

# Belgian Workers Rise, Kick Out Fascist Monarch

By Charles Hanley

After two days and nights of hectic "negotiations," and mounting mass upsurge which brought Belgium into a state of civil war, King Leopold, who had twice reneged, was finally compelled to accept a face-saving compromise which removes him from the throne and "delegates his powers" to his younger son Baudouin.

Whether or not the revolutionary crisis in Belgium has thereby been fully resolved still remains to be seen. But it is unquestionable that the insurgent workers of Belgium have scored a great victory and will be inclined to keep pressing forward.

Last week we wrote "the tension is bound to increase: the strikes will spread, even open clashes are not excluded. For Belgian labor knows what is at stake and will not sleep while its enemies take over." Events have more than confirmed this.

The workers were determined to force the abdication of the notoriously pro-fascist Leopold III, the King of the big capitalists and of the Catholic Church. But this was not the only thing they demanded. Tied up indissolubly with the "royal question" are the workers' demands for improved living and working conditions.

## OUT OF CONTROL

The editors of the N. Y. Times, Aug. 2, attribute the Belgian crisis to the "Socialist leaders"

## Smith Act Upheld By Appeals Court In Case of Eleven

The United States Court of Appeals has upheld the frame-up trial and conviction of 11 leaders of the Communist Party for alleged "conspiracy" to "advocate and teach" the "overthrow of the government by force and violence."

In its ruling, the court specifically upheld the infamous Smith Act of 1940 under which the Stalinist leaders were tried. The first victims of this law were the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, who were tried in Minneapolis in 1941 and imprisoned during the last war.

## BANS FREE SPEECH

Unless this decision is reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court — which is unlikely — the Smith Act will stand as an iron-glad legal weapon to suppress free speech and free press in America. It was signed by Roosevelt in 1940 against the protest of every labor and civil liberties organization in the country.

The Appeals Court judges did not confine themselves to strictly legal considerations. Their lengthy opinions giving their reasons for the ruling are highly political documents.

The world-wide "cold war" between American imperialism and Stalinism, the present Korean war and Truman's appeal to the American people to spy on each other for "subversive" activity are all cited in the main opinion written by Judge Learned Hand and the supplementary opinion of Judge Harrie B. Chase.

## "LIBERAL" JUDGE

Judge Hand, who has been touted as a great "liberal" jurist, was chosen to do the job of "interpreting" the "clear and present danger" doctrine so as to deny its application in the case of the eleven.

He declared that the "clear and present danger" doctrine only per-

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who they say provoked the "delayed explosion." "The problem now," they comment, "is whether the Socialist leaders can subdue the torrent they have raised. Like so many popular leaders in history they put themselves at the head of a movement they intended to lead, only to find, with the Sorcerer's apprentice, that they had conjured up forces they could not control. It looks as if the situation has been saved in the nick of time."

The truth is that it was not the leaders but the anti-Leopoldist masses of Wallonia and Brussels and of the industrial centers of Flanders, especially Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges that forced the Socialist Party and the union chiefs into action. The center of gravity of the movement is Wallonia where Belgium's heavy industry and most of her coal mines are concentrated.

## POPULAR INSURRECTION

Here there took place in every sense a popular insurrection against the forces of Catholic reaction and the threat of Neofascism, personified by Leopold. At Liege, Belgium's most important industrial city, a revolutionary situation developed leading to the establishment of what amounted to an insurrectionary government; a "state of siege" was proclaimed by the authorities who had no power to enforce their orders.

The Catholic government of Prime Minister Duveusart was left hanging in mid-air. It issued decree after decree which was openly flouted. It could not enforce anything, least of all its dictatorial edict forbidding gathering of more than five persons as it tried at Brussels, Liege or Verveires.

Equally unavailing were battalions of the Belgian army, called back from occupation duty in Germany, and rushed to Liege and other centers and later ordered to prevent the masses of workers, especially from Wallonia, from marching to Brussels. The workers simply marched through the various road blocks, without the troops firing a shot.

## CAPITALISTS FRIGHTENED

The Belgian proletariat understood that it could eliminate the neo-fascist threat only by extra-parliamentary action, and proceeded to act with power and union that struck fear not only into the hearts of the Belgian capitalists but those of all Europe and even the power-drunk monopolists in this country.

"This development shows," comments the N. Y. Times in the same editorial, "that revolutionary feelings in Europe are alarmingly close to the surface." And they ask with ill-concealed panic: "If this could happen in Belgium today could not something similar happen elsewhere?"

Indeed yes, gentlemen. The Belgian experience shows what a great power there still is in the European working class. Despite the debilitating and treacherous policies of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders, despite the

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## Intimidation Fails To Halt SWP in N.Y. Ballot Drive

NEW YORK, Aug. 3 — As the campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in this state got under way, volunteer workers circulating petitions in upstate counties reported interference by county officials and employers. Employers and fascist-minded elements throughout the state are making every effort to prevent the SWP from obtaining the required number of signatures. In three counties petition crews were set upon by American Legionnaires, hoodlums and drunks, and driven out of town.

## ON SCHEDULE

The petition crews, however, demonstrating a remarkable degree of courage, persistence and resourcefulness, are going ahead on schedule. In the first five days, they had reached their objective of triple the number of signatures required by law in 23 out of the 54 upstate counties and had partially completed the task in four others.

In no case was the lynch hysteria encountered spontaneous nor did it express the sentiments of the local workers and farmers. On the contrary, the reports indicate that the response, especially among the workers, is quite favorable. The captain of the crew in Essex county describes a typical incident which occurred in the city of Ticonderoga:

## BOSS LEADS MOB

"We were up early and went to the gates of the International Paper Mill. The workers coming at 7:00 A. M. signed willingly enough, but the manager saw us, and then the trouble started. He called the police, the mayor, the state troopers, and went screaming around the factory denouncing us and intimidating the workers. Then he called the Legionnaires, who proceeded to incite some boys and young men against us. All of us were hit with tomatoes. One gang of toughs warned us to leave town by noon."

In Penn Yan, seat of Yates county, after half an hour of brisk petition work the entire petition crew was hauled into the District Attorney's office and warned to leave the county. Acting in concert with local hoodlums, drove the crew out of town. When they attempted to re-enter to look up the wards and election districts of the signatories, as required by the election law, the car was turned back.

From the results thus far obtained, it appears certain that the "battle of the ballot" will be won. The sentiments of the upstate workers was succinctly summed up in one report: "Its tough this year, but we'll kick them."

In New York City, where the goal is to roll up 10,000 signatures, more than 1,000 were obtained on the opening day, July 29. By last Wednesday, the total had risen to 1550. The campaign committee headquarters at 116 University Place is open every day and evening except Sunday for dispatching volunteer petition workers.

# Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIV - No. 32

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 7, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS



Scene in the Place Rogier, a business district in Brussels, Belgium during the recent strikes and demonstrations that swept the country over the return of pro-fascist King Leopold III. Demanding his abdication, strikers throw chairs and bottles through the air in a clash with mounted police. (Acme photo)

## "What Are We Fighting For?" Bitter GIs Ask

By Joseph Keller

Why has the proud army of mighty American imperialism been in steady retreat before the little Korean peasant fighters? The White House and Pentagon claim that the U. S. forces are "overwhelmingly outnumbered" and face endless streams of new "super" tanks supplied by the Kremlin. These claims don't hold water.

Gordon Walker, war correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, revealed on July 28 that

## Police Ban, Smash Union Sq. Rally

As we go to press, historic Union Square, where labor and radical meetings have been held for the past 100 years, has been made the scene of one of the most flagrant violations of the right of free speech in the history of New York City. An army of mounted and foot police herded several thousand demonstrators out of the Square where a Stalinist peace rally had been scheduled and then brutally assaulted them with blackjacks and other weapons. O'Dwyer's police had previously denied a permit for the demonstration; an appeal to the State Supreme Court against this decision was rejected.

"the North Koreans are exerting pressure or attacking with a total of 45,000 troops." Against these, reports the July 30 N. Y. Times, "the Americans have thus far committed three divisions. . . in all, probably 30,000 to 50,000 men."

The Korean army is recruiting as it goes along. Associated Press and N. Y. Times dispatches last week spoke of "heavy conscription" by the North Korean army "both north and south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel." These reports said the North Korean army was throwing "untrained conscripts" and even "13-year-old school children" into combat.

## USE AMERICAN GUNS

The Koreans have only a limited supply of old World War II tanks from the Soviet Union and "there are no indications up to now that the Soviet Union is sending any new supplies," reported the N. Y. Herald-Tribune on July 31. Instead, the North Korean forces "are supplying themselves rather plentifully with arms and materiel from retreating American and South Korean troops," discloses the July 26 N. Y. Times. "Americans tell of being shelled by their own guns which the North Koreans had bagged a few days or hours before."

And to dozens of other references of this type slipped into the front-line dispatches is added the now constant refrain about "infil-

tration," "guerrillas" who "appear out of nowhere behind the lines," the "sullenness" and "hostility" of the Korean populace generally, who don't seem to appreciate the fact that they are being "liberated" by U.S. and U.N. "forces of democracy."

No, conventional military factors alone do not explain the ferocious fighting power of the Koreans and the ignominious retreat of the American forces. The key to this development lies in what the Koreans and what the Americans are fighting for.

## DON'T KNOW WHY

Describing the demoralization of the retreating American troops, Homer Bigart wrote in the July 14 N. Y. Herald-Tribune: "I have talked to enlisted men and some younger officers who had not the slightest inkling of why they were fighting in Korea and what they are fighting for." In the July 15 Christian Science Monitor, Gordon Walker relates the following incident of the retreat: "As we pull away, a harassed army chaplain yells after us: 'Hope you lads can explain to some of our boys what this undeclared war is all about — I'm about to give up myself.'"

Conscious that the relative numbers of the opposing forces and the quality of their weapons don't explain convincingly the un-

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# 1950 Election Platform of Socialist Workers Party

The 1950 Election Platform of the Socialist Workers Party, printed in full below, was adopted by unanimous vote by the delegates to the SWP National Legislative Convention held on July 14 at New York City:

A great fear haunts America — the fear that we may be plunged into another world war that can mean atomic annihilation. This is the direct result of Truman's intervention in Korea.

But this is not the only fear in America. The American people are afraid of insecurity; and they are afraid to speak their mind.

These are part of the grim harvest of World War II. Instead of the promised freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear, the American people got a savage drive against civil liberties, the threat of insecurity and an undeclared war on the mainland of Asia.

This is the reality of 1950.

American imperialism is playing for high stakes, nothing less than domination of the entire earth. Already the cold war has flared into a shooting war and American boys are again dying on foreign battlefields.

Never before have the American people felt so uneasy. Yet the free expression of their doubts and criticisms has been blocked by a monstrous drive against civil liberties. Under the guise of checking the "loyalty" of government employees, the Truman administration has imposed witch-hunts, red scares and purges that have gone far toward establishing in America the stifling political atmosphere of the police state. Now intervention in Korea has pro-

vided a fresh excuse for added inroads on our traditional democratic rights.

One big target of this drive against democratic rights is the unions. American imperialism wants a slavish bureaucracy over the unions that will join in the reactionary assaults on independence of thought and thus help soften up the opposition of the ranks to another war and its evil consequences.

The main guilt for the crisis facing America lies squarely on the Democratic Party. It has the majority in Congress, holds the White House and has staffed the Supreme Court. No other party went into office on such glowing campaign promises as did the Democratic Party in 1948; yet the Democratic majority has blocked fulfillment of its two main pledges: repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and enactment of civil rights legislation. Now the Democratic Party is guilty of plunging the country into the war in Korea without consulting Congress, still less the people.

The Republican Party, representing the billionaire trusts, has teamed up with the Democrats in pushing the armaments race, in knitting FEPC legislation, in taxing the poor, in legislating against labor, in howling for more scalps in the "loyalty" purge, and in shouting for deeper involvement in Korea and the rest of the Far East.

These Democratic and Republican political twins of Big Business would already have been kicked out of office by the working men and women if it were not for the top union leaders. In 1948 these union officials apologized for the Democrats, backed their lying campaign promises, solicited votes for them, contributed union funds to their war chests and opposed formation of labor's own political party. The CIO, AFL and other powerful union bodies embracing more than 15,000,000 members do not have a single representative

to stand up in Congress and fight for the rights of labor. Now the labor bureaucrats are continuing down this road to disaster by backing Wall Street's war in Korea, by offering to give up the right to strike and agreeing to plans to regiment labor.

In 1948 the party of Henry Wallace hoped to corral voters disgusted with the Democrats and Republicans, by trading on the deep popular sentiment for peace. The shooting in Korea was enough to blow the Progressive party and its demagoguery apart. Wallace hastened to support the war while the Stalinist wing of the party continues to advocate a deal between the Kremlin and Washington. This is in line with Moscow's desire to divide the world into two spheres, one dominated by Anglo-American imperialism; the other by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such a gangsters' arrangement cannot bring enduring peace, for it would leave war-breeding capitalism still intact. In fact the attempt to maintain such a division can only help sow the seeds of war. We see this demonstrated to the hilt in the case of Korea. And what about the hundreds of millions of people suffering under Stalinist police rule? They want democracy, freedom and socialism. They want no part of a deal leaving them in a totalitarian straitjacket.

The Communist Party acts as a field representative of the Moscow home office. When it serves Stalin's purpose, as during the Stalin-Hitler pact and the war in Korea, the American Stalinists talk militant, support strikes, pay lip-service to the need for socialism and denounce capitalism. Similarly when it serves Stalin's reactionary purpose, as during the wartime Washington-Moscow alliance, the American spokesmen for the Kremlin advocate class collaboration, "national unity," cessation of labor and Negro struggles, strike-breaking and support of capitalism. These weathervanes

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## AFL Top Leader Declares For Unconditional Surrender

The pro-imperialist union leaders are preparing to duplicate their surrender of labor's rights during the last war. That was again made plain when George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, announced last week that the AFL leadership will offer an unconditional no-strike pledge anytime the Big Business government in Washington asks for it.

"There has been a lot of talk in Washington among newspaper men on whether the AFL would give a no-strike pledge as it did in the last war," Meany told the New York State Federation of Labor convention on July 31. He promptly ended all speculation on the matter.

"I haven't any doubt at all," he said, "that labor will give a no-strike pledge when the time comes."

He added that such a pledge to surrender labor's most effective defensive weapon — the strike — would be "unconditional."

## NO COUNTER DEMANDS

The second-ranking top official of the AFL tried to dress up his unconditional surrender offer with a plea that the government exact a parallel pledge from Big Business not to rake in "excess" war profits. He did not, however, make his own offer conditional on "no excess-profits" pledge from the corporations.

Meany also complained: "How about a pledge from the Tafts, the Martins, the Hallecks and the Wherrys to lay off their war against labor while the country is in danger?" But he did not call on Truman and the Democratic-controlled Congress to make good on their pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law in advance of any no-strike pledge. Nor did he mention the war against labor which Truman himself has been waging through his wholesale use of Taft-Hartley

strikebreaking injunctions. He did not refer to Truman's use of the Army to smash the recent AFL switchmen's strike.

These plaintive appeals to the capitalists to restrain their profits-greed a little and to the anti-labor politicians to go a bit easier on labor are designed primarily to appease the union rank and file. Union leaders like Meany are suspicious and distrustful after their experiences of the last war, when they gave up their rights while the government clamped a wage-freeze on them and permitted the corporations to boost prices sky-high and extort mountains of war profits.

## BEGS FOR CONTROLS

Meany pointed out that food prices are up 9% since the Korean war began. He begged of Truman that if he decides to institute price controls to "let wages automatically go up with the same percentage of increase over wages of June 25, 1950, that the cost of living has risen in the meantime."

Meany and the rest of the top union officials know full well that the government will not halt war-inflated price rises. He knows, furthermore, that the administration has plans already drawn up to put a wage-freeze into effect whenever it thinks the time ripe. The capitalist government has one aim: to make labor pay for the war by driving down its standard of living.

To get such an escalator wage it is necessary for labor to mobilize and fight for it. But labor would be helpless to fight for this or any other concession without the strike weapon — the very weapon the union leaders are offering in advance to surrender.

## SLIDING WAGE SCALE IS ANSWER TO PRICE RISES

Real wages are being sliced down every day by rising prices as the profiteers clean up on Truman's "police action" against the Korean people.

An idea of what war prices are doing to wages was given in New York City on July 31, when Welfare Commissioner Hilliard reported that a department survey showed that the cost of a weekly food "market basket" for a family of five had leaped 7% in one month.

This past week saw price boosts on milk, soap, cigarettes, shortening and food oil, underwear, fuel oil and gasoline, carpets, typewriters, cotton goods and a host of other consumers commodities. The lid is off — and the sky's the limit!

## DEBATE CONTROLS

A big debate has been set off in Washington on whether to impose government price controls. But everyone knows from the experience of the last war that even with government curbs prices continue to shoot up and quickly outstrip wages.

Truman has talked about "eliminating profiteering" and has even threatened to call for price controls if there is any "sharp" increase in prices. But as one commentator asked, "How high is up?" Whatever happens, Truman is permitting the manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers to push prices up as quickly as possible, so that if he is forced to introduce price controls, the profiteers will have had plenty of time to shove prices skyward.

What can the workers do in such a situation? How can they

safeguard their real wages? The immediate answer to that question is the SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES, or what is popularly known as the cost-of-living escalator clause in union contracts.

## SPERRY CONTRACT

An example of such an escalator clause is contained in the contract concluded last week between the new CIO United Electrical Workers and the Sperry Gyroscope Company. It covers 5,500 workers at the company's Lake Success plant in New York.

It provides for a basic hourly wage of \$1.72, including a 5-cent increase. But if prices rise, the hourly wage will be increased one cent for every one point rise in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index for New York City. The wage will go up or down according to the price index, but never below the basic wage of \$1.72.

There are other features of the contract which are not so attractive, particularly the three-year term of the agreement. But the escalator clause, at least, constitutes a minimum insurance against any substantial reduction in real wages due to soaring prices.

Instead of waiting around for Truman to institute some ineffective form of government price controls, the labor movement should immediately launch a militant campaign for the inclusion of sound escalator cost-of-living clauses in all union contracts.

European Notebook

Stalin's New Collective Farm Policy

By Ernest Germain

Graft, theft, embezzlement, individual appropriation of collective property — all these products of bureaucratic management of the Russian kolkhozes are common features of the Russian village life of today.

Piecework on farms. A decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued on April 19, 1948, abolished payments to farmers on the basis of the number of working days in the kolkhoz, and introduced instead a system of payments in accordance with percentage of production above or below the "norm."

together in "brigades," each of them responsible for all the work on a part of the kolkhoz land allocated to it. The total income of the kolkhoz was to be divided among the brigades according to the way in which they fulfilled their "norm" of production.

SMALL FARMING TREND. But at the same time, this introduction of piece-work and brigade-work system into Russian agriculture had an entirely unforeseen and threatening result for the Kremlin rulers.

segment of land, for which he would be "responsible" all year long, before trying to again get hold of property rights for it.

MORE RADIO LISTENERS PRAISE SWP BROADCASTS. Following are a few more of the comments of radio listeners from among the hundreds of letters and postcards received from all parts of the country in response to the speeches delivered over the CBS, ABC and Mutual networks by Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and Joseph Hansen candidate for U.S. Senator from N.Y.

area embrace over 100 former individual farms. "Small" kolkhozes have a total area of not more than 200 hectares (500 acres), while "giant" farms often have an area of more than 300 hectares (750 acres).

Belgian Workers Rise, Kick Out Fascist Monarch. In regards to speaker Mr. Dobbs, I was pleasantly impressed with his speech and it was well spoken. Too bad it isn't the way the world goes.

administrative expenses (2.5 times greater in small units than in big ones); (2) in order to bypass the system in which the kolkhozes correspond to the former groups of individual farms, hamlets or small villages.

Sub Campaign Goes Over the Top; Final Score Is 113%. The national campaign conducted by branches of the Socialist Workers Party for subscriptions to The Militant during July went over the top, hitting 113%.

Letters From Readers

Minority Oppression In Los Angeles

Los Angeles has once more gone through a provocative campaign of chauvinist oppression against its minority citizens, and although in its major parts it seems to have subsided, the persecution continues in everyday life.

Wants Article on ACW-CIO Situation

I see you are again appealing for funds to keep The Militant going, so I am sending you two dollars. Everything you predicted about the PAC, and the union pensions, is coming true.

ILGWU. I sure would like to see a similar article on the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

This is probably the only union in the country that draws up contracts without as much as mentioning an hourly wage, thereby hinting to the bosses, "get 'em as cheap as you can." But they are making sure their check-off and pension are there.

'Welfare State' — Or Socialism? (Part VII)

H-Bomb, Totalitarianism-- End of Capitalist Road

By Art Preis

The war preparations and cold war already make a mockery of all talk of social improvement. But these are not an end in themselves and cannot resolve the acute contradictions of American capitalism.

in the "ideal welfare state" envisaged by the liberals and labor leaders. Democratic Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of the Congressional Atomic Commission, has expressed alarm at the "restrictions on freedom brought about by the atomic bomb."

METHODS UNWORKABLE

Some of these figures are very interesting. For while trying to demonstrate the advantages of the "giant" collective farms, Khrushchev quotes cases of "small" kolkhozes where revenue is extremely low and investments don't even exist.

WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Aug. 12 thru Aug. 20. nine days of good comradeship in the San Bernardino mountains with swimming, sports, lectures and classes on socialism and the labor movement, dancing, community singing, Yugoslav movies and lots more.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Winnie herself brought in 6 points. Marj Deck, Los Angeles Literature Agent writes that the branch has discovered many new friends.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$5.50 per yr; \$3 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9880) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Single Copies 10¢ (in U.S. & Canada) 15¢ (in foreign countries). Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIV - No. 32

Monday, August 7, 1950



TROTSKY

"The coercive imperialism of advanced nations is able to exist only because backward nations, oppressed nationalities, colonial and semi-colonial countries remain on our planet. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side, this prepares more favorable conditions for their own development while, on the other side, this deals blows to imperialism. That, in particular, is the reason why in the struggle between a civilized, imperialist democratic republic and a backward, barbaric monarchy in a colonial country, the socialists are completely on the side of the oppressed country notwithstanding its monarchy and against the oppressor country notwithstanding its 'democracy.'"

— Leon Trotsky, Lenin on Imperialism. 1939.



LENIN

## Franco and the Labor Leaders

By a vote of 65 to 15 the Senate last Tuesday voted a \$100,000,000 loan to Generalissimo Franco, the butcher of the Spanish workers and peasants who was lifted to power by Hitler and Mussolini.

The Truman Democrats, with a handful of exceptions, voted for the gift to the blood-soaked dictator in Madrid. It was a brazen action but it called forth few apologies because it is entirely consistent with the reactionary world policy of the ruling party on Capitol Hill. But an explanation is due from the Big Brass of the Labor movement who put these Truman Democrats in office as defenders of the "democratic way of life" and enemies of totalitarianism "both of the left and the right."

Up to now the labor leaders have been able to escape the odium of Truman's backing of corrupt despots in the Orient like Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and Bao Dai. Their records are not too well known among the American people who do not yet clearly comprehend the driving force behind the revolution in Asia.

But the American workers know Franco — and hate him. They were on the Loyalist side during the civil war in Spain in the Thirties. They saw how Franco crushed democracy, smashed the trade unions, murdered and jailed working class militants by the tens of thousands

in order to establish his totalitarian regime. After the defeat of the axis powers in the war, in the minds of American workers Franco's name replaced that of Hitler as the synonym for Fascism.

The Murrys, Greens, Reuthers and Dubinskys have much to answer and evasion won't do so well this time. Let them explain how at the very moment the so-called war against totalitarianism enters the shooting stage, the Truman Democrats are drawn like flies to the totalitarian cesspool in Madrid. If Fascism is worth \$100 million to the Truman Democrats in Spain why is it not worth five times that much in France or Italy and ten times that much in England? If "labor's friends" can help fasten police-state chains on Spanish workers, why should they worry about such trifles as the Taft-Hartley Law? Does "CIO Policy" now include support to the friends and benefactors of Franco on election day?

Labor has no business being in the same camp and the same party with the supporters of the international firm of strikebreakers, union-busters and open shoppers headed by Franco. It had better get out of the trap now — with or without the spineless leaders who led them there — before Franco's Democratic admirers begin to adapt the Spanish prison suit for American workers.

## Stop the Gangsters!

Physical assaults on union members in auto plants have already reached the stage where not only the auto workers but the entire organized labor movement must act to avert the grave threat inherent in this spreading campaign of terror and gangsterism.

The most recent attack occurred last week at the GM assembly plant at Linden, N. J., where two unionists were mauled and beaten. Similar assaults had been previously reported in one auto plant in California and another in Wisconsin.

In each case the assaults have been staged under the cover of red-baiting and "patriotism." The victims turned out to be veteran unionists and in many instances were themselves war veterans. The perpetrators of the attacks have been described in press reports as "new workers."

Among the most sinister features of the assaults has been the identity of the instigators and organizers. The leader of the California outrage has been identified as a railroad detective. The ringleader of the New Jersey mob attack is a former plant policeman.

That such sinister anti-union elements come to the fore in these gangster attacks can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence. Every experienced union militant knows what a field day there will be for the labor-hating corporations once the

practice of gangsterism becomes entrenched. Corporation vigilante squads like the notorious Ford servicemen, hired slugs and killers, and "security police" will then be able to cut the union to ribbons, pick off the union militants one by one at their leisure and bring back the vicious evils of the open shop days. The gangster attacks strike at the very existence of the trade union movement.

Alarmed at the trend they themselves helped set into motion by red-baiting and purges, UAW leaders have issued public "rebukes" against the spread of mob violence in the plants. The UAW Assistant Director for GM is reported en route to Linden, N. J., for a special meeting "to warn the workers against taking violent action against those with whom they disagree."

Such "rebukes" and "warnings" will have no more effect on the union-wrecking mobsters and their inspirers higher up than a slap on the wrist. What is needed is the sharpest disciplinary measures the union can invoke, combined with economic action to force the corporations to stop victimizing and mutilating militant unionists. Those leaders who temporize with this alarming development for their own personal bureaucratic ends play directly into the hands of the bitterest enemies of labor and must be branded as their accomplices.

## The Real Role of the UN

The conflict over the seating of the Mao Tse-tung government of China in the United Nations further exposes the true nature and function of the UN as an instrument of American imperialism and a cover-up for its war aims and activities.

Can anyone doubt that the Mao regime, by all the standards of the UN itself, is the real government of China and that the Chiang Kai-shek clique is only a shadow without substance?

Whatever the motives and game of Stalin's representative Malik in the UN controversy, the fact remains that the Mao regime is a million times more entitled to seating than the gang which the Chinese people kicked out of their country and which survives in its island hole by virtue of American warships and bombers.

It is no secret that almost every other country was ready to seat the Mao government but that the opposition of Washington alone stopped it. But there are not a few countries whose present governments are military dictatorships founded by coup d'etats — including

some in South America — whom Washington readily okayed and which were promptly seated in the UN.

These facts alone suffice to show that the UN is not some "impartial" agency for "peace." It never was and never will be. It is an agency for the diplomatic maneuvers of the great powers and dominated overwhelmingly by the greatest power of all, Wall Street imperialism. Washington cracks the whip to which all the other bankrupt and shaky capitalist regimes must jump.

One of the greatest crimes of Stalinism is to have represented — and to continue today to represent — the UN as a "peace" agency. The UN is what we have declared it to be from the beginning — a tool designed by U. S. imperialism to provide "international sanction" for its planned conquest and domination of the globe.

The UN did the exact job for which it was set up when it rushed to unfurl its banner over Truman's undeclared war in Korea and to cloak American imperialist intervention with "international sanction."

# "Program for Peace" Adopted in Yugoslavia

By George Clarke

In the last week, the news wires have been buzzing with the rumor that Yugoslavia was preparing to switch its position from neutrality to support of the U.S.-U.N. war against the Korean people. The "reports" became so persistent that the Ministry of Information at Belgrade finally found it necessary to issue an official denial, but it is not likely that the matter will end here.

Powerful forces are determined to keep these rumors alive — and a corrupt press is readily at their disposal in this game — as a form of pressure against Yugoslavia.

### PRESSURE BEHIND RUMORS

Having lined up the whole world outside of Stalin's orbit, Washington chafes at the idea that the Tito regime has refused to join the UN lynch mob against Korea. It is one thing for the wisecracking journalists to prattle about how "useful" Tito's "independent communism" is in the cold war, but it is something else when that "independent communism" shows its opposition to the U. S. State Department. In fact Washington is trying to exploit the growing menace of Kremlin aggression against Yugoslavia to break down its independence and draw it into the imperialist orbit.

For similar motives, the Kremlin — with its own aims to be sure — is also engaged in the dissemination of these rumors about Yugoslavia. Stalin cannot tolerate Yugoslav neutrality, let alone their outright support to North Korea. He would prefer to see Tito lined up with U. S. imperialism in order to confirm his monstrous lie that there can be no independent revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. He would prefer it also as his pretext for his attack on Yugoslavia as "an American base in the Balkans."

### STRENGTH OF REVOLUTION

That Yugoslavia has yielded neither to imperialism nor to Stalinism, despite the formidable pressure that has been brought to bear, is testimony to the great strength of the workers' revolution in that country. With Stalin's troops maneuvering provocatively on the borders of Yugoslavia, its leaders have taken a historic step towards workers control of industry demonstrating to the whole world that bureaucratism is the foe and not the kin of communism.

Yet it is precisely such democratic revolutionary acts as these, which undermine and compromise Stalinism in Eastern Europe and

even in the Soviet Union, that goad the Kremlin despots into seeking to crush Yugoslavia by military means. The danger of such an attack, and the means to avert it now, or to defeat it if it comes, has become the determining factor in the foreign policy of the Yugoslav Communist leaders. With this aim in view, and to enlist support from the masses in other countries, the Congress of the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace was held on July 17th at Belgrade.

### CHALLENGE TO KREMLIN

An invitation was issued by this Committee to all organizations and individuals throughout the world engaged in the fight against war to come to Yugoslavia to investigate charges that there are foreign military bases on its territory and that Yugoslavia is preparing aggressive military operations against neighboring countries. The invitation stands as a resounding challenge to Stalin and his pro-consuls in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. It is a foregone conclusion that they will not accept the offer. Certainly the Kremlin gang would not dare issue an invitation to the same forces to make a similar investigation in their countries!

Together with this invitation, the Yugoslav National Committee issued "A Program for Peace" which, besides some eminently correct statements about the danger of war emanating from the policies of imperialism and Stalinism, contains a good deal of confusion and even dangerous nonsense.

Analyzing the main cause of the war danger the program states that "differences in social systems of countries need not constitute a menace to world peace..." This insipid liberalism, borrowed directly from Stalin's book of class collaborationism, is in flagrant contradiction to Marxism and lies in the face of the reality of our epoch. There would be no war danger, to be sure, if capitalism could live without exploitation, monopolies and colonies. In short, it is only a pious wish that capitalism were not capitalism.

The danger of this premise in the program lies in its conclusions. It confuses and disorients the struggle against war, by separating it from the struggle against capitalism. All that is needed is for all "men of good will" to forget their class interests and to combine for peace, and that alone will exercise all the contradictions in capitalist society which lead inevitably to war.

The same idea is behind the idea that the class struggle could be eliminated if workers and capitalists would sink their differences and collaborate amicably. That Lenin pointed out long ago, would be like the collaboration of the lion and the lamb.

In fact the idea of an above-the-classes peace movement leads directly to class collaboration. The Yugoslav Peace Program correctly recognizes that "the labor movement is the basic force for peace." But in the very next breath it states that "the question of safeguarding peace in the world is not the monopoly either of one state, one class or one political party..."

In that case the classes would have to compromise in order to keep the peace. The workers, for instance, would assure capitalist support of the peace program by desisting from striking and from fighting for socialism; the colonial people by refraining from the struggle against imperialism.

### PEOPLES FRONT EXPERIENCE

If the Yugoslavs were to draw on their own war-time experiences with a "Peoples Front" against Fascism, they would quickly see the delusion of a similar formation with any substantial section of the capitalist class on the twin question of war. A Mikhailovitch ally in the fight against imperialism as he was in the struggle against native and foreign fascist several years ago.

What blinds the Yugoslavs to these basic realities of the class struggle is the terrible menace represented by the Kremlin which ruthlessly invades the rights and independence of small nations and organizes to exterminate revolutionary opposition, especially when such opponents have state power. How can this threat be counteracted, especially when Stalinism spreads the fiction that it alone is fighting imperialism war? Only by revolutionary methods, never by class collaboration.

Any opportunist program of uniting with any section of the capitalist class against the Kremlin can only discredit those who promote it and strengthen the fictions about Stalinism. The workers, guided by a revolutionary Marxist party, are alone capable of combating imperialism and Stalinist aggression. Yugoslavia itself is the best example of this today.

We will return to this question and to others raised in the Yugoslav "Program for Peace" in a coming issue of The Militant.

# "WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?" ASK BITTER TROOPS IN KOREA RETREAT

(Continued from Page 1)

expected developments in Korea, even some of the capitalist press correspondents and commentators are beginning to hint at the real reasons why the Koreans are fighting rings around the American troops.

### WAR AND REVOLUTION

Thus, Walter Sullivan, Tokyo correspondent of the N. Y. Times, wrote on July 25 that "success in Korea depends on political, not military considerations." He expresses great concern about the racial prejudice with which the Americans, officers and troops alike, treat all Koreans, which has aroused universal hostility to the invaders. He advises that "United States soldiers have been trained to fight a war, but this is a combination of war and revolution."

The Koreans, of the south as well as the north, are not mere unthinking pawns being manipulated by Moscow. They are fighting for themselves, Sullivan points out in a subsequent article on July 28. The American leaders "miscalculated," he says, when they believed that their overwhelming air and sea power, together with several divisions of troops, could alone prevail in Korea.

"The latter miscalculation apparently represented the failure of Washington to realize that, under Soviet coaching, a backward peasant population could be whipped into a modern army that could be trained to use intelligently weapons such as tanks and self-propelled artillery.

"Finally, only now is it beginning to be appreciated what astonishing fighting spirit can be imbued into such a poor-peasant army. The roots of this spirit are threefold: nationalism, land distribution and general political indoctrination.

"A Westerner can with difficulty understand the intensity

with which the Asiatic peasant who has been landless will fight for his newly acquired land. This was the formula of the Chinese Communists and is notably being applied in the Red's newly conquered area south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel where they have been recruiting new units."

The Koreans are fighting for the unification of their country and their national independence, they are fighting for land and the right to rule their own lives. This has been clearly demonstrated regardless of Stalin's influence over the North Korean regime or his reactionary game in world power politics. That is why virtually the whole populace of Korea has rallied to the North Korean regime, turned against the Washington-sponsored puppet regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea and are fighting tooth and nail against the U. S. invaders.

One disturbed liberal, Dr. Frank Kingdon, columnist for the N. Y. Post, poses directly the question of what American imperialism is really fighting for in Korea.

"Are we in Germany, Japan, Korea, and the United Nations primarily to protect and continue the institution of private property? Are we in all these places to advance the institution of free elections with secret ballots cast by all the citizens or subjects of the countries of the world? Are we in all these places to say that any people can choose for themselves whatever form of government they desire... Any of these is a purpose that can be justified and served honorably, but we need to know which we want.

"Take the one thing in which more people in Europe and Asia are interested than in any other, land... Are we prepared to say that in Germany and Japan and Korea part of our policy is to break up landed estates and distribute land among the workers on the land? ... In what is our world-wide action different

from the imperialism of Rome or Britain?"

Kingdon does not dare answer his own questions except to assert his personal faith that "I am sure in our hearts we want our intervention to liberate peoples socially, economically and politically."

### NO HIGH MOTIVES

Of course whatever the American people may have in their hearts, Wall Street and Washington have no such high motives. They are in Korea precisely to preserve the institution of private ownership of the means of production and the profit system. They are in Korea to deny the peasants the land and prop up the landowners, usurers and capitalists. They are in Korea to reimpose a hated reactionary dictatorship on the people, to keep their country divided, to conquer and exploit them. They are, in short, imperialists.

The American troops in Korea don't know what they are fighting for because the American ruling class doesn't dare tell them. But they can sense the bitter hatred of all the Korean people. They can see how these little peasants are battling to the death. And they can feel, somehow, that these people, whom they have been sent to kill and subjugate, have a cause which imbues and unites them — that they do know what they're fighting for.

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# THE STIRRING TALE OF WARSAW GHETTO

By Paul Schapiro

THE WALL by John Hersey, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

The Wall, John Hersey's novel of the Nazi systematic extermination of the Warsaw Jews, is remarkable in more ways than one. With what must have been a tremendous amount of historical research and an artist's imagination, Hersey so entered into the life of the Warsaw Jews that he has been able to reconstruct in the pages of his book a civilization that has been wiped out.

But he has done more than this. He has not only depicted the life of the ghetto with an authenticity that bears immediate conviction; he has depicted the human reactions of a trapped people being butchered off from day to day in such a manner that we exclaim, "Yes, this is how it must have been."

The novel is presented as a diary kept for posterity by Noach Levinson, an intellectual whose passion was the observation of people. By using this fiction Hersey is able to give the effect of brilliant on-the-spot reporting by an observer with a keen eye for detail. At the same time Hersey shapes the fictitious jottings into artistic form.

We have not only a series of dramatic stories but a powerfully blocked-out novel which conveys the change in the atmosphere of living: from the deceptive tranquility of the early April days, with their hope that things will not be too bad intermittently disturbed by fitful lightning flashes in the distance, to the terror in the midst of the steadily darkening storm, to the exalted heroism of the struggle in the very teeth of destruction.

### Cross-Section of Those Who Perished

In addition to the general picture of the agony of a people, we have also a close-up view of a small group of persons — a view which is, however, restricted to the members of the upper middle class, the officials and the top leaders of the political organizations among whom Levinson lives and works — and the way the character of each takes form in the fiery crucible.

By using Levinson, with his tart humor and his determination not to let himself be carried away by emotion, Hersey is also enabled to keep a certain distance from his material and escape being overwhelmed by its horror. He can also show the course of events as they appeared to the eyes of one of the ghetto inhabitants, who shared the ignorance of the others concerning the plans of the Nazis.

For the reader, who knows in advance that the Jewish population of Warsaw is to be decimated, the blindness of the Jews who built the wall around the ghetto, not realizing that they were to be locked within its gates and slaughtered off, and who volunteered for resettlement in the East, not realizing that they were being in reality taken to the gas chambers to be killed, is bitterly ironic.

At first, after the coming of the Nazis, the Warsaw Jews convinced themselves that life would go on more or less as usual, with perhaps a few more restrictions. The restrictions come — piecemeal. Each restriction hits a different group, and when that group raises a cry, the rest exclaim, "Quiet! You are endangering the rest of us."

So too the wall which is to enclose them is constructed in sections until it is finally completed and the Jews are trapped within it as cattle within a corral. The first to leave for "resettlement in the East" are tricked, then the weakest and most defenceless are herded out and then a system of round-ups of those who are not exempted for one reason or another is instituted. As every one tries to get into the exempt groups, the number of exemptions is progressively lowered.

### Degradation and Heroism

Under these conditions, people live from day to day, trying to snatch what morsel of life they can. A bench in the sun is rented out by the hour. A bony, old horse barely able to stand, bought on the black market and slaughtered secretly, furnishes a banquet. In the struggle to survive, human beings become bestialized. Jews join the auxiliary police, getting special privileges in return for doing some of the Nazis' dirty work. Young men ask their parents to volunteer for "resettlement" in order that they and their wives may not have to go themselves.

But if the worst in human nature is brought out by these horrible experiences, so is the best. Doleck Berson, the vague esthetic and aimless drifter, and Rachel Apt, the daughter of the wealthy merchant, become disciplined and molded into leaders of the Jewish fighting organization. If there is the degradation of the auxiliary police, there is also the heroism of the fighters, which mitigates the crushing relentlessness of the horror of the middle section of the book.

The conclusion of the novel, in which the Jewish fighters are killed fighting valiantly and forty-two of them escape, is marred by a certain confusion. The forty-two are sitting with their knees drawn up in a sewer-pipe underneath a man-hole to which they had wearily crawled through the filth and corpses of the long stretches of tunnel, waiting for the trucks that were to bring them to freedom which may never come. As they wait, doubled-over, chilled with dampness and dry-tongued with thirst, the sewer becomes a kind of limbo in which they are squatting outside of time.

### A Colorful But Not Illuminating Summary

In this limbo they discuss their most intimate thoughts with Levinson. Each, indirectly answering the question what has made his life worth living, reveals that his view of life has somewhat changed as the result of what he has gone through. The sum total of what they have to say seems to be Hersey's own summation of the lessons to be learned from their purgatorial experience.

Zilberweig, the Zionist leader, tells Levinson that he has come to see that extreme nationalism can be as frightful in a Jew as in a German but that he remains a Zionist. Rapaport, the leader of the Bund, the Jewish Socialist party, is portrayed by Hersey as a sectarian bound by formulas who had refused to join in a united front with other Jewish political parties. He declares that he was relying on support from the Polish Socialist party, only to find that it was lacking in genuine internationalism, says that a political leader must learn to doubt his faith but to fight for it nevertheless and to bring human understanding into politics. Rachel Apt has come to believe that the killing of any one, even Nazis, is wrong under all circumstances.

The thinking of Zilberweig and Rapaport is lacking in clarity, but it is not inconsistent with their characters. Rachel's words, however, are not only false in themselves but are given to her without explanation: the reader cannot imagine why this staunch commander has come to believe that the combat in which she was a participant was wrong. Nevertheless, while the muddled pacifist, pseudo-humanist conclusion is an important defect, The Wall remains a noble monument to the memory of an oppressed people and of its brave fighters, victims of the most hideous barbarism produced by dying capitalism.

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By Jean Blake

Commenting editorially last week on the first instalment of "Jim Crow Ends in Korea," an article in the Social-Democratic New Leader of July 22 by Lester Granger, The Militant called attention to the new evidence of the Jim Crow attitude and actions of the U.S. military forces toward the Koreans, whom they refer to as "gooks."

Granger's second article, in the July 29 New Leader, retains as its title the blatantly false statement, "Jim Crow Ends in Korea," but concludes on a much less confident note:

"...crass and hampering discrimination based upon race can be stopped, overnight, as soon as top authority makes up its mind and lets lower authority know it," Granger writes. "The fighting in Korea will tell us, if we can keep well enough informed, how that mind-set develops."

Information for Granger and others who express illusions, honestly or not, about "how that mind-set develops" came from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, in a letter addressed to Army Secretary Frank Pace, Jr., demanded an immediate investigation of "the manner in which Negro troops are treated in Tokyo and the elimination of the racial discrimination so persistently reported."

The Negro troops in Tokyo, incidentally, included the Jim-Crowed all-Negro 24th Infantry regiment which figured prominently in the news as the group responsible for the "first sizable American ground victory in the Korean war," as the Negro press reported.

Wilkins' request for an investigation included the following quotation from a letter received from an informant in Tokyo:

"The American public ought to know that racial discrimination here is as flagrant as it is in

Georgia. And if the occupation is doing anything successfully in Japan, it is successfully indoctrinating the Japanese with the 'American way of life' which excludes full freedom of anything to many people, especially Negroes."

Wilkins cited from the letter the fact that Japanese clerks have been taught by the Army to give priority to "a white face." He also referred to a report that General Walter Leo Weible had issued an order restricting Negro personnel in the Army units to one of four swimming pools controlled by the occupation forces.

These may seem minor details to Granger, of The President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, and to George S. Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier, who hails the Korean war as "the first war U.S. Negroes have entered on a non-segregated basis since the War for Independence."

But to the millions of American Negroes who live under Jim Crow conditions, civilian and military, they are very important. No billion-dollar "truth" propaganda campaign by American imperialism aimed at covering up the ugly facts about suppression of colored people is worth two cents so long as the dominant condition of existence for the mass of Negroes is as victims of discrimination and segregation.

Granger need not wait for information from Korea to find out whether Jim Crow has ended. He can look to news like the item from Washington, D.C., dated July 27:

"Fifteen young Negro and white persons who sought service in a Washington cafeteria were today sentenced by Judge Thomas D. Quinn to pay a fine of \$25 each or serve 10 days in jail on a charge of disorderly conduct. In imposing this sentence, Judge Quinn accused the young people of taking the law into their own hands, which, he said, they had no right to do."

## "Guns Not Butter" Is Program for Europe

By John G. Wright

The North Atlantic Council, under the chairmanship of U. S. deputy Spofford, held its four-day sessions in London last week in strictest secrecy. No official statements or reports were permitted of this sinister gathering. But it is unquestionable that Washington's European satellites were considering plans to begin the shift of European economy to a war basis, with the aim of converting Western Europe into a huge armed camp within the space of two to three years.

Britain's "Socialist" Premier Attlee took the lead in the political preparation of the British people for the new program of "toil and sweat and tears." In last Sunday's "fireside chat" he announced that "we have no option but to increase our defenses" and added that this "new effort will mean sacrifices," that is, savage slashes in living standards.

### REARMING GERMANY

With the Laborite government, providing a "socialist" cover, it is only a question of time before all the other "democratic" govern-

ments on the old continent follow suit.

The road has already been cleared for converting Western Germany into an "arsenal of democracy." News of this fateful decision, carefully kept out of the big American dailies, was reported on July 26 by Voney D. Hurd, head of the Christian Science Monitor's Paris News Bureau. According to Hurd, the French Foreign Office has officially confirmed that "Germany's mighty Ruhr" has been assigned "a major role in rearming the West."

Also being "discussed" is "the companion question of whether German troops also should be armed and integrated into western defenses." And the conclusion, as reported by Hurd, is "that it is largely a question of moving gradually, of preparing public opinion, of testing the progressive steps."

### THE MARTIAL PLAN

Marshall Aid is to be geared directly with the European rearmament program. Acting Administrator of the ECA Foster announced on July 29 that the "ECA has softened its attitude toward the spending of counter-part funds for military purposes."

This step alone, which will undoubtedly be followed by others of similar nature, blows up completely the cynical hoax of the "humanitarian" and "peace-loving" character of the whole Marshall Aid program. It was designed from the outset precisely for the war purposes which it is now being made to serve so openly.

Meanwhile in Washington, the scope and vastness of Pentagon's military plans for Western Europe continue to be unveiled gradually. Richard L. Stout, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, reported on July 29, that shortly to be announced is "a three-year, \$20 billion program for European rearmament."

### GUNS NOT BUTTER

Of this huge total the U. S. is to provide "some \$12 billion in the next three years and the Atlantic Allies adding to their existing military budgets another \$8 billion. It is believed the military program will involve far-reaching changes in the Marshall Plan aid funds," said Stout. A program of "guns and not butter" is once again clearly in store for the war-weary millions of the old continent, if they permit American imperialism and its European capitalist allies to have their way.

## Hudson Local 154 Members Reject Proposed Pact

DETROIT, Aug. 1 — A large membership meeting of Hudson Local 154, CIO United Auto Workers, last Sunday, July 31, rejected a proposed new contract with the Hudson Motor Car Co. that was brought in by the union's Contract Committee.

An overwhelming majority of the more than 1,000 workers who attended rejected the combined pension-insurance-wage contract, which could not be reopened for three years on wages and five years on pensions.

### SET PRECEDENT

The action of the aroused members came as a surprise to UAW officials and corporation representatives here. They had expected the long-term Hudson pact, which provided only a three-cent wage increase, would be greased through like similar contracts in the other large auto companies.

This is the first time since the end of the last war that an auto union membership has refused to approve a contract accepted and proposed by the top officials.

A group of militant shop stewards distributed a leaflet at the meeting urging the members to "Vote No!" It told them, "Don't Be Blackjacked!" by the Contract Committee which insisted that the members had to accept the contract as a whole without the opportunity to change any undesirable part.

### HIT PENSION PROPOSAL

It pointed out that the Hudson production workers would get only a three-cent raise whereas skilled workers received five cents as have the workers in Briggs and Budd. It condemned various features of the insurance and pension plans as inferior to those contained in contracts with other companies.

One of the principal objections was to the pension plan which provided for \$100 a month, including social security, for those 65 years old with 25 years service and \$117.50 with 30 years service. The leaflet pointed out that the Budd workers get \$140.

VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, AUGUST 7, 1950

NUMBER 32

## Corporations, FBI Incite Hoodlum Attacks Against Workers at Los Angeles Plants

By Murry Weiss

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 1 — A wave of incitements to mob action and assaults on so-called "subversives" swept this city this week following a corporation-instigated and FBI-inspired goon attack on four workers in the Chrysler Maywood plant on July 22.

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 19th District, charged in a press statement that the attack on the four workers "was provoked by the FBI, the Chrysler Company plant management and other union-busting elements. Behind the smoke-screen of patriotic hysteria, the anti-union employers, FBI and fascist elements are attempting to open a wide breach in the defenses of the trade union movement."

The attack followed a work-out plot. Its self-proclaimed leader, Frank Zaffina, non-union car inspector and a railroad detective for the Santa Fe Railway, set off a railroad flare outside the plant gate at the shift change as a signal to his cohorts in the plant, mostly men hired since the recent strike or elements who opposed it.

Zaffina's accomplices rushed from the plant ahead of the other workers when the shift changed and waylaid Basil Gordon, Thomas Creed, Leo Blanken and Arthur Freeman, all active members of CIO United Auto Workers Local 230. The latter three are World War II veterans. Creed was chairman of the strike publicity committee.

The four were clubbed and beaten to the ground and stomped on. Management representatives and plant guards stood by and watched the beatings with satisfaction. A crowd of workers observed the attack in bewilderment and indecision. Those who would have defended their union brothers were unorganized and leaderless, while others were caught up in the anti-hysteria.

### PRESS NOTIFIED

Two hours before the attack Zaffina had notified the local papers of his intention. Photographers and reporters were at the scene gathering "good copy." Although undoubtedly informed in advance, the sheriff's squad did not arrive until 20 minutes after the attack began. No arrests were made although the hoodlums remained on the scene. Zaffina was arrested several days later on a warrant issued after the victims had sworn out a complaint.

Shortly before the big attack, two other workers had been cornered. Under a hail of blows and threats they were forced to sign papers, which turned out to be "loyalty" oaths.

The attack climaxed a campaign instigated by the company

in collusion with the FBI. All plant guards had been sent to the FBI office for a so-called "briefing." Later some young veterans and reservists were called in by management and given the FBI list of three alleged "card-carrying Communist Party members and 49 fellow-travellers." They were told to spy on these workers and report their actions. The Association of Catholic Trade Unions conducted a red-baiting campaign to mobilize the most backward anti-union elements and whip up the hysteria.

Following this ominous episode, Chrysler Local 230 took action to squelch the would-be fascists. UAW Regional Director Cy O'Halloran warned that "grave danger faces our union" from such actions and advised local union leaders "to follow a course of action that will protect us as union men and as American citizens." UAW President Walter Reuther wired that "members of our union must not participate in unlawful acts."

It is evident that even the union bureaucrats, who hold no small responsibility for the red-baiting hysteria in the plants, are taking alarm at the consequences.

### OTHER INCIDENTS

The anti-labor elements responsible for the outrage at Chrysler have attempted to stir up similar violence at other plants in this area. Incidents have broken out in the two General Motors plants, at Consolidated Steel, a furniture factory and at the Long Beach Ford plant. So far, union officials and militant unionists have been able to control the situation.

At the same time, incidents of violence and police brutality against circulators of the Stalinist "peace" petition have occurred in Hollywood, Pasadena and Wilmington. One woman had two teeth knocked out while a policeman stood 50 feet away.

### WEISS URGES ACTION

Calling on the labor movement to put a stop to these outrages against civil liberties and fascist-like violence instigated by labor's worst enemies, Myra Tanner Weiss urged an emergency conference of all local unions "to organize a comprehensive counter-offensive" against "those who wish to seize this moment to declare a Roman Holiday for storm-troop violence at plant gates and later at union meetings."

## Off to Undeclared War



Awaiting the command to board ship, two American boys in uniform stand at attention at a U.S. port. They are bound for the horrors of Truman's undeclared war in Korea where American imperialism has intervened in the civil war on the side of the hated Syngman Rhee regime.

## COURT UPHOLDS SMITH ACT IN CASE OF ELEVEN

(Continued from Page 1)

mitted the safeguard of the First Amendment (free speech and free press) to the Constitution where there existed an "improbability" that an illegal act advocated by an individual would be carried out. He stated that "we have purposely substituted 'improbability' for 'remoteness' because that must be the right interpretation."

In other words, a court can declare an utterance to be a "clear and present danger" if it deems that the utterance "probably" will lead to an illegal act however "remote" in the future.

The Judge then went on to claim that the Communist Party constitutes "a danger 'clear and present'" to the existing government of this country. This is the core of the frame-up. The Stalinists not only don't advocate the overthrow of the government by violence or any other means, they are counter-revolutionary. They merely try to manipulate the labor movement and exert pressure to bring about a deal between U. S. imperialism and the

Kremlin in accordance with Stalin's foreign policy.

### LEGAL TRICKERY

With extra-fine casuistry, Judge Hand's opinion explained why the Smith Act is "constitutional." He explained that "literally" the "words of the Act" forbid mere advocacy or teaching about revolution "at any time and by anyone, weak or strong . . . they make criminal the fulminations of a half crazy zealot on a soap box, calling for an immediate march on Washington."

But by proper "interpretation" according to certain "limits" contained in the Act, he said, the Act is not "too vague to stand up, which is the only challenge on the score of vagueness that deserves consideration."

That was the intent of Congress in drafting the Smith Act — to make it vague and loosely applicable to anyone the government wants to shut up, but not "too vague to stand up" in a politically-controlled court.

Once again the capitalist courts have shown that they are enemies, not protectors, of civil rights.

# 1950 National Election Platform of SWP

(Cont. from page 1)

turn with every wind from Moscow — yet they always point away from socialism.

If the future depended on these parties it would indeed be dark. However, the forces working toward a better world are far more powerful than any of these political formations.

Capitalism has created not only the monstrous monopolies; it has also brought into being the working class, tens of millions of people with great technical skills, long traditions of democracy and social equality, and accustomed to expect a decent standard of living. This working class has already shown its tremendous capabilities by organizing the CIO and extending industrial unionism into the heart of American basic industries.

The workers are becoming increasingly aware of capitalist waste and plunder in the use of our resources. They are beginning to see through the warmongering and are alarmed over American intervention in Korea. They resent the capitalist cheating of the people through inflation. They find the witchhunt highly distasteful. Taft-Hartleyism has taught them that the 60 richest families of the United States, like their counterparts abroad, will abandon democracy for fascism at any serious challenge to their profits, privileges and power.

Far from seeing an end to segregation, the Negro people saw the wartime government of Roosevelt and Wallace carry the infamy of a Jim Crow army to every quarter of the globe and today they watch Truman's cynical maneuvering with their demands for equality.

The oppressed classes and groups are looking for a way out. But there is no way out except to follow the leadership of an aggressive and independent organized labor movement. On the day the working class can assure America of its determination to end capitalist chaos, the rule of Big Business will be doomed.

It is becoming obvious to wider and wider layers of the people that with our vast natural resources and industries, the skill and energy of our workers, farmers and technicians, we could abolish poverty forever.

The capitalists know this. That is why they concentrate all their power and energy against the growing challenge of the working class. The Taft-Hartley Act, the Mundt-Nixon bill, the continued evolution of the FBI into a Gestapo-type political police, militarization of the country, the strangling of traditional liberties in the United States, the intervention in Korea — this long train of abuses shows that their aim is the imposition of an absolute despotism to maintain capitalism in its period of decay.

The U. S. imperialists seek to promote their war plans and save capitalism by propping up reactionary governments abroad at the expense of the American workers and against the wishes of the peoples in these countries. But the smashing of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship in China and the great movements for national independence throughout the Far East reveal the irresistible might of hundreds of millions animated by a desire like ours to build a world

of enduring peace. The civil war in Korea has provided another demonstration of the unpopularity of puppet regimes backed by American imperialism. The course of the Yugoslav peoples in breaking with capitalism and defending their independence shows that a simultaneous struggle against Stalinism and imperialism can be successfully waged and is the only road to socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party declares that the present conflict is so deeply rooted in a bankrupt economic system that it must end either in the complete destruction of civilization or in the socialist reconstruction of society under the leadership of the working class.

The Socialist Workers Party consistently champions the interests of the workers and strives to organize them for the construction of a planned economy. This goal is expressed in our slogan for a Workers and Farmers Government.

Such a government, based on democratically elected committees and councils of workers, farmers, housewives, soldiers and minority groups, will extend democracy into every sphere of life. It will take over the means of production, expand and coordinate them according to the principles of scientific planning. Boundless plenty and limitless progress will become realizable goals.

The Workers and Farmers Government will bring peace and harmony to America by doing away with the basic causes of class divisions and conflicts. The victory of socialism in the most powerful country will serve as an inspiring example to be quickly followed by the rest of the world. No regime would withstand the wave of hope generated by such an event, not even the totalitarian regime of Stalin.

Only a Workers and Farmers Government can reorganize our society on a rational basis and bring that new birth of freedom and prosperity which is socialism.

Only a Workers and Farmers Government can replace the power of monopoly capitalism and thus prevent a Third World War.

The election platform of the Socialist Workers Party is designed to further these great aims. Vote for it on election day. Seek support for it among your friends and in your union and fraternal organizations. Use it as a guide to action throughout the year. Join the Socialist Workers Party. Your help is needed! Do your part in the great struggle for a better world!

### 1. The Struggle for Peace

Take the war-making powers away from Washington; let the people vote by referendum on all questions of peace or war. Down with the war-making alliances woven into the Atlantic Pact. An end to military and economic aid to blood-stained tyrants like Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and Syngman Rhee. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Let the Korean people decide their own fate. For the complete independence of the colonial peoples. No confidence whatever in the United Nations, dominated by despots and designed to spread the illusion that peace is possible under capitalism. Full solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers in all lands — those dominated by American imperialism as well as

those dominated by reactionary Stalinism. Defend Yugoslavia against the Kremlin and Western imperialism. For the Socialist United States of the World.

### 2. Labor's Standard of Living

For the inclusion in all union contracts of an escalator clause (also known as the sliding scale of wages or automatic cost-of-living bonus) to meet the rising cost of living, with the safeguard that wages shall not fall below the basic rates established in the contract. For the application of this principle to the wages of all government employees, veterans' allotments, old age allowances, old age pensions and social security. For the establishment of price control, to be regulated and enforced by mass consumers' committees, composed of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers. For adequate old-age pensions, free medical care and hospitalization. For the 8-hour day, 30-hour week, with no reduction in pay. For unemployment insurance at full trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment. Let the world's richest country provide full lifetime security for every working man and woman.

### 3. Labor and Civil Rights

An end to red-baiting, witch-hunts and political persecution. Stop the McCarthy fore-runners of the police state. Withdraw the "subversive" blacklists used for political persecution of government and other employees. Defeat the Mundt-Nixon bill and all other measures to totalitarianize American politics. End the persecution of legal defense in civil liberties cases. Do away with "loyalty" oaths on the campus, on the job and in the unions. Liberalize the election laws which discriminate against minority parties. Safeguard and extend the Bill of Rights.

Repeat the Taft-Hartley Act. No government interference in union affairs. No restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket. No compulsory arbitration. Repeal all federal, state and city anti-labor laws. Down with government by injunction.

### 4. Rights of Minority Groups

Smash the Jim Crow system. Full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and other minorities. Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with power to root out discriminatory practices, eliminate segregation wherever it exists. Combat anti-Semitism in all its forms. Wipe out discriminatory immigration policies and open the doors of the U. S. to refugees. Unite the workers of all races for the common struggle against their exploiters.

### 5. Farm Policy

For a federal farm program to guarantee the cost of production to working farmers, to be operated under the control of their own representatives. Expand rural electrification. No limitation on crops. A federal program for soil conservation and flood control.

No taxes on savings of cooperatives. A federal ban on all speculation in farm commodities. Abolish sharecropping and landlordism. The land to those who work it.

### 6. Atomic Energy

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

### 7. Military Policy

Against a permanent conscript army. Abolish the Prussian officer caste system. Full democratic rights for the ranks in all the services, including the right to participate in politics and public life, to elect their own officers, to organize along union lines and engage in collective bargaining. Abolish race segregation in the armed forces. Trade union wages for the servicemen.

### 8. Housing

For a federal program to erect 25 million low-cost, low-rent housing units. Finance the program with the billions now spent for war preparations. Homes, not radioactive weapons. Clear the slums. Restore rent control under supervision of tenants committees.

### 9. Taxation

Repeal all payroll taxes. Abolish all sales taxes. No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year. A 100% tax on incomes over \$25,000 a year. Tax the rich, not the poor.

### 10. Government Ownership of Industry

Nationalize the basic industries, all war plants, all natural resources and use them in the interests of the producers and consumers through democratically-elected committees of workers and technicians. Nationalize the banks. Institute a planned economy of abundance, based on production for use, not profit.

### 11. Independent Political Action

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

For a Workers and Farmers Government!