealed or modified), it must be recognized that its enactment marks a new and sharp shift in American political life. Bourgeois democracy was never the paradise its adherents claimed, and the reality was often quite different from the ideal picture painted of it.

But with all their restrictions, democratic rights really existed; and the fact that they were conquests of mass struggles rather than gifts of the ruling class did not alter the grudging acceptance of them by the capitalists as overhead payment for maintenance of their political and social system. But the situation has been changed since Sept. 23. The Bill of

Rights is still on the books, but anyone who thinks that it is a sufficient safeguard is deluding himself. When Hitler came to power, he did not formally touch the Weimar Constitution, reputed to be the most democratic in the capitalist world, but let it remain on the books while systematically violating every one of its democratic provisions.

The new law has rattled the Bill of Rights. If one is still going to speak of bourgeois democracy as a predominant feature of the American political structure, one can do so scientifically only by adding that it is a bourgeois democracy in profound crisis and in the process of transition to forms that have always been associated with the negation of democracy.

### LIBERAL EXPLANATION

The liberals console themselves that the new law is the product exclusively of "panic" and "hysteria" and that when these pass off everything will be as it was before. This idea, as superficial as all the others held by the liberals, runs directly counter to the undeniable fact that the law is merely the latest expression of a police-state pattern that appeared with the beginning of the cold war and manifested itself as early as 1947 in the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act and Truman's "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist system.

Granted, the new law may be repealed or modified or only partially enforced. But none of these things would eliminate the cause of the crisis of bourgeois democracy. (The "panic" and "hysteria" which the liberals talk about and which was most evident in the liberals themselves—like Humphrey and Douglas, who even voted for the McCarran bill at certain stages — are results and not the cause of this crisis.)

The real cause is not difficult to locate. To succeed in dominating the world, the ruling class must curb and subjugate the

### For a Workers And Farmers Gov't

"Labor must break all ties with the capitalist parties — Democratic and Republican. For an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and embracing the working farmers, Negroes and veterans. For a United Labor Conference, with representation from all unions, to launch labor's own party and run labor's own candidates for office. For a Workers and Farmers Government!" — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.

## What Police-State Law Can Do to You

By Art Preis

"I'm no Communist. I never belonged to any Communist organization. This 'Subversive Activities Control' law can't hurt me," you may think. Don't kid yourself.

Even if you are as innocent of Communist views as a new-born babe, this new police-state law can hurt you plenty. In fact, if you are a militant union member or express any kind of liberal views or support any progressive cause, the McCarran-Kilgore law was just made for you.

This law is made for anyone the government wants to fit it to. All the government has to do under this law is say you're a "Communist" and you'd be a cooked goose. You might eventually avoid jail, but chances are you'd have a hard time getting or holding a job in the meantime.

First of all, the law says it is a crime to "conspire" to "perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment... of a totalitarian dictatorship." Under this section of the law it is possible for you to be fined \$10,000 and imprisoned for 10 years for expressing any opinion that the reactionary ruling politicians in Washington may not like and might choose to call "Communist."

### IDEAS AIMED AT

Did you ever get up on a union floor and make a crack about Congress aiding the profiteers? Did you ever advocate equality for Negroes or sign a petition for FEPC? Did you ever join a committee to secure federal housing or a national health insurance program? Every one of these ideas — and any other progressive policy you can think of — has been denounced by sponsors of the McCarran-Kilgore law as aiming at "socialist dictatorship" or "Communism."

The mere existence of this section of the law acts to deny you freedom of speech, press and association. Suppose you are burned up about something the government is doing or failing to do and

you want to protest or join a movement that's advocating what you think is best for the people.

How can you be sure that what you say won't be interpreted as "substantially" contributing to a totalitarian dictatorship? Or that the movement you want to join won't be labeled "Communist"?

If you are an average person, chances are you'd hesitate a dozen times before saying anything or joining any organization that the Washington politicians might disapprove of. So, you see, even if you are not charged with anything under the law, it affects you. Through fear of this law, you and millions of others like you can be intimidated and restrained from exercising your constitutional freedom of speech and association.

### FORCED "CONFESSIONS"

But even silence may not save you under this law. You may never have had the slightest connection with a Communist organization, but the government can force you to "confess" to such affiliation and by that "confession" make you admit to being a criminal.

This can be done under the provision for compulsory registration of "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations. It requires "Communist action" groups, their officers and members, and "Communist front" groups and their officers to register as such with the Attorney General.

Who decides what a "Communist action" or a "Communist front" is? The Attorney General. He can arbitrarily list any organization — any committee or union or minority political party — as "Communist" and order it, its officers and, if he calls it "Communist action," even its members to register.

But if any organization or individual so ordered does register, it amounts to a signed confession to being an organization, or member of an organization, "whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed neces-

masses at home. The American capitalists are not yet convinced that they need the expense of a Hitler, which the German capitalists paid in their drive for world mastery. But many of them also feel that the method of controlling the American masses that they have used up to now — primarily bribes and concessions made through the medium of the labor bureaucracy and limited social reforms — is likewise too costly and by itself may not prove sufficiently effective in the period that lies ahead.

They still intend to rely on the labor bureaucracy and liberal demagoguery, but along with these they are going to brandish the iron fist. The new law is designed as a preventive measure — to prevent the American people from "getting out of hand" when they learn what horrible things capitalism has in store for them in the next war. A government carrying out the wishes of the people has no need of repressive laws, but the American ruling class knows that its policies will be anything but popular, not only during a total war but during the period of preparation for it.

### PERMANENT FEATURE

The working class, the country's chief bulwark against totalitarianism, cannot afford the kind of illusions the liberals try to comfort themselves with. It must be understood that the drive toward a police state is now a permanent feature of American capitalism. The cause of this trend cannot be eliminated without removing the forces that push the ruling class toward world domination and war, that is, without abolishing capitalism itself and replacing it with a socialist society.

The fight against the police state today operates under the slogans: "Repeal the McCarran Law! Restore the Bill of Rights!" We advocate a broad movement of united resistance, which can best be launched through a united congress of labor and other mass organizations, and we are eager to collaborate with all other groups that agree on these elementary objectives.

But at the same time we will continue to warn the workers that the threat to their rights won't disappear while the capitalist class remains in power. We will urge them to prepare themselves accordingly for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government which will safeguard and extend democratic liberties because, unlike the present regime, it will truly be a government representing the aspirations and interests of the great majority of the population.

## PRESS COMMENT ON THE McCARRAN LAW

It would be wrong to think that the capitalist class is anywhere near as united in favor of the McCarran-Kilgore police state law as the overwhelming majorities cast for it in Congress might make it appear. Literally hundreds of influential daily newspapers, reflecting conservative as well as liberal capitalist opinion, were either opposed to the law in part or in whole or expressed the gravest misgivings. Most of their criticisms were along the lines of Truman's veto message — that the law could not achieve its purpose and that in addition it imperiled civil liberties — but some went beyond Truman and criticized provisions he barely objected to or even accepted.

The N.Y. Times said: "Its prohibitory language is so broadly worded that there would be danger of involving in the toils of the law perfectly loyal citizens of leftist or radical or even merely unpopular views. . . This bill would strike primarily at beliefs. . . When the bill was enacted, it said: 'the new law represents a long step away from the American tradition of liberty and freedom.'"

The N.Y. Herald-Tribune found some of the provisions "good, some bad; and the whole is a mixture which, it seems to us, could have been more effectively dealt with on a piece-meal basis."

The Washington Post charged that Congress "overrode not only a presidential veto but a fundamental principle of American life" — the principle that in a free country men should be punished for the crimes they commit and not for the ideas they have.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said it "is the most extreme legislation since the abhorrent Sedition Act a century and a half ago." It noted that under the registration provisions, "it is possible that organizations or individuals not in the least subversive might be penalized or stigmatized" and that contrary to the concentration camp provisions "the Constitution does not provide punishment in anticipation of a crime." After the law was passed, it said:

"We wish that every citizen could have known before final passage what this law would do to him or her. For we believe — as confidently as we have ever believed anything — that this law would not have passed if our 150,000,000 people knew the extent to which it invades their cherished liberties. . . What we have seen is a gross miscarriage of representative government. . . It is enough to make Jefferson and Madison and Lincoln rise from their graves. . ."

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat warns "there are millions of intelligent citizens who either have grave doubts about the McCarran bill compromise or oppose it outright. . . The section authorizing internment of Reds in time of war could work extreme hardship and injustice."

The Minneapolis Morning Tribune: "The bill resorts to such a broad, blunderbuss technique that there will be constant likelihood of hitting individuals, and puncturing freedoms, which should be safely out of range."

The Baltimore Sun found Truman "unexpectedly mild" on the concentration camp provisions which have "especially troubled libertarians." When Truman criticized these provisions "largely because they did not authorize suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the President confused many who felt the maintenance of this old safeguard was to be desired even in emergencies. . . Also, 'Mr. Truman gave too little notice to the fact that his Attorney General is already doing by mere administrative fiat, without hearings and without appeal, some of the things the registration sections of the law propose to do by something far closer to due process.'"

The Chicago Tribune also denounced Truman for soft-pedaling on the "clearly vicious" concentration camp provisions. "This is imprisonment without trial, forbidden by the Bill of Rights."

The Chattanooga Times warned that "the proscribing of any organization is alien to our principles. . . We still do not need thought control in this country."

Even the ultra-conservative Wilmington (Del.) Journal thought the bill's "dictatorial restrictions will threaten the liberties of anti-Communists."

The Dayton Daily News: "A tragedy for the country" is how it describes passage of the bill. "The alien and sedition acts, when sober sense returned to the country, wrecked the Federalist Party which had sponsored them. In the end, the McCarran bill will be a political liability, not to those who oppose it in the interest of freedom, but to those who launched and voted for it."

"conceal or fail to disclose" that fact to an employer.

The Attorney General might order you to register if someone wrote him an anonymous letter falsely accusing you of belonging to a "subversive" or "Communist" organization. Your boss, who doesn't like your union activities, may inform the FBI that you behave like a "Communist." Since all registered organizations are required to label their mail as "Communist," you might get such mail from an organization you never heard of and this might be enough to link you with a "Communist" organization.

### NON-CITIZENS' STATUS

If you are one of the millions of non-citizens in this country, you are in an especially precarious position. The new law deprives you of all rights whatsoever. It gives the Attorney General the power to "take into custody and deport" any non-citizen, "irrespective of the time of entry into the United States. . . who before or after the effective date of this Act" has engaged, "or has had a purpose to engage" in "subversive" activities. Such activities include membership or "affiliation with" the Communist Party, or "other totalitarian party" or merely advocating "the economic, international, and governmental doctrines" of such parties.

There is no trial or appeal against a decision of the Attorney General to deport a non-citizen. The new law sets aside all previous laws regarding boards of special inquiry and appeals. The Attorney General can deport at will any non-citizen he claims is or ever was a "Communist" or "totalitarian."

The final section of the law is one, which under certain circumstances, can prove the most deadly to your rights and liberties. Under this section, the Attorney General is empowered to "apprehend. . . and detain" without jury trial "each person as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or sabotage." This sweeping power of "pre-

ventive detention" goes into effect when the President declares an "Internal Security Emergency" during a declared war, invasion or "insurrection." Any person "detained" — thrown into a concentration camp — has appeal only to an appointed Detention Review Board and after it rules, to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

It would be possible for you to be incarcerated for months or even years before getting a final review of an appeal. In no case would you get a jury trial. The Attorney General does not have to present his "evidence" or "witnesses" before the Board if he claims this would be "dangerous to national security."

Thus, in an "Internal Security Emergency," the Attorney General can cause you to be locked up indefinitely without proving anything against you. You are "guilty" until you prove to a Detention Review Board there are no "reasonable grounds" to believe you will "probably" commit "espionage and sabotage" any time in the future. Finally, if you can get enough money while you're in a concentration camp, you can carry an appeal to the U.S. Appeals Court — which is forbidden, however, to rule on the Review Board's "findings of fact."

### Atomic Energy for Peaceful Uses!

"Against the Nazi-like censorship on atomic energy. Against stockpiling atom bombs. Against the decision to make H-bombs. Against turning the fearsome destructive powers of atomic energy upon mankind. Take control of atomic energy out of the hands of trigger-happy generals and war-minded hatchetmen of Big Business. Put atomic energy under control of a commission freely elected by the unions and organized atomic scientists. For a Workers and Farmers Government that will turn the enormous potentialities of atomic energy to peaceful uses." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.



# Vested Interest in Sickness

By Gladys Barker

SWP Candidate for Lt. Governor of New York

One of the most callous campaigns in the interest of profits is being conducted this month by the monopoly which benefits most directly from the pain and sickness of human beings — the American Medical Association.

Twenty million dollars is being spent for propaganda against national health insurance legislation: huge advertisements in 10,333 newspapers during the week of Oct. 8, full-page ads in the largest national magazines, spot announcements on 300 radio stations, and several million dollars worth of pamphlets, luncheon speakers, and other devices for influencing opinion.

The theme of this barrage, in accord with the axiom that patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel, is that President Truman's National Health Insurance program is socialized medicine and un-American.

As a matter of fact, the administration proposal, backed by AFL and CIO leaders, has nothing in common with socialism. Like unemployment compensation and other reformist measures, it merely spreads the cost of maintaining a working class to exploit, by deductions from the wages of all workers.

What the American Medical Association objects to is not the deductions from wages — they favor private insurance plans — but any limitation on the AMA's complete domination of the relations between doctors and their patients, and particularly of fees. Moreover, if a national health plan were to include provision for training an adequate supply of doctors, the artificial scarcity of medical services maintained by the AMA trust in accord with the same principles observed by

other capitalist enterprises, might be impaired and price-cutting might appear as it occasionally does in other capitalist fields where some degree of competition exists. And that, the high priests of the medical profession will fight to the last drop of our blood.

To cover up the ugly fact that they are willing to see unnecessary sickness and suffering continue so long as they can profit by it, the AMA directors doctor up their campaign with fancy appeals to prejudice and nationalism rather than to reason.

"Doctors of America are dedicated to serve their fellow citizens at home and their comrades in uniform, wherever service to this Nation may take them," their newspaper blurb reads. "And the thing they stand ready to fight for — to sacrifice for — to die for — is not the alien way of life of Socialism, but the prideful security of a free and self-reliant people!"

Capitalist politics, not medical practice, is the function of the AMA, and the thousands of doctors who entered their profession with the idealistic aim of relieving suffering and helping make mankind healthier and happier, do not yet dare to challenge the men who may soon provide "loyalty tests" to determine who shall practice medicine.

The AMA propaganda attack is a political attack aimed at the November elections. It should be answered politically. Every worker who wants to reply demonstratively to the AMA dictators should say, "We want socialized medicine," and vote for the only candidates who would eliminate profits in the interest of the health and happiness of the people, the men and women on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

# 'No Way Out'

By J. Blake.

"No Way Out" is by far the best film produced by Hollywood to date on the Negro problem in the United States. It is still a long way from a fundamental understanding of the causes of racial prejudice, but at least Twentieth Century-Fox in this picture abandons the Pollyanna approach for a more realistic depiction of the viciousness of Negro baiters among the lumpen elements in the North, and touches what has hitherto been taboo on the American screen, a race riot.

The central character, convincingly portrayed by Richard Widmark, is a cunning thug from the lower depths of the "Beaver Canal" slums who attempts to avenge himself against a young Negro doctor, Sidney Poitier, for the death of his brother following an unsuccessful attempt at armed robbery in which both of them were injured.

Widmark, who started to insult the doctor from the moment they met in the hospital corridor imagines that Poitier killed his brother in retaliation. His warped mind occupies itself, as he lies in the hospital prison ward, with plans for looting the toughs of Beaver Canal for a massacre of the Negro community.

The plan backfires, however, when the Negroes get wind of it, and organize a counter-attack. Led by an elevator man employed at the hospital, who bears scars from the last riot, they arm themselves with clubs and effectively prevent the invasion of the Negro ghetto by taking the denizens of Beaver Canal by surprise in a junkyard where they were arming themselves.

Perhaps this type of self-defense was what bothered the Chicago police censors who banned

the picture when it was first released by Twentieth Century-Fox.

It is true that one of the best lines of the movie was in the scene in which the doctor tries to stop the elevator man from organizing the Negroes for defense. "You'll be as bad as they are," he admonishes. "Why be better when we get killed just for trying to be as good?" is the essence of the reply. And one of the most inspiring scenes follows in the pool-room, where the hospital employee organizes and leads the Negro defense.

But the Chicago police censors need not have worried. The viciousness of the race-hater is ascribed by the hospital's chief of staff simply to a deformed mind. — Some day we'll make an autopsy of your brain and find out what makes you like that, the doctor tells Widmark.

What neither the doctor nor any other character in a Hollywood production would say is that it is American capitalist society, not the psychopathic mentalities it produces, that needs an autopsy to reveal the real causes of race prejudice.

The crop of recent films — *Home of the Brave*, *Lost Boundaries*, *Intruder in the Dust* and *Pinky* — touched the material very superficially, dealing with the fringe problems of the Negro elite, of those who can escape by passing as white, of an isolated soldier in the South Pacific or a proud and exceptional Negro landowner in the South.

"No Way Out" surpasses these with a more realistic treatment of the helplessness of the isolated Negro intellectual facing vicious race-baiters in its attempt to portray the life of the Negro masses and its more accurate depiction of the role they play in the struggle to live in America.

# The Housing Crisis

By Larry Dolinski

SWP Candidate for Michigan Auditor General

DETROIT — Michigan newspapers report that in those areas where federal rent controls have been lifted, rents have gone up as much as 60%. Evictions have increased enormously. These are the conditions which will be faced by all Michigan tenants when all rent controls expire Dec. 31 — after the elections.

For this the tenants can thank Truman's 81st Congress. Democratic Governor Williams, running for re-election as a "friend of labor," has remained silent on this question. The Detroit Common Council, controlled by Republican Mayor Cobo, voted down 5 to 2 a proposal to decide the question of continuing rent controls by a referendum at the November election. The Detroit News of Sept. 17 states "with tenants at the mercy of their landlords so far as occupancy and rent levels are concerned, what happens apparently depends on the character of the owner." Yet the Detroit Free Press in an editorial contends that it would not be wise to place the question on the ballot because there are more tenants than landlords. This is a frank admission by the capitalist press that they are against submitting to any democratic decision on a major social problem such as rents.

A critical housing shortage has developed in the state of Michigan during the last 20 years. During the depression new housing was not built

because no one could afford it. Many people were living in substandard housing "because of the depression." New housing began to be built only when war was approaching and it was immediately stopped "because there was a war on." Since the end of World War II there has been much construction for rentals at \$75 a month or more but almost no low-rental housing. In addition much of the jerry-built wartime housing is in a scandalous condition. The outbreak of the war in Korea has further crippled housing construction. Democratic and Republican politicians can find millions for dictators like Franco, but they can't seem to find funds for adequate housing.

The situation calls for mass action by tenants, organized and led by the labor movement, directed against the landlords and their political agents for the purpose of forcing the passage of effective rent control legislation and federal low cost housing projects. The real-estate interests have not hesitated to use pressure for their purposes, but the cowardly labor leaders, because of their allegiance to capitalist politicians, are hostile to mass action tactics. Their opposition must be overcome. The only way that tenants can resist the real-estate interests and win rent controls as well as adequate low cost housing is by independent working class politics combined with militant mass action.

# Mass Sentiment Reflected at Labor Party Conference

By Paul G. Stevens

First reports from the annual conference of the British Labor Party at Margate indicate further headway for the leftward pressure of the workers, previously evidenced by the policy defeat of the leadership at the Trade Union Congress in Brighton last month and by the more recent decision of the Attlee government to go through with the nationalization of the steel and iron industry.

The Labor Party Executive was quick to accept unanimously a resolution demanding legislation to curb prices and profits, while allowing considerable "flexibility" in removing "restraint in wage demands." As a Times correspondent comments, thereby "They avoided the risk of such a defeat as overtook the General Council of the Trade Union Congress." Another indication of the same pressure was the increase of official "left wingers" on the newly elected Executive and the

unprecedentedly high vote, received by Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health, whose verbal militancy has singled him out for particularly venomous attack by the Tories.

Of less immediate, but even more striking significance, were two events which did not result in any affirmative action at the conference. One was the assault by Bob Openshaw of the new General Council of the T.U.C. and delegate of the A.E.U., T. Jones of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, both delegates from their organizations at the party conference, "on the way the nationalized industries are being run." Pointing out that "too many of the former owners and persons not favorably disposed to the new order" were in charge, they proposed drastic changes in this respect.

Another was the attack upon the Labor government's foreign policy by two rank and file delegates, H. Ratner speaking in the

name of the important industrial Salford Division and Arthur Upton, who moved for withdrawal of support "from the United States in Korea" and denounced American capitalism as the most reactionary in the world. While applause showed considerable support for these views, the motions were voted down, the scanty dispatches in the American newspapers declare.

But it is evident that in Margate, as well as at Brighton, the more basic questions of nationalization and foreign policy were subjects of heated discussion as never before and there is no reason to assume that these questions will be any less affected by mass pressures in the future than has been the case with steel nationalization and the wage-price-profit problem in the recent past. To all intents and purposes, British labor is on the move, and its reformist leadership is having a hard time keeping in step with it.

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This is the climax to a beating that freedom of speech and press has been getting in the steel city ever since the FBI "undercover" agent in the Communist Party, Matthew Cvetcic, appeared before the House Un-American Committee and revealed the names and addresses of those he claimed were CP members. The people whose names were published were thrown out of their unions, fired from their jobs, and in some cases even forced to move out of Pittsburgh.

This witch-hunting failed to satisfy the super-ambitious Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, the notorious Judge

## INTERNATIONAL'S ROLE

The company's arrogance was explained when the International UAW denounced the strike as "irresponsible" and directed the officers to order the men back to work. It also threatened to send in an administrator.

Hudson workers returning to the plants this week recognize that it was not the company that drove them back to work with their grievances unsettled, but the International union to which they pay dues every month.

To workers who see management chiseling and violating the contract whenever they can get away with it, the International's technicalities about "not abiding by contractual obligations" have very little meaning. When they are in a showdown fight with the employers, the workers' only concern is: Which side are you on? Many Hudson workers are today judging the International officers by that standard.

# RAGING WITCH-HUNT IN PITTSBURGH BANS 'WORKER,' JAILS CP LEADERS

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 30 — Today it is no longer possible to buy the Daily Worker in this citadel of bourgeois democracy. Judge Gunther last week asked the two distributors still handling it not to sell this "seditious" paper. As was to be expected in an atmosphere of intense local witch-hunting, the newsdealers "willingly cooperated with the request."

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# THE MILITANT

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## Hudson Strike Called Off Under Pressure of Int'l

DETROIT, Oct. 1 — Members of UAW Local 154 today voted to end the six-day old unauthorized strike of 20,000 workers against the Hudson Motor Car Co. Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey and Regional Director Norman Matthews told the Hudson local meeting in Detroit's Coliseum that the International "would not condone any violation of their contractual agreements with the corporations," and that this strike was such a violation.

Faced with a fight against not only Hudson but also their own international officers, plus a heavy attack from the anti-labor daily press, the workers agreed to return to their jobs and submit the grievances to further negotiations.

The dispute came to a head a week ago when President Delwin Craig reported to a membership meeting that Hudson was refusing to settle grievances involving seniority, division of overtime, and sending work out of the plant. He reported that Hudson claimed it was entitled "to the same rights enjoyed by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler to place men on any job regardless of seniority as long as they are getting paid the rate." Under this system men with 20 years seniority could be forced on the heaviest operations while new men were hired on the preferable jobs.

The company's efforts to enforce this ruling had already resulted in some work stoppages. After the report on negotiations a motion was made and carried unanimously to shut all Hudson plants down tight on Sept. 26 until the company settled pending grievances.

Hudson is getting out its 1951 model car for showing to dealers on Oct. 13 and was anxious to have the recent 3 year-contract, granting a 3c. hourly raise, signed before starting work on the new model. It even granted an additional 7c. raise without a fight. But it refused to give in on the seniority dispute. So the strike began on schedule and was 100% effective.

## Is Everybody Happy?



Vice President Alben W. Barkley is shown smiling as he receives some papers from Leslie Biffle, secretary of the Senate, just before the 81st Congress recessed. Speaking of the police state law enacted by Congress, Barkley said: "It has worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned. The President has his veto and the country has the bill."

## NEW YORK SWP TICKET CERTIFIED FOR BALLOT

By Ben Stone

N. Y. State Campaign Manager

The N. Y. Secretary of State has notified the Socialist Workers Party that it has been officially certified for the ballot in the Nov. 7 State elections. The SWP will appear fifth on the ballot — Row E, heading the list of "Independent" parties.

The SWP is the only party on the ballot in New York listed as SOCIALIST. The SWP candidates urge all New York voters who wish to register their protest against war and capitalism and their desire for peace and socialism to vote straight Socialist Workers.

The SWP has received a most encouraging reception in the election campaign so far. When we launched our campaign, some of our well-wishers feared we might have unusual difficulties in face of the rabid war-mongering filling the press and radio. However, it turned out that this propaganda reflects the cold-blooded war plans of the ruling oligarchy much more than it does the sentiments of the working people.

A revealing incident occurred the other day in Brownsville, a thickly-populated working class section of Brooklyn. A young sailor drove by our street meeting and yelled, "Why don't you go back to Russia?" With this brilliant opening he got out of his car and advanced toward the speakers' platform in a threatening manner. The crowd proved hostile to him, however, and he left in short order. In a little while he returned with reinforcements in the form of a cop who wanted to know what the trouble was. The crowd showed its irritation at this fresh interruption of the speaker and the cop and the sailor beat a hasty retreat.

Again, in the garment area where thousands of workers stand around on the sidewalks during lunch hour, we got a good indication of the feelings of this section of New York's population. Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Governor, was speaking. He contrasted the use of Jim Crow troops in Korea with the claims of the propagandists that Truman is bringing democracy to the Korean people. He dwelt on this point strongly, describing how

# 'Progressives' Are Still Aiding Boss Candidates

By Howard Lerner

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan

DETROIT, Oct. 3 — Deserted by its right wing, unable to attract workers, its Negro and youth supporters rapidly falling away, the Progressive Party of Michigan has become a skeleton. All that remains are its diehard Stalinists and a few bedfellows. But the party remains true to itself, rigidly adhering to its unprincipled program.

This picture was revealed here last weekend at the party's convention to nominate candidates for the fall elections. From a spirited state convention of 2,000 in 1948, the Progressive Party could only draw 110 people in 1950. Even the few labor "leaders" it once held are no longer around — the convention did not bother to set up a labor committee. Financially, it is no better off — a half-hour harangue netted only \$544 in cash and pledges for the state campaign.

As though to mock this reality, the pianist kept playing the tune "Every New Day We Grow Stronger," but the audience failed to become inspired — the benches were too empty. To avoid adding to the gloom, nobody mentioned the desertion of their hero, Wallace; only former Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota referred to "a few people having left us."

But these are not the only troubles of the party. A left wing has now arisen that challenges the Stalinists. Made up of honest elements who believe their party's contention that the Democratic and Republican Parties belong to lock, stock and barrel to Big Business, they are against supporting politicians of these parties. But the Stalinists, still hopeful for a deal between Truman and Stalin, are willing to aid "friendly" politicians.

The fight broke into the open over the nominations committee report. Only two candidates for state offices were proposed: one for secretary of state and another for state treasurer. The other four offices, including that of governor, were not to be contested.

Delegate after delegate took the floor to oppose the proposition. Said one: "Why should we put a fellow like Hitler in?" Another said: "Williams was on the same platform with Cobo (anti-labor mayor of Detroit). They're for the industrialists. Let's get the truth to the people, let's run against Williams, let's not support demagogues." A third stated: "There have been a few heads of strikers cracked while Soapy was governor. I want to give people a chance to vote for a principle — not the lesser of two evils."

But after several rank-and-filers had talked against the report, the steamroller got into action. By the time the dust had cleared, even those who had fought the committee report were so intimidated that they did not vote. The opposition was crushed.

Hence the Progressive Party — today a disappearing shell — maintains its unprincipled program: It talks against the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties, but supports their candidates in elections. It denounces Truman, but supports the Trumanites. It talks against "concentration camp laws" but votes for the supporters of these laws. Such is its domestic program. What else can you expect from a party whose main aim, cloaked in "anti-war" talk, is a reactionary deal between American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union?

## 'Purge' Trials Are Terrible Danger to UAW in Flint

By Genora Johnson Dollinger

SWP Candidate for Congress, 6th Mich. District

FLINT, Sept. 25 — A campaign to carry out a "loyalty" purge has begun in the two largest UAW-CIO locals in Flint. Several members of the Buick local brought charges against Berry Blasingame on the ground of "conduct unbecoming a union member" and alleged membership in the Communist Party. The trial procedure was resorted to following the union's success in forcing Buick to rehire Blasingame after firing him for alleged violations of shop rules.

In Chevrolet Local 659, 115 workers petitioned for trial procedure against a worker in Plant 6 on the grounds of "conduct unbecoming a union member." Even a superficial examination of these two incidents reveals that behind these moves is a reeking alliance of the GM Corporation, the FBI, leading members of the Democratic Party and some innocent conservative workers whose minds are filled with racial prejudice. They are attempting to purge the local unions of members who hold any ideas of changing the capitalist system, who entertain legitimate criticisms of the International Union, or who attempt to practice racial equality on the job or off.

The trial procedure at Buick was heralded and anticipated by an anti-red resolution submitted by an unscrupulous leader of the Democratic Party machine, Jacob Waldo. This individual, who keeps a paid-up membership in the union but is long out of the shop, is a notorious red-baiter. He is considered by many to hold the leadership of the local Democratic Party machine in his hip pocket. After submitting his resolution to the Local Executive Board, where it was passed, he proceeded to run for the trial committee and was elected an alternate.

At Chevrolet local an impartial committee has been elected consisting of honest union members who are interested in delving to the bottom of these questions. Undoubtedly these members will recall the early beginnings of the UAW in Flint. During the sit-downs all of the leaders with few exceptions were Socialists or Stalinists. They were branded as

such by the corporation-controlled press, the vigilante Flint Alliance and the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. The CIO was victorious and the union was firmly established in Flint because the workers repudiated red-baiting and welcomed all the help they could get from the radical parties.

In the Chevrolet local the defendant is charged with violating company shop rules, "subversive activities," getting evicted from his home, getting into fist fights in the plant, etc. Of the 115 workers who signed this document, many never saw the charges and the trial committee has not been able to learn who is its author. The evidence was so flimsy that many workers refused to press the charges when it became apparent that the trial committee was interested in facts.

These trials can have far-reaching consequences in the UAW. All too many reactionaries are utilizing the red hysteria for their own foul purposes. For months the FBI has been trying to work up a union purge by putting out scare announcements about Stalinist "infiltration" of the GM plants here. But the top union officers, instead of combating these dangers, bear heavy responsibility for encouraging them by advising the workers to bring workers up on charges rather than throw them off their jobs physically.

They don't seem to know or care that these moves undermine the unity of the UAW which grew strong as a result of its policy of no discrimination because of race, creed, color or political beliefs. Forgetting how easily any opposition can be smeared as "red," they are helping the corporations to set brother fighting brother, white against Negro, skilled against production worker, conservatives against members of other political parties. The union ranks will have to remind them of these truths.