

DETROIT SWP ON TELEVISION

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THE MILITANT

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RAILROAD WORKERS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

Truman -- Servant Of Rail Barons

By The Editor

For the second time in seven weeks, members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen have tied up the railroad system.

The rail workers did not launch this struggle lightly. They knew that President Truman would threaten them, and try to carry out his threats; they knew that the government would brand them as "traitors"; they also knew their leaders did not have the stomach for such a fight.

But they have dared everything because they know their cause is absolutely just. While other rail workers have the 40 hour week, the operating brotherhoods have to work any and all hours at straight time. While other workers have received two wage increases in the past two years, they have received none. The machinery of the Railway Labor Act, a special railroad slave labor law, has stalled their demands for almost two years. Small wonder the railroad workers are out of patience!

Truman Is Their Enemy

The railroad workers know Truman as their enemy. It is clear to them that if he were on their side he could easily force a decent agreement based on the unions' demands. But instead, Truman has used his power to back the companies; he "seized" the roads, and then appointed railroad executives to high military rank to run the roads and rake in the profits.

Let the labor leaders explain why Truman does not appoint some switchmen and trainmen to the rank of Colonel and let them operate the lines. Why doesn't he turn over the huge profits to the unions for welfare, hospital care, medical aid, and educational purposes?

Because Truman, the government he heads, the Army he commands, the courts he appoints, are not the servants of the people. They are the agents of Big Business: They are all in league against labor!

A Fight Against Odds

The railroad workers are struggling against great odds. Their greatest obstacle is their own leadership, which called Truman "strikebreaker number 1" in 1946, then backed him for President in 1948, and begged him to "seize" the lines last August. These same leaders keep the rail unions divided along craft lines. It will be difficult for one craft, in a spontaneous struggle, disconnected and without real organization, to win a complete victory.

The railroad workers are trying to emulate the militancy of the miners. To do this, they need a unified national organization which will consolidate all the operating crafts into one mighty striking force.

But even with their handicaps, the railroad workers can win this fight if all labor rallies to their cause.

Truman Asks 10 Billions More "Soak-the-Poor" Taxes

Lowest Incomes Face 20% Boost; Millionaires 3.5%

Truman's "pay-as-you-go" tax program will take another \$10 billion from the purchasing power of the American people. For the low-income earner it is a "pay-through-the-nose" program. The workers do the paying to make Wall Street's war machine go. As detailed by Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, the latest tax extortion will increase income taxes in the lowest brackets by another 20 per cent. What the government doesn't withhold from your pay, it will take off from what you buy thru excise taxes on hundreds of manufactured commodities.

SOAK THE POOR

The tax program is designed, Snyder admitted, to bear most heavily on the small taxpayers, those with annual incomes under \$5,000 — the 83 per cent of taxpayers who receive only 58 per cent of taxable income. "This concentration of income must be tapped if the tax is to raise enough revenue," Snyder declared. He did not speak of the real concentration of wealth in the hands of the top tenth of the 17 per cent of taxpayers who get 42 per cent of the country's taxable income.

To make his new tax bill palatable, Truman has again thrown in a proposal for increased corporation income taxes — though even he asks that only 30 per cent of the \$10 billion in new taxes come from corporations. But Truman proposes and Congress disposes. The 81st Congress cut in half the excess-profits portion of his previous tax

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Hansen to Tour Country Analyzing World Crisis

The Socialist Workers Party has announced a coast-to-coast tour of all party branches by Joseph Hansen, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator in the 1950 New York elections. The tour, beginning Feb. 23 in New Haven, Connecticut, will feature a talk on the war crisis titled: "America and the World Crisis."

The speech will deal with the important questions in the "Big Debate" over U.S. foreign policy arising out of the American intervention in the Korean Civil War, and bring the Trotskyist point of view to the public.

TROTSKYIST ANSWERS

Hansen will give the Trotskyist answers to the critical problems in the minds of the workers. He will make clear why the U.S. troops are in Korea, the true relationship between China and the Kremlin; and expose the real purpose behind plans to rearm Europe; Hansen will also explain the home-front consequences of war plans as they affect democracy and living standards, and

will pose the socialist alternative to capitalist militarism.

Joseph Hansen was born 40 years ago in Salt Lake City, Utah. In 1936 he served as Associate Editor of The Voice of the Federation, official newspaper of the West Coast maritime unions. In 1937 he became secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico City, and was there when a Stalinist agent assassinated Trotsky in 1940.

BIGGEST VOTE GETTER

As senatorial candidate of the SWP in New York in 1950 Hansen was the biggest Trot-

skyist vote-getter in the state campaign.

He is the author of numerous pamphlets on labor and socialist questions: "Wall Street's War — Not Ours," "American Workers Need a Labor Party," "The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is — What It Stands For."

Hansen is a regular contributor



JOSEPH HANSEN

Sick and Tired of Govt. Run-Around, Men Demand 40-Hour Week, Living Wage

By Joseph Andrews

Feb. 8 — The "sick report" walkout of railroad yardmen went into its 9th day as members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen demonstrated their rebellion against the two-year stall of their completely justified demands.

President Truman, who has it within his power under the "seizure" of the lines to force the companies to come to an agreement, has centered all his

fire upon the union, which he charged has "acted in bad faith" by refusing to accept government mediators' proposals for settlement.

Truman appointee Charles E. Wilson, Big Business head of war mobilization, had the gall to slander the rail workers' patriotism in a national radio broadcast.

The Federal courts in Chicago pushed contempt proceedings against union heads, trying to implement forced-labor injunctions.

THE WORKERS ANSWER

The answer of the workers was typified by the remarks of one railroad worker quoted in the N. Y. World Telegram, Feb. 3:

"President Truman put the skids under us in 1946. We tried to strike and we were told to get back to work or be drafted. They're always talking patriotism when something like this comes along. But let me tell you, brother, these guys are just as patriotic as anybody else.

"Take my case," he continued. "My rent's \$86 a month. I give my wife the same paycheck I gave her two years ago. And don't forget, you can knock a 10 over the head with one trip to the butcher shop. We work a 56-hour week at straight time, \$12.26 a day. No Sundays or holidays off."

If Truman were seriously concerned with the effects of the rail walkout on the military situation, he could settle the dispute as he did the miner's strike in 1949 after government seizure. After every attempt made to force the miners back to work proved unsuccessful, the government mediators ordered a wage increase acceptable to the union.

TRUMAN'S FORCED LABOR

But in the railroad dispute, Truman has taken advantage of the craft division in the rail unions, the lack of militant leadership, and the cover of the Korean war to try to force the workers to work against their will without a decent wage and hour agreement.

Thus, W. P. Kennedy, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, stated, "Steelworkers, auto workers, common laborers, in fact most other workers have received four wage increases and some a fifth since the end of the war. Trainmen have had three. Their last pay hike was in October, 1948.

"In contrast to this, the rail-

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EISENHOWER EUROPE TOUR STAGED TO SELL TOTAL MILITARISM HERE

By John G. Wright

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower has gone to Europe and come back to perform his real job. It is to sell the American people a program of total mobilization for total war. In this way the American imperialists also hope to solve the constitutional crisis. Neither the Prussian nor the Japanese War Lords ever dared to project so sweeping a program of militarization as the one Eisenhower came back from Europe to sell.

In his public statements, Eisenhower evaded every issue but one. He misrepresented his trip — a staged affair from the word go; he painted up the mass reactions in Europe to his trip which actually were "neutralist" or hostile; he refused to tell even Congress the gist of his talks with the European militarists, refusing so much as to mention my several conversations in Germany. But under the cynical formula of inspiring "unity of free men" and doing it by U.S. setting the example, Eisenhower did spill out the program of the all-out war effort, "the first priority," as he put it.

SKY THE LIMIT

"We must by example," Eisenhower told Congress and later repeated in his even more evasive "Report to the Nation" over the radio, "inspire and insist and get everybody to do his maximum. . . . To do what? To build a great mobile powerful reserve, ready to support our policies, our rights, our interests, wherever they may be endangered in the world," announced Eisenhower, adding "and we must do it quickly." The sky is obviously the limit for this "great mobile powerful" war "reserve" which Eisenhower demands.

This "great inspirational lead-

er" is touted in the press as having gone to Europe to study conditions at "first-hand." His whole junket to Europe took a little more than two weeks, a considerable part of which had to be spent in travel, even by air. He visited 12 capital cities where he talked to none but the top government dignitaries, local brass and capitalist tycoons. At each of his stops he held one, two or more press conferences; attended several banquets; and as for the "ceremonial visits" to local notables, these were not few or fleeting, either. And how much time did he spend in secret confabs? Of these Eisenhower himself has inadvertently admitted there were "several" in Germany alone.

TRIP A HOAX

In this two-week whirlwind of publicity blasts, banquet gabfests, ceremonial mumbo-jumbo and secret plottings there couldn't have been any room whatever for "first-hand study" or any "consultation" of the European peoples. Not only couldn't there be room for this; there wasn't; nor was there intended to be. The whole trip was a deliberate hoax designed to set the stage for Eisenhower's big selling job — right here at home. And the most cynical role in this stage-play was executed by this general who poses in public as a model of honesty and integrity, of wisdom and moderation, etc.

This militarist now wields power no Prussian or Japanese War Lord has ever wielded. "No other American, even including Secretaries of State, has had quite the power to make or break this country's foreign relations that has been conferred, again by (Truman's) formal directive, on General of the Army D. D. Eisenhower," report the Alsop brothers, columnists who have pipe-

lines to both Capitol Hill and the Pentagon.

RESOLVE THE "DEBATE"

Eisenhower is "the political and military arbiter of the entire (war) program," says Arthur Kroek, head of the N. Y. Times staff of political experts, who then goes on to gloat that Eisenhower had no trouble at all in selling Congress the shipment of American troops and arms to Europe. "In his extemporaneous report to an informal meeting of the Senate and House last Thursday he (Eisenhower) removed any important threat to the enterprise," says Kroek.

This "arbiter" and "man of power" has also — "extemporaneously" — sold Congress the still unpublicized part of his entire enterprise, namely, the draft of 18-year olds, the labor draft and the rest of the "maximum-effort" war program which he blandly outlined as a prospect for the next "20 or 30 years."

It is on this basis that the American capitalists hope to bring to a close their "Great Debate" and to establish what their journalists now call a "new national unity." Their motto now is "Leave it to Eisenhower!" But the biggest job remains still to be done.

The American people are still to be sold Eisenhower's real bill of goods. Will the American mothers and fathers and their sons also agree to leave it to Eisenhower? If they do, the military boot will be firmly planted on their necks. We are confident that not even a legion of Eisenhower's will ever succeed in such an enterprise — provided our people, and, before all, American labor, are aroused to the terrible danger and conspiracy of the imperialists who have now pushed Eisenhower to the fore as their "man of the hour."

Freed Krupp 'Takes up Where He Left Off'

By Joseph Keller

If justice were truly served, Alfred Krupp would have died beside Hitler — and each at the end of a rope. Indeed, Krupp would have mounted the gallows first, for in reality he was the master and Hitler the servant. Krupp and his fellow industrialists and bankers financed the Nazis to power in order to crush the German labor movement and atomize the revolutionary German working class. His vast Ruhr war industries armed Hitler's Wehrmacht and reaped untold profits from German imperialism's slaughter of tens of millions.

A MONSTER FREED

This capitalist monster Krupp — in the interest of whose class the Nazis tortured and murdered millions of German workers along with a host of other victims — is today alive and free, his confiscated properties restored to him, hailed as a "national hero" by the German capitalist class and its Bonn government.

His release on Feb. 3 from

Landsberg Prison, along with 28 other Nazi murderers, including six fellow-directors of the Krupp armaments works and four of Hitler's generals, was the occasion of a festive celebration. Rejoicing capitalists, Bonn officials and other ex-Nazis met him at the prison gates. He was "escorted quickly to the biggest hotel in town," reports Jack Raymond in the Feb. 2 N. Y. Times, where he was "guest of honor" at a celebration breakfast which "included champagne" and was "greeted like a returning national hero." He disclosed that he "intends to take up where he left off as head of the vast iron, steel and coal empire of the Ruhr."

SLAVE LABOR BOSS

Krupp is now free "to take up where he left off" through an "act of clemency" by Gen. Thomas T. Handy, United States Commander in Chief in Europe, and John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner for Germany. His original sentence to 12 years imprisonment on a charge of em-

ploying and brutally abusing hundreds of thousands of slave laborers was reduced to "time served" — less than three years. More than a desire to "temper justice with mercy" prompted Washington to order "clemency" for Krupp and his fellow criminals. This is a deliberate political demonstration timed in connection with two major developments: (1) the U.S. campaign to secure Bonn's agreement to supply German armed forces for Eisenhower's "Atlantic Pact" army; (2) the threat of a general strike by a million organized Ruhr steel and coal-mine workers which has wrung from Chancellor Adenauer a promise to support a bill granting "co-determination" — 50 per cent representation in management — to the workers in West Germany's steel plants and coal mines.

AID TO CAPITALISTS

Through the demonstrative release of Krupp, chief figure of the German armaments industries, Washington holds out the promise

of great rewards to the German capitalists for their "co-operation" in rearming Germany as an ally of the Western powers and converting their industries into an arsenal for the "West European" army.

But Krupp's release signifies much more. It is intended as a declaration, however symbolic in form, of Washington's support for German capitalist resistance to German labor's pressure for an "equal say" in the control and management of industry.

Wall Street imperialism looks with trepidation on the German labor movement's offensive against capitalist "rights of management." Thus, Earl Bunting, managing director of the National Association of Manufacturers, on Feb. 4 issued to Heinz L. Krekler, German consul general in New York, a stern warning against "co-determination." Bunting wrote that "American investors are watching the developing situation with increasing concern" and that "if the German economy expects American capital investments . . .

it may find that the existence of a co-determination law is a serious roadblock." Threats as well as "clemency" are being used to stiffen German ruling-class opposition to German labor's demands.

WORKERS "MAIN ENEMY"

Bunting's statement helps illuminate the motives behind Washington's moves in Germany, particularly the "act of clemency" toward Krupp, the Ruhr armaments baron. This act, coinciding with the upsurge of the Ruhr workers, indicates that Washington desires to rearm German capitalism first of all against the German working class — the "main enemy." In this, the U.S. capitalist government agrees with the Bonn government of the Krupps, whose Minister of the Interior Dr. Lehr recently told a meeting of German businessmen: "We need an army not merely for defense against the East but also for defense against the excessive wage demands of the trade unions."

Detroit SWP Presents Program on Television

(During the 1950 Detroit election campaign, Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, was denied equal time on television broadcasts with the Democratic and Republican candidates.)

After protests to the Federal Communications Commission, the Detroit SWP was finally granted a half hour on television station WXYZ in Detroit, Sunday, Jan. 28, to present its views on the major questions of the day.

Commenting on the television program, a Militant reader from Detroit wrote: "Watching the faces of comrades and visitors in the SWP hall, viewing the TV program, it was clear why the bosses don't want the ideas of genuine Marxian socialism spread among the millions who listen to radio and watch television."

The program took the form of an interview between Brewster Campbell, Detroit Free Press city editor, and Howard Lerner, spokesman for the SWP. Following is the text of the TV interview:

Basic Party Aims

QUESTION: Would you mind telling the listening audience what the basic aims of your party are?

ANSWER: I have here (exhibits 1948 Election Platform) the essential program of our party as published in 1948. It states: "The Socialist Workers Party alone consistently and unconditionally champions the interests of the workers in their struggles against capitalism. This goal is expressed and concretized in... the mobilization of the masses for a Workers and Farmers Government."

"Such a government, based on direct representation from democratically elected councils of workers, farmers, housewives, soldiers, and minority groups, will initiate the reign of real and complete democracy in every sphere of life. It will take over the means of production, expand and coordinate them in a planned economy, and create the conditions for permanent prosperity. Its victory will bring peace and harmony to the United States by doing away with the material cause of class divisions and therefore of class conflicts. The victory of socialism in the most powerful country will serve as an inspiring example to be quickly followed by the rest of the world."

QUESTION: In what basic ways does your platform differ from that of the Socialist Party?

ANSWER: The Socialist Party of today has nothing in common with Eugene V. Debs' party except the name. It has betrayed his ideas. As counterposed to Debs, it supported the Second World War, whereas Debs went to prison opposing the First World War. We continue in the tradition of Debs by opposing capitalist war.

Debs also opposed capitalist-minded and reactionary union bureaucracy. He fought throughout his socialist career against the conservative and treacherous union leaders. But the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas is cheek by jowl with modern so-called "labor statesmen," who have joined every hack capitalist politician who announces he is a "friend of labor." In this respect, we, too, follow in the tradition of Debs by remaining independent of politicians of the two capitalist parties, the Republican and Democrat.

QUESTION: Are you in favor of the Stalin setup in Russia?

Opposition to Stalinism

ANSWER: We are unambiguous opponents of the Stalin regime in Russia and Stalinism the world over. As a matter of fact, we opposed Stalinism when it was fashionable in liberal circles to extol and whitewash its crimes, when books and moving pictures repeated his lies — for example Davies' book "Mission to Moscow" later made into a movie.

As against monolithic control, we favor the broadest form of workers democracy, rule by the people through freely elected councils, workers' management in industry, and not only a reaffirmation of basic freedoms of the Bill of Rights, but their extension through the achievement of industrial democracy.

We are and continue to be staunch defenders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 which kicked out the landlords, gave land to peasants, kicked out the capitalists and abolished private ownership of the means of production. We think this kind of economic setup constitutes the basis in Russia and the rest of the world for a truly cooperative system.

QUESTION: How do you propose to achieve your aims in this country?

ANSWER: My party supports the views published in this newspaper and magazine. (Displays The Militant and Fourth International). But above all, we will gain support by participating in the labor movement and other progressive movements. By building a political movement — a mass socialist movement. This will occur not primarily because of persuasion, but because the demands of life will push the American people in the direction of our Marxist ideas. This process will win for us the support of the majority of people.

As illustration of what I mean, let's look at industrial unionism. Socialist pioneers such as Debs and Big Bill Haywood advocated industrial unionism for many years. Finally, their ideas were concretized in the creation of the huge CIO. The idea they originally advocated became realized when conditions of life pushed the American workers in that direction.

QUESTION: How do we know that if a socialist government is established in this country, it would be any more democratic than the Stalin government in Russia?

ANSWER: The Stalin dictatorship stems from specific historical conditions. Russia was one of the most backward countries in Europe in 1917. Moreover, the country was devastated and ruined by three years of imperialist war and three or four years of civil

SWP Spokesman Lerner



HOWARD LERNER

QUESTION: Just what is your background, Mr. Lerner?

ANSWER: I served on the first executive board of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, and am a charter member of that local. On the military side, I spent four years in the army — in England, Africa, Italy, France and Germany. Politically, I was candidate for Mayor of Detroit in 1947, and for Governor of Michigan in 1948 and 1950, both times on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

war and foreign intervention. All this made for great scarcity. This was reinforced by a long tradition of primitive backwardness and czarist dictatorship.

Consequent impoverishment of the population, absence of necessary industry and advanced economy on which to begin building a socialist economy almost inevitably pushed to the top a new bureaucratic oligarchy. Since there wasn't enough to go around for all, it became inevitable for a policeman to take over to decide how the inadequate rations were to be distributed. A socialist government in the United States or in any advanced capitalist country would have no such difficulties.

The CIO Economic Outlook (exhibits "Corporate Profits After Taxes") shows the tremendous draining of the American economy by the rich. These polls show profits to be at a new historical high. If profiteers were completely curbed, that is, if capitalists were removed from their positions of power over the economy, living standards could rise. The 84 brands of tooth paste, for instance, could certainly be cut down on. Inefficiency could be eliminated. Corporation attorneys could work in constructive channels, swords could be made into plows, and even atomic energy could be used to benefit and not to destroy mankind.

A socialist America, instead of passing out scarcity, would guarantee a decent living standard to every man, woman and child, and improve it from year to year. That, in addition to the advanced educational and cultural background are guarantees against dictatorship.

Facts About Civil Rights

QUESTION: How do we know that it would be any more democratic than the present government of the United States?

ANSWER: In my opinion the present government is governing less democratically day by day. The country is heading toward a military dictatorship. In the past few years alone, labor has been shackled with a Taft-Hartley Act and numerous state restrictions. Professors, teachers, students are restricted in expressions by loyalty oaths. (Exhibits ACLU pamphlet.) I have here a summary of civil liberties conditions in the United States put out by the American Civil Liberties Union, a non-Stalinist and even anti-Stalinist organization as far as its supporters think politically. And yet even these "conservatives" say that the following have taken place here recently: "... an unprecedented array of barriers to free association, of forced declarations of loyalty, of black-lists and purges, and, most menacing to the spirit of liberty, of taboos on those progressive programs and principles which are the heart of any expanding democracy."

We might add, that, certainly Negro people do not obtain equal rights. Up and down the country, people are jailed because of expression of unpopular ideas. The United States, which once welcomed revolutionists and democrats from abroad and was considered a haven of liberty and foe of oppression and tyranny, today is a supporter of Franco in Spain, of fascist monarchy in Greece, of military dictators in Latin America, of Chiang Kai-shek and of Syngman Rhee. From the apostle of freedom, the United States is gradually being transformed into a bastion of reaction and imperialism.

A socialist government in the United States, by destroying the power of monopolists and banks and permitting the wealth to be enjoyed by the people as a whole would remove the causes for oppression, witch-hunts and tyranny at home, as well as the need to support tyrants abroad.

Such a government represents the next great advance of the human race in constant fight to lift itself up from barbarism of the past and banish poverty and tyranny in the affairs of man.

QUESTION: What, in your opinion, is the future of Stalinism?

ANSWER: The Kremlin oligarchy, despite newspaper editorial to the contrary, is in my opinion, not interested in world revolution but is a national bureaucracy interested solely in preservation of its own powers and privileges. It utilizes control over satellite countries to strengthen its own economy and strategic position. It utilizes control over Stalin parties abroad as blackmail to extort concessions. And it attempts to utilize colonial revolution in Asia as pawns of its nefarious game. This does not mean the purposes of the Kremlin and aims of colonial masses to gain freedom are the same. Nor does it mean that the motives of the Kremlin and the aims of advanced workers to abolish capitalism are one and the same.

On the contrary, the Kremlin wants to use progressive movements for its own reactionary purposes. As soon as this is clear to the colonial peoples and to advanced workers of the west, these will break with the Kremlin.

This is not just a theory. We have seen the first big step with the split of the Tito working-class government from Moscow. We have seen Tito oppositionists develop in the labor movement of Western Europe. The export of Moscow Trial and blood purges shows how fearful Stalin is of this growing opposition.

Stalinist expansion thus carries the seeds of its own destruction. Titoism shook the Stalinist structure as no single event since Stalin took power. But Titoism represent a small country of only 15,000,000 people. When a similar event occurs in a larger and more influential country, the whole structure of Stalinism will topple to the ground.

SWP and Union Officers

QUESTION: What is your relation to the official leadership of the AFL and CIO?

ANSWER: We support them when their policies are right and oppose them when their policies are wrong.

It may be a surprise to you that we are the originators of the very idea of an escalator clause to defend the living standards of workers. This program was published by the Socialist Workers Party before a reactionary Voorhis Act made it impossible to belong to any sort of world grouping. The idea of the escalator clause is embodied in this document containing the program of the Fourth International. This idea is still accepted by the Socialist Workers Party. The gist of the thought is contained in these words, "Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods." The document was written way back in 1939.

Reuther fought against this idea, as did the Stalinists. But no slogan is a magic cure-all. Reuther has inserted it into contracts with low base rates, based on faulty Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, and tied it to five year contracts. Thus, a lot of its power has been lost.

We think that the present labor leadership has become virtually

a pawn of the American ruling class. It supported both world wars the Marshall Plan, the Korean war. As Socialists, we draw a dividing line. Support of imperialism means giving up elementary economic interests of workers, it means acceptance of the wage and man-power freezes, and no-strike pledges.

While we defend unions, we oppose those policies and practices inimical to the interests of union members.

QUESTION: Do you support the union's political campaigns as expressed by the CIO-PAC and the AFL-LLPE?

ANSWER: The idea of organizing labor as an independent group meets our hearty approval. But this has been perverted by labor leaders into supporting the Democratic Party or into voting for "friends of labor."

QUESTION: What is your party's opinion of Truman's domestic policies?

ANSWER: We think Truman is drifting toward the creation of a third world war. We are opposed to this policy.

Besides violating the constitution by going to war without Congressional declaration, he is endeavoring to suppress critics. By Executive Order 9835, people are being fired from government jobs — without trial, without the right to face witnesses, without knowing of evidence against them, allegedly because they are "sub-

versive." Both the AFL and CIO have protested against this trampling upon basic civil rights.

We think his methods are capitalist methods to prepare for war. We oppose shelving of democratic rights as well as basic needs of the people and pushing the country into war.

This doesn't mean we support the Republicans by any means. Their difference with him is only tactical, not basic.

QUESTION: What progress is your organization making in winning the American people to your program?

ANSWER: Our organization was making considerable progress in the years following the war in recruitment, audiences, and support for our ideas in unions. This was epitomized in our ability to conduct a Presidential campaign in 1948. Frankly, we admit this progress slowed down in the last couple of years in the face of the reactionary sweep.

But every witch-hunt so far in American history has temporarily strengthened the forces that be, but finally turned against them. It was thus with those who inspired the Alien Sedition Act of 1798 and those who attained the Dred Scott decision just prior to our Civil War. It was thus with the Palmer raids instituted by Wilson's Attorney General. I predict it will be the same with the present witch-hunt.

SWP Branches Maintain Pace; \$18,000 Fund Is on Schedule

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party collected \$950 during the week on their quotas in the 3-month \$18,000 Organization, Press and Defense Fund. The scoreboard shows a national total of \$6,920 paid — 38 per cent — and right on schedule at the end of the fifth week.

The comrades of the Youngstown branch decided to get the campaign off to a fast start, borrowed some money, and completed their \$500 quota two and one-half months before the March 31 deadline.

Newark branch, far ahead of schedule with 59 per cent of their \$700 quota, approached the problem in a different way. These comrades heard a rumor about a proposed fund campaign. They got on the ball and started collecting. Their initial payment reached us a month before the campaign was officially launched, and regular weekly payments since that time have completed 59 per cent of their \$700 quota.

Pittsburgh didn't let any grass grow under its feet either. "We thought if we got an early start," wrote Comrade Carl, director of the local campaign, "we might be able to go over our quota — which we aim to do." Pittsburgh has reached the 57 per cent mark. Buffalo also hit upon this early start and fast-pace idea. Their initial payment was sent in a few days before the campaign opened, and every Tuesday morning without fail a neatly-typed letter from Comrade Young enclosing the weekly contributions from the comrades is in our mail box.

New Haven, high on the scoreboard with 46 per cent, "doubts greatly if there will be any difficulties" completing its quota. Earl Spangler tells us that "sympathizers are contributing to the fund and our branch members are coming through."

Comrades Jean and Charley, in charge of the St. Paul-Minneapolis fund campaign, have been shooting in enough money each week to keep the Twin Cities ahead of schedule. They have completed 46 per cent of their \$1,000 quota.

New York's achievement speaks for itself. These comrades have paid \$2,191 on their \$5,000 quota — 44 per cent.

Letters from the branches show they are determined to put themselves on schedule and maintain an even pace in the campaign.

M. Michels of Chicago says, "We realize we are a bit behind schedule, but hope to catch up soon."

Frank Powers writes: "Look for Seattle to catch up quick and finish fast."

Comrade Marietta says that Detroit's "payments will be coming in steadily, and we may even go over the top."

A group of Socialist Workers Party supporters in the south sent a contribution of \$132 for the Organization, Press and Defense Fund with this note: "The record on this fund is inspiring and we feel good about being able to do our part."

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	\$ 500	\$ 500	100
Newark	700	415	59
Pittsburgh	150	85	57
Buffalo	1,000	562	56
New Haven	100	46	46
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	461	46
New York	5,000	2,191	44
Toledo	50	18	36
Philadelphia	600	203	34
Allentown	75	25	33
Milwaukee	150	48	32
Chicago	700	216	31
San Francisco	1,500	450	30
Boston	550	161	29
Los Angeles	2,600	695	27
Flint	375	89	24
Oakland	250	60	24
Akron	150	35	23
Cleveland	300	60	20
St. Louis	100	20	20
Detroit	1,750	318	18
Seattle	400	45	11
West Virginia	.25	0	0
General		217	—
Total through Feb. 6	\$18,000	\$6,920	38

THE MILITANT ARMY

Should students at the University of Minnesota be permitted to read about socialism? Not if the school authorities and Minneapolis cops have their way. This is clearly the implication of the arrest of Pauline Swanson for distributing America's leading socialist weekly, The Militant, on the campus.

It appears, however, that among the students themselves are some who do not take kindly to this educational method familiarly associated with the late, unlamented author of Mein Kampf. On reading in the daily paper and campus news sheet about the unsavory incident, they came to headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. "They figured that if the paper was banned from the campus, it must contain some information that was worth reading," writes Pauline. "As a result one of them took a subscription. In addition, since my address was published, I received a card at my home, reading: 'Please send me a copy of the Socialist Workers Party paper, The Militant.'"

The Minneapolis members of the Militant Army decided to double their weekly bundle order in view of "the response we are now getting. The page on atrocities in Korea made the last issue a best seller. We proved this."

The St. Paul comrades likewise note increased interest in socialist ideas among students. During January 109 pieces of socialist literature were sold, a good part to students. This included 98 Militants, 8 copies of Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, and 3 copies of the pamphlet, Welfare State or Socialism?, by Art Preis. On one occasion alone last week, Winifred and Bill B. ran up a score of 40 Militants among students. Right place, right time and the right paper!

In Chicago too the campus appears to be a promising field for the program of socialism. "At the University of Chicago," writes Literature Agent Manuel Stone, "some 700 Militants were distributed in connection with the election campaign for Irving Beinin, Anti-War candidate for Alderman in the Fifth Ward." Through this work three newcomers got better acquainted with Chicago, Milt and Shirley on vacation from Los Angeles and

Louise from New York. During the past few weeks, Bob C. Gus and Snow sold 44 Militants. The New York contingent, reading in our column how bracing the Minneapolis comrades find it to sell The Militant in cool weather, tried it last week. The score was 116 copies and a new appreciation of how stimulating it is to wade through snow and ice to sell The Militant. Bertha S. took the honors with 26. Ruth ran up 16 and Freddie, 15. Frank of the Youth tried the New York University campus and did well between classes.

The Young Progressives' boast of their belief in democracy but that did not prevent them from pushing Ben S. of the New York Youth out of their meeting hall and barring two others carrying bundles of Militants. The publicity, however, appeared to arouse interest. When the meeting ended, the three members of the Militant Army sold 11 copies of the paper to YPAers.

Continued sales in San Francisco require an increase in the bundle order, writes Literature Agent Jane Sebastian. Last Saturday she and Ricco sold 20 copies in the Fillmore district in short order.

In Detroit, The Militant and Fourth International came over television nicely when Hy Lerner appeared before the cameras. "During a close-up," reports Shirley Mason, "he held both of them up and we were able to read the headline on The Militant and see Laura Gray's drawing of John L. Lewis on the cover of Fourth International very clearly."

Ruth J. of New Orleans liked the issue reporting American atrocities in Korea. "The impact of that page of quotations was terrific." She also felt that "The news of the reception the paper's getting is pretty wonderful."

S. R. of Schenectady, N. Y. was also "glad to hear of the excellent sales record. I've been following the Derrick case through The Militant. The response to these articles not only shows the degree of indignation of the Negro people but also demonstrates that a great many of the community recognize our uncompromising stand in support of the struggle for real equality. The Militant for January 29 came in yesterday. Was terrific on all counts. Read of the case of Carl Skoglund and am enclosing \$2 as a contribution for his defense."

HANSEN TOUR SCHEDULE

Day	Date	City	Time
Friday	Feb. 23	New Haven	30 "
Saturday	24	Boston	31 "
Sunday	25	"	Apr. 1 "
Monday	26	Travel	2 "
Tuesday	27	Buffalo	3 "
Wednesday	28	"	4 "
Thursday	Mar. 1	"	5 Travel
Friday	2	"	6 Los Angeles
Saturday	3	Akron	7 "
Sunday	4	Cleveland	8 "
Monday	5	"	9 "
Tuesday	6	Toledo	10 "
Wednesday	7	Travel	11 "
Thursday	8	Chicago	12 Travel
Friday	9	"	13 SaltLakeCity
Saturday	10	"	14 "
Sunday	11	Milwaukee	15 "
Monday	12	Travel	16 "
Tuesday	13	Minneapolis-St. Paul	17 "
Wednesday	14	"	18 Travel
Thursday	15	"	19 "
Friday	16	"	20 St. Louis
Saturday	17	Travel	21 Travel
Sunday	18	"	22 Detroit
Monday	19	Montana	23 "
Tuesday	20	"	24 Flint
Wednesday	21	Travel	25 Detroit
Thursday	22	Seattle	26 Youngstown
Friday	23	"	27 "
Saturday	24	Seattle	28 Pittsburgh
Sunday	25	"	29 "
Monday	26	"	30 Travel
Tuesday	27	"	May 1 New York (May Day)
Wednesday	28	Travel	2 Philadelphia
Thursday	29	S. Francisco	6 Newark

- Chicago -

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
ELECTION FORUMS

for Alderman, 5th Ward — IRVING BEININ

"Civil Liberties and the Garrison State"

Speaker: O. Robbins

Sunday, February 18 7:30 P. M.
Admission Free Questions and Discussion
Campaign Headquarters 5558 S. Ellis

Let the People Vote

QUESTION: What is your party's position in the current war crisis?

ANSWER: We feel that the Korean war was declared in violation of the constitution, which gives Congress the power to declare war, not the President. The fact that he took the power to make war indicates how far the country has drifted toward a dictatorship.

Those who must do the fighting and dying should have the right to declare war. The American people should have the right to vote on this question. If elaborate machinery is invoked to elect dog-catchers, certainly it is not too much to ask that the same machinery be invoked to ascertain the people's opinions on war. Were this done in the case of Korea, I feel sure American troops would not now be lying there dead.

I further think that American troops ought to be withdrawn from Korea. Just as we did not want intervention in the American Civil War, we should let the Koreans settle their own problems.

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Leon Sedov, Symbol of World Socialist Youth

WHY ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS LOVED BY MASSES

On the Capitalist Madhouse of Europe
"Europe resembles a madhouse. And at first glance it seems as if the inmates themselves are unaware half an hour in advance whose throat they will cut and whom they will next embrace. But in the stormy waves of this chaos one irrefutable lesson is to be discerned — the criminal responsibility of the bourgeois world. Everything now occurring in Europe was prepared for during the past generations by its economic system, its state relations, its system of militarism; by the morality and philosophy of the ruling classes, by the religion of all the priests."



TROTSKY — Leon Trotsky, Order Out of Chaos. 1919 LENIN

Today the thinking youth of our country, faced with the yawning abyss of another imperialist world war, are groping for a new road toward hope, toward opportunity and a better world. For them there is no better guide than the martyred Leon Sedov, whose name has become a symbol of the revolutionary socialist youth throughout the world.
Leon Sedov was the older son of Natalia Sedov Trotsky and Leon Trotsky. Only 32 years old at the time of his premature death, he had lived his entire conscious life in the world socialist movement, giving it all his energies and devotion, subordinating in its service all his talents, which were varied, and gifts, which were many.
The GPU, Stalin's secret police, hounded Sedov throughout his youth in the Soviet Union; they stopped at nothing after he voluntarily followed his father and mother into exile in 1928. Laying trap after trap in attempts to murder Sedov, Stalin's hired killers finally succeeded ten years later — on Feb. 16, 1938.
Young Leon, apparently recovering from an operation for appendicitis, was lying helpless in a Paris hospital, when Stalin's assassins struck him down, covering up their traces. When the news of Sedov's sudden death reached Leon Trotsky, then exiled in Mexico, he wrote the stirring tribute: "Leon Sedov — Son, Friend, Fighter." On the thirteenth anniversary of Sedov's death, we find it most appropriate to reprint the following excerpts:

BY LEON TROTSKY
While but a child — he was going on twelve — he had, in his own way made the transition from the February (1917) revolution to that of October (also 1917 in Russia).

CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION
His boyhood passed under high pressure. He added a year to his age so that he might more quickly join the Komsomol (Soviet Communist Youth), seething at that time with all the passion of awakened youth. The young bakers, among whom he carried on his propaganda, would award him a fresh loaf of white bread which he happily brought home under his arm, protruding from the torn sleeve of his jacket. Those were fiery and cold, great and hungry years.
SPURNED PRIVILEGES
Of his own volition Leon left the Kremlin for a proletarian student dormitory, in order not to be any different from the others. He would not ride with us in an automobile, refusing to make use of this privilege of the bureaucrats. But he did participate ardently in all Red Saturdays and other "labor mobilizations," cleaning snow from the Moscow streets, "liquidating" the illiteracy, unloading bread and firewood from freight cars, and later, as a polytechnic student, repairing locomotives.

While still in Prinkipo, Turkey, he became the actual editor of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition from its inception (the middle of 1928), and took complete charge of this work upon his arrival in Berlin (the beginning of 1931), where the Bulletin was immediately transferred from Paris. . . . The appearance of each issue was a minor event in his life, a minor event which demanded great exertions; making up the issue, polishing the raw material, writing articles, meticulous proof-reading, prompt correspondence with friends and collaborators, and, not the least, gathering funds. But how proud he was over each "successful" number!

Material difficulties and privations Leon bore lightly, jokingly, of paralysis in which people see, hear and understand everything but are unable to move a finger to ward off mortal danger. It was to such political paralysis that the Norwegian "Socialist" government subjected us. (Trygve Lie was one of these "socialist" jailors. — Ed.) What a priceless gift to us, under these conditions, was Leon's book, the first crushing reply to the Kremlin falsifiers. . . .

OUTSTANDING FIGURE
Many comrades who were inclined to regard Sedov as merely "Trotsky's son" — just as Karl Liebknecht was long regarded as only the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht — were able to convince themselves, if only from this little book, that he was not only an independent but an outstanding figure. Leon wrote as he did everything else, that is, conscientiously, studying, reflecting, checking. The vanity of authorship was alien to him. At the same time every line he wrote glows with a living flame, whose source was his unfeigned revolutionary temperament.

Good-bye Leon, good-bye, dear and incomparable friend. . . . We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer and struggle for a better world.
Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son — he is worthy of it — and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

They Defy the People's Will

Washington has made it clear that it intends to continue the sacrifice of American youth in Korea. Now that the U.S. military command has halted the long retreat and has launched its own "limited offensive," the talk is once more of "staying in Korea at all costs."

Last week, it was to be a drive only "up to the 38th Parallel." Now Maj. Gen. John H. Church informs us from the Pentagon that "there is a possibility" that MacArthur will try to carry the offensive beyond the South Korea border. MacArthur himself, declares, "The stake we fight for now is more than Korea. It's a free Asia." His aim is nothing less than the conquest of a whole continent.

This decision of the rulers in Washington to continue and extend the war in Korea brazenly defies the will of the American people. They have expressed themselves unmistakably in their flood of letters to Congress and the newspapers, in country-wide polls, in meetings of mothers' groups. They are overwhelmingly against the U.S. intervention in Korea — Truman's "police action." They want — they are pleading and demanding — that the U.S. troops be withdrawn at once from Korea and brought back home.

The true sentiment of American mothers was expressed by Mrs. Emmett Stillwell, of Denver, six of whose sons are being taken into the armed forces. "Don't make me out the wonderful patriotic mother," she told reporters. "They're not going because I think it's a patriotic move they ought to make. It's simply that they have to go and there's nothing I can do about it."

And she added what is undoubtedly the feeling not only of mothers, fathers and wives at home, but of the GIs themselves who are doing the fighting and dying: "I wouldn't mind if they were going to defend their own country, but this business in Korea doesn't make sense."

It doesn't make sense to anyone who isn't thinking of conquering foreign territories, of crushing the struggles of colonial peoples for their national independence, of grabbing natural resources, markets and cheap labor power in other lands. But it does make sense to the American imperialists who dream of world conquest to enrich themselves.

These mad criminals will yet kill off hundreds of thousands and millions of American boys unless the people declare in a mighty voice: "Stop the war now! Bring the GIs back home right away!"

Peiping Indicts U.S. Imperialism

On Saturday, Feb. 3 over the Peiping radio Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, made a formal reply to the resolution which the U.S. imperialists had steamrolled thru the UN labeling Mao Tse-tung's regime as "aggressor." This reply was deliberately underplayed and twisted by the capitalist press, because it was a stinging indictment and at the same time an exposure and a defiance of American imperialism.

Chou disclosed that his government had definitely accepted the Asian-Arab proposal for a cease-fire.

"We made a further statement," said Chou, "that after the convocation of the seven-nation conference, a cease-fire for a limited period can be agreed upon before further negotiations on all related problems." This bears out completely the declarations to the same effect made by Sir Benegal Rau of India on the floor of the UN.

"The United States government," Chou went on to charge, "lost no time in intimidating and coercing representatives of a majority of nations into hurriedly rejecting the resolution for a seven-nation conference." Every word of this is true. So true that T. J. Hamilton, the N. Y. Times reporter at Lake Success, did not even bother to hide it. He wrote

The Martinsville 7

Seven young Negroes have been executed in Richmond, Virginia, victims of the murderous white supremacists who demanded the ultimate penalty.

Regardless of their guilt or innocence of the crime of rape, the Martinsville 7's execution was a horrible injustice. No white man has ever been sentenced to death and executed for that crime in the state of Virginia.

Like all lynchings, legal and illegal, this mass murder was calculated to terrorize the Negro people who demand equal rights.

Not one prominent capitalist officeholder came to the aid of the 7.

President Truman, who promised the Negro people equal rights in his 1948 campaign, turned his back upon the Negro people who pleaded with him to save the 7 victims of lynch justice.

Not one Republican leader moved a muscle to help the Martinsville 7. Not one of the prominent Negro politicians who hold appointed office in Washington could lift a finger to help them.

Neither the capitalist politicians who give lip service to equal rights only at

RESISTANCE TO MILITARY PROGRAM CAUSES CABINET CRISIS IN HOLLAND

By Charles Hanley

When General Eisenhower visited Holland on his European tour on Jan. 11, he found the Dutch rearmament plans insufficient from the American point of view, as a total of only three divisions.

While in other Western European countries American pressure resulted in the announcement of increased rearmament programs, Holland decided, after Gen. Eisenhower's visit, to content itself with the limited effort sponsored by its Minister of War. Although one of the Atlantic Pact nations, the Netherlands politely but clearly opposes Wall Street's present demands.

These are the facts. What is their significance? Premier William Drees and the other reformist leaders have to take into account the anti-war feelings of the Socialist Party's rank-and-file. As to the bourgeoisie, they are not interested in a new war in which they would have nothing to gain, but everything to lose. They are impoverished by the loss of Indonesia which dealt an important blow to Dutch colonialism. Too great an increase in military spending might ruin their economy.

On the other hand, weakened Dutch capitalism needs American aid and therefore cannot renounce its alliance with the United States. Hence, Holland's participation in the Atlantic Pact. To a large extent, this is today's dilemma of the entire continental Western European bourgeoisie.

NEED SOCIAL PEACE
The Dutch ruling class is probably afraid of going too far in lowering the people's standard of living by their military effort: After the loss of Indonesia they need "social peace" more than ever. And they have the Belgian example before their eyes: In

Advertisement for 'The Revolution Betrayed' by Leon Trotsky. 308 pages. Cloth \$2.50 Paper \$1.50. Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS.

Abraham Lincoln is the most beloved figure in American history. Of all the official heroes only Lincoln has really been taken to the people's heart.

Why do the American people consider Lincoln their own, their special hero? Why does his memory evoke an emotional response as does no other? Why does the Lincoln legend almost approach the Christ legend?

The schoolboy, the man in the street or in the factory, the housewife, when asked Lincoln's achievement, will immediately reply: "He freed the slaves."

This is the overwhelming fact about Lincoln's life. He was the central figure in that titanic struggle of ninety years ago that destroyed slavery with fire and sword.

The common people of today find no class barriers between themselves and an appreciation of Lincoln. Washington's figure looms up cold as marble. The working people accept his greatness on trust but never feel that they really understand what kind of man he was. This is not merely because his day on the stage of history is ninety years further off in time than that of Lincoln.

The distance is far greater. It is the distance from working people to the landed aristocracy. The patrician life of Washington is incomprehensible to a factory worker or farmer of today. Nor do stories of Washington's strict code of honor or his kindness to his slaves bridge the gap. It is an aristocrat's code of honor and the fact that he was a slaveowner comes as a shock. With Lincoln it is just the opposite.

Lincoln and the Lower Classes

Lincoln came from the class of poor farmers whose search for a decent livelihood opened the western territory of the young republic. He had less than one year of formal education.

The story of his quest for education symbolizes the struggle of the lower classes in his period of history for education. To this day it has meaning for the worker who wants his children "to get a better education than I did."

Lincoln's ambition lifted him from the poor farming class into the ranks of the middle class. He was a lawyer and like many of this profession entered politics.

He was never an Abolitionist. He hated slavery as a cruel system but thought that it could be ended only gradually. His opposition to the Abolitionists was based on their program of ending slavery immediately and at any cost. His lawyer's mind was horrified by their defiance of the laws upholding slavery.

Though a political representative of the rising industrial capitalists, his base was the independent farmers of the West and especially the Northwest. Many of these were foreign born. He had won them by his militant attacks on the Know Nothing movement — the political Ku Klux Klan of that period — which tried to divide the people on native-born versus foreign-born lines.

The coming struggle between the North and the slavocracy developed in the fight over the Western lands. Would they be owned by the free farmers or the slaveowners?

No extension of slavery! This was Lincoln's position in the struggle. This was the platform of the Republican Party newly founded by farmers, workers and industrialists.

Lincoln won his closely contested election for president because of the support of the workers, farmers and foreign born. These considered him one of their own or a close sympathizer of theirs.

His statements on organized labor were the most sympathetic of the leading politicians. In Connecticut, for instance, he referred to a shoemakers strike then in progress, by saying: "I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons why I am opposed to slavery is just here."

From the beginning of the war the Abolitionists kept pushing Lincoln from the left. Lincoln was slow and stubborn. No step against slavery was approved until the terrible war had been on for years. Then there was another battle to get the army to accept Negro troops. On each of the many issues Lincoln was slow to move but the all-important fact is that he finally did move in each case.

Lincoln and Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass, that great Negro Abolitionist, tells of an interview with Lincoln during the war. Lincoln greeted him cordially and then mentioned a speech in which Douglass had attacked "the tardy, hesitating, vacillating policy of the President." Lincoln partly admitted the first part of the charge and said: "I am charged with vacillating; but, Mr. Douglass, I do not think that charge can be sustained; I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from it."

This was a key to Lincoln's successful leadership of the Second American Revolution. Starting the war to maintain the union, he moved with the logic of events to emancipation.

When the president-elect was faced with the terrible pressure of the publicly proclaimed intent of South Carolina to secede, he tried every means of conciliation except that of abandoning his program: No extension of slavery.

Those who wish to picture Lincoln as a demi-god usually overlook the fact that he was a practical politician. For Lincoln obviously believed that the end justified the means — if the needs of progress justified the end, and the means served the end rather than hurt it.

How else explain such practical steps on Lincoln's part as writing to Gen. Sherman in Sept. 1864 to have all Indiana troops furloughed to vote in the crucial state elections there? Sherman complied so well that even the 19th Vermont Volunteers found themselves voting in Indiana.

The admission of Nevada as a state was necessary to insure the ratification of the 13th Amendment. Three more votes in the House of Representatives were lacking to give Nevada statehood. Charles A. Dana tells how he was Lincoln's go-between with certain Northern politicians whose votes were bought by Lincoln's appointment of men they designated to Federal jobs.

Though a war president Lincoln never glorified war or militarism. His democratic and humanitarian attitude endeared him to the mass of the people and to us today. The beauty and simplicity of his writings and speeches indicate his fundamental honesty and closeness to the working people.

This was possible for a middle class leader, still close to the masses, before the rise of monopoly capitalism. But the very war Lincoln led so enriched industrial capitalism and concentrated political power in its hands that in a few decades the emergence of leaders like Lincoln in any movement other than that of the working class had become impossible.

Advertisement for Detroit Public Meeting and Twin Cities Sunday Forum. Detroit: Negro History Week, Socialist Workers Party Hall, 6108 Linwood, Sunday Afternoon, February 18 — 3 PM. Twin Cities: "The American Workers in World Affairs", Speaker: V. R. DUNNE, Sunday, Feb. 18 — 3:30 PM. Admission Free.

On Feb. 11, 1937, a jubilant battalion of sitdowners marched out of the Flint Chevrolet Motor Division of the General Motors Corporation. Their union banners heralded the end of the open shop in the biggest industrial corporation in the world.

Today in the auto centers, Flint, Detroit, Toledo Cleveland, there are only a few thousand workers who participated in these epochal events. A whole new generation of auto workers has entered the industry. These new auto workers must understand the immense experience of the sitdowners of '37.

There were those who said then that industrial unions could never be built in America. This declaration of the auto barons found its echo in the top councils of the AFL. General Motors fortified this concept. Its plants were scattered across the country, near rural areas. GM deliberately hired a high proportion of its employees from rural areas.

Every spark of revolt was ruthlessly crushed by General Motors, the sole power in small cities. Its control of the press, police departments and city governments strengthened its iron grip on the workers' lives.

Inside the plants, workers went in fear of GM's supervision. Outside, they lived in fear of GM's secret agents who seemed to be everywhere.

Through this dark age a few kept alive the ideas of unionism. This handful were the radicals — Socialists, Stalinists, Trotskyists. They alone believed it was possible to organize industrial unions. Those were the days of secret meetings held in the basement of workers' homes. The blacklist operated openly.

The GM auto worker is fond of saying that General Motors Corporation "organized" the UAW. By this he means that GM drove the workers to organize by long and frequent periods of layoffs; short periods of work accompanied by inhuman speedup that filled insane asylums with GM workers; the tyranny of management who held the power of life and death and ignored all safety measures that conflicted with increased production.

Today a million organized workers confront the auto corporations, truly a gigantic leap forward. To accomplish this they resorted to the revolutionary weapon of the sitdown. With one dramatic strike they inspired workers across the country to begin the forward march of unionization. Above all they showed how it could be done. They countered every move of the corporation with revolutionary union defensive measures. Mass picket lines and flying squads were established; wives and mothers organized in fighting women's

auxiliaries. GM's courts and injunctions were defied. Today, sitting complacently in his plush office, the union bureaucrat is satisfied with things as they are. Not so the auto worker. While he has higher wages, vacation pay, a pension at the age of 65, if he lives that long, and union recognition, he knows that GM is still master of the house.

FACTORY IS STILL A PRISON The GM worker spends a third of his day in a factory that to him is like a prison. When the gate closes behind him he leaves his rights outside. Small as well as large abuses irk him. After 14 years the auto worker still works on the line like a jack rabbit. His youth is rapidly ground away by grueling labor and all too soon he is too old for the assembly line.

These GM workers are trying to think this problem through. In 1937, they gained their biggest victory with an infant union. But now, with all the advantages of big organization, substantial treasuries and rich experience, they are not obtaining fundamental changes or even maintaining past gains. Taxes cut deeply into wages already falling behind the rising cost of living.

The speedup that was ended in 1937 by quickie stoppages is today a plague in all GM plants. What holds in check the auto union's great power? Certainly, the workers have no fear of General Motors, the courts, or the government. They showed this in the struggles of 1937 and 1945.

But the militancy of their union is being throttled by a timid and weak leadership. The Reuther leadership talks like the wind waving through the leaves at the top of the tree that never shakes the roots. The leaders are deathly afraid of GM. They see its power in 100 plants across the country. They see its huge treasuries, its controlled newspapers, its radio propagandists. They know it is interlocked with the government in Washington in a thousand different ways. The UAW leaders are aware that a fundamental struggle over basic issues will provoke an economic and political crisis of vast scope. This is what they want to avoid.

A NEW LEADERSHIP Already groups of militant GM workers have come to understand the nub of the problem. Their answer is a new leadership with the courage and ability to live up to the new tasks.

Do the UAW leaders think they can hold back the tide like the AFL did in the old days? They will try. They never seem to learn. Men of a small mold will do desperate things to hang on to their soft life, their power and their prestige.

There are greater forces at work than the labor fakery. The action of government moving towards world conquest and the policies of the corporation are preparing for a new explosion of the auto workers.

Those who believe in this perspective and prepare for it number no more than a few thousand. No more than those who believed industrial unions could be built in 1937. They are no less inspired, no less confident that their goal of a new leadership can be obtained because they know that from little acorns mighty oak trees grow.

NEWARK CIO PROTESTS VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES BY POLICE

NEWARK, N. J. — Feb. 5 — Police violations of civil rights have become so flagrant during the past few months that the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council decided that it must take a stand against them. Joel R. Jacobson, Executive Secretary of the Council, appeared before the Newark Civil Rights Commission to present charges against Newark municipal officials who "are daily encouraging the violations of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

The spokesman for the Commission stated that these cases did not come under their jurisdiction. They had been set up to see to it that there were no violations of the Freeman Bill which was to protect citizens against discrimination because of race, creed or color. They stated that they considered themselves an educational group, not a police force. They further claimed that "creed" pertained to religious beliefs and they were unwilling even to try to investigate the charges made by the CIO. The CIO intends to send their lawyer to the next meeting of the Commission to argue the meaning of the word "creed" which they contend means also political beliefs.

Readers Forum

Campus Police Arrest Reader Editor: On the afternoon of February 1, I went to the University of Minnesota campus to distribute The Militant. As it was 10 below zero, I stood inside Nicholson hall. After I had disposed of eight or nine copies, two burly cops approached me and asked to see the paper. "You're the one we're looking for," said one. "Come with us."

And They Haven't Changed!

The railroad corporations are notorious for their defiance of every law that is designed to curb their powers or restrain their rapacity. The railroad corporations have their lobby at Washington and at every state capital; they bribe legislators, corrupt courts, debauch politicians, and commit countless other legal and moral crimes against the commonwealth. President Cleveland serves the corporate masters, and exalts and glorifies the act, while he attempts to absolve the criminals and fasten the insufferable stigma upon honest men. Nothing further is required to demonstrate beyond all cavil the Capitalist class character of our present government.

V. R. Dunne Speech Backs Rail Strikers

By Harold Kent

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 4 — The second Sunday Forum in the present series heard V. R. Dunne castigate the arrogant railroad coupon clippers for provoking the present "sickness" among the nation's switchmen. Dunne linked the struggle of BRT men to the struggles of the European workers for peace, bread and freedom. The enemy is the same in both cases — U.S. imperialism.

"The railroad workers are really sick, all right," said Dunne. "They're sick and tired of being pushed around by their own union officials and the government bureaucrats in Washington. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen give the lie to the wisecracking theory that the workers are dumb. With the railway owners, the government and their own union officials against them, the switchmen devised their own strategy of struggle. It is this resourcefulness," said Dunne, "that strikes fear into the hearts of the bosses. We can be sure that the American workers will have the last word to say about Wall Street's plans for world domination."

U.S. MUST HAVE WAR "But U.S. imperialism must go ahead with its plans. If it cannot expand outward to include the whole world as its oyster, U.S. capitalism must grind to a halt. The immense productive capacity of the U.S. yields a surplus which must be disposed of abroad."

"In order to get the workers to fight, Wall Street invented the big lie that the Soviet Union was preparing to attack the U.S.A. "We Trotskyists have fought Stalin since 1924, and we do not defend him now. But the solemn truth is that Stalin does not want war! Look at the record. His whole policy has been to avoid war at all costs, to make a deal with one imperialist or another. Stalin fears revolutions no less than Truman."

"Eisenhower hopes to raise 80 to 100 divisions in Europe but the European workers have made it perfectly clear that they do not want to become involved in another war. "Since the disaster in Korea the American brass hats have lost confidence in their own ability to carry through their plans. They ask themselves: 'Shall we get out of Korea and save our necks or stay there and save our face?'"

ONLY ROAD TO PEACE "The only road to peace and freedom is the program of Trotsky," concluded Dunne. "The workers of the world must join hands and overthrow this rotting, bloody capitalist system."

A lively discussion brought out the increasing importance at the present time of the "Titoist" tendency among European workers. A generous collection was received. The social committee provided a tasty supper of beans, salad, pickles, bread, cake and coffee. The next and concluding Forum of the present series will be held Feb. 18, at which time V. R. Dunne will emphasize the role that American workers are destined to play in the coming events.

And They Haven't Changed!

"The railroad corporations are notorious for their defiance of every law that is designed to curb their powers or restrain their rapacity. The railroad corporations have their lobby at Washington and at every state capital; they bribe legislators, corrupt courts, debauch politicians, and commit countless other legal and moral crimes against the commonwealth. President Cleveland serves the corporate masters, and exalts and glorifies the act, while he attempts to absolve the criminals and fasten the insufferable stigma upon honest men. Nothing further is required to demonstrate beyond all cavil the Capitalist class character of our present government."

Eugene V. Debs 1894 — Chicago Rail Strike If your copy of THE MILITANT is delayed it is due to the failure of mail delivery due to railroad shutdown.



AFL Pres. William Green gets together with Labor Sec. Maurice J. Tobin (left) at Miami Beach in the course of AFL executive council session. Green is anxious to get more labor representation on the Wage Stabilization Board.

RAILROAD LABOR FIGHTS FOR A LIVING WAGE

(Continued from Page 1) roads have asked for and received eight straight general rate increases since the end of the war. They add up to 57 per cent! They are... making more money than at any time in their history."

All this thanks to Truman, who appointed railroad officials to the rank of colonel to administer the phoney government "seizure." Kennedy and the other heads of the operating brotherhoods begged Truman to "seize" the lines. Now the workers are reaping the "benefits" of capitalist government control.

Not only do the rail workers have a grievance on wages, but they are among the few organized workers who work over 40 hours a week without overtime pay. "Our men are the 40-hour week and two pay rounds behind — and inflation is way ahead," Kennedy stated Jan. 29. He should have added "... because of the weakness of union leadership and the strike-breaking of President Truman."

THE UNION LEADERS The railroad union leaders have taught the membership for a long period of years to put their faith in government boards and "friends" in Washington. They have kept the union weak and divided. They have never led a

Chicago Socialist Challenges Dem. To War Debate

CHICAGO, Feb. 5—Irving Beinin, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman in the Fifth Ward today challenged his Democratic opponent, Alderman Merriam to a public debate on the issues in the campaign.

In his challenge, Beinin pointed out that the campaign for Alderman in the Fifth Ward is unlike that of any other Aldermanic campaign in Chicago today.

GOLD DUST TWINS Drawing attention to the fact that there is no Republican opposition to Merriam, Beinin stated, "The support the Republicans are giving to Merriam by not entering a candidate against him is a typical example of horse trading in Chicago in politics today. It confirms the fact, as every voter has long known, that there exist no important marks of distinction between the Democrats and the Republicans. These two pro-war parties are the Gold Dust twins of capitalism and the differences between them revolve more around the question of patronage than the vital question of program."

Pointing out that he speaks for the Socialist Workers Party, Beinin stated, "I am campaigning primarily as an anti-war candidate. This is in direct contrast to Merriam's attempt to smuggle in his pro-war position through mealy-mouthed phrases about 'Chicago's preparedness,' and then to confine the campaign to 'local' issues of a secondary nature. The people in the Fifth Ward have a right to fully and clearly understand the contrast in our programs. The democratic way to extend this right of full information to the citizens would be to call a public assembly of the voters to hear, in debate, the programs of the two candidates presented in an atmosphere of free discussion."

DISCUSS THE WAR "It is incumbent upon Merriam to publicly discuss the war question. His refusal to do so and his attempt to hide under the cover of local issues would serve to expose his alliance with the Truman war program, a program that threatens us all with atomic destruction." Beinin, drawing attention to the well known fact that Merriam is regarded as the protégé of "Drop the bomb now" Douglas



IRVING BEININ

further stated, "Merriam, whose main concern in this campaign is his own personal political ambition, would not dare to inject the war issue into the campaign, because his political future depends on the good favor of the very gang in Washington that is pushing the American people into war. Merriam is engaged in a conspiracy to avoid this most important of all issues. It is precisely that conspiracy that the Socialist Workers Party is determined to bring to the full public attention."

"Through my candidacy we intend to provide the growing anti-war sentiment with a means of expression. We shall provide the voters in the Fifth Ward with the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to the needless, brutal devastation of the Korean land and the killing of thousands of innocent American and Korean soldiers."

Beinin concluded, "I intend to call a spade a spade. Let the liberal Merriam agree to publicly debate me and defend his program. The Socialist Workers Party, in this campaign is determined to demonstrate to the citizens in the Fifth Ward that the main issue confronting everyone today is that of atomic destruction or the building of a socialist society."

Truman's "Soak-the-Poor" Taxes

(Continued from Page 1) program. The 82nd Congress was not less sympathetic to the profiteers.

In 1948, the federal government soaked the American people what was then considered the staggering sum of \$34.2 billion in taxes. In 1950, the tax yield ran to \$40.2 billion. It is now running at an annual rate of \$55 billion, including the \$8 billion added after the start of the Korean war. The new taxes will bring the total annual take to \$65.1 billion. And this is just a starter. To "balance the budget" of \$71.6 billion he has submitted to Congress, Truman will have to ask for a further \$6.5 billion in a few months. Snyder, in presenting the tax program to Congress, said that taxes may have to be increased even more than \$16.5 billion this year "if our defense program develops as rapidly as is desirable" and that this program will have to be maintained "over a long period of time."

Actually, federal spending in the coming fiscal year, starting next July 1, will reach close to the World War II peak of \$98 billion because of contract authorizations which Truman did not see fit to include in his budget. This colossal expenditure will devour more than a third of the anticipated national income. If we add the \$21 billion in state and local taxes, the grand total will take more than 40 cents out of every dollar of income. Less than 10 per cent of federal expenditures will go for "non-defense" costs, which include all regular functions of government as well as all social security and welfare programs. About 90 per cent of federal spending will go for the costs of war, past, present and future.

The proposed income tax increases will raise tax rates four percentage points "across-the-board," regardless of the size of the income. For every \$100 of taxable income, every taxpayer will pay \$4 a year more taxes than before. The increase will thus apply "equally" to rich and poor, much in the manner of that "equality," described by the French writer Anatole France, which forbade rich and poor "alike" to sleep under the Seine bridges.

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The present rate of 20 per cent on the first \$2,000 of taxable income would go up to 24 per cent; the 22 per cent on the next \$2,000, to 26 per cent; and so on up the scale. But as the Feb. 26 N. Y. Times points out, "This would amount to a 20 per cent increase in the taxes of persons whose entire income falls in the first bracket, ranging downward to about 3 1/2 per cent for those with incomes of a \$1,000,000."

SALES TAXES In addition to the higher income taxes, Truman proposes to tack stiff sales taxes on "consumers goods. These are labelled "excise" taxes because most of them will be applied at the point of manufacture. But Snyder admitted that these excise taxes would "average" in the neighborhood of 15 per cent of retail prices on the affected items and that there would be a "pyramiding" of the price mark-ups from the manufacturers, wholesalers, on thru the retailers. He further stated that price ceilings would have to be raised to reflect the tax increases. In short, the taxes will be passed on to the consumers.

Although Truman says his "pay-as-you-go" tax program will reduce "inflationary pressures," his proposed "selective" sales taxes would boost prices on hundreds of articles from 15 to 50 per cent. These include beer, and other liquors, cigarettes, gasoline, automobiles, electrical household appliances, refrigerators and washing machines, oil and gas appliances, radios and TV sets, phonographs, records

and musical instruments, toilet preparations, watches and alarm clocks, etc. The rich, who spend only a small percentage of their incomes even with their fantastically luxurious scale of living, already have an abundance of the things included on the proposed excise taxes list. Those in the lower-income brackets will have to pay these taxes — or do without many things that are essential to the American standard of living. It is argued that the military costs are so great that they could not begin to be met even by maximum taxing of the small number of rich and the corporations. Leaving aside the question of what class wants war and profits from it, and therefore should be forced to pay for it, it is a lie that the rich cannot provide the war taxes. An SEC report last December revealed that in the three months following the outbreak of the Korean war the idle working capital of U.S. corporations rose \$2.2 billion, to an all-time total of \$75.9 billion from \$24.5 billion in 1939. This accumulation of idle capital was achieved although the corporations in 1950 spent more than \$18 billion for new plants and equipment. This idle working capital alone could pay for the entire 1952 federal war budget proposed by Truman. Corporate gross profits last year totaled more than \$41 billion, of which the corporations retained \$21 billion after taxes. Their gross profits this year are expected to surpass \$50 billion, of which they will spend only \$23 billion in federal taxes, including the new program. They are going to make \$6 billion more in net profits than last year despite the tax increases, because of the volume of government war orders. If every penny of these war profits were taken in taxes, it would amount to far more than

all new federal taxes since the Korean war began, including the \$10 billion more Truman is now asking.

TAX EXEMPTIONS

The rich investors own some \$23 billion in tax-exempt local and state government securities, the incomes from which are not subject to taxation. They pay a maximum of only 25 per cent in a "capital gains" tax on profits they make from the sale of properties and securities, which means that real estate and stock speculators who are cleaning up billions on the war boom pay only pittance taxes on their bloated incomes. The oil, utilities and insurance trusts have special tax exemptions that mean billions a year in additional profits to them. If the rich only paid the full amount of taxes they legally owe under the present tax laws, it would add billions to the U.S. Treasury. Seven out of every 10 tax returns of persons in the \$25,000-a-year-or-more class don't show the correct amount owed, said Internal Revenue Commissioner George J. Schoeneman in his testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on Feb. 6. In plain words, most capitalists are crooks who swindle the government. Workers, of course, don't get the chance to cut their taxes in this way — their taxes are withheld in advance from their pay. Thus, the parasite millionaires and billionaires are more than able to pay for the added taxes. Let them, therefore, pay for the war. For 100 per cent confiscatory taxes on all war profits and idle capital! For 100 per cent taxation of all personal income over \$25,000 a year! Not one cent of taxes on incomes of \$5,000 and under! This should be labor's answer to Truman's tax program for foisting the whole burden of war costs on the working people.