

# John L. Lewis Rips Green on 'No-Strike' Offer

In a "memorandum" dripping with contempt and sarcasm, United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis informed AFL President William Green — and indirectly

the Truman administration — that the militant coal miners would not be bound by any "no-strike pledge" which union leaders like Green might make to the employers and government.

Lewis' remarks were directed to commitments the AFL leaders have said they are prepared to make to the war mobilization chief W. Stuart Symington, head of the National Securities Resources Board, from whose labor advisory committee the UMW has been excluded. The UMW leader also reminded Green of the fact that the miners had been excluded from the "unity" talks between the AFL, CIO and Machinists and therefore that "any mess you can cook up with the CIO" will be "eaten by you and you alone."

Telling Green he was "distressed" at having "to disturb the calm placidity of your ordered existence," Lewis declared that nevertheless "the rights of American workers in industry should not be bartered to appease your innate craving for orthodox respectability."

## SERVING NOTICE

Thus Lewis has served notice that the fighting miners, as in the last war, will again stand in the forefront of the defense of American labor in wartime.

Green replied in a letter that tried to write off the miners as a part of any future united labor movement. He wrote that "you would be out of place if you were affiliated with any organized labor movement which might be committed to a no-strike policy." He added that the AFL officialdom "stands ready now" to offer a no-strike pledge "whenever the President of the United States advises us it is necessary."

The full text of Lewis' letter to Green reads as follows:

"Washington, D. C., Aug. 29, 1950  
"Memorandum to: William Green  
"From: John L. Lewis

"You know, Bill, that I am ever distressed when I have to disturb the calm placidity of your ordered existence. Yet I suggest that the rights of American workers in in-

dustry should not be bartered to appease your innate craving for orthodox respectability. Consideration of the following items is therefore indicated.

"1. Although the Mineworkers have espoused labor unity, you have stipulated them out of the unity conferences. It follows that any mess that you can cook up with the CIO, will of course have to be eaten by you and by you alone. We do our own cooking.

"2. You have stipulated the Mineworkers out of representation on the select star chamber labor committee which you designated to please Symington. We gently advise you that we will not be bound by your deliberations or commitments conducted or made in our absence. We do our own committing.

"3. The press chronicles you as plodding about the country seeking someone to whom you can give a no-strike pledge. I am sure you will pardon me when I suggest that the Mineworkers are not yet ready for you to sell them down the river. Restrict your pledges to your own outfit. We do our own no-striking."

## WILL ENCOURAGE WORKERS

The clear implication of the last part of the letter is that the miners, should they feel it necessary to defend their interests, will do their "no-striking" as in the last war, when they shut down the mines time after time, smashed the wage-freezing "Little Steel Formula" and won some of the greatest concessions in their history.

Lewis' letter will undoubtedly stir a warm response in millions of workers who have been watching the craven conduct of union leaders like Green with great anxiety. His advance declaration of intent to bind labor with a "no-strike pledge" while prices are soaring and profits rolling in faster than ever is nothing but a declaration of surrender to the anti-union employers. And Lewis has correctly pegged it as "selling labor down the river."

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Made for Each Other



## CONGRESS VOTE BOLSTERS FASCIST RULE IN SPAIN

The House of Representatives took Dictator Franco to its bosom on Aug. 25 as the Senate had done a few weeks before. The blood of the Spanish people is on the

hands of Congress. By voting a \$62 1/2 million dollar loan to the butcher of Madrid, against the opposition of all organized labor in this country and against the will of the peoples of Europe, Congress more firmly bolted the gates on Spain's concentration camps, ground the iron heel of repression more deeply into the necks of the outlawed trade unionists of the Iberian peninsula.

The debate in the House was carried off in rapid-fire style, with true Franco firing-squad speed. In approximately an hour, with five speakers on each side, limited to five minutes each, the discussion was over. With more than one-third of the representatives absent or not voting, the loan was passed by a voice vote of 165 to 90. Brazen as their action was, the congressmen weren't brazen enough to let the American people know how they voted.

## LIBERAL PLAINTS

The few feeble speeches of the liberals in opposition were all couched in the language of expediency. Typical of these were the remarks of Rep. Holifield (D. Calif.), who declared the loan to be "a colossal blunder, a monumental act of stupidity."

The loan, he said, was "bad political policy" because it would antagonize the anti-fascist peoples of Europe and would discredit American propaganda for "democracy."

It was "bad military policy" because it might indicate to Atlantic Pact nations that the U. S. would

leave them in the lurch and retreat behind the Pyrenees in the event of a war in Europe.

It was "bad business" first because Franco's credit is bad, and second, because the State Department had already made provisions for him to get the money here quietly from the Export-Import Bank and private bankers.

## "WHAT ABOUT SALAZAR?"

The supporters of the loan, speaking from the fundamental standpoint of Truman's anti-communist world policy, made short shrift of these specious arguments. "Have you ever heard of Salazar of Portugal?" asked Rep.

(Continued on page 2)

## A-Bomb Shelters Only for Big-Shots

A consultant for Gov. John O. Pastore, of Rhode Island, said people would have to be "graded for admission" to atom-bomb shelters "on the basis of their importance to the United States." Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor, Clarke Goodman, gave this opinion to the governor on Aug. 26. "Some people are more important than others," he said, "and we can't build shelters for everybody."

In the event of an A-Bomb war, rich "important" big-shots will get the shelters, but average persons — the ones who build and pay for the shelters — will have to stay outside.

## Strikes Reflect Labor Resistance To Rising Prices

A growing wave of strikes has been inspired by the fast-rising cost of living brought on by government war spending and corporation war profiteering.

Some 49,000 employees of the International Harvester Company last week shut down 19 plants in a fight for higher wages. The strike began with 22,000 members of the CIO United Auto Workers in 8 plants. Another 27,000 walked out of 11 plants on the call of the Farm Equipment Council of the independent United Electrical Workers, after the company withdrew from a tentative agreement.

Possibility of a national strike against the country's largest electrical equipment manufacturer, General Electric, loomed after 16,000 workers\* at the company's plants in Lynn and Everett, Mass., hit the picket lines.

## "HIT AND RUN"

In Detroit, an estimated 10,000 Ford workers were involved in a series of so-called "hit and run" strikes which have repeatedly halted assembly lines. These pressure tactics are being used to bring the company in line with wage increases already won in other parts of the auto industry.

Chrysler corporation, which earlier in the year had been hit by a 100-day strike, didn't wait for another one, but announced hourly-wage boosts of 10 cents for production workers, 15 cents for skilled employees. Packard settled a 13-day strike by granting a 4-cent raise and a cost-of-living escalator clause on the General Motors model, plus \$125 a month retirement pensions.

# Bill of Rights Is Being Cut To Ribbons

## MYRA WEISS DENOUNCES L. A. WITCH-HUNT LAW

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 27 — In an unprecedented action, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors last week passed a series of thought-control ordinances requiring certain politically designated residents of the area to register with the police.

In a rush to imitate the action of the County, the City Council immediately scheduled a hearing for Aug. 29, for consideration of a resolution recommending similar laws for the city.

Ostensibly aimed at members of the Communist Party, the ordinances are so phrased that they could readily be used to strangle the union movement by prohibiting strikes and picket lines. They are so all-inclusive and flexible that they could likewise be used against any minority political party, racial minority or pacifist organization, no matter how small.

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for the House of Representatives from the 19th California district, in a statement prepared for the Council hearing and for distribution to the press, declared:

## A NEW DEPARTURE

"These ordinances represent far more than merely another in a long series of blows at civil liberties and violations of the Bill of Rights. They mark a new departure, set a new precedent. This is the first time in the history of the United States that citizens have been required to register with the

police because of their views. It is a short step from registration with the police to the carrying of internal passports and the wearing of dog-tags."

Pointing up the similarity between these laws and the curbs instituted in police states, Comrade Weiss continued:

"In the name of democracy the County Board of Supervisors has followed exactly the practices of the Japanese militarists, the German Nazis and all police dictatorships. They have declared as crimes, punishable by long prison terms and ruinous fines, not deeds, but ideas.

"The only difference here be-

(Continued on page 4)



MYRA TANNER WEISS

## Truman Asks Power to Fire Almost Anyone

By George Breitman

The Bill of Rights was being reduced to a scrap of paper by Truman, Congress and the courts even before the Korean war began. But now it is being slashed to ribbons in the feverish competition between Democrats and Republicans to decide which party can get the "credit" for putting over the most effective "anti-subversive" bill.

The McCarran and Mundt bills, embodying most of the repressive legislation advanced by the Republicans, are so sweeping even the conservative N. Y. Times warns against them. But the House passed the Mundt Bill on Aug. 29 by the overwhelming vote of 345-20 (211 Democrats for, 17 against).

The Truman administration, pushing its own repressive measure, opposes the McCarran bill because, Attorney General McGrath told the Senate, it would be "ineffective" and would have "doubtful, meager and inadequate results."

But McGrath gave the administration's blessing to many of the McCarran bill provisions, and he criticized it because of its "omission" of a bill already passed by the House empowering the President in time of war or national emergency to extend anti-sabotage provisions "to such property and places as the President may designate."

McGrath demanded the restoration of this provision so that Truman would be able to exclude "from any industries or facilities relating to the national security . . . any person suspect of a purpose to engage in sabotage or espionage." (Without any legislation Truman is already carrying through such a purge in the maritime industry of all militants opposed to his politics or the policies of the union bureaucrats.)

## THE SAME OBJECTIVE

McGrath's demand neatly sums up the lack of difference between the Truman and McCarran approaches. The McCarranites propose to rely mainly on registration as the weapon for intimidating and suppressing opponents of war, capitalism and regimentation; the Trumanites propose to rely mainly on a purge of industry — that is, starvation — to achieve the same objective.

The passage of either of these bills would signify a death blow to political liberties in this country, no matter what the formal status of the Bill of Rights was. A worker distributing a pro-socialist or anti-war leaflet or newspaper would be subject to imprisonment under the McCarran bill, to loss of his job under the Truman bill.

What difference would it make, under such conditions, if the Bill of Rights still remained on the books? The threat of imprisonment, the danger of being fired and blacklisted — these would be the reality for anyone wanting to express independent political views. The Bill of Rights then would be only a legal fiction.

A vote for the Democrats on election day will be a vote for the Trumanite method of subverting civil liberties, just as a vote for the Republicans will be an endorsement of the McCarran form of police state. A vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, on the other hand, will represent a vote to preserve and uphold the Bill of Rights without any evasions, qualifications or subterfuges.

# MacARTHUR, MATTHEWS EMBARRASS TRUMAN

By Art-Preis

Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews and General Douglas MacArthur shocked the world last week with their bold admissions of American imperialism's real aims.

Matthews urged the U. S. to "declare our intention" of "instituting a war" for "peace." MacArthur called for the "aggressive exploitation" of Formosa as a permanent U. S. military base from which to launch American air power to any point in Asia "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

Their statements threw such glaring light on American capitalism's brutal design for world conquest and the fraudulence of Washington's claims of "peaceful," "non-aggressive" intent, that Truman and the State Department were forced to publicly disavow them.

Matthews, addressing a Boston Navy Yard celebration on Aug. 25, brushed aside the humbug about "aggression" and "non-aggression." To "compel cooperation" for what he called "peace," he said, "we should be willing, and declare our intention, to pay any price, even the price of instituting a war. . ."

## A PROUD TITLE

To show he was engaging in no loose rhetoric, he added that the U. S. must adopt the role of "aggressor for peace." This, he admitted, would "cast us in a character new to a democracy — an initiator of a war of aggression." This program would be branded "imperialistic aggression," he conceded, but he could accept such "slander" with "complacency." Because, by becoming the "initiator of a war of aggression," the U. S. would "win a proud and popular title — we would become the first aggressors for peace."

Matthews' insistence that Washington proclaim openly its intention to "initiate a war of aggression" would be embarrassing to the government under any circumstances. No imperialist power ever admits that it is waging or plans to wage a "war of aggression." But Matthews' declaration is doubly embarrassing to the Truman administration at this time.

Truman's whole case for his undeclared war in Korea is based on the charge of "aggression" by the North Korean government. He



GENERAL MacARTHUR

and his State Department have claimed that U. S. armed forces are in and around Formosa solely to "keep the peace" and not for any particular advantage which American imperialism might gain. Thus the State Department was forced to declare that Matthews' "views do not represent United States policy."

## MacARTHUR'S VIEWS

But smack on top of Matthews' statement came MacArthur's. Ever since "our Pacific victory," he said, "our strategic frontier . . . shifted to embrace the entire Pacific Ocean, which has become a vast moat to protect us as long as we hold it." The U. S. and its "free Allies" control a chain of islands "extending in an arc from the Aleutians to the Marianas" from which "we can dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore. . ."

Formosa, he pointed out, is "in the very center of this defensive perimeter" and "at the present time there is on Formosa a concentration of operational air and naval bases which is potentially greater than any similar concentration of the Asiatic mainland between the Yellow Sea and the Strait of Malacca. Additional bases can be developed in a rela-

(Continued on Page 2)

# Truman Again Breaks Rail Strike

By Fred Hart

AUG. 28 — America's million railroad workers are working today under a military dictatorship being exercised by railroad corporation executives in the name of the United States Army.

Strutting in colonels' uniforms, seven presidents of railroad companies that have been bitterly fighting union wage-hour demands are now issuing brass-hat commands to the railroad workers. Under Truman's latest strike-breaking "seizure" order, these railroad magnates have been vested with military authority as regional directors of operations for the country's railroads.

Six of them didn't even have to be sworn in. They were called into "active duty" as reserve officers, having been made colonels in charge of railroad operations in May 1948, the last time Truman "seized" the country's railway lines in order to break a strike for the 40-hour week.

Truman's order for the Army to

"seize" the railroads in advance of a national railroad strike scheduled for today was clearly designed to prevent the 300,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Order of Railway Conductors from enforcing their long-standing demand for a 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay.

## SAME CONDITIONS

So far as the railroad bosses are concerned the only change the "seizure" will mean is that they will now have military powers in addition to their ordinary rule over the workers and can issue their orders as the voice of the U. S. government.

For the workers, however, it means that their right to strike has been banned indefinitely and they will have to continue to submit to the wages, hours and working conditions against which they have been opposed for more than two years.

Under Truman's "seizure" order,

the railway magnates' profits, ownership, management and control of the railroads are fully protected. At the same time, the order expressly forbids any change in wages, hours or working conditions except by agreement of the corporations. This means the companies are in position to defy and reject the workers' demands indefinitely.

The fraud of this "seizure," in which the government touches neither the ownership, management, control nor profits of the railroads, is made plain in Truman's order. The private management of the carriers are ordered "to continue their respective managerial functions to the maximum degree" and "the boards of directors, trustees, officers and employees . . . shall continue the operation of the said transportation systems."

It adds, "there may be made . . . payments of dividends on stocks, and of principal, interest, sinking funds and all other distributions

upon bonds, debentures and other obligations." A separate contract made by the government with 301 companies further stipulates that the companies "will retain all the income of proceeds resulting from such operations."

## HITS RIGHT TO STRIKE

While Truman's "seizure" thus guarantees that railroad profits and dividends will not be restricted in the slightest, his order states that the "transportation systems shall be managed and operated under the terms and conditions of employment in effect on Aug. 20." Thus, wages, hours and working conditions are frozen until the corporations agree to change them. The workers have the right "to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing," the order states, but can engage only in such activities as "do not interfere with the operations of the transportation systems taken hereunder. . ."

(Continued on page 2)

## CAMPAIGN ISSUES

The SWP campaign will be centered around the most crucial local and national issues, such as the war danger, the mounting inflation, the problem of rent controls, the continuing housing crisis, the struggle for Negro equality, and the question that is gaining in importance daily, defense of civil rights.

As reported in a previous issue of The Militant, the SWP has attacked, and intends to continue the fight against, the banning of the sale of so-called "subversive" literature from newsstands on city property.

There has now arisen an even greater threat to the rights, and even to the existence, of all radical and labor organizations in the state, and even to any individual person who does not fall in line 100% with the policies and opinions of the capitalist government.

That is the new "anti-subversive" bill which, in flagrant violation of the Bill of Rights, was rushed through the State Legislature without a dissenting vote from either house and ordered placed on the ballot in

(Continued on Page 4)



# Letters from Our Readers

## Open Letter to Members Of the Socialist Party

By George R. Stryker  
Member, Local Nassau - Suffolk, Socialist Party

Dear Comrades,  
At Detroit last June our party decided by a resounding vote to continue electoral activity. Despite this action the New York State organization failed to enter a single candidate in this year's state-wide election. It has acted with one purpose, that of defying Socialist sentiment in order to appease certain trade union bureaucrats who have joined the War Party. Burt Beck has had his day.

Are we to allow this rape of Socialism and be forced into supporting the "lesser evil" among capitalist politicians, or will we stand up and fight for our class against its betrayers? You and I, the rank and file of the Socialist Party, will give the answer to that question by our actions between now and Nov. 7. Thanks to the courageous work of Socialist Workers Party comrades throughout our state, often in the face of fascist hoodlum-police brutality and other vicious violations of civil liberties, you and I will be able to vote for socialist candidates.

We must not allow petty factional differences or any sense of

misguided loyalty to incompetent "leaders" to divide us. We must not only vote Socialist Workers Party for Bartell, Barker, Ring, Preis and Hansen in November but in addition must campaign vigorously in their behalf in complete cooperation with the SWP in order to assure the largest possible socialist vote.

Don't allow anyone to tell you that you can be a good Socialist and still vote for capitalist politicians. Both old parties represent the oppression of the working class and certainly the chains of capitalist slavery will not lessen for Wall Street on the Liberal Party line. A vote for the American Labor Party is a vote for the Stalinist world imperialism. A vote for the Socialist Labor Party is a vote for starvation until Utopia arrives.

No, only by giving our loyal support to the Socialist Workers Party in this election can we remain true to our Socialist principles and thus forward the day of the liberation of the working class. Let us then join hands together and make 1950 a year that will long be remembered as the beginning of the dawn of a brave new world for all of humanity. Raise on high the Scarlet Banner!

## How Workers Reacted To SWP Petition Plea

Editor:

Team 7, which consisted of four of us and a constantly breaking down jalousy, covered five counties in New York State, spoke to thousands of people and collected 750 signatures for the Socialist Workers Party nominating petitions within a period of 8-10 days. We went out with a big question mark in our minds — would the ordinary people be hysterical and fearful? Would the red baiting and war hysteria of the madmen in power in Washington reflect itself in a hatred of radical Americans like ourselves?

The answer is that the average workers and ordinary folks in these counties are not the least bit hysterical pro-war. On the contrary, the war is unpopular, and the propagandists in Washington, on the air and in the press, have recorded a hollow echo in the Mohawk valley and surrounding areas.

We covered mainly industrial centers, Schenectady, Amsterdam, Johnstown, Gloversville, Hudson Falls. Explanations that we gave about "an independent labor ticket," "A socialist petition," "Socialist Workers Party," "no connection with the Democratic or Republican parties" did not scare

away many prospective signers. Upon hearing such remarks, many workers quickly signed.

Those who refused to sign were seldom hysterical or deeply antagonistic. In our experience, the vicious opponents were primarily the cops, office-holders, and disappointed office-seekers and former office-holders. In Hudson Falls, for example, a small village in Washington County, the cops were pleasant enough, but a self-styled "Judge" on the streets tried to give us a real hard time. The mill workers, women as well as men, however, signed their names to give our party a place on the ballot.

In the industrial city of Schenectady a couple of street cops tried to pin charges of "third degree assault" on us, for allegedly forcing people to sign. In the face of their haranguing, only our constant repetition of the phrase, "We're only asking people to sign," finally cut down their bullying, and we were let out of the station house.

The workers in Schenectady have experience in both industrial unionism and political solidarity as a class, having had a Socialist mayor over 30 years ago. One of the great pleasures of the trip was signing up old timers of the working class of this city, for whom the very word "Socialist" was a momentary rekindling of the spark that had flamed many years ago.

In Saratoga, the police first forced us to register with the City Clerk. All morning long, prospective signers on the streets were annoyed by a former Judge, turned street urchin since his defeat in last year's elections. We obtained about 80 signatures, in

spite of the fact that the end of his nose constantly kept hitting our petition boards.

In the early afternoon, a policeman pulled me in to the station house and the desk officer started shouting that "the Mayor has complained that you're stopping people on the streets. I'm going to give you one more chance," he shrieked. "Get out of town or else in the cooler you go, you radical bastard, Communist, Socialist, Socialist Worker, you're all alike." I left — the station house. May I take this opportunity to inform the unconstitutional diplomat at the Saratoga police desk that we obtained our signatures, in spite of his arrogance and the annoyance it was causing the Mayor?

In our work upstate, the Negro people in their ghettoed and dilapidated dwellings were a constant source of inspiration and aid. Not that they accepted us at face value. "Politicians" have fooled them too often. However, after we told of our program, entire groups in the neighborhood would pitch in and sign. Ours remains the responsibility of making good on our promises, and struggling for the rights of the Negro people 365 days of the year, not just election time.

It is the unanimous opinion of our team that Truman, his Cabinet, Dewey, Gabriel Heatter, Bernard Baruch and Willie Hearst should take their current war and red-baiting line out on the streets of these five counties. Even though they would not have cop trouble, we feel certain they'd trail way behind us in obtaining signatures.

Lou,  
New York City

## NEW READER LISTS KIND OF ARTICLES HE WANTS

Editor:

Why don't you use the valuable space in your paper to inform your readers about Truman professing to be such a good friend of labor when his selection for members of his Mediation Board to hear all railroad cases has been against the railroad men and in favor of the railroad management? If he was a real friend of labor, as he wants you to think, he would have appointed men on the Mediation Board he knew were progressive and friendly to labor.

Why don't you expose his strikebreaking tactics? Why not expose Green, Murray, Harrison and the others as "Democrat Politicians," party machine leaders instead of labor leaders? Why not expose the so-called Welfare Party as it truly is, the Warfare Party?

Why don't you publish articles in your paper exposing the real top rulers of this great nation, those who control the push buttons of wealth, men who control regardless of which party is in office, men who sit snugly in the

grandstand and smirk at the poor saps fighting for a few crumbs. Why doesn't your paper expose the curtailment of railroad service all over the U. S. by Truman's appointed Interstate Commerce Committee, which means the loss of thousands of jobs by railroad workers and the loss of transportation service both to the public and the shippers?

Why don't you expose Truman as he really has showed himself — as the biggest FRAUD that ever represented the American people? Talks peace out of one side of his mouth, while out of the other he plunges us into a war with a small foreign nation more than 6,000 miles from here that was having a civil war in their own country. He sure does think he is King of the world. His gangster government seems to be fooling a lot of people and a great many newspaper people to boot, or they just don't have the guts to tell their readers the facts as they know them.

Why don't you expose Truman's tactics of favoring an increased tax upon an already heavily burdened people and letting the Big Biz boys pocket millions in profits?

Also expose Truman and Congress for refusing to pass amendments to the present railroad retirement act that would give all railroad employees the same pension benefits as those enjoyed by government employees at the same cost. Today there is more than two billion dollars paid in by the railroad workers and in reserve, which has been used by the government and they in turn put in an I.O.U.

Expose the leaders of railroad labor who are more interested in selling insurance to their members than they are in wage controversies and working conditions and who are actually opposing the wishes and demands of the rank and file for them to take action on these demands.

A New Reader,  
Kansas City, Mo.

## "Go Hire a Hall" — Not at Madison Square Garden

Madison Square Garden has refused to rent its auditorium to the Council on African Affairs because it is included on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist. Garden officials said they would not rent to organizations on this list until after Congress has acted on the Mundt and other police state bills. The Council on African Affairs had been planning to hold a concert and rally to protest the State Department's interference with Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

"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." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.

## VIEWS OF MacARTHUR, MATTHEWS EMBARRASS TRUMAN, STATE DEPT.

(Continued from Page 1)

feel the U. S. must move full speed toward war with the Soviet Union even at the risk of being accused of "aggression."

Since the Korean events, the Truman administration has taken a number of steps — including his declaration of policy on Korea, Formosa and Indo-China — which indicates it is for speeding up its preparations for war, but still not at the pace demanded by the "extremists" who would brush aside all considerations of public opinion.

The latter feel that American imperialism's strategic aims — which they share with Truman — require that the U. S. take the initiative in determining where and when the conflict should unfold. They feel that to wait until the Soviet Union or its satellites provide pretexts before the U. S. moves overtly is a big handicap and a weakness. They don't want to be bound by diplomatic and political considerations. They want the U. S. to be free to disregard such considerations and to move on its own initiative anywhere and anytime it pleases to seize and occupy any territory that it deems essential to its strategic aims.

That is why Matthews now proposes to discard the "non-aggression" formula and adopt the new "proud title" — "aggressor for peace."

Truman's new policy in Asia,

expressed in his moves in Korea, Formosa and Indo-China, are in fact a far-reaching concession to the tactical views of the "extremists." But he is not yet ready to discard the propaganda cover under which these moves have been made. He is bound by public opinion and cannot treat the views of the people here and abroad with the arrogant contempt of a MacArthur. He is an elected official, while MacArthur and Matthews are appointees beholden to no one but the top administration.

WHY HE KEEPS THEM

Everyone recalls how summarily Truman dealt with Wallace in 1946 when the latter differed with the administration's tactical policies. If Matthews and MacArthur are out of line with Truman's policies, why does he still retain them? The reason is two-fold: Truman's policies are closer to those of Matthews and MacArthur than they were to Wallace's; and Matthews and MacArthur represent powerful circles in American capitalism which cannot be lightly dismissed.

But whatever differences of a tactical nature exist, the statements of Matthews and MacArthur are significant as the revelation of strategic aims which unite all sections of American Big Business and its government. Those are the aims of imperialist conquest for world domination.

## TRUMAN AGAIN SMASHES RAILROADERS' STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

In short, the right to strike is abrogated.

The tragic irony of the situation now confronting the railroad workers is that their top union leaders had begged Truman to "seize" the railroads. These union officials acted on the nonsensical assumption — whether they honestly believed it or not — that the railroad corporations feared "seizure" by the capitalist government even more than a strike and would capitulate.

It would be putting the most charitable interpretation on the union leaders' plea for "seizure" to call it rank ignorance and stupidity. How they could regard a "seizure" by Truman as anything but an out-and-out strikebreaking move intended to bolster the corporations is hard to imagine.

PLAIN STRIKEBREAKING

Only last month they had the example of how Truman, in the same breath as he ordered the U. S. Army to crush the civil war of the Korean workers and peasants, directed the Army to "seize" the Chicago and Rock Island railroad and smash the strike of AFL Switchmen. They cannot have forgotten how Truman broke the railroad strike in May 1946 and called on Congress to pass a law to draft strikers into the military forces. Their memories are not so short that they have forgotten Truman's "seizure" of the railroads in May 1948, when he prevented the switchmen, firemen and engineers from gaining the 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay — the very demand the Trainmen and Conductors have been making for the past 18 months.

Unless you can believe these railroad labor leaders are nitwits who don't have sense enough to cross a street by themselves, there is no other conclusion to be drawn than that they deliberately and treacherously invited "seizure" rather than lead a militant struggle and wage a strike in opposition to the Truman administration. They are not even in a position to protest the consequences of the "seizure" since it's what they asked for. And indeed they issued a statement declaring that "the men we represent will work for the Government gladly."

The only time that a "seizure" has not cost the workers the major part of their demands is in the single instance when Truman flew the U. S. flag over the coal mines in 1946. Then it was the bitter strike of the miners

and the knowledge that the mines would surely go down in spite of the "seizure" that forced the government to make major concessions.

COWARDLY LEADERS

But the record of the United Mine Workers leaders shows them to be of a different breed than the railroad union leaders. They have consistently fought government intervention in any form, while the rail union leaders have submitted to government intervention and arbitration through the Railway Labor Board for more than three decades. They have repeatedly put their reliance on government agencies rather than fight — if they even know the meaning of that word. In the present instance, they have been haggling with the government arbitrators, mediators and boards for a year and a half before even making a move toward strike. And then it was obvious they wanted Truman to "seize" the lines and thus "save" them from having to lead a strike.

As an agent of the railroad corporations, Truman was more than happy to oblige. He knew in advance what kind of labor leaders he was dealing with. He knew they didn't want to fight and only desired him to get them off the hook, so that the membership couldn't accuse them of trying to block the strike. And he knew they will continue to kiss his big toe, politically speaking, even while he deals the railroad workers — and all labor — another savage blow.

## Explains Role of Negro Workers in the South

Editor:

The Militant has many good articles about the struggles of Negroes for equality, but has few about their struggles in the South. This is easy to understand because of the small forces at your disposal and the difficulty in learning what is actually happening in the South. But I believe that special efforts should be made to show what colored workers in Dixie are doing, particularly those instances when they take the leadership in struggles of both white and colored workers.

Many readers of The Militant try to believe that Negroes will some day become leaders of struggles in the South for the emancipation of all workers, but it is often difficult for them to really believe it possible because of the way Negroes in the South are suppressed. Not only have they been suppressed, but the news of their struggles has been suppressed. At times when Southern workers have moved forward, often Jim Crow white workers have accepted the leadership of Negro workers.

In Tennessee in 1939-40, when the CIO began moving into Memphis, I saw Negroes time after time take the leadership in the fight for the CIO. In 1939, when the Inland Boatmen's Division of the National Maritime Union struck the river steamers on the Mississippi River, the strike was won and the Inland Boatmen established a beachhead for the CIO in Memphis.

Memphis workers began to feel that it was possible to build CIO unions in Memphis, despite the fact that the newspapers were running long articles telling about all the new weapons the Police Department was buying, and liberals were saying, "We'll have a small revolution and lots of bloodshed in Memphis if the CIO comes in." Many workers began to visit the office of the Inland Boatmen's Union and plead for the CIO to send some one down to help organize their plants. Nearly all the workers who pleaded for organizers were Negroes.

After a while, organizers were

sent to Memphis. George Bass of Akron was sent to organize Firestone Rubber Co., which hired around 8,000 workers, 2,000 white and 1,000 colored, and other organizers were sent for hardwood, steel, food processing and other plants. I do not know the complete story about the Firestone struggles, but there white workers took the leadership. But a Negro was elected as Vice-President at the first election, which proved to Memphis Negroes that the CIO was worth fighting for.

Almost everywhere else it was the Negro workers who led. The first strikes were at hardwood lumber mills and cottonseed processing plants, where only Negro help was hired. Many police mobilized in front of those plants; any scabs would have been well protected, and any workers who tried to interfere with them would have been savagely manhandled. But there were no scabs. If any colored workers had the desire to scab, they knew what it would mean when they went back into their neighborhoods.

The first strike of both Negro and white workers was at the Washab Screen Door Company. Here both Negro and white workers went out and no one scabbed, but almost all the picketing was done by Negroes. The Washab Screen Door strike broke the ice and after that there were many Negro and white workers brought into the same unions. Negroes became officers in mixed locals.

In the plant where I worked, we had a boss-dominated AFL union.

The workers wanted to get into the CIO but were afraid. The white workers were more fearful than the Negroes. Their feeling was well shown by several white workers, who seemed to be saturated with Jim Crow from their heels to the tops of their heads, who told me, "If the Negroes throw up a picket line, we won't go through it." When the battle for unionism of unskilled workers in Memphis was the hottest, white workers who looked upon Negroes as being not quite human, were following them.

Memphis is not the only place where in times of intense struggles of workers, Negroes have led. I learned something of the struggles of sharecroppers and tenant farmers from a friend of mine in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. When the struggles were at their highest point, colored workers often led white workers. When the fight ebbed, conditions under Jim Crow capitalism have pushed Negroes out of the positions they had won. However, conditions in the South have forced and in the future will force Negroes to push forward leaders for the struggle of both black and white workers.

It will help us greatly in the future to understand the past and present struggles. Readers in the South can help The Militant complete its picture of Negro struggles by letting us know what they have heard and seen in Dixie.

Lee Ryan  
St. Louis, Mo.

## Congress Helps Franco

(Continued from Page 1)

Smith (R. Wis.). "Was any protest made when we included Portugal for loans under ECA? No. Yet does any head of any government anywhere rule with greater dictatorial power than Salazar? Where were those members then who now profess with great alarm the menace of dictatorships?"

"Where is our consistency?" demanded Smith. "What consistency in our foreign policy when we recognize every rump revolution in South America and military dictators are set up as a result of these revolutions?"

Expediency, however, was the smallest question involved for the proponents of the loan. They were Franco supporters, and they were determined to make an open demonstration by the Congress of

the United States in favor of fascism in Spain.

"It was my privilege," said Smith, "in 1947 to spend two hours with Franco in his summer palace. I came away from that meeting with the feeling that Franco was trying to do a good job for the Spanish people."

He was echoed by Jennings (R. Tenn.). "This I know beyond the peradventure of a doubt, Franco has maintained the independence of Spain and the dignity of the Spanish people. No foreign invader, no foreign dictatorship has imposed its will upon Spain, or on the people of that country." (No, none but Hitler and Mussolini.)

And then Taber (R. N. Y.): "It is impossible for us to pass up aligning with the free nations of the world. Spain must be aligned with us. . . I can see no way for one who wishes to maintain the liberties of the world and the rights of the people but to vote for the motion."

In these few words Taber tore the curtain of liberal chatter and democratic pretensions from the world policy of American imperialism. It is for the Franco brand of "freedom," for the "liberties" that exist under his fascist regime that Washington is arming the U. S. and Western Europe and invading Korea. As time passes it becomes more difficult and embarrassing to prate

about "democracy." Better and easier to speak of the "holy war" in the manner of the Roman Pope as did the Representative from Tennessee:

"The issue is crystal clear. The battle lines are drawn. Atheistic communism seeks to conquer, dominate, and Communize the free Christian peoples of the world."

So he turns to Franco, who puts his opponents in concentration camps, who outlaws the unions, persecutes racial and religious minorities, starves the people and says: "Give us your hand, stand by our side, make common cause with us — and civilization, Christianity, and liberty will be saved."

There is the true voice of American imperialism. All the others are propagandists of the lie.

## Nationalize the Basic Industries

"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." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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- BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd and 3rd floors, every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3960.
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Canadian CCF Leaders Attack Anti-War Group

The recently held 11th National Convention of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada was converted by its top leadership into an abject capitulation to capitalism and into an unbridled witch-hunt against every opponent of official policies.

Coldwell had left off in his speech at the public meeting. The main task of the policy statement by F. R. Scott, retiring national chairman, was to convince the delegates that this outmoded capitalist system was not as bad as they may have hitherto thought.

A week before the convention, M. J. Coldwell, national leader of the CCF, delivered a radio broadcast committing the party to unconditional support of the St. Laurent government's Korean policy.

SLANDERS TROTSKYISM Labor Challenge, a Canadian Trotskyist paper, reporting Coldwell's speech, notes that he went out of his way to attack Trotskyism and to lie about it, lumping it together with fascism and Stalinism.

While calling for a ruthless struggle against Marxism and Trotskyism — that is, genuine socialism — Coldwell urged "compromises" with other forces no matter how "strange."

The proceedings at the convention session continued from where

Considerable applause greeted Cameron's opposition to the sending of Canadian troops to Korea (Colin Cameron is a prominent leftist and former president of the B. C. section) but this support, intimidated, did not show up when the vote was cast.

LEFT-WING SPEECHES The Left made its best showing in the convention when the national leadership's resolution came up for debate. White-haired Ernest Winch, who had helped draft the Regina Manifesto, hit out at the right wing for fostering the idea that "we will abolish only monopoly capital."

SCANDALOUS ATMOSPHERE The atmosphere prevailing at the convention was typified by an incident at one of the sessions when in the midst of the proceedings David Lewis, retiring national secretary, created a scandal over the sale on the literature stand of a pamphlet entitled "Is the Labor Government the Way to Socialism," issued by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Despite the intimidation, the left wingers made themselves heard. Labor Challenge observes: "Despite a weak and false policy on the foreign affairs debate the Left won the support of many delegates who were profoundly disturbed by the Coldwell policy."

NEW WORKERS PARTY IS FORMING IN GERMANY

A movement to create a new workers' party, independent of Stalinism and Social Democracy, is now making strong headway in Western Germany. On July 23, a conference to lay the basis for the new party was held in Ratingen near Dusseldorf.

Among the leading participants were Fritz Latzke, former member of the presidium of the CP for Schleswig-Holstein; Joseph Schappe, former member of the Secretariat of the CP for the northern Rhineland; George Fischer, former member of the Secretariat of the CP for Bavaria; and Wolfgang Gese, former member of the presidium of the CP for lower Saxony.

ON THE CP'S ROLE A resolution adopted by the conference stated: "The working class of Germany is subjected to the exploitation of the bourgeoisie which, buttressed by three western powers, has been strengthened in its exploitative role."

"The equality of the Communist Parties should necessarily be the fundamental task of Marxism and there cannot be any 'leading party' because that would mean to consciously or unconsciously place its interests over those of other parties and other countries."

"The working class of Germany is thus deprived of genuine political representatives. By its unconditional submission to the foreign policy of the USSR, the German CP has lost its prestige among the workers and has ceased to be the party of the German proletariat."

The organization committee for the new party has now published the first edition of its paper, Freie Tribune under the editorship of Joseph Schappe who was editor of the Freies Volk, central organ of the German CP, before his expulsion from the Stalinist party.

In its account of the July 23 conference the paper notes that delegates pointed out that lack of confidence with the German CP has spread through all the areas of Western Germany and that organized groups of oppositionists, consisting of expelled CP members and those who have left the party, have been set up on a broad scale.

FORMOSA UNDER THE HEEL OF CHIANG

By J. Blake

As Formosa is dragged to the chopping block of the United Nations, with a little Republican-Democratic election year by-play by Truman and MacArthur, an examination of the victim is in order.

Neither the President, in ordering the United States Seventh Fleet to Formosan waters, nor the General, in speaking bluntly about the place of Formosa in U. S. military strategy in the Far East, wasted any words on the situation of the unhappy people who inhabit the island.

This was not always the case. Only last year, with the publication by the U. S. State Department of the 1054-page volume, U. S. Relations With China, official documents detailing the brutal suppression of the Formosan people by the bloody Chiang Kai-shek forces were made public.

Clearly indicated in the documents was the U. S. objective of taking over Formosa. "Our experience in Formosa is most enlightening," Truman's special fact-finder in Korea and China, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, on Aug. 17, 1947 reported to the Secretary of State:

"The administration of the former Governor Chen Yi has alienated the people from the Central Government (of Chiang Kai-shek). Many were forced to feel that conditions under autocratic (Japanese imperialist) rule were preferable. The Central Government must lose a fine opportunity to indicate to the Chinese people and to the world at large its capability to provide honest and efficient administration."

"Ruthless, Corrupt and Avaricious" Depriving Chiang Kai-shek of the alibi later granted Syngman Rhee in Korea, General Wedemeyer said, "They cannot attribute their failure to the activities of Communists or of dissident elements. The people anticipated sincerely and enthusiastically deliverance from the Japanese yoke."

"However, Chen Yi and his henchmen ruthlessly, corruptly and avariciously imposed their regime upon a happy and amenable population. The Army conducted themselves as conquerors. Secret police operate freely to intimidate and to facilitate exploitation by Central Government officials."

Drilling openly, the fact-finder reported: "The island is extremely productive in coal, rice, sugar, cement, fruits and tea. Both hydro and thermal power are abundant. The Japanese had efficiently electrified even remote areas and also established excellent railroad lines and highways. Eighty percent of the people can read and write, the exact antithesis of conditions prevailing in the mainland of China."

Then, couching his recommendation for procedure in diplomatic language, General Wedemeyer wrote, "There were indications that Formosans would be receptive toward U. S. guardianship and U.N. trusteeship. They fear that the Central Government contemplates bleeding their island to support the tottering and corrupt Nanking Machine and I think their fears well founded."

Now seeking UN legalization of his recent military move in Formosa, President Truman has officially backed UN Delegate Warren Austin's statement that "The actual status of the island is that it is a territory taken from Japan by the victory of the Allied forces in the Pacific. Like all other such territories, its legal status cannot be fixed until there is international action to determine its future."

A Shift in the U. S. Line But the U. S. State Department's official publication said, "By the terms of the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, the U. S. and China declared their intention that Formosa should be restored to China."

Accordingly, in September 1945, the administration of the island was taken over from the Japanese by Chiang Kai-shek's forces "assisted by small American teams." The iron curtain of Allied censorship concealed for some time the story of the rape of Formosa that followed, of the heroic resistance of the Formosan people, and of the blood-bath in which their struggle was drowned by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. But in 1949, when it suited the aims of the State Department to lift its protective cover from its erstwhile "democratic ally," the truth was told.

These were the conditions which fanned the spark of the Formosan revolt against Chinese Nationalist tyranny. It took only a relatively small incident to touch off the uprising, which was smothered with the brutality and ferocity that have always characterized the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The facts cited by the U.S. reports about the revolt and the massacre that followed will be reviewed in next week's issue of The Militant.

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION By James P. Cannon This pamphlet deals in detail with the great transformation of the American working class since the Thirties. It says, and explains why, "In the study and analysis of this great transformation, rather than in rapid ruminations over the 'backwardness' of the American workers, one can find the key to prospective future developments." It is must reading for every participant and student of the socialist movement. 32 pages 10 cents Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.



TROTSKY

"Either the entire old generation of Bolshevik leaders, with a single and sole exception, has really betrayed Socialism for fascism, or the present leadership of the USSR has organized a judicial frame-up against the founders of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. Yes, that is precisely how the question stands: Either Lenin's Political Bureau was composed of traitors, or Stalin's Political Bureau is composed of falsifiers. There is no third possibility! But it is precisely because there is no third possibility that progressive public opinion cannot, at the very risk of its existence, evade making this difficult and tragic choice and explaining it to the popular masses."

— Leon Trotsky, Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials.



LENIN

The Cause of Inflation

Some of the capitalist newspapers and politicians are again trying to hand us the old chestnut that rising wages are the cause of inflation. Some people used to be taken in by that gag. But it has been pretty well exploded by the economic developments since the start of the Korean war.

Every man, woman and child in the country knows what happened the moment Truman ordered U.S. armed forces to Korea. Prices shot up overnight. Within a few weeks, wages, which were at a virtual standstill, lagged some 13% behind prices. Wholesale commodity prices now are more than 20% higher than on June 25 — and it is noteworthy that industrial prices have gone up at a rate twice as fast as farm products.

At a secret Senate Appropriations Committee-meeting with three top air force officers, as revealed by columnist Robert S. Allen in the Aug. 14 N.Y. Post, Air Force Chief of Staff Hoyt Vandenberg hinted around that, due to price increases since the start of the Korean war, the air force would have to have a lot more money just to take care of its

current plans. When prodded for the reason, he disclosed that the manufacturers had in six weeks raised their prices as much as 90% for air force supplies. "Generally," the General said, "the increases range from 40 to 60 per cent. One supplier hiked his price 90 per cent in one week."

"What for?" a senator asked. The General replied that "we don't know" but "they are not based on higher labor and raw material costs."

The real cause of the inflation lies in the profiteering of the capitalists who are making a killing out of scarcities created or anticipated as a result of the huge increase in government war spending. Last week the House of Representatives put its seal on a \$36 billion military budget, which will bring the total of federal annual spending to \$52 billion. And that's just the start. This means that about \$1 out of every \$4 of national income is being diverted to the federal government for war. That's where inflation starts — and not in any miserable wage raises that the workers may force from the employers in a frantic effort to keep up with skyrocketing prices.

Why Not Let the People Decide?

According to a Gallup Poll survey, a strong majority of the Canadian people are opposed to their government's sending troops to the war in Korea. Labor Challenge, the Canadian Trotskyist paper, summarizes the results of the survey in this manner: 39% are opposed unconditionally to sending troops; 15% are opposed conditionally; 12% are in doubt; and 34% are in favor. Forty-one per cent do not support even the sending of a single plane, ship or round of ammunition to interfere in the Korean civil war, let alone troops; while 26% go so far as to outrightly oppose, or withhold support from, even the American intervention.

Despite these figures, the Canadian government has announced that it will send troops to fight in Korea. Like the United States, Canada prides itself on being a democracy, but on the decisive issues a minority overrules the majority.

We don't know if the Gallup Poll has made a similar survey of sentiment in the United States; we don't care much because the Gallup Poll is biased on the conservative side in the wording of its questions and in the selection of the individuals it questions. But we are decidedly in favor of finding out what the American people really think about the war in Korea and in having the majority opinion determine the policy of the government.

What we advocate specifically is a national referendum, permitting the people to vote on the life-and-death questions of war or peace. The decision made in the referendum should be binding on the government, and not be regarded as simply a consultative vote. The first question to be voted on should concern the government's policy in Korea, with the people being asked to decide whether or not the American troops should be withdrawn from that country.

Opponents of such a referendum argue that the people already have a way of determining the country's policy on war or peace. They say that the people can express their opinions by voting for or against various candidates for national office. But this is true only in a limited and indirect sense. Truman, for example, ran for office in 1948 on a "peace" program. Most of the people who voted for him had no way of knowing that he would suddenly hurl the U. S. into an undeclared war in Korea. That is why we find a referendum on this question, binding on whoever may be in office, infinitely more democratic and effective.

What are the opponents of a referendum afraid of, anyhow? Do they suspect that in spite of the thunderous war propaganda their policy does not command the support of a majority of the American people?

Franco and Truman

It is reported in the press that Truman plans to impound the 62½ million dollar loan to Franco passed in Congress; the appropriation would remain in the U.S. Treasury until Truman sees the need to expend it.

By this neat device, Truman achieves a number of political ends simultaneously. He escapes the need of vetoing the Franco loan, and thereby also the military appropriations bill to which the loan is attached as an amendment. He preserves the guise of being an opponent of Franco which is indispensable for the union bureaucrats in hustling votes for the Democratic Party in the coming election. He diminishes the embarrassment to Atlantic Pact allies in Western Europe where solid anti-Franco sentiment exists. Finally, he lets it appear that he, the head of the Democratic Party, remains loyal to campaign pledges even if the majority of Democratic Congressmen have "strayed" away from them.

It goes without saying that this is how the crawling "labor leaders" will try to sell Truman's role in the dirty Franco business to the workers. Like everything else they say about Truman, their statements will be compounded of half-truths and deception.

They will not say that Truman made

only the most lukewarm efforts to stop the passage of the loan; he hid the "erring" Congressmen but did not threaten them with any reprisals. They will not say that Truman's opposition to the Franco loan is purely a matter of tactics and propaganda since the State Department has already made it plain that Franco can get U.S. money by applying to the Export-Import bank and private bankers. Nor will they say that at the first moment Truman feels the coast is clear he will unfreeze the loan, using the old alibi "in order to save American lives."

But the subterfuges and excuses the Murrays and Greens may dream up for Truman won't go for the gang of Franco-loving Democrats who made the U.S. Congress the scene of a deliberate demonstration in favor of fascism in Spain. A vote for the Democratic Party in this election will be a vote for Franco. That will make little difference to the spineless, venal creatures who hold the reins of power in the unions. They have been sleeping in the same bed with the white supremacists and the upholders of lynch law. Why not make a little room for Franco, the great defender of "Christian civilization"?

Get out the vote! — even if it leads straight to the concentration camp.

Former Leaders Of Spanish CP Flay Kremlin Rule

The first issue of Accion Socialista, which appeared in Paris at the end of July, is indicative of the ferment and opposition crystallized by the Yugoslav events in the ranks of the Spanish Stalinists in exile.

The paper is published by Jose del Barrio and Felix Montiel, former members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Spanish CP. Strongly opposed to Moscow domination, the aim of this group is to provide a rallying center for all tendencies looking towards the eventual creation of a new party. Its principal aim is the creation of a broad united front movement in Spain and in emigration circles to be known as the "anti-fascist workers and peasant alliance."

The Spanish CP, del Barrio pointed out in a press statement, is under the complete and rigid control of the Kremlin. The majority of the CP members elected to the Spanish Cortes in 1936 are now outside the party. The Central Committee has not met since 1939. Dolores Ibaruri Passonaria, the general secretary of the party, was never elected to the post, and the leadership is in the hands of a group of five members appointed by Moscow but never approved by a party convention. The activities of the Spanish CP have diminished to the vanishing point in the past few years.

Del Barrio attributes this situation to the policy of the leaders of the USSR and the Cominform. Just as World War I, he says, led to the political liquidation of the Second International as a revolutionary leadership, so the Second World War has led, due to the policy of hegemony of the USSR, to the political liquidation of the Third International as a revolutionary leadership.

Accion Socialista publishes a statement by prominent figures and veterans of the Spanish Civil War exposing Stalinist slanders in the Rajk trial and in their press against Yugoslav participants in that conflict. The journal also announces the formation of a delegation of Spanish refugees to visit Yugoslavia.

Two New Pioneer Publications "Welfare State" Or Socialism? By ART PREIS With a foreword on the events in Korea. A popular exposition of the promises and record of the Truman administration, demonstrating from authoritative sources how the "Fair Deal" has become a War Deal and the "Welfare State" a Warfare State. An analysis of the role of the labor leaders and a program for militant workers. The installments of the pamphlet published serially in The Militant appeared in largely condensed form. 40 pages 10 cents PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Stalin's Frame-Up System And the Moscow Trials By LEON TROTSKY The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges. An introduction by Joseph Hansen which brings the record of Stalin's frame-up system up-to-date and includes an analysis of recent trials in Eastern Europe. 168 pages 10 cents PIONEER PUBLISHERS NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



# The Case of Jean Muir

By James Kutcher

When I was purged from my clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration two years ago and started my fight for reinstatement, I publicly warned that what had happened to me because of my political views would happen to many other people privately employed as well as to government employees. Frankly, I didn't expect to see my warning confirmed so soon or on such a mass scale, but that is just what is happening today.

The Militant has already written about the purge that is going on in the maritime industry, but it is worth repeating. At the latest report, more than 100 American seamen have been barred from their jobs merely because of their ideas. None of them is even accused of plotting sabotage or engaging in espionage; they are dismissed with the highly vague phrase — "poor security risk." I can think of nothing more shameful than to deprive a man of his livelihood simply because he has minority or unorthodox political or social opinions. And it is not any less shameful because the union leaders are sanctioning this Nazi-like procedure.

Elsewhere in this issue there is a report that President Truman is asking for the power to fire any person "SUSPECT of a purpose to engage in sabotage or espionage" from any industry "relating to the national security," which means just about every industry. If he gets this power, then no one who utters an unpopular opinion today, or in the future, or who has uttered an unpopular opinion in the past, will be safe in his job.

If you want a preview of what it will be like if the President gets the power he is seeking, then you ought to take a look at the case of Jean Muir, the actress who has just been fired off the Aldrich Family television show. A number of jingoistic groups demanded her dismissal on the ground that she had been named as a member of a number of organizations on the "subversive" blacklist by Counter-Attack, a periodical that specializes in red baiting and has close ties to the FBI.

Some of the organizations Miss Muir said she had never heard of. Others she had belonged to at the same time as Eleanor Roosevelt and Senator Frank Graham and had resigned from a long time ago. Of membership in the Progressive Citizens of America, she noted that she had been against Wallace's presidential candidacy. (Her

husband said she voted the straight Democratic ticket.) She denied that she is a Communist or ever was one and emphatically denounced them as "a vicious and destructive force."

But it didn't do her much good. The sponsor of the show, the General Foods Corporation, threw her out just the same, saying they were not making a judgment on the merits of the case but that they couldn't afford to have a "controversial personality" in the cast. "It seems unbelievable," said Miss Muir, "that an actress can have such a setback to her livelihood and career, based on nothing more than unsubstantiated accusations made over the telephone and by teletype." She said she had been paid in full for her 18-week contract, "which could have been legally cancelled if the charges were true." And sadly she declared, "All of this seems most unjust and unfair."

And so it is. But purges and penalties based on nothing but "unsubstantiated accusations" have become the pattern of H-Bomb democracy. The Socialist Workers Party and many other organizations were put on the "subversive" list on the basis of unsubstantiated accusations and deprived of even an open hearing at which to defend themselves. Seamen are being removed from their jobs on the basis of unsubstantiated accusations, and now Truman wants to do to the whole working class what is being done to the seamen and has already been done to Miss Muir.

When you were unemployed back in the 1930's did you ever join the Workers Alliance or the Unemployed Councils? Did you ever attend a meeting sponsored by the National Negro Congress, or "associate" with it to the extent of signing one of its petitions? Hundreds of thousands of not millions of American workers can be classified as "subversive" in such a way and deprived of their livelihood under the powers sought by the President. And even if they never had anything to do with any of the organizations on the "subversive" list, they could still be penalized and driven out of their jobs on the vague charge of "poor security risk" — the industrial equivalent of a "controversial personality."

How many more cases like Jean Muir's must there be before the American people awaken to the danger facing them and put an end to these "most unjust and unfair" violations of our cherished liberties and rights?

# Don't Be A Political Scab

By William E. Bohannon

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

Looking through the CIO News last week, I noticed a picture of a labor-sponsored election rally in Ohio and a banner at the rally which read, "Don't Be A Political Scab — Register and Vote." Evidently the labor leaders think that a worker who doesn't register is a political scab. In my opinion that is pretty strong and exaggerated language. There are many workers who don't register or vote because they know that in their districts they will be faced only with the choice between Democratic and Republican candidates on the ballot and, feeling that there is no important difference between them, can't see why they should waste time picking between Tweedleum and Tweedledee. It seems to me that a more appropriate slogan for workers who refuse to register and vote, especially in districts where there is a real alternative at the ballot, would be: "Don't be a political 'free rider' — like the fellow in the plant who doesn't pay his dues but accepts the benefits and wage increases won by the union."

But that doesn't invalidate the slogan, Don't Be A Political Scab, which is very good, necessary and timely, but which is being misused by the union bureaucrats when they apply it to the workers. The ones it should be applied to above all others are the union bureaucrats themselves. A scab is one who sides with the bosses against the workers. In a political sense that is just what the union leaders are doing. They side with the bosses' parties, they run errands for the bosses' parties, they spend money (the workers' money) rounding up votes to elect the candidates of the bosses' parties, they lie about the aims and cover up the record of the bosses' candidates whom they support. What is more, they oppose the formation of a labor party just the way a scab opposes the formation of a union, and they crack down viciously on workers who oppose their false political policies. Will some smooth-tongued union

leader please explain to us what political scabbing consists of if it doesn't consist of the practices I have listed above?

There are only three candidates for Congress in my district — a Republican named Vreeland whose last job was as a kind of lobbyist for a big corporation; the Democratic incumbent named Addonizio; and myself, representing the Socialist Workers Party. The labor leaders, almost to a man, are backing Addonizio and painting him up as a great "friend of labor." They claim he has a "perfect record" in Congress, but that's a fraud. The way he gets his "perfect record" is by careful doctoring of the facts. For example, the labor leaders praise him because he voted against the Republican McConnell amendment that stripped the teeth out of the FEPC bill last February. But they don't mention the fact that Addonizio turned around a few hours later and voted for that same toothless FEPC measure when it was presented as a bill instead of as an amendment. The labor leaders hail him as a defender of civil liberties and an opponent of McCarthyism and witch-hunts. But they are quiet and are going to keep on being quiet about the fact that last week Addonizio, like practically all the other Democrats in the House, voted in favor of the Mundt-Nixon police state bill, which both the CIO and AFL are on record against. If such a man is a "friend of labor," then so are Mundt and Nixon.

Now of course the union leaders have the right to support any candidate they choose. But they have to be called to account and sternly disciplined when they commit the labor movement to support of reactionary capitalist candidates by means of lies and deceptions. If they object to being called political scabs, then I am willing to withdraw it. But only because there is another term that fits them more exactly — actually, they are would-be political scab-herders.

# The Embers of Hatred

By Joseph Keller

General Omar Bradley said not long ago that "it is obvious that workers live near factories and that if you bomb the factories you may bomb the people." This is the fact that must be kept in mind when we read Gen. MacArthur's daily war communiques with their long accounts of high-explosive and napalm fire bombing of Korean cities, towns and villages on a scale comparable to the bombings in Germany and Japan during the last war.

There can be no doubt that the U. S. air attacks from one end of Korea to the other are resulting in frightful massacres of civilians. This has been confirmed, in part, by the admissions of leading commentators for the American capitalist press, like Walter Lippman of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune and Hansen Baldwin of the N. Y. Times. Korea — south as well as north — is being ravaged and ruined. It takes little imagination to visualize what is happening to the whole Korean people when we read in an Aug. 27 United Press dispatch from Tokyo that Lieut. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, commander of the Far East Air Forces, "said United States planes already had heavily damaged Communist supply lines with 152,000 tons of bombs, 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition and 38,670 rockets."

The horror being visited by air on the helpless Korean civilians, including hundreds of thousands of refugees, is matched by the atrocities committed against them by American ground troops and the South Korean forces of the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, the murderous puppet regime which Washington is seeking to maintain by force of arms.

Some of the facts of the "utmost savagery" of the U. S. forces have been told by John Osborne, senior Time-Life correspondent, as reported in last week's Militant. He told of the "blotting out of villages" and "the shooting and shelling of refugees" because of fear that they "may" include North Korean guerrillas or otherwise be aiding the North Korean forces.

The hatred of all Koreans for the U. S. invaders is unquestionably a major factor in the

ability of the North Korean army to continue its fierce attacks in the face of the now-admitted superior U. S. fire power. It is evident that virtually the entire populace is supporting the forces trying to drive the Americans out of their country and that the U.S. forces are waging war on the whole Korean people.

Even what Osborne calls the South Korean "helpers" of the U. S. — the brutal Japanese-trained soldiers of Syngman Rhee's regime — have been disaffected by the attitude of the Americans. The American command is trying to overcome the hostility with what it calls the "buddy system," as reported on Aug. 25 by the Associated Press.

This program — "still on a small-scale experimental system" — provides that each American soldier has a South Korean soldier with him all the time to teach him U. S. tactics "varying from military matters to personal hygiene." The dispatch explains:

"This is a start on the job of repairing the relations between the U. S. forces and the South Koreans, who have suffered as innocent victims of the anti-infiltration measures. The G.I.'s had learned the hard way to distrust Korean 'refugees,' so they eagerly obeyed orders to raze evacuated native huts to prevent enemy troops from hiding in them. . . . Only, as other reports have disclosed, the huts weren't always evacuated.

A further glimpse of what is going on in Korea is given by Robert P. Martin, of the Overseas News Agency, in an Aug. 27 report from "somewhere in Korea." He says that if the U. S. forces succeed in driving the North Korean army into retreat, "we will be moving back through destroyed villages, through lands we devastated from the ground and air during our retreat. The Koreans, who have known only poverty all their lives, will be on the edge of despair and disaster. Communism may have more attraction for them than liberation."

An American officer phrased the problem bluntly, Martin reports, with "Like it or not, we are a foreign army fighting in a civil war."

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# THE MILITANT

## Petition Campaign Ends in New York With 16500 Names

By Ben Stone

NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — A record all-day city turnout by the Socialist Workers Party last Saturday yielded over 2,000 signatures and brought the final score to a grand total of 16,500 nominating signatures. This puts the SWP way over the top in the campaign to get on the ballot in New York State. It is 4,500 above the legal minimum for the entire state and includes double the required number for all the 61 counties in the state.

The city mobilization was followed by a victory celebration where announcements were made of the final scores and the winners of the pace-setting contest. The two leading pace-setters for New York City were Comrades Ria S. with 386 signatures and Dotty J. with 266 signatures. As with the upstate crews, these two pace-setters are entitled to a free week-end at Mountain Spring Camp.

Michael Bartell, the party's candidate for Governor, spoke briefly to the celebrants on the inspiring work done by the whole membership in the campaign to put the SWP on the ballot in this state.

A feeling of satisfaction pervaded the atmosphere at the victory celebration. The knowledge that the party had succeeded in winning out against unprecedented odds in the toughest assignment it had ever undertaken in this state, was a source of great jubilation.

With the petition drive completed, the New York Local of the party has announced that it will launch its campaign at a rally that will be held on Friday night, Sept. 22, at the Hotel Capitol. The rally will hear Joseph Hansen, candidate for U. S. Senator; Michael Bartell, candidate for Governor; and Gladys Barker, candidate for Lt. Governor. The party's candidate for Comptroller, Harry Ring, will chair the rally. An important address on foreign policy will be delivered by Hansen.

## Ask Protection for Right to Speak

Seventy educators, scientists and religious leaders have asked President Truman and 192 American mayors to take action against any one who tries to stop people from speaking for peace. Their letter said it was inevitable that, with man's future at stake, the "solutions proposed will be extremely diverse, controversial and heated."

"Yet we learn," they said, "that in a number of cities in the U. S., citizens who assert their inalienable right to speak for peace according to their own insights are being assaulted, arrested by officers of the law and even impugned as disloyal to the American people and our form of government."

Among the signers were Dr. Robert M. Lovett, former governor of the Virgin Islands; Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Peace Prize winner; Prof. Henry Cadbury, of Harvard, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee; Dr. Linus Pauling, atomic scientist of the California Institute of Technology.

## Fear of A-Bombs Causes Big Spurt In Demand for Rural Real Estate

A migration of city dwellers — at least those with enough dough — to rural areas fifty or more miles away from urban centers is reported underway. The reason: fear of atomic bombs.

"City folks who used to talk dreamily about getting a little place in the country some day are bestirring themselves in growing numbers to make that dream come true," reports Charles Grutzner in the Aug. 27 N. Y. Times.

But it's not fresh air that's attracting them. "Another kind of dream — a nightmare of atom bombs falling on cities — is responsible for some of the increased activity in the rural realty market," Grutzner writes. Scattered agents in widely scattered parts of the country report a big increase — in some cases as much as 100% — in the number of inquiries about available rural properties "fifty miles or further from key cities."

The demand has already affected prices and the real estate companies are doing what they can to take advantage of the

## On Michigan Slate



HOWARD LERNER



WILLIAM YANCEY

## MICHIGAN SWP SLATE STRESSES CIVIL RIGHTS

(Continued from page 1) November. One section of this bill reads:

"Section 22 — Subversion shall consist of any act, or advocacy of any act, intended to overthrow the form of government of the United States or the form of government of this State as established by this Constitution and as guaranteed by Section 4 of Article 5 of the Constitution of the United States of America, by force or violence or by any unlawful means. Subversion is declared to be a crime against the State punishable by any penalty provided by law."

The speed with which this bill was rushed through is in sharp contrast to the lethargy shown by the legislature when such questions as aid to the unemployed, FEPC, and other bills of aid to labor, come before them.

This bill is being popularized by the officials of the state government as the method for outlawing the Communist Party, which it certainly will in effect do. (The backers of the bill are in this way taking full advantage of the unpopularity of the Stalinists with the people, an attitude which the Stalinists themselves invited by countless sellouts of the workers' struggles.)

The SWP candidates, however, will use every opportunity to demonstrate that this bill will not only hit at the rights of the Stalinists as a political party, but will also be used by a reactionary legislature to infringe on the rights of labor.

### POSSIBLE USES

The state could use this law, for example, in a situation where a militant was advocating a strike that might conceivably affect the "national welfare," or where a man might attack the government for its rotten policy towards an FEPC law. The state could "interpret" such acts as "intended to overthrow the form of government . . . by force or violence."

As for the penalties that would be handed out in the enforcement of this bill, the Detroit News says:

"The Legislature will have the power to fix penalties for subversive activity and take any other steps along that line it deems advisable" if the bill is adopted in November.

To date, the Michigan CIO has maintained a cowardly silence on the bill. The only position that can be connected with the CIO is that of Ed Carey, formerly a regional director of the UAW, at

present a member of the House, and generally recognized as the authoritative voice of the CIO in the State Legislature.

Blindly ignorant of the effect this bill would have on the organization he claims to represent, Carey has been bringing joy to the hearts of the bosses in Michigan by making use of all opportunities to present the bill in a favorable light to the people.

Although this bill is modeled after the proposed federal McCarran and Mundt-Nixon bills, which the national CIO has denounced, the Michigan CIO has allowed a situation to exist where it is considered in support of this bill.

Because the enactment of this measure will mean a long step toward a police state in the nation's key industrial centers, the SWP intends to concentrate a great portion of its election activity on mobilizing the workers against the bill.

### "Withdraw from Korea" Says British Laborite MP

S. O. Davies, Laborite member of the British Parliament for Merthyr Tydfil, a mining town in the heart of the South Wales coal fields, appeals to the labor movement to "Withdraw British Forces from Korea" in an article printed in the August issue of Socialist Outlook, the journal expressing revolutionary socialist views in the British Labor Party.

An editorial in the same issue of Socialist Outlook says, "We are against all imperialist intervention in Korea. We are for the unification of that country and its freedom from imperialist domination. . . . We are convinced that the victory of all colonial peoples against imperialism is one of the surest ways to secure a lasting world peace."

# Myra Weiss Denounces L. A. Witch-Hunt Law

(Continued from Page 1)

tween the County Board and the dictators is that the dictators were more honest. They proclaimed openly that they would not tolerate "dangerous thoughts," by which they meant all ideas which challenged the divine wisdom of their evil and oppressive rule. The County Board, in contrast, shields its reactionary decrees behind a democratic smokescreen."

### DEFEND RIGHTS OF ALL

Comrade Weiss made it clear that the Socialist Workers Party does not defend the political views and practices of the Communist Party and that in fact the SWP, since its inception, has been the most consistent and vigorous opponent of the Stalinist police state in the Soviet Union and of the Stalinist leaders in this country for their subservience to the Kremlin and their attempt to convert the American labor movement into a tool of Moscow foreign policy.

She added, however, "But I do defend the right of the Communist Party to exist as a legal organization free from any special disabilities or proscriptions. And I defend the right of any individual to belong to that party if he so choose. If the destruction of the liberties of one group is permitted, then the liberties of all are threatened."

### THOUGHT-CONTROL

Showing how no one would be free from persecution if these ordinances are put into effect, Comrade Weiss continued: "If an individual fails to register, he can be imprisoned and fined. If he does register, he can be thrown out of his job and denied future employment. This is thought-control and

# Courts Release Bridges, Revoke Stalinists' Bail

The Aug. 24 decision of the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ordering that Harry Bridges be released from jail under bail gave a black eye to the government's current campaign to use the Korean war as a pretext for imprisoning critics of the war.

But this did not deter the government, and on Aug. 28 the United States Court of Appeals in New York acceded to its demands and revoked the bail of the 11 Communist Party leaders who had been convicted under the Smith Act last year.

And in Congress, directly as a result of the decision in the Bridges case, a move was started to probe the "competence, fitness and legal qualifications" of all federal judges and to determine if any are "Communists, Communist sympathizers or members of subversive organizations."

### UNWELCOME REMINDER

In the eyes of the capitalist class and the capitalist press, the decision on Bridges easily ranked as the most unpopular court action of the year. For that decision, handed down by Judges William Healy and William E. Orr in a two-to-one verdict, was at direct variance with the judicial subservience to the government witch-hunt that has become the prevailing pattern of American courts in recent years. It was like a voice out of the dim past, a reminder of a tradition that American capitalism no longer has any use for.

Bridges, who was freed on \$25,000 bail pending his appeal against his conviction for perjury, had been sent to jail on Aug. 6 as an alleged menace to national security in the light of the Korean war. Judges Healy and Orr held that he had been "singled out and jailed by arbitrary judicial action" and said that he will appear "a victim of judicial tyranny" even to large numbers of people who disagree with his policies.

### "STARTLING . . . NOVEL"

There is no evidence that Bridges has committed "any recognizable crime," they continued. His bail was revoked solely on the contention that a jury had found him guilty of perjury when he denied that he was a Communist "and that the subsequent development of the Korean crisis renders him per se a menace to the public security. . . . The conclusion, if we may say so, is as startling as it is novel."

A procedure "admittedly with-

out precedent in the history of the Republic" was started in this case, they declared, "namely, to make the courts the effective instruments of executive expediency."

"There was a period in English history," they recalled, "when high judges prostituted themselves to the role of mere instruments for carrying into effect the arbitrary will of the Crown, and the memory of that experience took deep lodgment in the hearts of English-speaking peoples."

"It is one thing to refrain from interference and quite another for the courts to become themselves the tools of military expediency; and we say now, with all the emphasis we are able to command, that however hard and disagreeable may be the task in times of popular passion and excitement, it is the duty of the courts to set their faces like flint against this erosive subversion of the judicial process."

The position taken by these two judges is in keeping with long American democratic tradition; if it seems somewhat radical, that is only because almost the entire judiciary has volunteered or been intimidated into serving as "instruments of executive expediency."

### MORE TYPICAL

More typical of present day American courts was the New York decision, also by a two-to-one vote, revoking the bail of the 11 Stalinist leaders on virtually the same pretext that had been followed in the Bridges case. However the defendants, possibly as a result of the West Coast decision, were allowed a 30 day leeway in which they can try to stay their jail sentences by applying for continuance of their liberty under bail until after the Supreme Court acts on their appeal against their convictions under the Smith Act.

This was more like what the ruling class wants and is getting used to having its courts decide. There were no demands in the press or Congress for an investigation to determine if the judges in this case were incompetent, unfit, unqualified or disloyal. There is no need to intimidate judges who lend themselves so willingly to "arbitrary judicial tyranny."

nothing else. In proposing to follow in the footsteps of the County Board, the City Council is in effect telling us: think as we tell you to think; speak as we tell you to speak — or face the alternative of starving or rotting in jail. And this peppery dish is being served up to us in the name of freedom and liberty and democracy!"

Concluding, she declared: "The Socialist Workers Party, for which I speak, is totally opposed to the County thought-control ordinances and to the supplemental legislation which the City Council proposes to adopt. We declare to the enemies of liberty that they shall have no easy victory over the peoples' rights. Not even a clever policeman can arrest the spread of ideas."

### STRINGENT PENALTIES

The County ordinances, three in all, which were passed Aug. 22 without even the formality of a hearing or any advance publicity, provide for the registration of "Communists" with the Sheriff's office. Failure to comply makes any individual subject to six months' imprisonment and a fine of \$500, with each day of non-compliance considered a separate offense.

In addition to the provisions against Communists, the ordinances require the registration of any one who belongs to an organization which advocates the illegal interference or tampering with real or personal property as a means of obstructing the production of supplies for the armed forces or civilian defense. This obviously is aimed at the outlawing of strikes.

The ordinances also list a number of acts, commission of which stigmatize a person as a Communist. Included is the organization

of "insubordination of governmental employees." The statutes also define the word "organization" so that it includes groups composed of no more than two persons permanently or temporarily associated together for the purpose of joint or concerted action of any nature.

The laws could therefore be brought into play against any two Negroes who jointly opposed serving in a Jim Crow army.

### DEADLINE SEPT. 1

Immediately after the promulgation of the county ordinances, the Communist Party announced that it would defy the law and that its members would not register. Deadline for registration is Sept. 1. To date, according to newspaper reports, no one has registered with the County's sheriffs. Los Angeles County, reputed to be the largest in the world, includes large unincorporated areas, as well as the City of Los Angeles and a number of other small cities and towns.

The City Council controls Los Angeles City. If passed by the City Council, the thought-control ordinances would undoubtedly be copied by other local incorporated areas.

### Homes - Not H-Bombs

"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." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.