

4th Int'l. Calls for Socialist Anti-War Struggle

Delegates From 25 Countries At World Congress

(Reprinted from the Sept. 13 La Verite, weekly publication of French revolutionary Socialists)

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International was held in Switzerland at the end of August and the beginning of September. A total of 74 elected delegates

participated in the plenary sessions and commissions which lasted 11 days. Delegates, observers and visitors came from 25 countries and represented 27 organizations. Especially notable was the delegation from the Far East composed of a dozen comrades representing China, India, Vietnam and Ceylon, as well as delegations from Latin America representing Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

FIVE LANGUAGES
The work of the Congress was carried on in five languages for which a permanent translator functioned: English, French, German, Spanish and Chinese, without taking into account summary translations in other languages. The Third World Congress opened with a greeting from the Secretary of the International, with the election of an Organization Commission for the Congress and the election of special commissions. The principal reports given were a general political report, a report on the "People's Democracies" in Eastern Europe, a report on Yugoslavia and a report of the activities of the outgoing International leadership.

AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE
A representative from the labor movement of Black Africa participated for the first time in a meeting of the Fourth International. Europe was represented by delegations from all the principal countries. A representative of a Communist opposition movement in the USSR who was to participate as observer at the Congress was prevented from coming at the last moment by material difficulties.

The Congress held its plenary sessions in a hall specially decorated for that purpose. A Vietnamese revolutionary artist reproduced portraits of the principal martyrs of the Trotskyist movement.

The Congress assigned honorary chairmanship to its militants who are at present victims of imperialist or Stalinist repression. Among them are Bolivian, Vietnamese and Greek comrades, notably the recently arrested Guillermo Lora, member of the Central Committee of the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International, Deputy in the Bolivian Parliament and leader of the

miners' union, and Comrades Rene and Liu, leaders of the Vietnamese section of the Fourth International, under arrest by the Vietnamese authorities.

POLITICAL REPORT
The political report emphasized the two main features of the present world situation: the accelerated preparations for war by imperialism and the development of the revolutionary upsurge in Asia. It declared that the launching of imperialist war in the present world-wide relationship of forces (which are unfavorable to imperialism and cannot be reversed in the next two to four years) meant that it would tend from the start to become transformed into global civil war.

The report demonstrated that in the course of this class war the proletariat would free itself from all bureaucratic control by the Kremlin and that the struggle unleashed on a world scale could be terminated only by the victory of the socialist revolution over imperialism and over Stalinism. To achieve this victory it is indispensable for the revolutionary movement to defend the USSR, the "People's Democracies," China and the colonial revolutions against imperialism, while irreconcilably combating Stalinism which is incapable of unifying and effectively directing

(Continued on Page 2)

Grand Jury Indicts Cicero Jim Crow Victims
See Page 4

Myra Tanner Weiss Flays Warmakers At N.Y. Meeting

NEW YORK, Sept. 14 — Myra Tanner Weiss, prominent West coast fighter for revolutionary socialism, continued her national speaking tour sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, with a talk on "The Outlook for America—Lessons of the Korean War," at Adelphi Hall in New York City last Friday night.

An enthusiastic audience, many of whom were newly won friends of the party, followed with great interest the speaker's analysis of the events that are shaping the America of the future.

TWO LESSONS

The Korean War, Comrade Weiss said, was a result of the invasion and consequent ruin of that small country by American imperialism whose intention it was to crush the revolutionary aspirations of the Korean masses. The fourteen months of bloody war, the speaker continued, provide two fundamental lessons. The first, she stated, was the weakness of world capitalism, racked by crisis at home and impotent to resist the upsurge of the revolutionary expansion in Asia. The second was the strength and militancy of the oppressed colonial peoples and the militant anti-war sentiment that pervades the working class of Europe and America.

It is this last factor, Mrs. Weiss said, that has caused the American ruling class to hesitate in carrying through their plans to unleash World War III.

FUTURE FOR AMERICA

The speaker showed how the tremendous accumulation of surplus capital in the hands of the sixty families that own and control this country is today the real economic force leading to imperialist aggression in the modern world.

Outlining the future prescribed for the American people by the Wall Street rulers and their political stooges in Washington,

the speaker declared, "They threaten us with: 1. a third war, 2. a \$46 billion profit coined by them in a machine powered with blood, 3. forced labor under government injunction, and 4. a youth demoralized and unable to plan a future except in the army."

"We," she said, "see a different future for America and the world, our socialist future, and we are prepared to fight for it." Speaking for the entire party she concluded with the words: "We want no other life, we could live no other life."

Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the City Council in the coming elections in New York City, was chairman. He outlined plans for an intensive election campaign in which, Bartell pointed out, the S.W.P. will be the only independent working class party on the ballot.

By Michael Bartell
(SWP Candidate for President of N. Y. City Council)

For the fourth consecutive year the Socialist Workers Party has overcome many difficulties, and fought its way onto the ballot in New York City and State elections. Socialist campaigners who secured the required signatures have reported that, despite the anti-red campaign that rages in the newspapers, the many workers who were approached for signatures did not appear to be intimidated and signed as readily as before.

The big new feature of the

Auto Units Call Parley to Fight GM Speedup Drive

FLINT, Sept. 13 — Recent events point to a sharpening of the struggle against speedup in the assembly plants of the Chevrolet division of General Motors corporation. In the Flint Fisher Body units two wildcat strikes were provoked in the space of a week.

In spite of these actions, GM has set a determined course to maintain stepped-up production standards. Indications are that the company is deliberately attempting to provoke a strike in Flint Chevrolet, in the hope of beating the workers back to their jobs with the aid of top UAW-CIO officials.

But the Chevrolet workers, wary of isolated strike struggles, have been preparing a national conference in St. Louis of all the assembly units to work out a unified program against the speedup campaign.

The forthcoming meeting of ten assembly plant locals has thrown a fright into the Reuther UAW leadership. To forestall any independent action, Reuther has indicated he intends to call a conference of GM locals in Detroit.

Meanwhile, GM management has been penalizing workers who do not meet production standards. The top bureaucrats are callously indifferent to the suffering of the workers. Assembly line workers have to run all day to keep up with the line. Adult workers wet their pants waiting for relief. But thus far the sole concern displayed by the International officers is to discover if "party liners" are "fomenting" trouble.

In spite of sharp reductions in the working force, far in excess of production cutbacks, Reuther has made no attempt to obtain relief by demanding more manpower on the line. As in previous years, foremen once again remind you of the unemployed outside the gates waiting to be hired.

Goaded by this situation, workers have engaged in a series of walkouts. But these local actions prove ineffective. The forthcoming conference, demanded by the Chevrolet workers, will make it possible to unify the struggle, and force the top union officers to take action.

By taking control of such a conference, Reuther hopes to forestall any determined action. He will no doubt turn loose a legion of international representatives to browbeat the delegates. But the workers are determined to unite their forces and fight the company, and anyone else who stands in the way of a defense of union conditions.

IMPORTANCE OF N. Y.
The key importance of this is emphasized by the fact that it takes place in New York City, traditionally the stronghold of radical political parties in America.

A further significance is given to this by the proposal of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for a Socialist presidential slate in 1952. The National Committee has proposed that Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, who were the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice-President in 1948, be nominated again in 1952, and that a vigorous campaign be conducted in their behalf.

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET
None of the three parties who have claimed in the past to represent socialism has as yet



SWP Candidate Gets 3,516 Votes in Detroit

DETROIT, Sept. 13 — Howard Lerner, only independent working class candidate in a field of eight running for Mayor of Detroit, came in sixth with 3,516 votes in Tuesday's primary election. Lerner ran on the Socialist Workers Party platform. His vote represented 1.5% of the total cast, and showed that there is a militant minority of workers who will not permit the red-baiting reaction to frighten them from voting for a genuine socialist candidate.

Albert Cobo, union-hating incumbent, came in first with 138,103 votes, while Edgar Branigan, Democratic machine politician, got 62,957. These two agents of the employers will be in the November run-off.

The CIO hit a new low in this contest. No other result was possible so long as the CIO under Walter Reuther persists in the self-defeating policy of endorsing any company-minded candidate who puts on a Democratic Party label.

Here is a typical example of the stand the CIO-endorsed

Branigan took in the daily press: "My personal belief is that property is now taxed too heavily; that part of the load should be transferred to other sources, such as pay rolls."

On the right of government employees to strike, he said: "I do not believe in conceding such a right to them — their grievances should be adjusted by other means!" He also announced that he would assume no "obligations" to the labor movement.

The only CIO member in the contest was John H. Mial, a Negro, vice-president of the Wayne County CIO Council and member of UAW Local 155. Out of 52 candidates for the City Council, he came in 29th with 11,034 votes. Only the first 18 are in the run-offs. What a miserable showing in a town with one-quarter million UAW members!

The vote proves Mial got no support from the CIO. His candidacy was not intended to be a serious fight in behalf of the Negro people. Its sole purpose was to pull votes away from the Rev. Charles A. Hill, independent Negro candi-

date for City Council. Hill ran on a civil rights pacifist program. He has collaborated with Stalinist front movements, but takes an aggressive attitude on the rights of minorities. He is also a member of the local Kutchner committee and has cooperated with Howard Lerner in elections.

The SWP endorsed Hill's candidacy. He came in 16th and made the run-off with 28,471 votes. He will be the only Negro candidate on the November ballot.

Ford Local 600, leading opposition local in the UAW which did a good job in fighting for a referendum on the FEPC issue, showed that it still suffers a hangover from Reuther's PAC policy. It endorsed City Council President Miriani for re-election. Miriani is strictly a real estate man. He is active in white-supremacist neighborhood organizations and openly hostile to FEPC and the petition drive for it.

Endorsement of such scoundrels is no different from Reuther's policy, and will bring the same results.

SOCIALIST PARTY
The Socialist Party, after announcing last spring that it intended to enter into the New York City elections this year, has decided to withdraw its candidate and support Rudolph Halley. Halley is the nominee of the Liberal-Fusion forces in this city.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Machinists Union Says Taxes Rob Workers of Wage Gains

Govt. Cost-of-Living Index Called "Snare and Delusion"

The AFL Machinists Union, representing 700,000 workers, last week attacked the Department of Labor cost of living index as a "snare and a delusion" because it fails to take taxes on low incomes into account.

Since the Wage Stabilization Board wage freeze is pegged to the Bureau of Labor Statistics Index, the exclusion of the tax factor in estimating living costs has become a pressing problem to the labor movement.

The need to include taxes in cost-of-living calculations becomes more acute as the Senate and House prepare a new tax law which according to all indications will increase taxes at least by a straight 11 percent.

"QUIT STALLING"

The Machinists Union weekly paper on Sept. 15 demanded the Dept. of Labor "quit stalling" and immediately include the increasing tax deductions from workers' pay envelopes as part of the rising cost of living. Income taxes, the union said, "are now a major factor in the cost of living of almost every union family."

The AFL League Reporter (published by Labor's League for Political Action) stated Sept. 15 that "within a week or two both the Senate and House will give their final approval to this year's tax law. It looks as if it will be another law to help the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

The demand of the Machinists Union deserves the support of every local union. Those unions with escalator clause contracts are finding that the failure of the BLS index to include taxes in measuring rising living costs renders the escalator provision ineffective. Unions which win wage increases based on the WSB formula, find that these increases compensate workers for only a part of the higher cost of living.

SALES TAXES

Not only income taxes should be included in cost of living figures, but all federal, state and

local taxes. Last year, for example, state sales taxes jumped 300 percent. During 1950 the states collected \$2 billion in sales taxes. These taxes and local sales taxes are not included in the BLS living cost figures.

The Senate tax bill now being considered would increase the federal excise taxes as well as income taxes. There is a proposal, sponsored by the NAM, to levy a general tax on all manufactured goods except food.

While workers are hard pressed to buy the necessities of life after their wages are cut by the tax gouge, special tax handouts further enrich the big corporations. In the first 8½ months this year, 3,343 tax rebate applications were approved — over \$9 billion for plant expansion. But workers are given no rebates to build homes — or buy groceries. "The less taxes Big Business pays the more you will have to pay," the AFL League Reporter states. "The government has to get the money it needs for the defense program some place." And that someplace is from the worker's pay envelope.

TAX BURDEN GROWS

As war preparations mount in cost, the workers' tax burden grows. Unless increased real wages compensate workers for this taxation, millions will suffer drastic reductions in their standard of living.

The statement of the Machinists Union is an indication that large sections of the labor movement are awakening to the fraud of the wage-price-tax program.

The truth is that the Truman administration is following to the letter the "elastic" wage policy and tax steal proposed last year by GM President C. E. Wilson. (See article below on escalator clause.) Wages are "elastic," but taxes take the stretch out of them.

Tax Swindle Hits Escalator Pacts

By C. Thomas

The history of the labor movement is studded with instances of fundamentally sound and progressive ideas being twisted and perverted to serve ends different from, and sometimes opposite to, their original purpose. A case in point is the escalator — cost-of-living — clause devised to protect the workers' standard of living in periods of mounting inflation.

In what way has the escalator clause been corrupted? Why, for example, did the billion-dollar General Motors Corporation literally force the escalator clause on the unwilling Reuther leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union? And why did Reuther and Company later insist on retaining the clause in the controversy which flared into a walkout of the labor leaders from the Wage Stabilization Board?

An answer to these questions should provide the key for a better understanding of the dispute over the escalator clause now taking place in labor circles. Our analysis must, therefore, take into consideration the existing clauses and the manner in which the escalator principle has been perverted. To begin with, the corporations, with the connivance of the labor leaders, have

invariably tied the escalator contracts to long term wage agreements with inadequate provision for readjustments in base pay.

5-YEAR CONTRACT

General Motors, for example, lured Reuther an escalator clause for a five-year agreement. This was a good deal for General Motors. We shall see why by following the reasoning of C. E. Wilson, GM president, who was attacked at the time by his fellow-industrialists as a traitor and renegade for "selling out" to Reuther.

Wilson felt called upon to reply to charges that the General Motors-UAW escalator agreement was inflationary. In a letter reprinted in the Wall Street Journal, he dismissed the charges as so much nonsense. "I think our contract only provides for doing in an orderly way," he asserted, "what others will have to do finally anyway, and after a great deal of friction, loss of efficiency and leadership, and

(Continued on page 2)

SWP Only Socialist Party on N.Y. Ballot

By Michael Bartell
(SWP Candidate for President of N. Y. City Council)

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The big new feature of the

campaign this year is that, for the first time, the ballot will be clear of the numerous parties and sects that have for years misrepresented themselves to the radical voters as "socialist" or "communist." Neither the Socialist Party, nor the Communist Party, nor even the Socialist Labor Party will be on the ballot.

The key importance of this is emphasized by the fact that it takes place in New York City, traditionally the stronghold of radical political parties in America.

A further significance is given to this by the proposal of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for a Socialist presidential slate in 1952. The National Committee has proposed that Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, who were the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice-President in 1948, be nominated again in 1952, and that a vigorous campaign be conducted in their behalf.

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET
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Notebook of an Agitator

A DEAD MAN'S DECISION

Dead men tell no tales; but sometimes, as is well known, the memory of what they did, or the way they died, exerts an authority over the living and affects their actions and decisions. The continuing influence of great men needs no argument. And once in awhile, in exceptional circumstances, the lowly too speak from the grave. Even the lowliest of the lowly. George Flores, the young boxer who was killed in the ring at Madison Square Garden just recently, cast a long shadow over the Turpin-Robinson fight for the middle-weight championship at the Polo Grounds last Wednesday, and most probably determined the outcome of this million-dollar affair.

Turpin was on the ropes, but not out, when the referee stopped the fight with only eight seconds to go in the tenth round of the scheduled fifteen-round bout and gave the decision to Robinson on a technical knockout. But it is highly doubtful if Robinson was the winner on actual merit. The fight was scored even up to the tenth round. Robinson was bleeding like a stuck pig from an eye cut; and Turpin, with the stamina of youth in his favor, figured to recuperate during the intermission between rounds and take charge from there on. Turpin and his manager protested the referee's action on these grounds, and subsequent evidence seemed to bear out their contention. Turpin, according to all reports, was fresher and stronger than Robinson in the immediate aftermath of the fight.

A Change in the Arena

Then why was the fight stopped so precipitously, with only eight seconds to go in the round — a very unusual procedure in a championship fight? The answer, as everybody knows, is the death of George Flores on the eve of the battle for the middleweight title. Flores was in the minds of all concerned. They were all thinking: What happened once can happen again. This nervous apprehension was reflected in the action of Ruby Goldstein, the referee. The sports writers, the U.S. fight mob, the fight fans, and the distinguished people who turned out to view this modern gladiatorial spectacle, unanimously applauded the referee's action. They all gave the same reason: Turpin, they said, might have been badly hurt if the fight had not been stopped at the precise moment in history of two minutes, 52 seconds of the tenth round. This time the sportsmen in the arena put thumbs up, not down; they didn't say "kill him!" but "let him live!"

You can attribute this gesture to a sudden rush of mercy to the head, or to the fear of another scandal in the full glare of world publicity — but there it is, anyway you want to explain it. Robinson is champion again, the beneficiary in this instance of the guilty conscience of the boxing business. This is probably the first time the still small voice of conscience ever made itself heard in these strange precincts; and certainly the first time a boxer ever got the benefit of it.

George Flores' tragic and most untimely death was just another nine-day sensation. That's all. It lasted just about long enough to influence the decision in the Turpin-Robinson bout. The echoes of the uproar are already

fading away. The jitters have yielded to the sedative of time — it didn't take long — and the boxing business is just about back to normal, back to business as usual. All that the hullabaloo produced, while it lasted, were a few proposals for better supervision of boxing bouts in the future; for some more elaborate rules and regulations; for what Governor Dewey, in his humane wisdom, called "precautions" which might keep boxers from getting hurt when they get hit.

It is a commentary on the times and the social environment out of which the boxing business rises like a poisonous flower from a dunghill, that nobody came forward with the simple demand to outlaw prize fighting, as it was outlawed in most of the states of this country up till the turn of the century. Cock-fighting is illegal; it is considered inhumane to put a couple of roosters into the pit and incite them to spur each other until one of them keels over. It is also against the law to put bulldogs into the pit to fight for a side bet. But our civilization — which is on the march, to be sure — has not yet advanced to the point where law and public opinion forbid men, who have nothing against each other, to fight for money and the amusement of paying spectators. Such spectacles are a part of our highly-touted way of life.

The "precautions" advocated during the brief excitement over the killing of George Flores simmered down to a few piddling suggestions that fighters not be over-matched; that they be required to train properly and enter the ring in good condition; that the boxers' gloves and the ring canvas be padded a little more; and that each boxer's head be thoroughly examined by X-ray before each bout to see if he had suffered a previous brain injury. "Boxing can be made a safe sport," said Dr. Frank R. Ferlino to Milton Gross, sports writer for the New York Post, if these regulations are observed. The doctor, of course, is talking through his hat.

A "Sport" for Spectators

The precautions, which are supposed to take care of everything, in reality take care of nothing. When you get inside those ropes your head is a target for self-propelled missiles known as fists, and there is no way of making that safe. As the soldier said when he was asked why he ran away from the front lines: "You can get hurt up there." Blows over the head never did anybody any good. And if anybody ever got any fun out of it, he hasn't been heard from yet. The "sport" in prize fighting is strictly for the spectators and the managers and promoters — sport and money too.

The incomparable Joe Louis himself testified to this in a notable statement at a newsreel press conference when he renounced his title to turn promoter. A reporter asked: "Which do you think you like best, Joe, fighting or promoting?"

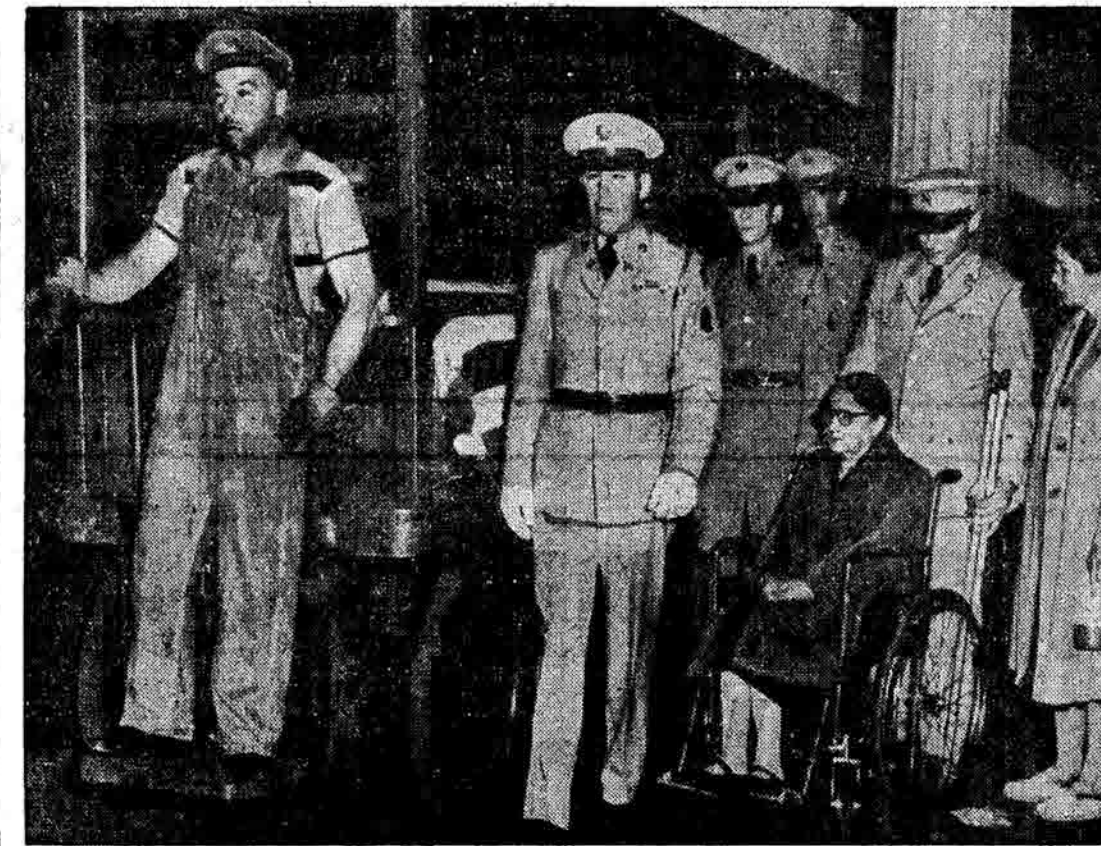
Joe, a man of few words, answered: "I like promotin'."

"Why is that, can you explain it?"

"Sure," said Joe. "They can't hit you when you're promotin'."

Those words belong in the Book of Proverbs.

— J.P.C.



Denied burial in Sioux City, Ia. cemetery because he was a Winnebago Indian, Sgt. John R. Rice's body arrives in Washington. President Truman hastily ordered burial of the Indian soldier after cemetery authorities turned his body away at the graveside in a last minute effort to cover up for the widespread Jim Crow practices that follow Americans even to the grave. Fine print in cemetery contracts restricts burial to "Caucasians." At right of the coffin is the sergeant's mother, Mrs. Sammie Rice, 87, in wheel chair.

Food Shortages Due to Capitalism, Not Nature

By Charles Hanley

Robert C. Cowen, natural science correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor reported Sept. 14 that "with present day natural scientific knowledge, and without new discoveries, it is possible to double the world's food supply and thus feed twice the planet's population at a satisfactory dietary level. This is the answer that six Nobel prize winners unhesitatingly gave to the question: 'What could be done right now to feed the world if political obstacles were removed and all necessary funds were forthcoming?'"

The eminent scientists did not state what "political obstacles" stood in the way today of feeding the people of the world. Socialists have claimed consistently that in a world where national barriers and the profit system were eliminated, not only the problem of food, but all other economic problems as well could be solved.

But apologists for capitalism have argued that the world is

"overpopulated" and that there is not enough food in the world to go around.

The scientists now give the lie to this claim.

It is obvious, even to the layman, that capitalism wastes the food supplies of the earth. Here in the U.S., potatoes, beans and fruit are dumped, burned, or left to rot, while in India millions starve. In Korea, the devastation wrought by the war has laid waste much of the food-producing land; the Second World War did the same thing on a bigger scale in many countries. Now a Third World War is threatened which will destroy even greater areas.

The estimate made by the scientists is based upon present day food producing capacity. This estimated capacity would be doubled and tripled if one took into account the potential increase in food production if modern scientific knowledge were put to use. In the U.S., for example, floods periodically destroy millions of acres of fertile soil. If a few billion dollars were

spent on flood control instead of atom bombs, this food producing land could be saved.

In most of the world, modern farm machinery is unknown. If national frontiers were eliminated together with trade restrictions and tariff walls, manufacturing countries could supply farm implements to the more industrially backward nations, and thereby contribute to the rapid increase in food production. But the antiquated capitalist system, with its profits and its division of the world into strictly separated national states, stands in the way of such progress.

In the production of food, as in all other fields of economy, capitalism is chaotic. A socialist system would unite the world and plan its agriculture as well as all other production on a rational basis. The huge productive capacity of the advanced countries could be used to raise the levels of underdeveloped areas. Through the free exchange of raw materials and manufactured goods, the people of the earth could easily satisfy all their economic needs.

Capitalism not only plows under precious food that is needed desperately by starving millions; it wastes the scientific knowledge which mankind has laboriously accumulated. Such a system becomes an obstacle to the advance of civilization that must be removed.

should turn out that he actually did fire the rifle that ended his life. Whether it was murder or suicide, Louis Adamic was a victim of the cold war.

If it was suicide, then the responsibility for the loss of this talented man lies with both the capitalist system that offers mankind no other future than total destruction and with the Stalinist system that has disillusioned and demoralized so many promising people by its caricature and betrayal of the Marxist program of socialist emancipation.

INDIVIDUALS CRUSHED

The cold war, unleashed by the crisis in both capitalism and Stalinism, crushed not only nations but individuals; not only individuals who are morally weak but individuals of moral stature who are equipped with the will to fight, but whose will is sapped by a lack of understanding of the essential weaknesses and contradictions that are preparing the finish of predatory capitalism and parasitic Stalinism, not in the far off future but in our own time. Such an understanding comes only from the insight afforded by the method of Marxism, and Louis Adamic was never equipped with it.

We say goodbye to Louis Adamic, although his case is far from ended. We honor him for his merits, without seeking to cover up his shortcomings. He was one of a breed that has largely vanished — the intellectuals who became radicals in the depression years — and his departure was more honorable and politically than that of most of his colleagues who are still alive and fighting everything they used to profess. He was an honest man, and until the last day of his life continued the fight against reaction according to his lights. By his personal traits and behavior, despite the incorrectness of his political views on many questions, he earned the right to the gratitude and affection of the working class.

4th Int'l. Calls For Socialist Anti-War Fight

(Cont. from page 1)

the anti-imperialist forces on a world scale.

The political report, together with the documents presented to the Congress (Theses on Orientation and Perspectives and the Political Resolution) were jointly adopted by 39 votes to 3 with 1 abstention after a discussion lasting two and one-half days in which 30 delegates participated.

BUFFER ZONE

The resolution on the countries of "People's Democracy," drafted by the International Secretariat, was presented with a report which reviewed the evolution of the countries in the East European buffer zone since 1946 and the corresponding development of the analysis of the International on this question. The report defended the designation of the "People's Democracies" as having acquired, beginning with 1949, a definitive character as "deformed workers' states," and envisaged the defense of these countries against imperialism, as well as a program of political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy and its agents similar to the Trotskyist program for the USSR. The slogans of independent Socialist Republics for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, etc., and their voluntary federation were to remain as previously the central slogans for these countries. The report and resolution were adopted after a day's discussion, by 41 votes to 2.

YUGOSLAVIA

The resolution on the "Yugoslav Revolution and the Fourth International," adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the International Executive Committee, was presented to the Congress in a report which analyzed the stages of development in the policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the reasons for this development and the attitude of the Trotskyist movement toward the shifts in this policy. The report and resolution were adopted by 37 votes with 1 abstention, 4 voters being absent.

All the documents adopted were referred to the new International Executive Committee for editing and the incorporation of proposed amendments compatible with the general line of these documents, taking into account the remarks made during the discussions.

IMPORTANT ADVANCES

The Congress heard the activities report of the outgoing leadership of the International which registered the important advances realized by the Trotskyist organizations since the Second World Congress in 1948, notably in Europe, Latin America, Ceylon, etc., both from the viewpoint of their organizational

strengthening as well as the far greater political homogeneity which was reflected in the reports. It stated that most of the sections of the International have successfully integrated themselves in the mass movement of their countries and have learned to work out an orientation adjusted to the national peculiarities of the working class movement in which they must work.

The discussion following this report in which 18 delegates participated showed through the activities of most sections that solid ties had already been established by the Trotskyist movement with the authentic movement of the masses in the principal countries of the world. The activities report was unanimously adopted.

The Congress elected a new Executive Committee of the International composed of 21 members and 9 candidates.

LATIN AMERICA

The Congress adopted different resolutions presented by various commissions dealing with the situation of the Fourth International in several countries (France, Austria, Argentina, etc.). It adopted a political resolution answering the main problems posed by the revolutionary movement in Latin America, recognizing a single Argentine Section of the Fourth International and confirmed the election of the Latin American Bureau of the International Secretariat. It instructed the new International Executive Committee to draw up a concrete plan together with the delegates from the Far East on the composition and operation of the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Secretariat. It instructed the International Secretariat to draft a manifesto to the workers of the whole world in its name.

Before concluding its work, the Congress observed a minute of silence to the memory of Leon Trotsky, since the eleventh anniversary of the assassination of the great revolutionary coincided with the opening period of the Congress. It sent greetings to the widows of the martyrs of the movement and to militants and leaders who were celebrating the 25th anniversary of their participation in the Trotskyist movement.

The Third World Congress marked a high point in the history of Trotskyism, because of its complete success from the technical standpoint, despite the immense difficulties arising from restricted material means; because of the representation of a considerable number of countries greater than had been present at all the previous assemblies of the international Trotskyist movement, and above all by the remarkable political homogeneity manifested throughout the discussions. The fraternal atmosphere which featured its work as well as the political maturity exhibited by the delegates represented the highest degree of political and organizational cohesion that the world Trotskyist movement has achieved since its beginnings.

MYRA WEISS Tour Schedule

Monday	Sept. 24	Akron
Tuesday	25	"
Wednesday	26	Youngstown
Thursday	27	"
Friday	28	Pittsburgh
Saturday	29	Travel
Sunday	30	Detroit
Monday	Oct. 1	"
Tuesday	2	Flint
Wednesday	3	Detroit
Thursday	4	"
Saturday	6	Chicago
Sunday	7	Milwaukee
Monday	8	Chicago
Tuesday	9	"
Wednesday	10	Chicago
Thursday	11	St. Louis
Friday	12	Travel
Saturday	13	Twin Cities
Sunday	14	"
Monday	15	"
Tuesday	16	"
Wednesday	17	Travel
Thursday	18	Salt Lake City
Friday	19	"
Saturday	20	"
Sunday	21	"
Monday	22	Travel
Tuesday	23	Seattle
Wednesday	24	"
Thursday	25	"
Friday	26	"
Saturday	27	"
Sunday	28	"
Monday	29	"

Adamic's Death Is a Loss to America

By George Breitman

The death of Louis Adamic is a loss to the American working class. We can say this despite our serious political differences with him because he was a man of honesty, courage and independent convictions. Not many of that kind remain in modern American public life and letters; we would be justified in mourning his death on that ground alone. In fact, when we survey the other intellectuals of our time, seeing how they have succumbed to the pressure of the rulers of society and have run away to hide or even become the agents and apologists of those rulers, Louis Adamic's stature rises automatically. Though he made many mistakes, he did not make them out of narrow self-interest, and he tried to make amends when he realized them.

IMMIGRANT WORKER

Adamic was a worker from his early teens when he came here as an immigrant from what is now Yugoslavia — newsboy, silk worker, soldier in World War I, seaman, restaurant worker, helper in a cabinet shop, shoe factory worker, textile worker, port pilot's clerk, longshoreman. In 1928, at the age of 29, he entered the field of journalism by selling his first story. His first book, *Dynamite*, published three years later, dealt with the American labor movement, helped to educate a whole generation and is still well worth reading.

His sympathies from the beginning were clearly with the labor

movement, and they never altered in this respect. He became an intellectual by trade, but one who never forgot his working class past or the meaning of exploitation. This undoubtedly explains in part why he became a radical, which he remained to the day of his death, although he tended under the influence of Stalinist lingo to call himself a "progressive."

LEFT WALLACEITE

He was friendly to several of the radical movements of the early 1930's, including the Muskettes, but he was never a Marxist, either then or later when he collaborated with the Stalinists in such enterprises as the American Slav Congress and the Wallaceite movement. Nor was he ever a part of the Stalinist apparatus, despite the lying claim of Elizabeth Bentley. His politics, as presented in his books and his magazine, *Trends and Tides*, were those of a left Wallaceite. His interest was predominantly in foreign affairs, especially regarding the Balkans, and most of his writings during the last ten years were on that subject.

He did not participate much in direct political activities, considering that his main work was to be done at his typewriter. But he did serve on some committees at least nominally: in August 1948 he held an official post at the nominating convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia, and a few weeks later he was one of the first to join the Katcher Civil Rights Committee organized to win justice for the legless veteran purged from the Veterans Administration in Newark because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

STALIN-TITO SPLIT

These two events took place shortly after another that had occurred in June and was to have a far greater impact on Louis Adamic's life — the public announcement of the split between Stalin and Tito. It is clear from

his initial reaction that he did not understand the meaning of this development. In fact, he poohpoohed it as a crisis not in politics, but in "human relations," implying that it would be overcome without great difficulty. This was shortly before Elizabeth Bentley denounced him as a "red spy" to the House Un-American Committee.

It shows that while the position he took was silly it certainly was not the position of the Stalinists, who quickly jumped into line, burning everything they had written about Tito for six or seven years and joining in the Cominform's vilifications of the Yugoslavs.

But while he was not a Stalinist, he was closely associated with them, had many of his friends among them, worked with them in the Slav Congress and Progressive Party, thought that they represented the future society in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and it was not easy for him to overcome their pressure. He did overcome it, however, and he did it without going the way of the Budenzes who entered the services of imperialism, and that is one of the things to his credit.

POSTWAR WORLD

After the 1948 election he decided to go to Europe to study the postwar world there. His application for visas to Stalinist-dominated Eastern Europe were rejected because he refused to promise that he would not go to Yugoslavia too. When he returned to the U.S. in 1949 after a long stay in Yugoslavia, he resumed the publication of his magazine. Here he opened up a blistering attack on the Kremlin from the left, revealing many things not previously known about the reactionary role of Stalin in connection with the Yugoslav revolution.

Politically, he had become very friendly to the Titoists and he regarded it as his main job to mobilize support for their fight to maintain their independence.

His position was still not Marxist, but he saw that a revolution was taking place and he sided with it, and that is what he will be remembered for, not for the semi-impressionist analysis he made of it.

Then he began work on his book, which started as a study of Tito and Yugoslavia but expanded into a much broader work. He was now led to a re-examination of Stalinism, to which he had been generally friendly before that. We know that this led him back at least as far as the Spanish civil war, about which he had known little, especially about the role of the Stalinists in bloody crushing the revolutionary movement.

In the same way that he began to restudy questions on his own, we know from his magazine that he encouraged the Titoists to make public the full story of their relations with the Kremlin prior to the break, which, until the middle of 1949, they had been withholding in the belief that it was still possible to work out some way of getting along peacefully with Stalin.

STALINIST ATTACKS

Adamic's revelations helped to swing a large part of the Yugoslav-American community away from the Stalinists, and they incurred the hatred of the entire Stalinist apparatus. From this time on he was the victim of a brutal campaign of character assassination on the part of the Stalinists. Whether or not they were interested in destroying him physically, they showed that they wanted to destroy him morally and politically. At the same time he remained an object of special hatred by the pro-fascist Yugoslavs who had helped Hitler during the war and fled to the U.S. after Tito came to power.

The case of Louis Adamic is not closed, and it will not be closed until the forces responsible for his death are apprehended and punished. Because in the final analysis, there WERE forces responsible for his death even if it

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Monday, September 24, 1951

Labor Can Stop the Witch-Hunt

Nobody is safe from the witch-hunt, not even high officials and appointees of the Truman administration that started it.

In 1948, when James Katcher was purged from the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, some people thought it was a shame, but they didn't get too excited about it because only radicals seemed to be involved.

But Farrell Dobbs, the SWP candidate for President, warned at that time that the Katcher case was only the beginning, and that if his victimization was permitted to stand the witch-hunt would spread to include ever greater sections of the population, including members of the ruling party.

This warning has been confirmed to the hilt. In the last few weeks alone, a leading Trumanite Senator, Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, who is not above a little red-baiting himself now and then, was red-baited into a virtual nervous breakdown on the floor of the Senate; a demand was raised for the purge of Justice William O. Douglas from the Supreme Court because he declared it was to the interest of U.S. capitalism to recognize the Chinese government; and Judge Delbert E. Metzger, chief judge of the United States District Court for Hawaii, was denied reappointment to his job by the Truman administration because he had committed the offense of reducing bail from \$75,000 to \$5,000 for each of seven new victims of the Smith Act.

More and more people are beginning to understand that the attacks on the rights of the radicals are only a dress rehearsal for a much broader assault on the rights of the American people as a whole. Frank Rosenblum, vice-president of the national CIO and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, forcibly expressed this early this

month when he told the New York CIO State Convention:

"Our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed. . . This is a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community. This reactionary movement is deliberate, and is being engineered by those who would substitute fascism for democracy, even though they seek to create the impression that it is being directed against the Communists."

Union members and union leaders must ask themselves — as Rosenblum evidently has done — what will happen to the labor movement itself if the witch-hunters are permitted to continue their depredations against democratic liberties and traditions. Can labor function effectively, can it even survive, in an atmosphere where every utterance against the status quo is treated as a crime? Is there any "threat to labor" more clear and present than a movement to "substitute fascism for democracy"?

Labor is not only the main target of the witch-hunt; it also has the greatest responsibility for resisting the onslaughts of reaction; and it is the one force in this country big enough and strong enough to mobilize the rest of the population in a successful struggle to save the Bill of Rights.

Self-interest and self-defense dictate that labor should speak out and act up to stop the witch-hunt without further delay. A forthright campaign of militant defense of civil rights, launched by the labor movement, would meet with a tremendous response and active support from other sections of the population alarmed by the McCarthys and McCarrans. That such a campaign would end in victory cannot be doubted by anyone familiar with the power and speed with which the American workers smashed the open shop and organized the mass production industries in this country.

Dean Acheson and the Japan Peace Pact

By M. Stein

Secretary of State Dean Acheson's prestige is currently on the upswing. Before the San Francisco conference where the Japanese Treaty was signed, he had been the target of a mounting barrage not only by Republican bigwigs in and out of Congress but by their Democratic counterparts as well. It was generally predicted that his days in office were numbered and the dopesters even went so far as to specify the exact date of his departure.

ACHESON'S DEFENDER

Outside of President Truman, Acheson had few defenders and Truman's defense was at best of only dubious help. It is only too well known that Truman sticks by his political appointees through thick and thin with the true instinct of a Pendergast politician who knows that the survival of his political machine depends on the ability of the boys to hang together. Thus, for example, Truman also stood by General Vaughn of deep-freeze fame to the very last. He even refused to cut loose from O'Dwyer, currently ambassador to Mexico, whose exposure by the Kefauver commit-

tee caused everyone else to hold their nostrils.

But after the San Francisco conference, an entirely new attitude toward Mr. Acheson was displayed. The office-holders and office-seekers of the Republican and Democratic parties see in him a new man responsible for the Japanese Treaty which has been touted as a great American triumph. It was at the San Francisco conference where the "Russian troublemakers" got their come-uppance and it was none other than Mr. Acheson himself who beat Gromyko together with his Poles and Czechoslovaks into silence. It would thus appear that San Francisco was not only a great American victory but a personal triumph for Dean Acheson. He not only bested the Russians but all his defamers and detractors right here at home.

STACKED CONFERENCE

Let all those who accused him of being friendly to the Communists or of consorting with Communists or harboring Communists — let them come forward now and make their charges stick! No, Acheson can now hold his head high as second to none in

the fight against Communism. Give him a conference which is stacked 49 to 3 in his favor, hand him the gavel, and he will demonstrate any day in the week how he can wield it with firmness, courage and deadly accuracy.

Of all the tributes paid Mr. Acheson, of all the acclaim he received following San Francisco, he most likely appreciated more than any other the laudatory remarks of the Republican Senator from California, William F. Knowland. For Knowland was among Acheson's severest critics. As one of the leaders of the Republican bloc he had sparked the campaign against Acheson. But on Sept. 10 he got up on the Senate floor and, the N. Y. Times reported, proceeded to "pay Mr. Acheson compliments in terms warmer than any he has heard about him for more than a year by any member of the Senate including the Democrats."

SENATOR BENTON

Not to be outdone by their Republican colleagues and sort of ashamed of selling Acheson so short, the Democrats also jumped to the praise of Acheson. Four days after Knowland, Senator Benton, Democrat of Connecticut, treated the Senate to a speech in which he said, "My regret is that his (Acheson's) detractors have proved so much more vocal than his defenders." Then Benton proceeded to make it more specific. "I naturally regret that members of my own political party have not stood up more strongly in his defense. This inclination on their part generated more and more irresponsible criticism."

It is clear from all this that Acheson, who up to San Francisco was considered a political liability by the Democrats and thereby an easy target for the Republicans, is no longer being viewed that way. As a matter of fact, Truman seems to be playing with the idea that he might even be an asset. At a press conference he declared that Acheson would remain Secretary of State as long as he (Truman) is in office, adding slyly that this will be "a long time."

Whatever the future may hold for Mr. Acheson, whether curses

or acclaim, it is of importance to us only to the extent that mirrored here is the feverish tempo of world politics with which the fate of the Secretary of State is so intimately tied.

Since the U.S. has been throwing its weight around in the world, it has become very sensitive to all the tremors and upheavals in the remotest corners of the globe. And when Truman's Secretary of State, responsible for U.S. foreign policy, is denounced or acclaimed in rapid succession, it only shows what a frustrating business it is to try to rule the entire world nowadays.

CHINESE REVOLUTION

Take China as an example. This happens to be a good example for it has caused Mr. Acheson more anguish than any other spot on earth. As a matter of fact, it has been the primary source of all the criticism heaped upon him by Republicans and Democrats alike. Some demagogues, like Senator McCarthy, have leaped into political prominence on precisely this issue. Yet, if ever there was a victim of circumstances, it was Acheson in relation to China.

For many years everything in China seemed to be going according to plan. The Yankee imperialists could do as they damned well pleased. China was an easy prey to exploitation and oppression and they had a reliable man there in Chiang Kai-shek who kept everything in proper order. The fate of China was in the palm of their hand. There were all sorts of treaties to attest to this fact, including one between China and Stalin where he pledged to back none other than Chiang Kai-shek and his government, that is, to back U.S. imperialist policy.

All the legal papers assuring Wall Street's rule over China were in excellent order, — but then something unscheduled happened: the Chinese revolution. In one sweep the revolution knocked out the party of the second part to the agreement, bloody Chiang Kai-shek. This vengeful ruler of the Chinese people was swept out of office and with him went all the foreign despoilers. The revolution unified the country. It deposed

the parasitic landlords and usurers who have for centuries been eating away at the vitals of China. It freed the Chinese women from their humiliating position of bondage. It brought a struggle against backwardness and illiteracy. It moved toward the industrialization of the country.

ACHESON BLAMED

Well, all this may be fine for the 500 million Chinese, but it didn't do Dean Acheson any good. He tried, with the help of all sorts of unassailable documents, to prove that the United States poured billions of dollars into China, money which incidentally came out of our pay envelopes. He strained to prove that American guns, tanks, planes, ships and military personnel had been given Chiang unstintingly; that everything possible was done to maintain Chiang in power. But to no avail! No amount of documents or rhetoric could wipe out of existence the overwhelming reality of the Chinese revolution.

When Mr. Acheson's bitterest critics on the China issue now hail his role in negotiating the Japanese treaty, it is, obvious that what these people see in this treaty is an antidote to the Chinese revolution. They see in it a reliable instrument for the counter-revolutionary overthrow of the new regime in China and of the social gains of the unfolding Chinese revolution.

For our part we approach the Japanese Treaty exclusively from the standpoint of the toiling masses, their interests and needs and aspirations. Only in that way incidentally can this treaty be correctly appraised and such questions answered as to whether it will endure, or whether it will become another scrap of paper like all the treaties negotiated in their day with Chiang Kai-shek.

It is our firm conviction that the Japanese Treaty, which, to be sure is directed against China, is in the first instance also aimed at the working people of Japan and the U.S. It is they who will be called upon to sacrifice their money and their lives in adventures that are foredoomed to failure.

Tickled by Treaty



Japan's prime minister Shigeru Yoshida settles back in an easy chair with cigar after the signing of the Japanese peace treaty in San Francisco. Treaty pleases Japanese militarists and imperialists who will get a chance to revive Japanese imperialist power in the Far East. The treaty, however, keeps Japanese war dogs firmly on U.S. leash.

M'CARRAN BLOCKS PROBE OF PERJURY BY BUDENZ

The witch-hunters have become so powerful and arrogant that they refuse to permit investigation of published charges of perjury by the nation's No. 1 anti-Communist informer, Louis Budenz.

On Sept. 14 Senator Lehman (D, N. Y.) asked the Senate to probe the methods being used by the McCarran Internal Security Subcommittee, which had been accused by columnist Joseph Alsop of having "led" Budenz into "demonstrably false testimony" at the subcommittee's hearings on U.S. policy in the Far East. Lehman also asked to have the Alsop columns documenting his charges entered into the Congressional Record.

THREATS AND ABUSE

Neither of Lehman's requests was granted. All he got was abuse and an implied threat from McCarran that Lehman too was due to get the works from the subcommittee. Budenz, who has made a good thing out of fingering real and fancied "communists" ever since he deserted the Communist Party, recently appeared before the McCarran subcommittee, which is trying to prove that Henry Wallace was guided and influenced by members of the Communist Party on his tour of the Far East in 1944.

Under oath, Budenz told the subcommittee that in 1944 he had known John Carter Vincent, former chief of the State Department's Far Eastern Affairs Division and now U.S. representative at Tangiers, to be a member of the Communist Party who had accompanied Wallace.

Only a year ago, Budenz, also under oath, told the Tydings committee investigating McCarthy's charges that he "had no information" regarding Vincent's political affiliations.

Alsop not only called attention to this obvious contradiction in

By Albert Parker

The growing power of American militarism and the spreading use of redbaiting as an instrument for silencing critics of any government policy were both illustrated in the now-famous incident of Sept. 10, when Senator Paul H. Douglas (D, Ill.) screamed hysterically and ran out of the Senate in tears.

The Senate was considering a bill to appropriate the sum of \$1 billion dollars demanded by the brass hats for the next year. (This is more than one-fifth of the national income.) Douglas had told his colleagues that he had trouble sleeping the last month because he was fearful of what such an enormous appropriation might do to the nation's economy.

He talked for two hours, criticizing "extravagance" in the armed services, noting that while military supply officers were "in their hearts patriots" they were exposed to "great temptation," and urging the Senate to scrutinize everything carefully and practice economy wherever possible.

He did not oppose the purposes of the bill, and himself proposed only a piddling cut of between 600 million and one billion dollars.

Douglas was mild and conciliatory, and he admitted he was speaking "in a spirit of awe and fright" because he knew he might meet with hostility for daring to suggest a military budget cut. But he said he felt someone had to stand up to the money demands of the military, or the nation would become a "military state."

The Senator from Illinois had good reason to be frightened. When he sat down, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.), the chief Senate hatchman of the military caste, got up and began to — red-bait Douglas. He charged him with implying that "men in uniform lack a comprehension of their duties to the United States." And he said that Moscow would welcome and widely broadcast Douglas's remarks "as an indication of a lack of faith that American members of Congress have in the men

who work, who fight, and who die for them."

That was when Douglas shrieked, clasped his head in his hands and staggered out of the chamber.

Douglas was probably thinking: "Good God, now it has happened to me too! I was elected as an extreme liberal, as a darling of Americans for Democratic Action. I tried my best to live that down. The Dixiecrats praised me when I helped them defeat anti-segregation amendments to the housing and education programs. The NAM hailed me for my 'economy' program. McCarran and McCarthy accepted my concentration camp amendment to their police state law. The China Lobby was pleased by my recent speeches opposing 'appeasement' in Korea and China. And yet it has happened to me too!"

Yes, Douglas had become a victim of the witch-hunt. He thought he could escape it because he was appealing the witch-hunters and helping them to fight "communism." He didn't understand that while they are ready to use the assistance of liberals and labor leaders in hacking away at the Bill of Rights, their ultimate objective is the destruction of free speech not only for radicals, but for liberals, labor leaders and even middle-of-the-roads who raise any objection to the transformation of the U.S. into a military-police state.

Three days later the Senate passed the biggest peacetime military appropriation bill in history. It came to \$9½ billion dollars, or a cut of 2½% from the original figure. O'Mahoney, speaking for the brass hats, accepted the new figure, because it is still subject to review by a joint Senate-House committee which he will head and because, as he knows, there is nothing to stop the military bureaucrats from spending the higher figure and demanding that it be paid for in the following year's budget.

The vote for the bill was unanimous, 79-0, with Douglas voting in favor. On occasion these liberal capitalist politicians speak a few words against the "military state." What they really object to is a 100% military state. But a 97½% military state is OK by them.

Escalator Wage Gains Scuttled by Tax Steal

(Continued from Page 1)
may be loss of all production in case strikes occur."

A JUICY MELON

Far from giving an impetus to inflation, Wilson insisted that the escalator agreement tended "to resist inflation because wages are adjusted only after the rise or fall in the cost of living." In addition, he contended that under the contract, "labor efficiency" had improved, "somewhat in excess of the 2½ percent we granted the men."

On the whole, Wilson was well pleased with the way things were working out. And well he might be! For the same article discloses that General Motors cut a juicy melon last year in the shape of an extra dividend to stockholders amounting to 176 million dollars. As for any inflationary tendency involved in the escalator contract, Wilson concluded, that would depend on the tax policies of the Federal Government.

RICH BONANZA

The head of General Motors proved more astute than many of his fellow-industrialists. As president of the most powerful corporation in the country, Wilson has a direct pipeline to Washington. He was well aware of the war plans being hatched by the Washington-Wall Street gang and of the rich bonanza that could be mined out of government military contracts.

What was feared most by the profit-hungry dollar patriots was a "rigid" control over prices. Wilson was shrewd enough to realize that the powerful organized labor movement would not submit to any outright wage-freezing "equality-of-sacrifice" hoax with-

out a price freeze. (This view was confirmed when the Wage Stabilization Board tried to put over the wage freeze. The attempt precipitated a major political crisis with the walkout of the labor representatives.)

FLEXIBILITY

In casting about for a solution to the dilemma Wilson hit upon the escalator clause as providing a "flexible" wage formula which would bolster Big Business' demand for "flexible" price controls. The emasculated Wilson-Reuther version of the escalator clause is a prime example of the distortion of a good idea to serve ends contrary to those intended. It would be instructive to list some of the more objectionable features, true also of existing escalator agreements patterned after the GM-UAW contract:

1. The GM-UAW contract is a long term, 5-year agreement, without adequate provision for periodic review and upward revision of base pay. It is true that there is a wage revision clause based on "productivity." But it is little more than a device to legitimize the speedup. Wilson himself points out that under the contract, improved "labor efficiency" last year returned profits to the corporation "in excess of the 2½ percent" wage increase granted to the men.

FREEZES CONDITIONS

One of the worst aspects of the long term agreement is that it serves to freeze conditions on the job. The great advantage of the escalator formula is that it provides for automatic wage adjustments thus removing the wage question from the central place it otherwise occupies in contract negotiations. This permits the union to concentrate on improving working conditions, by no means a negligible consideration in the life of the worker. The Wilson-Reuther 5-year agreement has led to an intensification of the speedup, outrageous company provocation, worsened conditions, while depriving the auto

workers of an opportunity to correct these abuses through contract revisions.

BLS INDEX

2. Probably the most serious flaw in the Wilson-Reuther escalator clause is the fact that it is pegged to the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index. The BLS index is as phoney as a plugged nickel. Reuther knows it. All the labor leaders do. Both the AFL and CIO have frequently exposed its fraudulent character. Besides juggling cost-of-living figures to the detriment of labor, the BLS does not even include taxes in its index. This is compounding fraud with outright larceny.

Wilson and his cronies have been preaching the gospel of taxation as an answer to inflation. Taxation, that is, for the wage earner not for the corporation. That is the gimmick in his "flexible" wage policy. Cost-of-living wage adjustments for labor? Of course, but be sure to take away with one hand what is given by the other. In exchange the profit-hogs get "flexible" price controls. That is the essence of the Truman administration's policy on wages and prices administered, naturally, by Big Business tycoons who think and act in the image of C. E. Wilson.

The Wilson-Reuther type of perverted escalator clause has led some unionists to the false conclusion that labor should reject the escalator principle. This would be like pouring the baby out with the bath. What should be rejected is the corrupted version of the escalator clause. What is required is a correct application of the escalator principle. To function in the interest of the workers an escalator clause should provide:

1. That taxes be included as a cost-of-living factor in any index to which the escalator clause is tied.
2. That the escalator clause be pegged to the cost-of-living index put out by the AFL and CIO which is a more reliable indicator of fluctuations in the cost of living.
3. That the escalator contract be a short term agreement providing periodic review and upward revision in base pay and negotiated improvements in working conditions.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

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Something Must Give

By Tom Conlan

As a rule, Wall Street dotes on charts. But there is one chart now circulating among the financiers that has them muttering in their collective triple chins. This chart, produced by one of their own economists, carries a very pessimistic forecast, namely, that unless existing price and income trends are reversed a "drop" is to be expected in retail sales — and the stock market.

The pessimistic economist is Franklin R. Uhlig of Laird, Bissel & Meads, a reputable Wall Street brokerage firm.

Economist Uhlig does not agree with the favorite practice of charting retail sales against national income. On that basis, everything seems ship-shape. Such a chart would show a fairly stable condition.

But, argues dissenter Uhlig, national income is one thing, the sum of money people are actually able to spend is something entirely different. "It is what people have to spend, not what they take in, that controls spending," he pointedly comments.

Among the trifles disregarded by the lump "national income" figures are — TAXES. Still another is the purchasing value of the consumer's dollar. Uhlig introduces these necessary corrections in order to estimate what he calls "disposable income," or what is commonly known as mass purchasing power. Viewed in this light, an entirely different picture emerges.

In the prewar period (1935-39) retail sales absorbed 56.8 percent of the total mass purchasing power. But in 1950 this jumped to 68.5 percent; while in the first quarter of this year it leaped to 71.3 percent.

Expressed in these figures are the terrible inroads already made by taxes, by inflation, and by the debased dollar into the living standards of our people. What the bulk of the population buys at retail are not luxuries but such necessities as food, clothing, household furnishings. In the prewar days, after making such purchases, there still remained almost half of the take-home pay for other expenses such as housing, medical ser-

vice, recreation, not to mention "savings." But by 1951 this "surplus" had been slashed almost in half.

After shopping for the barest necessities, an "average family" today has less than 30 cents out of every dollar left for all other expenditures. A great many, not favorably situated, are obviously at a loss to make ends meet. (Let us recall that rent alone slices off one-fourth and more of a worker's income.)

What especially interests the Wall Street economist Uhlig is how deeply these trends have cut into "the rate of liquid savings." His figures show that even the well-to-do middle class families find it hard to "save" these days. Since the end of 1946 the "net addition to liquid savings" have tapered off sharply, dropping to 100 million dollars by the first quarter of this year. This is in marked contrast to the war years (1942-46) when a huge expansion of liquid savings took place.

"For the past three years," says Uhlig, "this country's increasing income has been offset by the depreciation of the dollar. Thus, real purchasing power has been virtually stable." This is a polite understatement. Uhlig's own figures and his own chart show not stability, but, on the contrary, a significant decline. What has been maintained is the dollar volume of sales but not the physical volume of goods. In plain language, the people have been paying more and more for a diminishing volume of goods.

Retail sales are not apt to increase much," concludes Uhlig. A fairly safe assumption. The current incomes are "too low" to sustain the existing price levels, he maintains. This is not a prediction, it is a trend, underscored by the recent drop in retail sales.

"Retailers," he said, "have been squeezed between rising wholesale prices and the inability of the public to pay." And he is afraid "something will have to give."

Whatever else may "give," one thing is certain. Any further onslaughts on the already depressed living standard of the mass of American people will meet with determined resistance.

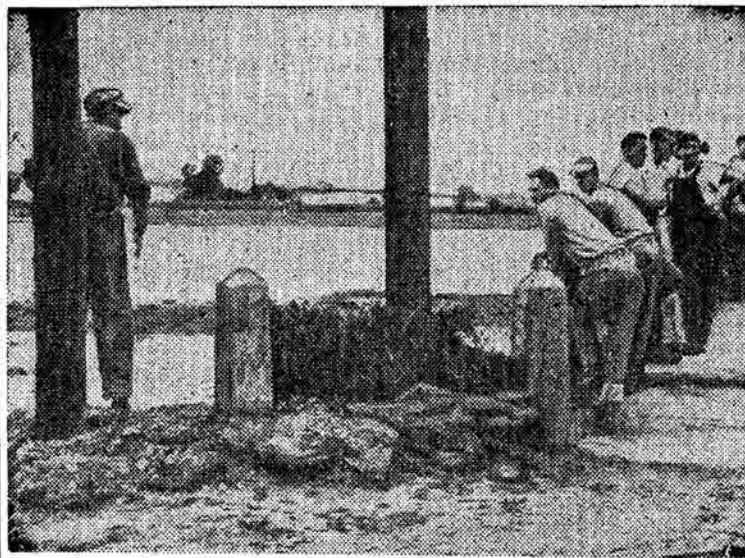
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New Flood Threat



Flood spectators stand on levy at Kansas river in menaced area, Kansas City, Kansas. These workers face loss of jobs for second time. The men are workers in a plant which was inundated earlier this summer.

While billions are spent for war, flood control remains something politicians only talk about.

Cicero Grand Jury Indicts Victims of Jim Crow Riot

By Marvel Scholl

CHICAGO, Sept. 19: Yesterday a Cook County Grand Jury handed down indictments against the victims of the Cicero riots last July.

According to the Grand Jury, to sell or rent Cicero property to a Negro

is "conspiracy to injure property," "conspiracy to injure the financial value of real estate in the vicinity" and "inciting to riot."

However, it is legal to pass out inflammatory, anti-Negro literature, and it is legal to burn, wreck and destroy property belonging to a Negro.

It is only illegal to have a black skin in the city of Cicero, county of Cook, Illinois.

GEORGE C. LEIGHTON

Foremost among the victims of the conspiracy indictment are

George C. Leighton, attorney for Harvey Clarke, who was the target of the mob; and George C. Adams and Charles Edwards who represent the trust which rented the Cicero apartment to the Clarks.

A fourth victim is Camille DeRose who sold the building at 6019 W. 19th St. Cicero to its present Negro owners.

Also, included in the conspiracy indictment is Norman Silverman who is charged with "passing out leaflets bearing the name of the Communist Party of Illinois," in an obvious attempt to red-bait the Negro victims.

Chief Erwin Konowsky, head of the mob-abetting Cicero police, was let off with a light charge of "misconduct."

A no-bill was returned in the case of the notorious Joseph Beauharnis, head of the White Circle League, who openly distributed inflammatory, anti-Negro literature and participated in the riot. No-bills were also returned in the case of all 117 rioters arrested at the scene, and in the case of all Cicero officials except Konowsky.

It is not only the vast Negro population of Cook County which is shaking its collective head in amazement and anger this morning. The complacency with which Chicago liberals had awaited the Grand Jury findings has changed to a dazed "They can't

do this." But they have. And the time for vigorous counter-action has arrived.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has taken the lead in defending the Negro victims since the rioting began. In a telephone conversation with an NAACP official this morning, this reporter was told, "We are in close contact with the American Civil Liberties Union and all other organizations affiliated with the NAACP. Announcements of protest meetings, legal action and other plans will be forthcoming soon."

So far the NAACP has placed full reliance on the courts and other official bodies. The stab in the back by the Grand Jury shows that the Negro people cannot depend on legal enforcement of their rights by Jim Crow politicians.

The capitalist politicians understand only one language — mass pressure. To speak to them in this language it is necessary to take action along the following lines:

Organize a mass protest picket line around the County Building.

Demand that the union officials take the initiative in mobilizing the support of the labor movement in defense of Negro rights.

Organize a broadly representative defense committee in support of the victims of the Grand Jury.

The Ruth Reynolds Case, A Puerto Rican Outrage

Puerto Rico has a witch-hunt of its own. The targets of the reign of terror there are not "Reds" but Puerto Rican Nationalists. The law under which they are being persecuted is known as Insular Law No. 53, referred to locally as the "Gag Law" which in certain respects goes beyond the notorious Smith "Gag" Act under which civil liberties are being destroyed here.

Hundreds have been jailed and convicted under this "Law No. 53." Among them is Ruth Mary Reynolds, a native of South Dakota, a confirmed pacifist who is sympathetic to the liberationist struggle of the Puerto Ricans, but was never a member of the Nationalist Party.

SIX YEAR SENTENCE

Arrested last fall and kept in jail for 10 months, Ruth Reynolds was placed on trial in the San Juan District Court on Aug. 17, 1951 and sentenced on Sept. 7 to two to six years at hard labor in the island penitentiary.

The charge against her, as against some 400 other cases similar to hers, is that of "conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence." To convict this confirmed pacifist, the prosecution cited against her two "overt acts." One was that she took an oath at a public meeting in 1950 to support the Nationalist stand for independence; and the second that she took part in carrying arms and explosives in a car to the participants of the revolt of October 30, 1950.

THE OATH

The jury threw out the second charge, but brought in the verdict of guilty on the first. At the Dec. 1949 meeting in question in which some 500 participated, Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the

Puerto Rican Nationalists, administered the following "oath": "Stand up, all those who are Nationalists, true Nationalists, those who are ready to give their lives and fortunes to the defense of our cause, the cause that should continue over the bones of Albizu Campos."

While Ruth Reynolds denied membership in the Nationalist Party, she did not deny that she stood up and raised her hand on the occasion. None of the other participants at the gathering have been prosecuted. Nor was the author of the "oath," Campos himself, ever charged with the commission of this "crime."

The trial of Ruth Reynolds took place in an atmosphere of intimidation. When her defense lawyer arrived at the scene he found troops stationed two blocks from the court. All those who entered or left the premises were searched by the police.

PROFESSIONAL JURORS

The jurors were selected from among a group of professionals, a selected panel of 300 who rotate this duty as their means of livelihood. Two of the jurors are reported to have conferred with the District Attorney immediately prior to the jury's reaching its verdict.

Ruth Reynolds originally came to Puerto Rico in the fall of 1948, as a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to investigate the student strike that took place there at the time, and remained on the island since. Her presence has apparently irked the authorities. Among the atrocities perpetrated by American authorities, she reports in a letter written to friends in June 1951 is "that 31 distinct and separate persons have been given life sentences for the killing of one policeman" in con-

nection with the Nationalist "uprising" of the year before.

Another woman was sentenced to life on assassination charges "when all the evidence brought against her was that she cooked in her home for her husband, her sons and their friends."

Prior to being brought on trial Ruth Reynolds received a "suggestion" to the effect "that I agree, to leave Puerto Rico, live on the western side of the Mississippi River, and keep my mouth shut forever. I have known since February that the government would be tickled to death to settle the problem that way. For that the services of no lawyer are required, but only a lack of a sense of dignity and responsibility and self-respect."

COMRAD LYNN

Corrad Lynn, a noted civil liberties and constitutional lawyer who heads the Ruth Reynolds defense, has announced that the case will be immediately appealed to the Puerto Rican Supreme Court; and then, if necessary, will be carried to the federal courts up to the Supreme Court in this country.

"The necessity of winning the appeal in this case as a dam against fatal encroachments upon the civil liberties not only of Puerto Ricans, but of all Americans should be apparent to us all," states a leaflet issued by the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee.

Several thousand dollars are required for immediate needs. The treasurer of the Committee is Julius Eichel, 769 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

Barbaria Speaks To Union; Recalls Debs Traditions

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 15 — Frank Barbaria, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor in the San Francisco city elections, spoke before the Structural Iron Workers Union, the Marble Workers Union, and Carpenters Local 2164 last night.

Barbaria explained "The Socialist Workers Party carries on in the tradition of that famous socialist, Eugene Debs, whom many of you no doubt remember. We have analyzed the development of capitalism and some time ago came to the conclusion that it has reached its last stages of decay and can exist only by creating wars or depression." The union members were very interested in the analysis of the plight of capitalism.

WITHDRAW TROOPS

Barbaria called for the withdrawal of American troops from Korea now. "It is time to call a halt to Wall Street's use of American boys to open up new markets for themselves. Let the Asian people decide their own fate." He then gave a brief outline of the tasks of the union movement — the increasing need to get into politics as an independent force through formation of a labor party, and also the great future for the workers and farmers of America in a socialist society of production for use.

One of the union chairmen remarked "You have some good ideas there but it seems to me you're about 50 years ahead of time."

MYRA TANNER WEISS BLASTS KOREA WAR IN PHILA. SPEECH

PHILA., Sept. 16 — Myra Tanner Weiss, on the fourth stop of her national tour, spoke here last night on "The Lessons of the Korean War and the Outlook for the American People." This meeting gave workers in the Fifth District, where the Socialist Workers Party is running Mrs. Clyde Turner for Councilman, an opportunity to meet a nationally prominent spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Weiss presented the party's position on the vital question of the present world conflict and the role which the American workers must play in rescuing society from the blind alley into which capitalism has led it.

Comrade Weiss was introduced to the audience by Mrs. Turner, the S.W.P. candidate. Pointing out the warm regard with which Myra was held by all her comrades, Mrs. Turner went on to acclaim her a true Socialist campaigner in the best sense of the word.

WHO IS AGGRESSOR?

Opening her remarks by posing the question "Who is the aggressor in Korea today?" Mrs. Weiss reviewed the developments in the world situation since the end of World War II. "The Korean people," declared the speaker, "are engaged in a war to liberate their nation from the bondage in which it has been placed by Yalta and

Potsdam. The only aggressor in Korea today is the American army! Who wants to kill these brave people, struggling only for their independence?" she asked. "Certainly not the American workers." The applause which greeted this remark demonstrated the wholehearted agreement of the audience.

Once again, when Mrs. Weiss spoke about the upsurge of the masses of Chinese workers and peasants, and the wave of liberating struggles which had risen in both farm and village, the audience applauded the speaker's condemnation of the attempt on the part of Wall St. and Washington to saddle the Chinese people with the regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

GROWING DISSATISFACTION

The growing dissatisfaction of the American people, too, continued Comrade Weiss, has slowed down the war drive of Big Business. "We may be sure," she concluded, "that capitalism will not be permitted to continue unhampered its headlong drive which can end only in misery, fear and poverty for the great mass of the people."

Following a lively question and discussion period, the meeting adjourned to a social, during which Mrs. Weiss was able to meet and discuss further with those who had attended the meet-

Top Much Freedom

By Fred Arens

The evening sky over Harlem was a rich purple flecked with the brightness of many neon lights. The cop appeared immobile on his horse. He seemed not to notice an old man feeding sugar to the animal. His eyes were fixed upon a young man addressing a crowd by the corner. The speaker stood on a low step-ladder behind a sign reading: VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. The listeners stood huddled together on the sidewalk, some of them under the scaffolding of a new house that was being built. While Andrew spoke, I walked toward the other corner with my bundle of Militants.

Sales were slow at first, but as the meeting proceeded they became brisker. Soon I had sold six copies. The next person did not wait to be button-holed. He came straight over and began to shout.

"Get out of here, you bums, and take your lousy papers with you." He was a huge fellow. I smiled at him.

"Come now, you know I've got the right to be here. You don't have to buy this paper if you don't like it. By the way, did you ever read 'The Militant'?" He stood there towering over me. "I know all about you white guys. We don't go for that socialist talk. We can take care of ourselves."

I pointed at Andrew. "Our speaker over there is a Negro. He is a socialist. Why..." His booming voice broke in.

"He is a traitor to his people. He is worse than you. Marcus Garvey told us about bastards like him. Come on, Sid."

He motioned to a companion who had stood by silently. Both of them walked over to the meeting, pushing their way through the crowd. I could hear them shout and heckle. Some people began to push back. The cop got off his horse and stepped over on to the sidewalk, looking on with his hands stuck in his belt. Before I could decide whether to stay or return somebody touched me.

"I'd like a copy of your paper," He was a young Negro. There was a smile on his lips as he handed me a nickel.

"Those boys giving you a rough time? Don't let it get you down." I handed him The Militant. He looked at it briefly.

"That's a good cartoon. I've been listening to

you fellows. I am not quite sure yet, but I think you got some of the answers I've been looking for." His face suddenly became somber and his lips tightened.

"One thing I know. I know it as sure as we stand here. We can't fight alone. Ever since I've been on the picket-line in my plant I've known it. It's the big shots were against, the guys who don't care whether we live or die."

"That cop is probably hoping for something rough to happen," I said.

"Yes, that's what they want. Keep guys from uniting. Get one plain fellow to fight the other so they can crack down on both."

He put The Militant in his pocket. "I'll show this to some fellows in the shop. I've got to go now." "Can I put you on our mailing list and let you know about our meetings and socials?" "O.K." As I wrote down the information, the shouting at the other corner grew louder. We both looked up.

The tall Garveyite stood in front of Andrew and was trying to tear off the poster. Some people from the audience were pulling at his arms. Suddenly the man who had been called Sid gave one looker a sharp push which made the man fall against the ladder. Andrew just managed to jump down without hitting the parked car behind him. Now the cop went into action. There was a club in his right hand and his elbows struck out hard as he made his way through the crowd. His voice carried, loud and shrill. "All right, break it up. All of you guys got too much freedom around here. Come on, break it up or I'll pull you all in."

The two Garveyites marched off jeeringly. There was murmuring in the crowd but they slowly dispersed. My new friend watched silently as I sold a few more papers.

"There you are," he said. "They play the copper's game without knowing it. I guess life will teach them, the hard way, the way I learned."

For a moment he looked at the hustle and bustle of Lenox Avenue.

Then he turned back to me, digging into his pocket. "I can't spare much now, but take this. It's a contribution. I have to run along now."

I gripped the coin in my hand.

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

After my meeting Sept. 15 in New York City I had the feeling that I was really getting under way on my national tour. I had to pack for the cross-country trip ahead, and say goodbye to my favorite city.

Many people are surprised when I express the opinion that New York is the friendliest city I know. This is especially true of New Yorkers, who are generally very critical of their city. In New York heated public arguments, held on the sidewalks, on the subway, and everywhere, are frequent. But this is not all the result of ill-temper. This same aggressive self-confidence is also expressed by the metropolis-dwellers in their readiness to make friends.

Waitresses, subway guards, taxi-drivers — talk as if they had known you all your life. They may seem a bit abrupt, but they are not shy about communicating with their fellow-men.

Mike Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the N. Y. City Council was chairman of my N. Y. meeting. In Philadelphia I had another city council candidate for chairman, Clyde Turner, our young candidate from the 5th

district. In both cities the comrades are busy with election campaign work. I should have liked to stay a while and see them in action.

While in Philadelphia last Sunday I had an inspiring talk with a woman comrade who had just returned from a five-week stay in the hospital. She has been very ill, but that didn't interfere with her fighting spirit. She told me of her struggle against race prejudice among the patients. As she put it: "The class struggle is everywhere." She couldn't be silent when one of the patients expressed her prejudice against a Japanese doctor. Everyone in the ward got some instruction on decent human relations. She explained that medical science, in its efforts to prolong their lives, was the fruit of the work of people of all races and nationalities. If medical science could cure them, she said, they owed a debt to the scientists of the whole world.

It's painful to see such fighters confined even temporarily by illness. But perhaps Goldie can share my tour to some extent if I send her a card from each of my stops. I hope news from all the branches will help her recover more quickly.

Akron Cereal Strikers Firm on Pay Issue

By Lou Cooper

AKRON, Sept. 17 — Rejecting the company offer of a 9 cent an hour wage increase, 700 production workers of Quaker Oats, cereal and feed manufacturers, are striking to "achieve the recent area pattern of wage increases," Jasper Clemente, President of local union No. 268 (CIO Cereal and Brewery Workers) told the "Militant" reporter in an interview at strike headquarters.

"Akron workers all buy in the same stores," he told me. Previ-

ously, a picket captain down by the plant had informed me that "we refuse to go under the scale" on wage increases in Akron rubber plants this year. (Rubber workers have received a 13 cent increase during the last two months, subject to the approval of the Wage Stabilization Board.) Active rank and file participation is evidenced around strike headquarters in the "Moose" building, and many strikers, off picket duty, hang around in alert groups near the plant. All super-

visory employees must clear through the union hall, indicating that the cereal workers are imitating the rubber workers in more ways than wage demands. In sketching the background of the union's development, Clemente particularly stressed the equality of job opportunities in the plant, based on the union's seniority system. "There is no discrimination against Negro workers," the local President answered in reply to my question on the subject.