

WHY WORLD FEARS "LIBERATION" BY U.S.

(See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Their Frankenstein Monster



SWP Election News

Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke
SWP Campaign Manager

Top billing this week goes to our Buffalo campaigners. The meeting for Farrell Dobbs was packed to the door — "the best," says our reporter, in the history of the Buffalo SWP. The numbers, to be sure don't compare with the Eisenhower or Stevenson rallies. But that's a poor measuring rod. We don't get the same kind of million-dollar advertising, paid and free, in the daily newspapers and on the radio that builds up their meetings. On top of that a wall of fear has been built up by the witchhunt to frighten people away from radical meetings.

PLENTY OF LIFE IN THIS BUFFALO

This goes especially for the Buffalo SWP which for years has been the special target for the red-baiting of the big daily paper. Militant readers will remember how, early in this year, that corporation-run paper sent its photographer to our campaign manager's meeting, and working together with the sneaks from the "Red Squad" they did their best to intimidate the audience. If, in spite of that, Dobbs' meeting was twice as large as that one it demonstrates that the flame of opposition is still burning brightly in Buffalo. Even more, it is a tribute to our indomitable campaigners there who can't be scared and undoubtedly did plenty of leg-work to build up... "the best meeting" yet.

MYRA WEISS SLAMS THE WAR-MAKERS

News about our Number Two candidate has been a little slow in arriving. We predict, though, before long that there won't be enough space to report her doings. The first items have been begun to trickle in from Seattle, where her campaign started, and from Chicago — and they're good ones.

Myra has been slamming the organizers of the war against the non-capitalist world and the colonial revolutions in all her speeches. At the SWP state nominating convention in Seattle, she counterposed the fighting SWP program on peace to the illusory and deceptive agitation of the Progressive Party. She came back to that theme again in a Chicago forum with other minority parties. (I'll have more

(Continued on page 2)

UE TOP LEADER SEES NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Sept. 15 — A united Labor Party, backed by AFL, CIO and independent groups, is needed to "fulfill the hopes and wishes of the American working people," Albert Fitzgerald, president of the independent United Electrical Workers told 500 delegates at the opening session of the 17th annual convention of the union here today.

Rejecting the platforms and candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, he added, "neither is the Progressive Party the answer to our problem."

He condemned the "giant ex-

Two Weeks to Go As Election Fund Reaches \$15,245

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Contributions of \$733 this week from seven Socialist Workers Party branches on their pledges to help finance the Presidential Election and carry on the challenge to the constitutionality of the reactionary Taft-Hartley Law in Michigan raised the national total to \$15,245 or 82% of the \$18,600 goal.

Cleveland came through with 100% and now shares top honors with the other six branches that have fulfilled their pledges. IN FULL AND AHEAD OF SCHEDULE.

Boston's \$40 pushed them just this side of the goal line. Another \$30 and they'll go over. New York chalked up a \$200 gain and is confident the balance of \$500 will be in before Sept. 30. Flint shot from 39 to 85% with \$138, and Genora Dollinger says, "We'll have the whole amount of our pledge in on time."

Richard Boerner sent in \$158 for San Francisco with this comment: "I am certain that we will meet our pledge of \$900 by Sept. 30."

Newark made a \$90 stride closer to its \$1,000 goal, and Milwaukee chalked up a \$50 gain. A friend of the Socialist Workers Party in the South sent us \$5, saying: "Please take this and put it in your campaign fund. Keep up the good work and I only wish I could help you out much more." This is help that we are very much in need of. Many thanks.

Remember! To make this campaign a 100% success, every pledge must be completed by Sept. 30. That's only two weeks. Let's step it up!

(See Scoreboard on page 2)



ALBERT FITZGERALD

Eisenhower, Taft Join in Pro-War, Anti-Union Deal

By Tom Conlan

After almost two months of behind-the-scenes negotiations Eisenhower and Taft reached a settlement last week, patching up the rift in the Republican machine since the Chicago convention. It was a typical horse-trade between capitalist politicians.

Taft swallowed his difference with Eisenhower over foreign policy, announcing that his difference, was merely one of "degree." Eisenhower, on the other hand, dropped any pretense of a "middle-of-the-road" position on domestic issues, declaring himself "100 percent in accord" with Taft up and down the line, beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Big Money supporters of Eisenhower are more than satisfied with the transaction. They backed Eisenhower against Taft, in the first place, precisely to make sure there would be no change from the Truman administration's program of war preparations.

The N. Y. Times, mouthpiece of the decisive capitalist ruling circles, noted with approval the restoration of peace and unity in the Republican party, and boasted on Sept. 13, about the "considerable rapprochement" on foreign policy "not only between the parties but also within the parties."

Arthur Krock, chief political writer of the Times, evaluated (Continued on page 4)

Witch-Hunt by Truman Paved McCarthy's Way

By George Clarke

The sweeping victory of Senator Joseph McCarthy in the recent Wisconsin primaries is one of the most ominous developments in the unabating drift to reaction. This is reinforced by the fact that there was little of the accidental in the election returns. McCarthy's majority was overwhelming. It counted in its numbers thousands of Democrats who crossed party lines to vote for him. Only a minimum of misapprehension as to his politics could have existed among the McCarthy electors. Unlike other reactionary rabble-rousers, the Wisconsin "Storm Troop" leader did not train his main fire on high taxes rising prices or corruption in Washington. The alpha and omega of McCarthy's program is "Anti-Communism" — and there could have been no mistake about that in Wisconsin.

The people of Wisconsin, says the N. Y. Times editorially, were "sold a bill of goods." That is true — but not the way the N. Y. Times means it. The "bill of goods" is hysteria over the "danger of communism." Its raving runs something like this: The USA is the best of all possible worlds. The present (war-boom) prosperity is a permanent feature of American life. But it is threatened by "communism," which is as much an internal "conspiracy" as an external menace. "The American way of

life" must be safeguarded against this threat at all costs and by any means.

CRUDEST AND LOUDEST

It is not McCarthy alone who has been selling the American people this shoddy "bill of goods." He is only the crudest and loudest and therefore possibly the most effective of the anti-communist hucksters. The sales organization has its headquarters in the White House and on Capitol Hill. And as the New York Times correctly says, it began its operations some three years before McCarthy got into the business. Its only rival for sheer volume, incessant repetition and singleness of purpose was the "anti-bolshevik" propaganda campaigns of Paul Goebbels' Nazi Ministry of Information. In essence, however, American anti-communism is as totalitarian in character. Everybody has been mobilized — Both parties and their presidential candidates, the press, the radio, TV, churches, educators, advertising agencies, liberals and conservatives, the Chambers of Commerce and labor leaders.

Is it any wonder then that a sector of the people, their nerves strained to the breaking-point, their fears turned to nightmares, should be driven to hysteria by the anti-communist clamor? But wait the N. Y. Times, why do they follow McCarthy and not us, the decent anti-communists? Be-

For Vice-Pres.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

GI Replacements In Korea Speak Bitterly of War

From "Somewhere in Korea," United Press correspondent Frederick C. Painton reported on Aug. 25 about the moods of the newly-arrived GIs about to replace one-year men-in-combat duty.

"Some of the bitterness," he heard at one typical replacement depot "goes deeper than the standard griping which is a part of Army life," writes Painton.

"WE'RE SUCKERS..." "Nobody says it, but what they mean is we're suckers, that's all," said Pvt. Edward DiMary, 21, of South Hadley Falls, Mass. "We're an occupation army, getting shot at."

The soldiers asked about the truce conference "but didn't show a great deal of appreciation or interest in some of the basic issues," complains Painton.

HOW ABOUT OUR GUYS?

"Give 'em back their prisoners — what the hell," said Pvt. Elmer Haughwout, 21, of Wayne, Mich. "How about our guys up there in the prison camps?"

End Company-Unionism In Politics, Letter To Convention Urges

By Farrell Dobbs
SWP Presidential Candidate

Since the presidential candidates of the pro-war, Big Business parties are invited to address the American Federation of Labor convention in New York City, I have requested the same privilege in order to present the anti-war, pro-labor program of the Socialist Workers Party.

My letter to AFL President William Green makes clear that I consider Democrat Stevenson and Republican Eisenhower both enemies of labor. I propose to speak to the AFL delegates as a 100% union man with a 100% labor political program.

It is my main intention, I have written Brother Green, to appeal to the AFL to abandon company-unionism in politics — to end the policy of supporting the parties and candidates of the employer class.

If my request for speaking time is granted, my message will be embodied in four words: BUILD LABOR'S OWN PARTY.

It is reported that the convention will make the first formal AFL endorsement of a presidential candidate since LaFollette, running on the Progressive ticket, got the AFL's support in the 1924 campaign. It is no secret, moreover, that an endorsement of Stevenson (and his running-mate, the Dixiecrat Sparkman) is considered "in the bag."

The only fair, intelligent and democratic way to approach the question of endorsement of political candidates is to permit the delegates to hear and freely discuss all party programs and candidates. I told the AFL President in my letter that it is especially important that I be

AFL Chief



WILLIAM GREEN

heard because I represent a program diametrically opposed on every basic issue to that of both Stevenson and Eisenhower.

Many AFL members, I am sure, want a change — a real change — from the Tweedle Dum-Tweedle Dee set-up of the capital-

(Continued on page 4)

NEGRO HOME BOMBED THIRD TIME SINCE MAY

A home was bombed in Kansas City, Mo., on Sept. 7 — the third time since last May. There was no mystery about the motive: It was the first home in the block to be occupied by Negroes, the Kansas City Call reported.

The latest explosion ripped a hole in the foundation of the two-story house at 2736 The Paseo, and shattered windows and dishes in an adjacent building. The most recent occupants, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Miller, had moved out two days earlier, after living there for two months.

The Call quotes the Millers as saying they moved because "Large firecrackers frequently were set

off in the back yard, phony telephone calls were made to the place, and once a man telephoned, identified himself as a representative of the Ku Klux Klan and said it would not be 'wise to continue living there.'"

FIRST ATTEMPT

Early last May, the house was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Crittenden, also Negroes. Just before they moved in, a bottle filled with gasoline and attached to a fuse was found at the rear of the house. The fuse had gone out before reaching the gasoline.

A few weeks later, on May 21, a homemade bomb was thrown into the dining room window. An occupant picked it up and threw it out into the driveway. Several windows were broken by the explosion.

After that, the Crittendens moved out and rented the house to the Millers. A police guard was stationed there until Aug. 1, and then withdrawn. Mr. Crittenden had sold the building to another Negro family a few days before the third explosion.

TERROR DEVICE

Bombing has become a favorite device of white supremacists for terrorizing Negroes and other minorities. It was used last Christmas to murder Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore for their opposition to lynch-terrorism in Florida, and has been employed widely throughout the South, California and Illinois to drive Negroes out of their homes in formerly lily-white areas.

Neither the FBI nor local police have captured any of the bomb-terrorists responsible for scores of such atrocities during the last year.

(Continued on page 3)

Big Issues of the Steel Strike That Capitalist Press Concealed

By Harry Frankel

The true story behind the great 55-day steel strike is much different from the falsified tale circulated by the daily press.

When the strike was ended on July 26 with an agreement on the wage issue, there were three other central issues of the strike still unsettled and the union had to threaten to renew the strike before it could get a signed contract some three weeks after the strike was over.

These issues, involving a bitter corporation attack on the fundamental rights of the workers, can be described under three headings: 1. local working conditions; 2. management rights; 3. incentive pay plans.

Since April 22, 1947, the U.S. Steel Corp. contract with the union has had a clause (2B) guaranteeing to the steel workers that all local working conditions that were in effect as of that date would be protected. This has been used by the union as an enormous bulwark against crew-cutting, job-combining, chiseling on seniority, and on literally thousands of issues large and small.

Fortunately the union's interpretation of this clause has been sustained by arbitrators in many

decisions. But it has not been through arbitration that the union maintained these rights. It has been through hundreds, possibly thousands of strikes and stoppages that have occurred since 1947; strikes ranging from walk-outs by 5 or 10 men to whole mills. For five years this question has been the biggest battleground in the steel industry.

WOULD "NEVER SIGN"

From the start of negotiations last November, U.S. Steel insisted that it would never sign a contract that would retain section 2B. Also, the companies demanded that the management rights section of the contract be amended to specifically award to the steel bosses the right to do anything they pleased, make any changes in conditions, etc. This was rejected by the union.

To illustrate what this means to the union: A steel official flatly told the union negotiating committee that if and when the corporation got section 2B removed from the contract it could proceed to slash manpower in the mills by as much as 25%. The union already knew this to be a fact even before this company executive stated it, because

the companies had been attempting for five years, in violation of the contract, to do that very thing, and had been repeatedly defeated by strikes which based themselves on the existing contract.

ITEMS "DOOMED" BY COMPANY

Not only crew-cutting and job-combining were involved. Many other past victories were at stake. For example, spellhands who relieve men on very hot or arduous work were slated to go. The "buddy" system, a great institution in the mills, whereby a man may go home as soon as the man handling his job on the next shift comes in, was to be eliminated. The overtime meal check, paying for a worker's extra meal if he worked over, was to be cut out. Jobs which are now on steady day-turn would have been changed to three-shift jobs. And so on, almost without end. Name any good practice that the men had won through years of struggle: it was doomed, according to the company.

RATES SLASHED

The "incentive pay" issue is also closely connected with the above battle. Since 1947, the companies have succeeded in cutting incentive or tonnage rates on thousands of jobs. These cuts have ranged from a few dimes or a few dollars a day up to as much as \$10 a day in the higher paid brackets. In most cases, only the job-rate was cut, but the man who had held the job was continued under the old rate. However, any new man was paid on the reduced scale.

The battle on this question had also been going on for five years, and it was so bitter that there was probably not a single plant of the entire U.S. Steel setup that was not struck at some time over this issue. When negotiations opened, the companies wanted a clear right to continue the wage-slashing process through new incentive-pay plans. The union, on the other hand, wanted the new-type incentives specifically barred from the mills.

UNION SCORES VICTORY

On all these issues, the victory of the union, at least in U.S.

Steel, the biggest outfit, was complete. Section 2B was retained, the management rights section remained unchanged and the new incentive plans were curbed, thus restoring pay slashes to many men and putting back the old pay rates on thousands of jobs. The victory in other companies was not as great, mainly because these workers, in companies like Bethlehem and Republic did not have as good a setup to start with.

Apparently, the companies had virtually agreed to a pay rise before the strike, after further concessions by Philip Murray reduced the union's demands below even the WSB recommendations. The companies also had their price rise in the bag. But under pretext of a "principled" opposition to the union shop, the companies directed an attack on union-won conditions all up and down the line. Thus, when the interim agreement which ended the strike was initiated, they agreed on the modified pay and union shop demands, but refused to sign a contract on the other vital matters for three weeks, and then only signed when the union threatened to renew the strike.

BELLIGERENT ATTITUDE

One week before the strike ended, four top corporation officials appeared before the United Steelworkers wage policy committee in a session which the newspapers described as "amicable." Actually it was anything but that, for these officials told the union that they would never sign a contract unless they had their way on section 2B, management rights and incentives, and that the union might as well prepare to stay on strike forever if it did not give in.

How was this great battle kept so quiet? The answer is that all channels of public information, the press, radio, television, co-operated slavishly with the steel barons in making it appear that the union shop was the sole issue. How about the union leadership?

It is true that Murray had stressed these issues of plant conditions and work practices in speeches at Youngstown, Gary and Duquesne and at the January and May conventions of the steel union. Local union papers had also featured them. By and large, however, the union bureaucracy failed to commit itself so fully before the public that it would have had difficulty in backing down on these issues. But the pressure of the ranks was so heavy that the Murray machine found it impossible to retreat anyway and the union won a victory.

PRESSURE OF THE RANKS

It is instructive to follow the role of the union bureaucracy in the battle on these issues over a five-year period, to watch how the conflict grew up behind Murray's back and how he was then compelled by the militant elements to go along with the ranks.

The scrap started with local strikes, stoppages and arbitration cases. The local leaders learned gradually what was involved, and fought the companies to a greater or lesser degree, depending upon how able, alert, and militant the local members and leaders were. They then began to bring the matter to the attention of the district directors and the top international leadership. They sent delegations to Pittsburgh, and in the early stages, had to explain what the ruckus was all about to the top leaders. They pushed for a fight, and when the issues were finally generalized at the conference table ten months ago, Murray found himself with a big issue on his hands, and with a sizeable portion of the union that demanded a showdown fight. That's the way the fight grew and that's how it was able to end in victory.

IMPORTANT LESSON

In the case of the CIO auto workers, Reuther was able to muffle the struggle for defense and improvement of union condition in the plants. He ushered in company security and speedup clause. The steel union, because of the battle put up by the rank and file, demonstrated how it is possible to defend and even extend union control over plant conditions and halt the speedup, at least for the moment.

But the fight goes on. The demand of American capitalism is that conditions be worsened everywhere. That is what the Wall Street war-drive means. Already, since the contract was signed, Murray's foolish dreams of an era of "industrial peace" have been smashed. New strikes have been forced on a local level at Republic Steel in Cleveland and elsewhere. But the union has grown in stature, new militants are pushing their way and the steel workers will give the companies a real fight.

Battle Jim-Crow in So. Africa



As part of civil disobedience campaign against Malan government's rigid segregation laws, a crowd of determined South Africans take over train compartment marked for "Europeans only." ("Europeans" means whites.) Thirty-four were arrested when train reached Capetown. Fight has raged for months, resulted in thousands of arrests.

FARMERS' REAL INCOME FELL SHARPLY IN 1952

By John G. Wright

How well off are the farmers today? At least as well off this year as they were a year ago, claim the publicity agencies of the Truman administration. On Sept. 10, the Agriculture Department announced that farm cash receipts for the first eight months of this year were "three percent more" than in the comparable 1951 period.

That the farmers should receive more today is hardly surprising. They have been marketing this year bigger crops of wheat, cotton and vegetables — eight percent more in crop volume and three percent more in livestock and livestock products.

But as every worker knows it is not only how much money you get in your pay envelope that counts. Just as important is how much you must pay out, especially in a period of inflation and steep taxes. This works out for the farmers in much the same way as it does for labor.

The "three percent increase" in farm cash receipts is only one side of the picture. The other side, just as important, is: How much more must the farmer PAY OUT this year as against a year ago?

On this point the Department of Agriculture prefers to say very little. It remarks vaguely that because of higher production costs (higher prices paid out by the farmers) "farmers' realized income this year may be a little lower than in 1951."

NO "MAY BE" ABOUT IT

While Truman's agricultural experts pretend to speculate about how "little" farm income "may" drop, the cold fact is that the farmers, especially the middle-size and small farmers have been getting it — in the neck! Their income has been dropping, without any "may be's" about it.

The government's own figures prove this. In the Midyear Economic Report submitted by Truman's Council of Economic Advisers there is a table showing "changes in personal income." This table records that while farm personal income was at an annual rate of \$16.4 billion for the second half of 1951, by the first half of this year it had dropped to \$15 billion, a decline of \$1.4 billion, or eight and a half percent.

Even the Economic Advisers note in passing, that this was

'Sugar Is Sweet And So Are You'

The staid New Republic's Washington correspondent included the following description of Stevenson in his weekly "wire": "But there is also an elfin, fey quality to the man. Abraham Lincoln would not have made that comment about flies in a political speech. George Washington wouldn't. Adlai Stevenson is a political Peter Pan."

"WELFARE STATE" OR SOCIALISM

by ART PREIS

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The American Way of Life

"Somewhere to Have the Baby"

In 1950, General Eisenhower advised those Americans who want social security to "go to prison." The General probably meant that government-financed social security is un-American and anyone pushing for it would also accept a police state.

No doubt most working people gritted their teeth when they heard about the General's insult to those who believe we are entitled to adequate old age pensions, socialized medicine, government financed nurseries, maternity benefits, etc., and put it down as another manifestation of this Brass Hat's reactionary views. But let's not be too hasty in condemning the aspirant to the White House. Maybe the General had something after all. Take the case of Mrs. Seena Barrientes of Pierre, South Dakota:

Recently federal authorities returned her at government expense to Miami, Fla., under charges of violating a three-year probation given her for receiving a soldier's dependency checks illegally. The violation consisted of failure to make the required periodic reports.

SYMPATHETIC JUDGE

"Did I understand you to say you want to go to jail?" Judge Whitehurst asked, according to a Sept. 13 AP dispatch.

"Yes," she replied. "I have no money and I want to go somewhere to have the baby."

The judge magnanimously granted her request for welfare

and social security, giving her a full six-months behind bars.

"I don't think you deserve that kind of a sentence," he commented. "I'm inclined to feel that you were guilty technically, but not morally, in accepting the checks, and I was prepared to be lenient with you."

"But I'll give you enough time so you can have the baby."

MARRIED AT 16

Mrs. Barrientes explained that she was married at 16, then got a divorce and at 19 married her soldier husband.

"But I found out that my divorce was not legal. By that time I had received my husband's government checks as his wife. I got the first marriage annulled and remarried the same man, but I didn't return the checks to the government."

"Now I am separated from my husband and expecting a baby some time around Christmas. I want to go to jail and get away from everything."

From this case it can be seen that the General's social security plan really works. No one in America has to worry about being down and out and in trouble as long as the government helps us, as it did Mrs. Barrientes, to turn to judges as kind-hearted and generous as Judge Whitehurst.

— Joseph Hansen

CAMPAGNING FOR SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

to say about this kind of forum later.) There the Illinois State Chairman of the PP was forced to admit that "perhaps socialism is the only answer to war . . . but meanwhile we should organize all people who are against the war."

We agree with that 100%, but Myra's rejoinder hit the nail on the head: "The effective anti-war movements which exist in the world today are all anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. It is precisely these movements which have prevented Wall Street thus far from embarking on an atomic war. In order to build such an effective and practical movement in the U.S. we must not lie to the workers that they can have peace under capitalism."

In her main address at the Chicago SWP hall Myra exploded the myth that the Soviet Union is out to conquer the world. She was interviewed by Norm Bobrow over Station KXA in Seattle. But the interview is not to be released until the SWP is certified for the ballot in Washington. Always hoping, these great "liberals," that somebody will succeed in tricking the opposition to the Republicrats off the ballot.

Myra has already had one radio interview in Chicago and perhaps will have more before she leaves there. She has also been on the soapbox in a couple of workers' neighborhoods.

TV PROGRAM AND FORUMS

Notice the announcement on page one of the TV program where Farrell Dobbs will appear on Sept. 30. Be sure to tune in. We'd like to say a word about this kind of program because it is the same type as the one in Chicago reported above and another coming up in New York's Community Church. You notice that only minority parties are billed. The aim undoubtedly is to keep up a "democratic" front but to try to put us in the category of side-show. They don't want to let us come to grips directly with the Republicrats because they know we always come out on top. That's not democracy, it's running interference for the capitalist parties.

We have received write-ups in Cosmopolitan, Time and other periodicals. More on that next week.

Don't forget the big Dobbs meeting in New York: Friday, Sept. 26 — Cornish Arms Hotel — 8 P.M.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
The Dilemma of U.S.
Foreign Policy:
All Roads Lead to Ruin
Speaker:
Harry Frankel
Fri., Sept. 26, 8:30
at 52 Market St.

San Francisco Saturday Night Forum

Speaker:
Frank Barbara
Sat., Sept. 27, 8 P.M.
1739 Fillmore St., 4th Fl.
Discussion — Social

Los Angeles Friday Night Forum

"A Negro Looks at the Presidential Candidates"
Speaker:
Erroll Holden
Fri., Sept. 26, 8 P.M.
1702 E. 4th St.
Discussion - Refreshments

Myra T. Weiss Tour Schedule

Sept. 19-23 Detroit-Flint
Sept. 25-28 Minneapolis-St. Paul
Minneapolis Public Meeting:
Fri., Sept. 26, 8 P.M.
SWP Hall, 10 S. 4th St.
St. Paul Public Meeting:
Sun., Sept. 28, 4 P.M.
Eagles Hall, 113 University Ave.
Sept. 30-Oct. 1 Akron
Akron Public Meeting
Wed., Oct. 1, 8 P.M.
Community Center
250 East Market

Oct. 2-3 Youngstown
Oct. 4-5 Cleveland
Oct. 7-10 Buffalo
Oct. 12-16 Boston
Oct. 17-18 Newark
Oct. 19-20 Philadelphia
Oct. 21 Allentown
Oct. 23-26 New York
Oct. 27 New Haven
Oct. 29-31 San Francisco-Oakland
Nov. 1-2 Los Angeles

EUROPEAN CAPITALISM IN NEW CRISIS DESPITE \$25 BILLION AID, UN SAYS

By Thomas Raymond

The United Nations, taking a look at capitalist Europe, finds it to be in bad shape. Words such as "stagnation," "decline," "alarming weakness" abound in the latest report of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. A "gloomy picture" of declining production and employment, of mounting financial troubles, and a falling standard of living, proves once again the futility of all efforts to restore stability to Europe on a capitalist basis.

The latest report demonstrates that the crisis of Europe is a capitalist crisis. It shows it in two ways, directly and indirectly. On the side of positive proof, all the European crisis factors are seen to be results of the dying economic order of West Europe. The European people are not hampered by natural or technical difficulties such as earthquakes, typhoons, droughts, inability to produce for any such material reasons. They are being choked to death by capitalist troubles: failure of the market, falling reserves of foreign exchange, falling profit rate; in short, by the inability of the capitalist system to continue to function.

This same truth is proved on the negative side by the fact that the non-capitalist countries of the Soviet bloc are not experiencing these troubles. They may have other troubles such as natural and technical difficulties, lack of trained personnel, materials and machinery shortages, bureaucratic mismanagement, but these occur within a framework of

rising production. The UN report says that in sharp contrast with capitalist Europe, "industrial production in the eastern European countries continued to expand rapidly during the first quarter of 1952; recorded increases over the level of the corresponding period of 1951 averaged about 20%."

DEEPER THAN SUSPECTED

The crisis in capitalist Europe showed itself, during the first quarter of this year, as being deeper than previously suspected, and is summarized in the UN review as follows:

"Industrial employment and production as a whole stagnated or fell, even after allowance for the normal seasonal drop, in all the big western European industrial countries except France, increases in industries being still insufficient to offset declines in the activity of those producing durable consumer goods both for home and export markets."

In other words, consumers goods continue to drop, and war goods, while rising, are rising slowly so that the total effect is a fall in overall production. The report continues: "Unemployment, though still in almost all countries low by the standards of pre-war depressions, increased slightly. As both an effect and a cause of these developments, the volume of consumption continued to fall in spite of a generally high level of imports. Exports marked time, and those countries . . . which were already in balance - of - payments difficulties continued to experience an alarm-

ing drain on their reserves of foreign exchange."

STAGNATION IN TRADE

The report calls the recent period one of "stagnation in nearly all branches of the retail trade, and of actual depression in some . . . in all except one (country) the volume of consumption of clothing and household goods appears to have been actually lower in the first quarter of 1952 than it had been two years earlier. . . . It is noteworthy that in several countries (Belgium, Denmark, Sweden) even food consumption appears to have been less. . . ."

After seven years and \$25 billion of U.S. aid to capitalist Europe, the UN reports "a slowing down and even reversal of industrial expansion in most countries (of capitalist Europe)." This puts the final exclamation point after the ending of the Marshall Plan which has now been replaced by aid programs of an almost purely military type. The highly-touted scheme to make Europe prosper has, despite the expenditure of billions of dollars, barely averted complete collapse. Capitalist Europe survived, but only on a permanent crisis level.

While the decline of living standards in the capitalist countries of Europe is clearly set forth, the report contains very little information about living standards in the eastern region. It does report that in eastern Germany "there appears to have been some shift of real income towards wage earners."

However, the World Economic Report of the UN for 1950-'51 had the following to say last April: "In 1950 there was a substantial rise in consumption (in the Soviet bloc), which was made possible by an increase in the output of industrial consumer goods and, as concerns food, by favorable 1949 harvests and by larger imports of foodstuffs in food importing countries, especially in eastern Germany. This trend continued in the USSR, eastern Germany and Bulgaria in 1951."

U.S. Losses in Korea

U.S. casualties in the Korea war continue to mount. On Sept. 17 a weekly toll of 736 battle losses were announced, bringing the total to 117,973.

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All in the Family

In a Portland, Ore. speech on Sept. 8, presidential candidate Stevenson complained that many newspapers had committed themselves to support Eisenhower before they knew whom the Democrats were going to nominate. Arthur Krock, one of big business' most important columnists, replied to him in the next day's N.Y. Times. In a three-point argument, Krock gives the whole game away. He says first:

"To those who... believed with Stevenson that, in this event (the election of Taft), the national security would be gravely threatened, beginning with Western Europe's loss of confidence in the NATO partnership with the United States, the prospect of Taft as President was calamitous; and obviously the first and effective means of preventing this was the nomination of Eisenhower, the only other Republican who had a chance to be elected."

In plainer language, this means: "We wanted to make sure of a candidate who would support Wall Street's war program just as you do, Gov. Stevenson. Eisenhower was the only man who could do this."

To go on to point number two: "Manifestly, in view of these facts, newspapers and individuals who held this opinion would have had small influence with the Republican National Convention unless they indicated they were prepared to back Eisenhower in the campaign if nominated." In other words, those who feared a disruption of Wall Street's program were compelled to pledge their future backing to Eisenhower in order to get him nominated.

Stevenson, of course, could come right back and ask Krock: "Why did you need Eisenhower? What about me? You yourself admit that I champion the same 'collective security' (war) program." This is where Krock's point number three comes in. He says:

"To those newspapers and citizens that wanted the national policy of collective security to be championed in the campaign by a strong candidate who did not start with a strike against him... the plain procedure was to attempt to assure this at the Republican convention (which came first) through the nomination of Eisenhower. And one of the chief reasons why this procedure was plain was Stevenson's steady repudiation of efforts to make him the Democratic candidate..."

This is the payoff. It says as clearly as possible to Stevenson: "Yes, you are exactly the same as Eisenhower. But you said you weren't going to run, and we felt we had to make certain of Eisenhower to assure the continuation of the war program. Now that you are running, of course, we really have two candidates we can support."

Finally, Krock tells us: "In view of his (Stevenson's) own expressed alarm over Taft's foreign policy, the Governor, of all men, should be able to see the excellent reasons for this advance commitment (to Eisenhower)..." This is a warning growl from the Wall Street bulldog, and it means: "Quit crabbing. You ought to be able to see why we backed your opponent, and you ought to be glad of it. Now it's all in the family, and we can't lose."

"Democracy" in Ohio

The Akron visit of Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, while on national tour, apparently aroused the displeasure of certain high circles there who regard Akron and its environs as their private bailiwick.

The Akron Beacon-Journal, on Sept. 9, editorially attacked Dobbs and the SWP and also the Progressive party for being so presumptuous as to campaign in Ohio and "particularly in Akron!" "We are frank enough to say," declared the Beacon-Journal, "we can't guess why the lefties are campaigning here."

Ohio has one of the most discriminatory laws on its statutes, making it virtually impossible for a minority party to get on the ballot. Neither the Progressive party nor the SWP, boasts the Beacon-Journal, could even "come close to meeting the requirement of 500,000 signatures which the (Ohio) Legislature voted in 1949 to impose on minor parties."

The editors of the Beacon-Journal highly approve of this totalitarian-type law which bars minority parties and candidates from the Ohio ballot and makes a mockery of free elections. But they don't stop there. They have the impudence to use it as an "argument" against minority candidates even campaigning in the state.

This is the "logic" of reaction: Deny minority parties their right to a place on the ballot. Deny the people of Ohio their right to register a free choice in the election booth among all political parties. Go further. Prevent the people from hearing about any views except those of the ruling party. On top of this, demand that the minority parties cooperate. And if they don't join this conspiracy against democratic rights? Then use more forceful means.

In the days of the open shop, the enemies of labor argued and acted in exactly the same way. Unions were barred from the plants. Pro-union workers and union organizers were driven out, with the approval and aid of local authorities.

It was argued that workers couldn't vote for the union shop if they wanted to, and besides only a "negligible number" would do so, if they had the opportunity. So why not shut up about the union and keep out!

Word for word this is the line of "argument" used by the Beacon-Journal against Dobbs' campaigning in Ohio. "Ohioans," they say, "couldn't vote (for Dobbs) even if they wanted to..." "Only a negligible number of Ohioans would vote (for him) if they could..."

Thus the Beacon-Journal shows how history repeats itself. The same arguments and practices used to prevent labor from organizing the open shop are now dug up in order to prevent labor from organizing its own forces independently in politics.

Why "Liberation" Horrifies World

By Art Preis

Liberation, like freedom, is one of the sweetest of all words. Yet, when mouthed by any leading spokesman for America's ruling circles, the word "liberation" sends a shudder of horror through the world. Thus, an outcry of alarm met Gen. Eisenhower's American Legion proclamation of this country's mission to "liberate" those lands of Eastern Europe and Asia now controlled by or in alliance with the Soviet Union.

It was generally observed that the General had "blundered." He himself appeared to recognize this by his quick attempt at a tactical withdrawal. He said in his Philadelphia speech that he meant to "liberate" the "Communist" countries "only by peaceful means" and without being "truculent."

Governor Adlai Stevenson was as quick to demagogically exploit the tactical error of his opponent. He berated those who want to "take reckless military action," although he applauded the wars of western imperialism against the independence movements in Korea, Malaya and Indo-China.

REVEALING COMMENTS

Eisenhower's declaration on "liberation" has been taken up by leading editorial writers and political columnists. One of the most revealing commentaries was made by Walter Lippmann in his Sept. 2 column.

Lippmann states that Eisenhower has given a "true estimate" of the situation in the world today, even if his proposals on "liberation" are "seriously wrong and dangerously misleading." "In large areas of the world which are not within the Soviet orbit," Lippmann points out, "the power and the influence of the West is nevertheless declining. We are beset by rebellions and hostility in the Middle East and in Africa. Our situation is grim."

"Communist power is in numbers, area, strategic position already too big for the security of the western nations," adds Lippmann. "Merely to contain it will leave the western world in a position where its relative power is deteriorating and its influence declining... The mass of our adversaries is already expanded beyond the critical limit — where the balance of power can be stabilized."

Lippmann thus makes plain that U.S. foreign policy goes beyond its initially professed aims of "containment" of "Soviet imperialism." It must now rectify the "unfavorable" balance of power — which includes suppression of rebellious masses in large parts of the world "which are not within the Soviet orbit."

At the same time, Lippmann cautions that "one thing not to do" is "to announce" or "to advertise" our help, or — since it is the fashion to talk of politics as if it were pugilism — to telegraph our punches. "Whatever the aims of U.S. imperialism — keep them in the dark," says Lippmann.

THEIR REAL AIMS

Another significant and, perhaps, even more revealing commentary was made by Roscoe Drummond, Chief of the Washington News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor. If Eisenhower hasn't given the right answers, Drummond says, he is beginning to "ask the right questions." And one of the "right" questions he thinks Eisenhower has raised, indirectly, is: "Can we consider that we have achieved a secure or tolerable peace so long as the world-wide conspirators of the Kremlin retain in their hands the power and control of the vast Russian nation?"

"Containment, however right and wise in itself, is only the preliminary," admits Drummond, who confesses that "I have long felt that the essential objectives of American foreign policy have not been adequately nor candidly expounded to the nation."

In short, what starts out as the proclaimed "liberation" of the countries in the Soviet orbit must lead — and is intended to lead — to the destruction of the Soviet Union, as Drummond shows, and to the suppression, as Lippmann indicates, of all anti-imperialist rebellions.

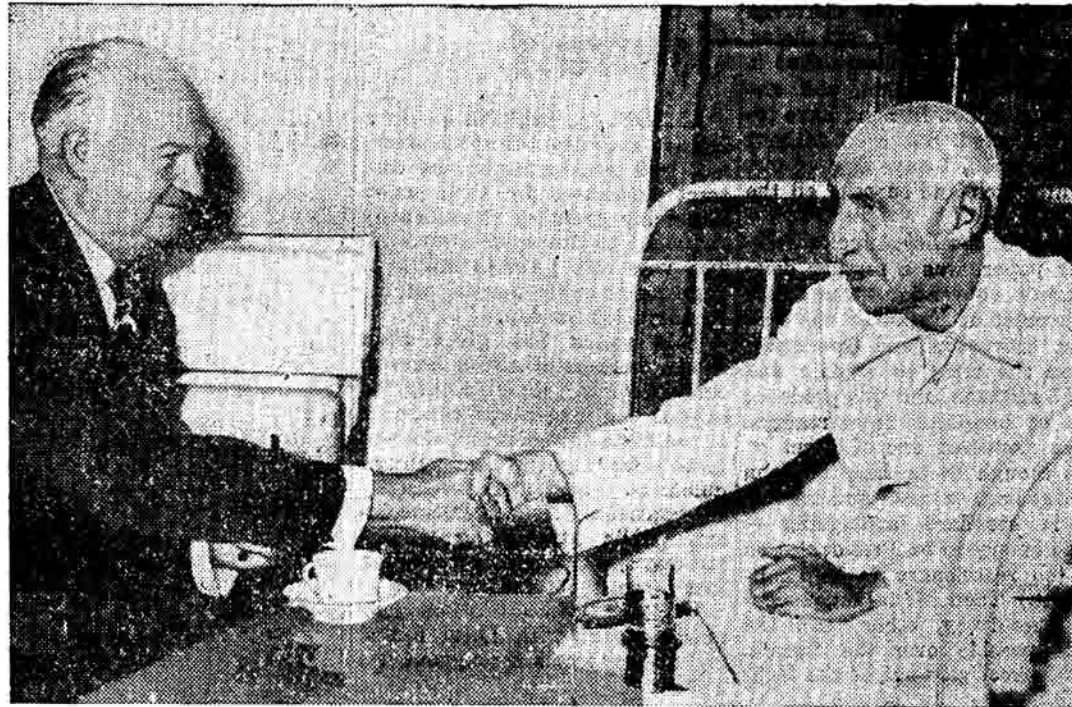
PAST EXPERIENCES

Opposing "liberation" as an American foreign policy, the left-liberal columnist I. F. Stone has made several cogent points in recent issues of the N.Y. Daily Compass.

How do we know that the peoples in the countries of the Soviet "bloc" would welcome "liberation"? Is the question Stone raises.

"When the Russian Revolution broke out, the Powers moved first

U.S. Oil Magnate on Profit-Hunt



W. Alton Jones, head of U.S. Cities Service Corp., discussing Iranian oil with premier Mohammad Mossadegh in Teheran. Production of Iranian oil has been halted by the international oil monopolies and imperialist governments because of nationalization decree which has returned ownership of Iranian oil wealth to Iran. The U.S. oil executive says he is in Iran to "help" solve conflict; he is reportedly seeking way of exploiting Iranian oil for benefit of U.S. oil interests.

to 'contain' it and then supported interventionist armies in an attempt at 'liberation.' Stone reminds us. But though 'the mujik was ignorant,' he was 'not too ignorant to fight a 'liberation' which would restore the freedom to go on being a slave in all but name."

These same mujiks refused to fight in the Czar's armies, which "had melted away in 1917," Stone recalls, "but Lenin and Trotsky raised 5,500,000 men to fight the first attempt at 'liberation.' The Germans and the Japanese only recently finished a second attempt at 'liberation' which ended by adding China and the old cor-

don sanitaire of Eastern Europe to the Soviet bloc. A third World War, and all Eurasia may be Communist."

WHAT DRIVES U.S. RULERS

Unfortunately, Stone's argument that the "liberation" policy must fail will not carry much weight with the American ruling class.

American capitalism contains within it an enormous explosive power. This is the gigantic and evergrowing mass of accumulated idle capital which can find no permanent profitable fields for investment at home. As this explosive force mounts to the dan-

ger point, it is "contained" by a constricting iron band of countries, numbering a third of the world's people, who have been removed from the sphere of foreign capitalist exploitation.

PEOPLE SEE CONTRAST

Far from welcoming "liberation" from their present non-capitalist status, these masses of people show a stern determination to defend that status. They have learned that nationalized industry, planned economy, the destruction of feudal land relations, have laid the basis for a vast improvement of the productive forces.

And Lippmann is right, in a sense, when he expresses the fear that merely "containing" the present bounds of the "Soviet orbit" is insufficient for American imperialist capitalism. In the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America, the people are drawing conclusions highly unfavorable to the self-proclaimed "liberators."

They see in the anti-capitalist countries an expansion of modern industry, the development of natural resources, the building of giant dams and power plants. But, wherever the process of imperialist "liberation" takes place — in Korea, Malaya, Indo-China — they see the destruction of the means of livelihood of the people and their mass slaughter.

GRIM OBJECT LESSON

Korea is a grim object lesson. Daily, U.S. war communiques boast of the wanton blowing up of the factories, mines, dams, power sites. Official UN reports tell of millions of civilians burned alive by flaming jelled gasoline (napalm), blown up by high-explosive bombs, splattered with machine gun bullets and rockets.

Wherever the forces of "liberation" gain control, even momentarily, totalitarian police and military regimes are imposed. In Korea, the notorious dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, whose most efficient institution is his firing squads, is the end-product of U.S. "liberation." In Malaya, the British are seeking to turn every

town and village into a barbed-wire-enclosed concentration camp. On Formosa, a U.S. military mission seeks to groom the army of dictator Chiang Kai-shek for a return to China.

All of these things are what the people of other countries understand as "liberation" by U.S. imperialism. That is why they fear this country and why they have become so anti-American. That is why, as the American press complains bitterly, "everybody hates us."

We have no business interfering with other peoples and their forms of government. We have no right to wage any campaigns of "liberation" abroad. The American people have enough on their hands with pressing problems at home — insecurity, inflation, the witch-hunt, Jim Crow, Taft-Hartley.

It is the menace and pressure of American capitalism which drives the people of Europe and Asia toward Stalinism and helps the Stalin bureaucracy maintain its grip. The danger from abroad overshadows the domestic evil. The people feel that to upset the police regime might open the way for the napalm "liberators" of U.S. imperialism and bring back the old vile order or something still worse.

SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY

Only a Socialist America can offer the kind of foreign policy

that would win the cooperation and affection of the peoples who now hate this country. With no profit motive underlying the aims of American policy, a Workers and Farmers government in a Socialist United States could help the backward countries toward industrial development and expanded production.

As the very first steps Socialist America would accord full diplomatic recognition to the revolutionary government of New China and all similar revolutionary governments. It would immediately break down all trade barriers and restore full interchange of goods.

The labor and resources and factories that now produce the means of war and destruction would be used by Socialist America to turn out machinery and goods which could help other lands to raise their standard of living along with ours. We would send them skilled workers and technicians instead of bomber pilots and military missions. Having nothing to fear from us and profiting from our example, those people now blighted by Stalinism would soon throw it off and establish new genuinely representative governments.

The socialist solution to the problem of international relations, of war and peace, is the only real and practical alternative to the reactionary program of American capitalism.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

IN THE NORTH SEA and near the Scandinavian coast, American and Allied forces are engaged in the biggest naval war games of modern times, carrying out a mock defense against "Orange" invaders from the east. (What would we think if the USSR conducted the biggest war games in history in the Caribbean?)

ITALY'S ARMED FORCES started big land, air and sea maneuvers on Sept. 11. 90,000 men are participating. Their equipment is American. The Norwegian Army is likewise busy with big-scale maneuvers simulating war against the Soviet Union.

U.S. GENERAL EDDY denied that current war-game maneuvers on the Rhine against "invaders from the east" are "a test of any emergency."

CASUALTIES IN KOREA "seem stabilized at about 30,000 American youths a year," says U.S. News and World Report. The magazine expects fathers with children conceived after June 25, 1950 to be "looked over." "Sometime in 1953 pressure will grow to take them..."

THE BRITISH magazine New Statesman and Nation carried the following advertisement: "Anglo-American, 28, Socialist refugee from New York, arriving London Sept. 1, seeks job."

ANOTHER \$25,000,000 was turned over to the pro-French puppet government of Indo-China by the Mutual Security Agency. Hundreds of millions of dollars in arms aid have already been granted by the Truman administration to the French colonial despots.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK is still willing to involve his forces in Korea, says Gordon Walker, well-informed Asst. Foreign Editor of the Christian Science Monitor. He implies that the American military mission, despite its official denials, sees eye-to-eye with the dictator on the explosive project.

THE N. Y. CURB EXCHANGE hopes to list several Japanese stocks by early next year, according to Business Week. Japanese stocks are "offering fat yields and a chance for sizable capital gains."

BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURERS are worried about rising cotton exports from Japan. Japanese cloth is 30% to 50% cheaper than Lancashire's, reports the Wall Street Journal.

HONG KONG'S economic report for 1951 shows an "economically impossible position" and severe unemployment since the Korean war. Traders in the British Crown colony are withering on the vine, it appears, since the American embargo on trade with Red China.

FOOD PRICES will rise sharply, the British Ministry of Food announced Sept. 11. For instance, butter will go up 20%. Things are definitely "austere" in England, as the Conservatives promised before they won the last elections.

NO FREEDOM OF WORSHIP exists in de Gasperi's Italy despite the guarantees of the 1947 constitution. The Protestant Church of Christ, a Texas organization, has been banned under a fascist law of 1929-30 that forces "cults" other than the Roman Catholic to obtain permission to operate. The fascist law was supposedly wiped off the books when U.S. forces moved into Italy but apparently somebody forgot to tell Italian officials about it. Since the end of the war the proselytizing Texas Protestants had won about 1,000 converts from the Catholic Church.

AT BENEVENTO, ITALY, poverty-stricken families sell their children to the rich as indentured servants. These semi-slaves get \$8.50 to \$10 a year.

MORE THAN 100,000 Belgian war veterans, war widows and former resistance fighters marched through Brussels on Sept. 14 protesting against pardons granted by the Catholic government to two Belgian war criminals: Col. Van Coppelone, pro-fascist chief of the Gendarmes under the Nazi occupation, and concentration camp torturer de Bodt.

GERMAN NEO-NAZIS have dissolved their "Socialist Reich Party." They did not reveal what new form they plan for Hitler's fascist movement which gained a new lease on life under the American-British-French occupation forces.

CEYLON wants to increase trade with Red China, Commerce Minister R. G. Senanayake said Sept. 8. He believes boom conditions could be created in Ceylon by trading rubber, copra and other products with New China for rice. A Ceylonese mission has left for Peking.

INDONESIAN delegates to the Asiatic Peace Congress in Peking left by plane via Amsterdam because they were denied transit visas through Hong Kong.

AUSTRALIAN delegates were prevented from attending the Peking congress because they were denied passports by their government.

SOUTH AFRICAN Premier Malan denied a passport to a Negro minister who had been invited by the Church of England to preach on Christianity in London's St. Paul Cathedral.

NATIONALIZATION of Bolivian tin mines is "inevitable," admits a N. Y. Times editorial (Sept. 15). The Times thinks it "a pity matters came to this pass." Living conditions couldn't be worse in Bolivia, the editors admit, and the tin monopolists are to blame, but they must be given "adequate compensation."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT is preparing a Five Year Plan for the development of Iran's economy in order "to save that country from Communism." Contents of the plan were not revealed.

FBI THOUGHT-POLICE NAB EIGHTEEN MORE VICTIMS

Giving new impetus to the anti-"Communist" hysteria on which Sen. McCarthy has so successfully capitalized, Truman's Department of Justice has carried out a new series of arrests of alleged Communist Party members.

FBI agents in 10 Midwest and West Coast cities on Sept. 17 picked up 18 men and women in a series of early morning raids carried out in typical Gestapo fashion. They will be held for trial under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, the first federal law since 1798 to make mere advocacy of proscribed political views a "crime."

This brings to 85 the number of persons arrested under the Smith Act since 1948. Thirty-one have so far been convicted and eight are serving prison sentences.

The first official of a CIO union to be picked up in the current Smith-Act drive is among the latest FBI victims. He is Karly Larson, of East Stanwood, Wash., a first vice-president of the Washington District of the CIO International Woodworkers. Another unionist arrested is William Sentner, international representative of the independent United Electrical Workers.

These are not, however, the first union victims of the Smith Act. This honor was accorded members and leaders of CIO Truckdrivers Local 544 who along with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, were prosecuted and convicted under the Smith Act in the famous Minneapolis trial of 1941.

Eighteen CIO and SWP members, including Farrell Dobbs, now SWP presidential candidate, and Vincent R. Dunne, the party's candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, served prison sentences in 1944 for alleged Smith Act violations similar to those now charged against the leaders and members of the Communist Party.

The latest Smith-Act raids appear to be an attempt by the Democratic administration to show that it is more anti-"Communist" than McCarthy and the Republicans. This will only heighten the witch-hunt hysteria on which McCarthyism thrives.

Truman Paved Way for McCarthy

(Continued from Page 1)

secret "communist sympathizers" among the top policy-makers. Thus the uprooting of capitalism in Eastern Europe is due to "betrayal" at Yalta; the victory of the million-headed peasant armies of Mao Tse-tung in China to General Marshall's connivance with communists, and if American boys are being killed in Korea it is due to Acheson's harboring of "communist agents" in the state department; and as for the atom bomb "secret!"

UNCONVINCING ARGUMENT

But wait, says the anti-communist "liberals": McCarthy's methods are bad, he smears innocent people and tramples on the Bill of Rights! How unconvincing a quibble that must sound to those who have been sold the anti-communist "bill of goods." Does the government show itself more solicitous of democratic rights with its Smith Act prosecutions and its subversive lists? Besides, if communism is really such a deadly menace which threatens to deprive us of our washing machines, TV sets, the family car and put us all in forced labor gangs, then a little smearing and a little less democracy are a small price to pay to save us from this horrible fate.

The logic of anti-communism is all on McCarthy's side. Truman, Stevenson, yes, and Walter Reuther and Dubinsky have set the stage for McCarthy. They started the anti-communist crusade. In the end, as the Wisconsin primaries show, it will be McCarthy, not the Truman-liberal-labor, combination that will lead it.

DANGEROUS MOVEMENT

McCarthyism is the anti-communism of the United States just as Hitlerism was the anti-communism of Germany. True, McCarthyism is not yet fascism but it can quickly become that under appropriate conditions. Its ultimate aim is the destruction of the organized trade union movement which is the domestic side of the world program of anti-communism — i.e. of smashing the one-third of the world where the anti-capitalist revolution has triumphed.

Emboldened by his victory in Wisconsin, it is only a matter of time before the McCarthyites shift their attacks from the Trumanites to the labor leaders. Why should stalwart anti-communists like Walter Reuther, who made a bicycle trip to the Soviet Union in the 'thirties, or Philip Murray who collaborated with the Stalinists for many years, receive

more favored treatment from McCarthy than General Marshall or Dean Acheson?

PRICE OF SUPPORTING WAR

The folly of uniting with McCarthy against Communism abroad while fighting his witch-hunt at home should be only too apparent to need explanation. For McCarthy there is no division between the two. Those who support the war plans of U.S. imperialism aid and abet the growth of McCarthyism at home. The key to the struggle against McCarthyism is opposition to the reactionary war they are brewing in the Pentagon and the State Department. The absence of McCarthyism in Great Britain, where Stalinism is almost as negligible a factor as in the U.S., is primarily due to the fact that a majority of the British workers and some of their leaders are irreconcilably opposed to the anti-communist war drive. That would be the case in the United States if not for the cowardice and treachery of the labor leaders.

The Wisconsin primaries are a warning. The price of a seat on the war bandwagon is McCarthyism — that is, the rise of a reactionary fascist-type movement which can eventually endanger all democratic rights and the trade union movement itself.

Operation Apology

By William E. Bohannon

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

As I wrote last week, my Democratic opponent for Congress is having such a hard time explaining why his party nominated an enemy of civil rights for Vice President that he decided to give it up as a hopeless job and concentrate on exposing the equally rotten civil rights record of the Republican candidate.

That's one way of conducting Operation Apology, which has now become a vast enterprise for covering up the fact that Senator Sparkman of Alabama is a veteran fighter against the civil rights program demanded by the labor movement and the Negro people. Operation Apology consumes a lot of whitewash, and it requires a lot of fancy footwork and an utter lack of shame. But that hasn't stopped the people, both Negro and white, from participating in it.

Most of the apologists are bolder than my Democratic opponent; instead of acting on the defensive, they take the offensive and claim that Sparkman is — a liberal! Not a "Northern liberal" but a "Southern liberal." When you try to get a definition of "Southern liberalism," the apologists (like Americans for Democratic Action and the New Republic) admit that the Southern "liberals" including Sparkman have an "adverse civil rights voting record" but they claim that they are liberal on "economic" issues.

In the first place, I agree wholeheartedly with the Black Worker, published by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, when it says that no aspirant for public office in the U.S. today should be "recognized as a liberal unless he is unequivocally in favor of civil rights. It is a matter of common fact that any person in public life who is against civil rights is also against democracy." And I am sure that the Negro people as a whole, not counting propagandists paid by the old parties, will agree with that statement too.

In the second place, it is not true that Sparkman is a liberal by any standards, Northern or Southern, economic or political. Henry Lee Moon of the NAACP has knocked that contention into a cocked hat. Writing in the Sept. 1 New Leader, in a debate entitled "Should Negroes Back Sparkman?" Moon says "No" and cites the following facts to prove that Sparkman isn't a liberal of any kind:

"He (Sparkman) voted against partial-to-partial pay for labor, for the Taft-Hartley Act, against recommitment of the work-or-jail bill, for the Rankin whitewash of the Veterans Adminis-

tration, against subsidies for food-price control, against the Minimum Wage Act against unemployment compensation for war workers, for the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill and against the Roosevelt veto of that bill, and for the dropping of 750,000 workers from the social-security rolls."

Sometimes I wish I didn't have to put in eight hours in the plant each day, so that I might have some time to spend collecting all the different alibis, half-truths and no-truths that are being spread around about Sparkman. I'm sure that it would make an interesting collection, and one that the apologists would not like to have to eat if Sparkman gets elected. But even without the time for special research, I have dug up one alibi that I think will match and surpass all the rest of them.

Almena Lomax, editor of the Los Angeles Tribune, a Negro weekly paper, was a regular delegate to the Democratic convention, where she started out as a supporter of Kefauver but ended up by accepting Stevenson and Sparkman. After the convention she tried to explain and justify the choice of Sparkman, and this produced a number of letters of complaint from readers. And this is how she answered one of them on Aug. 15: "Dixiecrat though he is, Senator John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, is not running for President." (This is standard apologetics — Sparkman is too reactionary to be President, you see, but not quite too reactionary to be qualified as Vice President.) Then Mrs. Lomax continues: "The Vice Presidency, other than the fact that he would preside over the Senate, would take him more effectively out of the fight for civil rights than were he to remain a Senator."

In other words, she says it's a good thing for Sparkman to become Vice President because then he won't be able to do as much harm to the civil rights cause as he could as a Senator! With that reasoning, she should have been in favor of nominating Russell or some of the more rabid lynchocrats as Vice President. Of course her little proviso ("other than the fact that he would preside over the Senate") is not so little after all. The Vice President makes the rulings on procedure in filibusters and has a lot more power to do mischief on civil rights than any single Senator.

This shows that whitewash can be a dangerous thing. If you apply it in heavy doses, it's apt to get into your eyes and even to filter into your brain.

A One-Party System

By Fred Hart

While thinking workers throughout the country are considering the possibilities of an independent labor party based on the unions challenging the two old ones, Southerners find that they haven't even got a two-party system. They have a one-party dictatorship, in which support for a second party, even for the reactionary Republicans, is often severely punished.

Republican candidate Eisenhower, in his speech at Birmingham, read to his audience a letter from a woman supporter which ended: "I would like to sign this but some of my family work under Civil Service and they are afraid, which in itself shows what a state people are in. I don't care if I get fired because I could get another job, but I don't like to do anything to hurt anyone else."

Eisenhower shed crocodile tears over this, and told his audience he was interested in a "two-party South." What he really means is that he wants the present two-party system, which is really nothing more than one party under two names, extended into the South, in order to better his chances of being elected. He did not mean that he wants to change anything fundamentally in the South.

A Washington columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier, John L. Clark, portrayed in his Sept. 13 column just how had the dictatorship really is in the South. He wrote:

"In many of the entrenched Democratic areas, it is a serious offense to be a Republican. A white offender might not be lynched, but he will be punished in so many other ways. The boycott is applied. The offender might get fired from his job."

Notes from the News

McGraw-Hill, one of the biggest textbook publishers, has a high school book entitled *The Challenge of Democracy*. One of its chapters contains a condemnation of racial segregation and arguments in favor of FEPC legislation. Such views are considered "subversive" down South, at least by the authorities. The Alabama State Board of Education notified McGraw-Hill that the book would be banned from the state's schools unless the offending chapter was deleted. McGraw-Hill quickly complied, the Sept. 13 Nation reports. The "challenge of democracy" was not as important as the challenge to the publishers' pocketbooks. The Nation also says that under a new ruling any publisher submitting a book for use in Texas schools has to file a non-communist affidavit with the State Board of Education.

A HUNGARIAN BARONESS, caught stealing jewelry from New York department stores, explained it all this way: She couldn't go visiting friends without bringing them gifts and she couldn't afford to buy gifts because her husband, the baron, was a "prisoner of the Russians."

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL on Human Rights has urged President Truman to reverse the decision of the National Capital Housing Authority to build an all-white housing project in Washington. The NCHA was supposed to have ended racial segregation in public housing in the capital several months ago.

HENRY WALLACE doesn't know whom he's going to vote for — but it won't be for the candidate of the Progressive Party that he founded. He's having a hard time choosing between Stevenson and Eisenhower, both of whom he admires.

HOW DEMOCRATIC are the state governments? The CIO Economic Outlook cites figures from a report of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, showing: In the N. J. State Senate 8 urban counties with four-fifths of the state population had 8 senators, while 13 rural counties with one-fifth of the population had 13 senators; Los Angeles County with 39% of the population of California

had 2% of the state senators; Hartford, Conn., with 166,000 residents had 2 representatives in the lower house of the state while Colebrook with a population of 547 also had 2.

THE MINE, MILL and Smelter Workers Union, which supported the Progressive Party candidates in 1948, did not endorse any ticket at its convention in New York. It praised the Progressive platform, ruled Eisenhower out of the question, and failed to take a position for or against Stevenson. Its resolution concluded: "In the coming campaign our members must help to hold the political fort until the day comes when united labor can join with small farmers to cast off the chains of subservience to the old parties and help inaugurate a truly independent people's farmer-labor party."

THE WITCH HUNT, among other effects, has caused a drastic decline in circulation of the Stalinist press. Circulation of the *Daily Worker* has fallen almost 40% and of the *Sunday Worker* almost 50% since 1950. Last July they announced a campaign to get 6,500 Sunday and 1,000 daily subs that were expiring during the summer. At the end of the campaign they had obtained only 1,000 Sunday and 500 weekly subs.

PEARL BAILEY, noted singer, was hit on the jaw, knocked down and kicked by a white supremacist who resented her presence at the Riviera night club in Fort Lee, N. J., where she had gone to hear Frank Sinatra sing. Bruised, cut and suffering a possible concussion, Miss Bailey had to cancel a week's singing engagement in Providence.

A NEW REACTIONARY GROUP, named Democrats for American Action, has been formed in Jersey City for the purpose of "countering" Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal organization, and of promoting "true liberalism in the Democratic Party." It is headed by T. James Tumulty, secretary to Mayor Kenny, and author of a state law imposing a "loyalty oath" on candidates for public office that was declared unconstitutional by the state courts.

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Firestone Union Rejects Contract

AKRON, O., Sept. 13 — By a decisive majority, Firestone unionists last week rejected the contract negotiated by their union leadership granting the company the right to fire wildcat strikers. The vote was 1,110 to 876 at a huge membership meeting at the Armory last Sunday.

This action has given alert rubber workers of Akron renewed confidence in their ability to combat the long-range campaign of the Big 4 rubber monopolists to restore the "right to fire" militant unionists. Aided and abetted by International President Buckmaster's public attacks on wildcat strikes, the Goodrich corporation just recently obtained a clause to "discipline" wildcat strikers in their new contract with Local 5 and eight other locals throughout the country.

At the Firestone membership meeting at the Armory, the rank and file "took over."

(The previous Sunday a smaller gathering had also rejected the agreement by a vote of 97 to 89. All week long the anti-labor Beacon Journal wailed about how a minority had usurped the democratic rights of 10,000 Firestone unionists in Akron. The President of the local, Skinny Richmond, who had hoped to "put over" the contract to the small Labor Day meeting, got some renewed wind in his sails from the blowhard editorials in the Beacon.)

TRY TO SELL CONTRACT

The leadership tried to sell the contract on the basis of the achievement of a full union shop but the rank and file was not ready to concede job security.

Administration spokesmen tried to sell the contract also on the grounds that the Taft-Hartley law "already" gives the company the right to fire. If so, opposition speakers asked, why do they need it in the contract? (Actually, Taft-Hartley does not give companies the blanket right to fire wildcat strikers.)

POTTSTOWN VOTES FOR REJECTION

A majority of the membership of Firestone locals throughout the country must approve or reject a contract, under a recent clause in the International union's constitution. The Pottstown, Pa., local has also rejected it, and it is believed that the Akron and Pottstown locals have a majority of members of the eight Firestone locals.

The Akron local leadership has placed the "problem" of the course to follow in the hands of the International Executive Board now preparing for its convention at Asbury Park. Whether the obvious mandate — to reopen negotiations — will be followed, remains to be seen.

25,000 Strikers Demand Higher Pay at Lockheed

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 14 — Some 25,000 workers of the giant Lockheed aircraft corporation struck Monday, Sept. 8, in a dispute over wages and other demands, including the union shop. The International Association of Machinists called the strike when the company rejected the union's demand for a 10% rise in wages plus fringe benefits.

Mass picket lines immediately formed in front of all company gates. The company's attempt to remain in operation has met with dismal failure, as only a few scabs cross the picket lines under heavy police protection. Scabs who attempt to enter the gates in taxicabs are dropped off in front of the gates by the cab drivers, who are members of the Teamsters' Union, AFL.

On Wednesday the company secured an injunction against mass picketing, but the number of scabs has not noticeably increased. The picketing is still effective enough to halt the flow of materials between the company and its subcontractors.

On the One Hand, But on the Other...

Gen. Alfred H. Gruenther, chief of staff at Allied headquarters in Paris, said on Sept. 10, that "he did not believe Iron Curtain countries could be liberated without war." (Reuters.)

"There is no question of embarking on such a war," the U.S. militarist told the Gaullist weekly *Carrefour*.

But, he added, "It is absolutely imperative to keep alive the hopes of people behind the Iron Curtain."

Right Way to Meet Witch Hunt



Striking Int'l Harvester workers picket hearings by the House Un-American Activities committee in Chicago after witch-hunters came to town to try to break strike by red-baiting. The committee was forced to abandon its plans and leave after mass protests paralyzed its dirty work. Demonstrations like this one show that the most effective defense against union-hating witch-hunters is militant action.

ANTI-REUTHERITES WIN FORD LOCAL ELECTION

DETROIT, Sept. 11 — Campaigning on the basis of clear-cut opposition to red-baiting and dictatorial intervention in the affairs of Ford Local 600 and for a program that included demands for a six-hour day and breaking of the five-year contract, the Unity forces grouped around the four top officers of the Local won a heartening election victory and the Reuther machine suffered the most crushing defeat since it came to power in the CIO United Automobile Workers Union.

VERDICT IS CLEAR

In unit after unit, workers at the huge Ford Rouge plant made clear their verdict on the bankrupt program of the International UAW-CIO leadership. Reuther got the answer he deserved for his attempt to jam a Board of Administrators down the throats of the 55,000 Ford Rouge workers under cover of the red-baiting hysteria created by the anti-labor House Un-American Activities Committee in its Detroit appearance.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

Of the 19 units, 15 put into office opponents of the Reuther machine. Officers like Alex Semion, Chairman of the Gear and Axle plant, who had been summarily removed from office

without charges, were overwhelmingly returned to office.

In several instances Reutherite incumbents were defeated. For example, in the Dearborn Iron Foundry, Bill Johnson, Carl Stelato's Administrative Assistant, displaced a Reutherite.

LOOKING FOR "DEALS"

The results of the unit elections were so unmistakably clear that the Reuther forces withdrew an opposition slate on the Local level. Unable to stem the workers, faced with wholesale split and defection among their own forces, the apparent strategy of the right-wing leadership is to attempt to make "deals" with the leadership of the Local. Despite rumors to the contrary, the Unity leadership has indicated that it intends to carry through the clear mandate of the Ford workers.

With the exception of two minor posts in which run-offs are required, the whole Unity slate swept into office. In the elections for the General Council, the highest elective body in the Local, the anti-Reuther forces took close to 80% of the 184 delegates.

The workers have shown their readiness to struggle for the program of Local 600. Now they are watching the leadership with much interest and concern that the victory is followed up.

Build Labor Party Now, Dobbs Appeals to AFL

(Continued from page 1)

ist two-party system. I believe they would welcome the formation of a party of their own with their own candidates and program. The AFL leadership proposes to offer them no alternative to the old, corrupt, discredited, anti-labor parties.

I see where C. J. Haggerty of the California Federation of Labor has introduced a resolution to endorse the Stevenson-Sparkman slate on the grounds that the Democratic Party is for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. What the Democratic Party platform on this issue is worth is shown by the record of Truman and the Democratic Congress since adoption of the previous similar platform in 1948.

That venerable pillar of the AFL Executive Council, Daniel Tobin, the just-retiring Teamsters president and long a member of the Democratic National Committee, confessed in the August issue of *The Teamster*:

"I have lost confidence in the leaders of both parties, so far as carrying out the pledges to labor contained in their platform."

RETAIN SUBSTANCE

I pointed out in my Militant statement of Sept. 8 that Stevenson has promised only the shadow of repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, not its substance. What he offers is a shabby substitute that will leave some of the most obnoxious features of the Taft-Hartley Act in force, while changing only the name

and "political symbolism" of the union-curbing law.

I believe, further, that it denotes a lack of judgment, if not outright deception, to endorse Stevenson as a genuine opponent of the Taft-Hartley Act when only a few months ago he was urging the use of that same anti-labor law against the steel workers.

The well-known labor reporter Edwin A. Lahey, a member of the Washington Bureau of the Knight Newspapers, wrote in his pro-Stevenson article, "Labor, Adlai and Ike," for the Aug. 25 New Republic magazine:

ASKED T-H USE

"But the labor leaders know that Stevenson, despite his buildup by a lot of liberals, including the ADA, has been most unsympathetic with some of President Truman's actions, particularly in the steel strike. . . . In a little-noticed speech in Portland, Ore., after Truman's seizure of the steel industry, Stevenson criticized the President for not using the Taft-Hartley Act."

Truman promised Taft-Hartley repeal, but his administration used the law 61 times against labor, nine times invoked by Truman personally. Truman at least called a moratorium on use of the law during an election year; Stevenson would have used it even if it cost an election.

It is false to attribute anti-labor laws solely to the machinations of the Republicans. These laws have been cast up by the whole tide of reaction

Police Arrest 34 In Brutal Raid on Buffalo Negroes

BUFFALO, Sept. 15 — Police made a mass arrest of 34 people in the William-Pine, East Ferry-Michigan area last Saturday evening in the largest anti-Negro attack here

in years. Several whites were also victims. The roundup was ordered by Commissioner Koepfel, allegedly because of complaints that loungers refused to break up and let pedestrians pass.

Eight of those arrested were youths from 16 to 19 years old. In court they were told by the tough-talking judge that now they would have a police record, which would go on their army service record or disqualify them for civil service jobs.

REVEREND WILL SUE

Among the police victims was a Negro minister, the Rev. Leroy Anderson, pastor of the Church of God in Christ, Lackawanna, and member of the Lackawanna City Planning Commission. Mr. Anderson, describing the high-handed Buffalo police methods, vile language, and brutality, said he will sue the city for false arrest.

Mr. Anderson was about to enter a store when he was ordered into a patrol wagon with, "Come on, you go too, you bastard!" When he protested at the language, he was told, "When I get you to No. Six (the police station) I'll do more than that to you." He heard one of the other men arrested on the corner cry out when a policeman struck him.

Most of the other people reported similar treatment. The police hauled in about four loads, grabbing them at random off the street. One man was picked up as he got out of his car to ask a policeman what was wrong. Another was arrested on his way to work.

At the station, a cop told the people, "Just shut your mouth. If you're quiet, you won't get in trouble."

DENIED BAIL

The judge was just as vicious as were the commissioner and the police. He denied the Rev. Anderson the right to provide his own bail, committing him to a cell for the night along with the others. Calling the people before him "bums," he told them that because of their conduct it was not safe for "respectable

Veteran Driven Out

Clearance J. Gentry, 24-year-old Negro veteran with five years' service in the Air Force, was forced out of Oildale, Calif., one day after he opened a small shoe-shining business. He was threatened with violence if he did not get out of the all-white suburban town, the Pittsburgh Courier reports.

citizens" and "daughters" to walk down the street.

At the time of the arrests, aroused people formed until the crowd reached some 300. News of the police outrage spread quickly through the city and protests were heard in the Negro churches the next day.

Eisenhower, Taft Join in Pro-War, Anti-Union Deal

(Continued from page 1)

the deal between the General and the Ohio senator as a "concordat" which definitively closes the "great breach" in the Republican Party. This same Krock declared, immediately after the Republican convention in July, that Taft's defeat amounted to nothing less than a "revolution against (a) power as long entrenched" as the GOP Old Guard.

Of this "revolution" there now remains little to worry either Taft or the old Republican machine politicians. As a result of the deal with Eisenhower their political power has been protected. No one knows just what commitments the General had to make to Taft concerning party control and administration posts in the event of Republican victory. But from all indications, it was Taft who laid down the conditions and it was the General who did most of the "accepting."

HITS DEWEY "CROWD"

That Taft views himself as a victor is shown by his slurring references to the "Lodge-Dewey crowd" in the course of the press interview following the public announcement of the deal. Taft deliberately conveyed the impression that the role of the "Lodge-Dewey crowd," that is of the chief engineer of Eisenhower's nomination, would be rather limited not only in the campaign but also in the administration that would follow if the Republicans win.

Republican "progressives" such as Sen. Morse of Oregon have withdrawn previous pledges to campaign for Eisenhower. On the other hand, such sinister figures as Senators Jenner and Capehart loom more prominently in Eisenhower's entourage. McCarthy may be personally unwelcome, but the spirit of McCarthyism is obviously already ear-marked to play an increasing role in the General's campaign, with or without his direct approval. Taft, for his part, has made this quite clear.

LAMENTS STEP

The Eisenhower-Taft rapprochement is viewed with alarm by such pro-Eisenhower stalwarts as columnist Walter Lippmann. He regards the Taft-Eisenhower "unity" statement as the General's "most important declaration since he was nominated." Lamenting it as a hasty, ill-considered step, made in way that gives "its supporters a lot to worry about," Lippmann warns that the General is cutting the ground from under his own feet. "There was no rhyme or reason," he says in his Sept. 16 column, "in the movement for Eisenhower unless the greatest threat is external," and not "internal" as "the agreed text of the accord" states.

The Big Money backers of the General give little sign of sharing Lippmann's views. Their main concern is foreign policy, which they well know governs domestic policy today. They prefer Eisenhower as the executor of this foreign policy. It was they, and not solely the General, who decided that victory could not be won without the Old Guard GOP politicians. Reaction would be all the stronger if a victory is won under such "united" auspices.

WIN HEADS OR TAILS

On the other hand, if the General runs second in this race, nothing essential is really lost. With Stevenson in the White House, the Democrats will carry through this self-made foreign policy, and will move just as far to the right in domestic policy as the needs of this foreign policy dictate. Besides, there will be the powerful GOP Old Guard machine, entrenched in Congress and in the various states, to apply the spur and provide the necessary "opposition."

Malayan Girl Leader Sentenced to Die

In Malaya, beautiful Lee Ten Tai, a Chinese girl alleged to be a guerrilla leader fighting for the freedom of her land from British imperialism, was sentenced to death Sept. 10. She is accused of being a "bandit" and a "murderer." A two-man jury declared her "not guilty," but the judge ordered a second trial that returned the savage verdict.