

Truman Speech Covers Up Secret Wake Decisions

By Fred Hart

The significance of Truman's San Francisco speech on Oct. 17 lies not so much in what was said as in what was so deliberately left unsaid.

Truman disclosed nothing what- ever about the purpose and results of his meeting with MacArthur on Wake Island where the twain met as if they were representatives of two sovereign powers, each initiating a joint communique which confined itself to meaningless generalities.

In an explanation which explained exactly nothing Truman affirmed that he went to Wake Island merely because he "wanted to talk to General MacArthur" and found the conference "very satisfactory."

According to Joseph C. Harsch, head of the Washington bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, the "deepest secret" of the Wake Island conference was the one hour session which "preceded the formal conference" and in which the "military members of the presidential party participated."

BRASS HATS ELATED

Far-reaching decisions were obviously made. But no one knows what they are. Harsch reports that the military chieftains — General Bradley, Admiral Radford and their staffs — were elated by the outcome. They "got what they wanted" — in fact they got more than they ever expected when the trip was extemporized so hastily. MacArthur reportedly "expressed equal satisfaction."

Harsch sums up what these militarists "got" as "an improved stage setting for the evolution of a more active and more vigorous Far Eastern policy."

The chief advocate of this "more active and more vigorous" policy is, as is well-known, MacArthur. He is for holding Formosa at all costs. He favors open military intervention in Indo-China. In fact, he is the proponent of the military conquest of the Asiatic mainland, in the first instance, of China.

This secret meeting wrapped up within the mysterious Wake Island conference which brought so much satisfaction to the militarists bodes nothing but evil for both the people of this country and the masses of the Far East. Truman did not have a

bumbling word to say about Formosa which is now virtually a military protectorate of the United States. He did not so much as mention Indo-China. Instead of clarifying his administration's policy in the Far East, he resorted to the moth-eaten demagogic pretenses, disclaiming that Washington sought "territory or special privileges in Korea or anywhere else."

WORTHLESS ASSURANCES

What are these assurances worth in the face of the actions of the Truman administration? At the very moment Truman was mouthing these lies, it was officially announced in Washington that the French militarists have been allotted \$2.4 billion, a goodly slice of which is to finance the war of the French colonial despots against the Indo-Chinese people.

Simultaneously reports continue appearing in the press that much bigger U. S. forces would be stationed in the Far East than

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GOVT. BEGINS ENFORCING M'CARRAN-KILGORE LAW

By John F. Petrone

The Truman administration began to enforce the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law last week. Section 22 of the law forbids the entry into this country of any alien

who has "at any time" been a member of, or affiliated with, a "communist" or other "totalitarian" party. The Attorney General may make exceptions in cases of foreign visitors coming here temporarily, but is required under the law to report the information about these exceptions to Congress.

The consequence of enforcing Section 22 was that hundreds of people arriving at Ellis Island, especially Germans and Italians, were detained at Ellis Island while the Department of Justice considered their cases. The congestion became so great that the State Department suspended all visas

Demand Freedom For Lt. Gilbert

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16 — Clyde Turner and Herbert Lewin, Militant (Socialist) Workers Party candidates respectively for U. S. Senator and Governor, today demanded that President Truman revoke the frame-up death sentence of Lt. Leon Gilbert and exonerate him unconditionally.

They charged that Gilbert, a Negro officer of York, Pa., who was court-martialed in Korea, is "a victim of the infamous Jim Crow practices which the U. S. Army has borne with it to every corner of the globe."

"Only an aroused American people can save Lt. Gilbert's life and repulse this calculated attempt by the Army brass to smear the Negro troops and incidentally the Negro people," they declared, appealing for a mighty mass protest in defense of Gilbert to be led by the NAACP, CIO and AFL.

After Nov. 7: Taxes Up, Living Standards Down

Huge Arms Budget Reported Readied By Chiefs of Staff

Just what lies in store for the American people in the way of increased arms expenditures whose burden will fall entirely on their shoulders? The Truman administration is being deliberately vague on this score.

Truman himself, in his last "fireside chat," referred to the current \$30 billion dollar arms bill, and warned that bigger appropriations would be forthcoming.

Speaking before the Nebraska bankers' association on Oct. 12, Secretary of the Navy Matthews estimated that the next year's arms budget "might exceed" the entire national budget for this year, which amounts to more than \$42 billion. He then went on to add that the final sum would be "painful to contemplate."

Rumors persist of arms budgets of \$50 billion and more. The most sensational estimate was made public on Oct. 9 by columnist Robert S. Allen who flatly stated that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have drafted budgets for the Army, Navy and Air Force that "would bring the amount of military expenditures for this fiscal year to the stupendous total of \$62 billion."

This staggering figure does not include some \$7 billion for guided missiles and atomic explosives now under consideration by the National Security Council. Nor does it include additional billions for the expanded arms program of the Atlantic Pact countries. (France alone has been promised \$2.4 billion as her share.)

These items would send the projected arms budget well over the \$70 billion mark.

UNDER LOCK AND KEY

According to Allen, the projected estimates are now being kept under lock and key by order of Truman himself until after the elections are over. Then the plan is to put this arms program over, not all at once, but through a "series of so-called 'supplemental budgets' which will be appreciably smaller individually but whose sum total will be what the military want."

Allen's sensational report is, of course, no more definitive than the semi-official estimates of prominent administration figures like Secretary of the Navy Matthews. But they are highly significant nonetheless.

Expressed in these and similar reports is the determination of the military caste and the capitalist ruling circles to accomplish the shift toward full-scale war production as speedily as possible, behind the backs of the people and even of Congress itself.



New Squeeze Is Admitted By Symington

By John G. Wright

It is the calculated policy of the Truman administration to impose successive slashes of living standards upon the American workers and the mass of the people. If up to now this has been implied in every major policy statement issuing from Washington, then today it has been made clear beyond the shadow of a doubt by W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the National Security Resources Board and Truman's chief policy-maker in overall charge of the arms program.

Symington, who in these matters speaks with an authority second only to Truman himself, granted an interview to the weekly U. S. News of Oct. 20, clarifying administration policy.

Flatly declaring that Korea was "totally incidental to the overall problem," Symington affirmed that "military outlays are going to get much higher." This means "much higher taxes." Symington then went on to stress that "the American people should be agreeable to a curtailment in their standard of living."

The crux of the interview came in the following carefully worded question: "Many people have thought that our productive facilities were so great that we could take it (the arms program) in our stride. Do you share that view?"

And here is Symington's very carefully worded answer: "I do not. I don't think we can build adequate security without cutting into the butter. I do not believe any responsible people have said that we can build up the military properly without making cuts and sacrifices, although some statements may have been misunderstood. Certainly neither the President nor anyone in the Government has said this."

GUNS, NOT BUTTER

What makes this blunt and unequivocal declaration of the "guns not butter" program all the more noteworthy is that it comes in a pre-election period when the Truman administration is deliberately soft-peddling the full implications of its own policy, particularly the impact of militarization on all basic aspects of life at home.

Placing all stress on the need "to keep purchasing power down," Symington made no mention of any cuts in profits. "I'm for profits. That's our system." He, like Truman, demanded "much higher taxes" not on corporations or even excess profits but exclusively on "individuals," that is to say, on wages and salaries.

What could be plainer? The rich will "sacrifice" exactly nothing. They are to suffer no cuts either in their living standards or in the raking in of profits, while the toilers are being called upon to make more and more drastic sacrifices.

Symington carefully skirted around the question of the wage freeze, but made it nonetheless clear that there would be no price controls without the wage freeze and that the latter would be

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Hanley Letter Lifts Lid On Political Cesspool

By Joseph Hansen
SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator from New York

Another major political scandal rocked New York politics this week with the publication of a letter by Lt. Gov. Joe Hanley, Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, confessing that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey had bribed him to decline nomination for the governorship in favor of Dewey.

Former "Gang Buster" Dewey and his running mate, if convicted for the felony, could be fined and sent up for two years for violating Section 775 of the Penal Law. They are also guilty of criminal conspiracy under Section 773 and are guilty of engaging in pernicious political activities under Section 772-a.

None of the Democratic prosecuting attorneys, however, have issued a warrant for the arrest of the two malefactors. It is not likely that they will do so either, as the Democratic machine is up to its ears in a multi-million dollar graft and bribe-taking scandal involving the police force and reaching right into City Hall.

Hanley's letter, dated Sept. 5, was written to W. Kingsland Macy, one of the leaders of the anti-Dewey faction in New York. Macy loaned Hanley \$30,000 for campaign "expenses" in running for the Republican gubernatorial

nomination. Frank E. Gannett, a Rochester publisher, loaned Hanley another \$19,000 for the same purpose. In all, Hanley admits owing \$100,000. Macy and Gannett were backing Hanley against Dewey, and Dewey had promised to withdraw.

PUT ON THE HEAT

However, Dewey decided to be "drafted" once more. He got the 74-year-old, half-blind Lieutenant Governor in a hotel and put the heat on him. Hanley wrote Macy: "Today I had a conference with the Governor in which certain unalterable and unquestionably definite propositions were made to me. If I will consent to take the nomination of the United States Senate, I am definitely assured of being able to clean up my financial obligations within ninety days, so that I would be clear for the first time in twenty years of my life. I am assured of an adequate living compensation if elected, in a perfectly legal and unquestionable way. Also I have an iron-clad, unbreakable arrangement whereby I will be given a job with the State. . . . This job would be given Hanley in case he lost the election."

Hanley wrote Macy, "I am humiliated, disappointed and heart sick, but in fairness to myself, to you to whom I am indebted, and to my family, I can do nothing else."

It is not known whether Macy topped Dewey's bid or simply forced Hanley to write this letter on official stationery after the double-cross. But Macy did circulate photostatic copies of the letter so that they soon fell into Democratic hands. Out of revenge or to gain factional advantage, Macy appeared willing to endanger Dewey's re-election.

The muck and stench of capitalist politics is not confined to New York. In Philadelphia a mere order to appear before a Federal grand jury investigating fakets caused the head of the vice squad to shoot himself. In Chicago, perfunctory questioning by the Senate Crime Investigating Committee established that Gilbert, chief investigator of the Cook County state's attorney's office since 1932, has amassed a fortune of \$360,000.

From the lowest ward-heeler to the candidates for the highest offices in the land, these machines are nothing but graft-ridden networks that merge with organized crime. Truman himself is a product of the notorious Pendergast machine.

Protected by the Republicans and Democrats in big-scale plundering of the public, they do not mind the petty larceny stuff carried on by the O'Dwyers, Hanleys and the rest.

How capitalist politics degrades human beings is seen in Hanley's writhings over his double-cross of Macy and Gannett. But that does not prevent these same miserable creatures from piously proclaiming how capitalism preserves the "integrity of the individual," "human rights" and "morality."

Coming Soon!

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes

By ERNEST GERMAIN

Hundreds of young workers and students from France and other countries visited Yugoslavia this year. On their return our European correspondent assembled their reports; the special series of articles he has prepared for *The Militant* is the result of their common experiences.

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On Ballot Again, Off Again--Minn. SWP Continues Fight

By Winifred Nelson

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 16 — The Socialist Workers Party here today is planning legal action against the latest move to prevent Grace Carlson's name from appearing on the Nov. 7 general election ballot — a temporary restraining order issued by District Judge Frank E. Reed to keep her name from the ballot. The action was brought by Stanley E. Danielson, secretary-treasurer of the Transit Employees' Union.

Grounds for the suit are that Grace Carlson is a "felon," having been sentenced to a 16-months prison term upon her conviction in 1941 under the Smith Act for opposing World War II. Sydney W. Goff, attorney for Danielson, alleged today that, under the law, a person convicted of a felony is not entitled to vote, and one who cannot vote is not eligible to seek office.

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 15 — The civil rights cause won an important victory here last week when County Auditor Robert Fitzsimmons was compelled to concede the right of Grace Carlson to appear on the Nov. 7 ballot as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 5th District.

Fitzsimmons said Wednesday he had accepted Grace Carlson's nomination by petition after an opinion from Frank Williams, assistant Hennepin county attorney, as to signature requirements.

Williams' written opinion states that "electors" don't have to be registered voters in Minneapolis for purposes of validating their signatures on election petitions. After consulting with the state attorney general's office by telephone, Williams held the term "electors" to be broader than "registered voters."

DEFINING "ELECTORS"

This opinion permits anyone with the electoral right — i. e., a citizen of voting age who has not been convicted of a felony — to sign a petition to get a candidate on the ballot. Williams' interpretation states that the term "electors" includes "all persons who possess the election franchise under the Minnesota constitution."

While this decision is a real victory for the democratic rights of the people of this state, reactionary County Auditor Fitzsimmons termed it a "mockery" and said he would ask the 1951 legislature to "tighten up on election laws." "It sets a dangerous precedent," he declared, "which

LENIENT TO FASCISTS

Section 22 is by no means the most important or dangerous part of the new law (although it contains vicious provisions requiring the deportation of aliens already living in the U. S. who are alleged to have "totalitarian sympathies"). So far as "communists" are concerned, the government was already effectively excluding them before the enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore

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Bartell Routs ALP in TV Debate

By Paul Abbott

I saw it from a ringside seat in the studio. It was slaughter, just plain slaughter. I mean what Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of New York, did to Dr. Clementina Paolone, American Labor Party candidate for Lt. Governor, in a three-way debate on Oct. 15 over WPIX, one of the big television stations in New York.

Bartell started the debate with a three-minute presentation of the case against the Democrats and Republicans and for socialism. He was followed by Dr. Paolone of the ALP, who as an "obstetrician for 20 years" said she had become concerned about the effects of an atom bomb on the thousand or more babies she had delivered and therefore accepted nomination.

Then Eric Haas of the fossilized Socialist Labor Party gave the usual recitation on socialism com-

posed some 50 years ago by Daniel DeLeon.

The next part of the program was scheduled to be a cross-fire of questions directed by followers of the various parties at opposing candidates. The candidates themselves could join the fray if they wanted.

The ALP pulled a real "clever" maneuver. In the time allotted to them, its followers stood up and asked stogie questions of Dr. Paolone, instead of addressing the other candidates. She of course delivered her rehearsed answers without the slightest visible labor. It was all very smooth, syrupy and as exciting as the Jesuit catechism.

Lowell Lippus, the moderator, made a few cracks about the devastating effect of these questions on the opposing candidates, but having permitted it to start, he let the procedure continue. The SLPer followed the ALP lead

and helped Haas spread sweetness and light with set-up questions.

Now came the turn of the Socialist Workers Party. Michael Bartell turned to Dr. Paolone in the most courteous manner and gently asked her in view of her denunciation of Thomas E. Dewey what she thought of Marcantonio's recent boast that it was the ALP which gave the Republican candidate his start in politics.

The effect on the ALP followers in the studio couldn't have been rougher if Bartell had hit their candidate with a blackjack. As for the candidate, she gulped, tried to recover her composure and, as Bartell prodded for an answer, responded, "It was a mistake to support Dewey."

"ANOTHER MISTAKE"

Bartell at once asked: "What about the support the ALP gave William O'Dwyer who took it on

the lam to Mexico just before the police scandal broke?"

"That was a mistake too," the ALP candidate confessed.

"And how about your support of the Democrat, Herbert Lehman?"

"That was another mistake." Up to the time Bartell broke up the Sunday evening calm of the ALP and SLP, the klieg lights had had no observable effect on Dr. Paolone. But now her face was red, her forehead moist and she looked like any place but her present seat would be cooler. Then, apparently remembering that the television cameras were putting her reaction to this desperate situation on thousands of screens, she flashed her teeth in a big shiny toothpaste smile.

Bartell did no more than a dentist would have done in a similar situation. He calmly continued drilling. "And what about

Report from Europe

Failure of Stalinist Policy in Germany

By Ernest Germain

In no other country of Europe, and indeed in the world, have the Stalinists heaped so many blunders upon blunders as they did in Germany. There are many signs of the utter bankruptcy of their policy. Their party in Western Germany loses 50% of its votes at every successive election. It is losing its membership at an even faster rate and reducing itself to a "cadre party" — an orientation imposed by the overlords in the SED who know the ancient art of making a virtue out of necessity.

As to the SED itself, it has been losing first the support of the workers, then the support of the intellectuals, and next the support of the "allied" petty-bourgeois organizations and is today conducting a frenzied campaign of "purification" which is an indication of how intensely it is haunted by the ghost of "Trotskyism."

It is no small proof of the futility of the Stalinist policy that at the very moment when the heavy industry circles of the Ruhr are seeking to reintroduce into German politics the strategy of the "middle road between the East and the West" the "National Front" policy of the German Stalinists, which speculated on precisely such an eventuality, turns out to be a complete failure. The Stalinists have been going out of their way to woo the Ruhr industrialists in a manner so shameful that it has few precedents even in the long history of betrayals which is the history of the Russian bureaucracy.

TREACHEROUS LETTER

Recently, the leaders of the SED issued from Berlin an open letter to the industrialists of Western Germany at a moment when these capitalists found themselves for the first time since 1945 in the throes of a sharp struggle against their workers. This letter appeals to them "to unify the forces of all entrepreneurs and traders in Western Germany" because "as business men" they "understand better how reprehensible is the dependency of Western Germany upon the Western powers."

SUPREME COURT HEARS 'LOYALTY' CASE APPEALS

By J. Blake

The star-chamber proceedings under Truman's "loyalty" program are so raw that even Supreme Court justices felt compelled to comment on them last week during argument in the appeal of Miss Dorothy Bailey, dismissed from a government job in 1948 as a "poor security risk."

"The most important fact of this case is that the secret, untested, unquestioned finding by the Attorney General is not subject to review by anybody but those with power to chop off heads," Justice Felix Frankfurter observed.

Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are not evidence, Justice Robert H. Jackson said, since "they contain much that is unverified, and nothing is evidence without cross-examination. Unsworn statements are not evidence."

Under the "loyalty" program it is regular procedure to dismiss persons peremptorily as "poor security risks" without permitting them to know what is the evidence against them, or who their accusers are, or to permit cross-examination by the accused.

Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark is not sitting in the sessions dealing with these cases, which originated under his administration as Attorney General. But even the most optimistic observers don't expect anything better than a four-to-four decision — which would leave the "loyalty" purge in full force.

There is only one way to stop the witch-hunt spurred by both Congress and the White House, and that is by the formation of a powerful mass movement determined to defend the civil rights of all. This also happens to be the only way to affect the Supreme Court.

Finally, inside the SED the feeling of uneasiness and discontent was transformed into real panic when the leadership started to clamp down, expelling one member of the recently elected Political Bureau, Paul Merker, and various members of the Central Committee and the top cadre of the party. A new phase of the party purge has been opened, and thousands are said to be up for expulsion in the coming weeks.

NEWS FROM BAUTZEN

It is against this background of isolation and bankruptcy that we can assay the shocking messages which reached the outside world some time ago from the Stalinist concentration camp at Bautzen. These messages have a special meaning for us, because many signs indicate that in this terrible camp are imprisoned our comrades Oscar Hippe and Walter Haas, fine and devoted communist fighters for the emancipation of the German working class with a long record of militancy and antifascist struggle, who have been martyred by the Stalinists together with scores of working class militants of Social Democratic, anarchist or Brandlerite tendencies.

The news from Bautzen is very bad. In fact it is hard to believe the story of the conditions existing there because they are so unlike the "normal" concentration camp conditions in Russia, where at least people are put to work and not left to die of sheer starvation. But unfortunately these letters published by the Social Democratic Party of Germany have the ring of truth in them. We think the readers of The Militant should know their contents.

MASS SUPPORT LACKING

No less impressive is the failure of the Stalinists to line up any kind of mass support in Eastern Germany. The fake elections held this month could be prepared only by a ruthless purge of the satellite parties with which the Stalinist SED is "allied" in the National Front. Illegal organizations are stronger than in any other country of Eastern Europe. In the youth organization FDJ, there are strong illegal groups, mostly of a reactionary pro-fascist tendency, and it has just been made public that during the Easter demonstration of the FDJ in Berlin many thousands of illegal leaflets of these groups were spread in the Eastern zone of Berlin, together with many thousands of leaflets of working class oppositional groups.

SURE DEATH SENTENCE

After the proclamation of the "German democratic republic" the Bautzen camp was formally "dissolved" and handed over to the German authorities. In fact, the East German Stalinist police has kept it open ever since, and the only result of this change in administration has been the further deterioration of the food which is so insufficient — something like 700 calories a day — that it means a sure death sentence.

Administration Starts Enforcing McCarran Law

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law; so far as fascists are concerned, the government will continue to admit those whom it expects to use or benefit from in one way or another.

That is why it would be unfortunate if the enforcement of Section 22 should detract attention from the rest of the law, which hits at the rights of everyone in the U. S.

GREEN AND MURRAY

"It is our purpose and policy to do everything we can to be helpful in a situation which has been created through passage of amendments to immigration law and to concentrate our efforts to bring about its repeal when Congress again convenes," Green wired.

Murray's telegram recalled that the CIO had "vigorously opposed" the law and "strongly urged" that Truman's veto be sustained. "You can be assured that we will continue our efforts to repeal this poorly conceived statute," he promised.

ACT OF REVOLT

This utter desperation explains how the prisoners were able to screw up their courage for one resolute act of revolt. On March 13, 1950 in a common effort, they smashed the windows of the prisons and shouted their cries of desperation into the town of Bautzen. "Help us! We are starving! People ill with TB are left without food! We are innocent!"

These and other cries reached the ears of many thousands of workers in this industrial area. It was a great blow to the Stalinist butchers. The next day a high commission of German Stalinist functionaries, and on March 15 a delegation of high Russian officers visited the camp. They promised better food, papers to read, the possibility of taking care of the sick and of writing home. But nothing was changed.

The desolation of the prisoners exploded a second time, on March 31. Again the shouts of the miserable downtrodden victims of the German Stalinists filled the streets of Bautzen. This time no commission came to visit the camp. Under the leadership of a police chief, Schulz, 172 policemen and 16 officers entered the cells and started to beat the prisoners until hundreds of them lay on the

floor, their bodies covered with blood. Many hundreds of prisoners had to be transported to the hospital. Many died. That was the answer of the butchers to the protests of their victims.

Since then no news has reached us from the prison camp at Bautzen. But the Stalinists have not been able to silence the cries of their unfortunate victims. Their cries will ring continuously in the ears of all advanced workers in Germany, and when the working class will rise again on the morrow, stronger than ever before, it will avenge its brothers and sisters killed by the Stalinists along with the victims of fascist and imperialist repression.

(Next week: A new workers party in Germany.)

LIVING STANDARDS WILL DECLINE AFTER NOV. 7

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imposed whenever deemed necessary.

He likewise declared that a higher work week and higher productivity (read: speed-up) were indispensable, expressing assurance that labor has "no objections" to working longer hours and ever harder.

The picture that flows from this cautiously worded interview is unmistakable: Progressively lower living standards; the wage freeze; a longer work week; increasing speed-up. Held in reserve are the job freeze and the labor draft.

LABOR LEADERS

The most shameful thing about the whole business is the role of the official labor leadership. Instead of fighting for labor's interests these capitalist-minded misleaders of labor are not only backing this program of regimentation and paperization but are seeking high posts to help carry it out.

To the question: "Labor is trying to get in this picture, trying to get appointments?" Symington was able to answer saugly: "Sure, they are ready to offer people and want to move into the policy field. That is but natural and all right."

A Symington has every reason

power by force of arms and through the most reactionary native elements. In relation to the Soviet Union Truman struck by far the sharpest tone yet. To be sure, he did not forget to don the mask of a lover of peace, but what predominated was the "tough" attitude and the undisguised rattling of the sword. In the past such belittling speeches were made by heads of governments only after a breach of diplomatic relations or immediately prior to an open declaration of war. Today we get in "peacetime" words and actions customarily reserved for wartime situations.

TRUMAN'S SPEECH COVERS UP SECRET DECISIONS AT WAKE

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was the case before Korea. Against whom will these troops be used, if, not, as in Korea, against the Asian masses?

A notable section of Truman's speech was devoted to cynical protestations of how much the American imperialists "have in common with the peoples of the Far East" and how deeply they "sympathize" with their struggle for freedom and independence and their need to rid themselves of poverty, degradation and "social injustice."

OBSCENE POSTURING

The revolutionary upsurge of the Asian peoples is so vast and powerful, their determination to rid themselves of the colonial yoke is so resolute, that even the spokesman of American imperialism, now moving in force onto the arena of the Far East, is compelled to take cognizance of it. That is the real meaning of Truman's obscene attempt to posture before the Asian masses as the banner-bearer of a truly "revolutionary idea" — the idea of human freedom and political equality.

Truman's "revolutionary" demagoguery is not likely to deceive many in Asia, who can see that his administration is openly engaged in supporting and maintaining by armed force in the Far East every remaining foothold of old colonialism and in entrenching its own

Defiance Not Submission Beat Alien-Sedition Acts

By George Lavan

The period of America's past most similar to the today of the McCarran police-state law is 1798-1800. Then the first great violation of the Bill of Rights was committed.

Today's "liberal" Senators Lehman, Douglas and Humphrey, the "official" opposition to the police-state bill, only half-fought the law and after its passage told the American people to "loyally obey" it. Fortunately for the young Republic the men of 1798 declared war without quarter on the Alien and Sedition Laws. They counseled not "loyal obedience" but unceasing defiance of that attempt to make the U. S. a police state.

In 1798 the Federalist Party controlled the government. It was the party of the merchants and bankers. It represented the extreme reaction against the radicalism of the artisans and small farmers who had formed the backbone of the American Revolution. The Federalists considered themselves the aristocracy of the country. They tried to ape the British aristocracy and its political system. In their ranks were the Tories who had opposed the War for Independence. The struggle of the workers and small farmers for universal suffrage was anathema to them. The French Revolution and the struggle of the Irish patriots, now infused with the ideas of the French Revolution, filled them with horror.

WHAT LAWS PROVIDED

When the Federalist administration thought it was on the verge of war with revolutionary France it tried to silence all domestic opposition. To accomplish this, it passed the various Alien and Sedition Laws in the summer of 1798. The Alien Law empowered the President to order any non-citizen to leave the country immediately, without trial or hearing. Should the alien refuse, the President could have him imprisoned without trial. This nullified the right of trial by jury which under the Bill of Rights covers all — citizens and non-citizens.

The Sedition Laws made "seditious" criticism of the government or its officials, whether in writing or by spoken word, even without an overt act, a crime.

The Sedition Laws were vigorously applied by the Federalists to suppress all criticism. The radical press of that day was carefully studied by federal officials for possible violations. Supreme Court justices high-pressured grand juries to bring in indictments. Newspapers were suppressed in almost every state. In addition lawyers, opposition leaders and people of no prominence were punished in the orgy of spying on one's neighbors and suppressing the least criticisms of the government. Here are some samples:

Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont was the stormy petrel of the democratic opposition. The aristocratic Federalist majority in Congress hated him as the symbol of all they were fighting. They hated his humble origin —

he came to this country as an indentured servant. They scorned him because he was Irish. They hated him because he didn't respect his "betters" — on being provoked by slurs on his military record in the Revolution, he had spit squarely in the eye of a leading Federalist Congressman. On the floor of Congress they had ranged up on him to prevent his fighting back while he was beaten with a club. Under the Sedition Law he was a marked man.

Lyon was dragged from his home, paraded through towns before jeering mobs of the "best people," not for writing "sedition" but for reading aloud a letter criticizing President Adams. In prison, he was still persecuted. He was not allowed a stove to heat his cell. When a legal lottery was organized to save his property, the printer was jailed. Jedediah Peck, a member of the N. Y. Legislature, was victimized for circulating a petition asking Congress to repeal the Sedition Laws.

"SEDITIONISTS"

In Dedham, Mass., a Liberty Pole was secretly erected. On it was inscribed the following slogan: "No Stamp Act, no Sedition, no Alien bills, no Land Tax; Downfall to the Tyrants of America, Peace and Retirement to the President, long live the Vice-President and the Minority; may moral virtue be the basis of civil government."

Benjamin Fairbanks and David Brown were arrested as the "seditionists." Fairbanks pleaded that he hadn't realized "how serious an offense it was" and promised to reform. He got a light sentence. Brown, a workman, refused to give the judge a list of people who sympathized with his ideas. He got the maximum sentence and after that was served was not released. He was still in prison when Jefferson became President.

As Thomas Cooper wrote from prison in Philadelphia, "The citizens of this country may learn some useful lessons from this (his own) trial; and principally that if they mean to consult their own peace and quiet, they will hold their tongues, and restrain their pens on the subject of politics..."

(Next week: The Fugitive Slave Law.)

THE MILITANT ARMY

The Oct. 2 issue of The Militant had a very good response. Six editions of this issue were published for use in election activity. Five of these were special state editions featuring the local campaigns in New York, Minnesota, Michigan, California and Washington. The regular edition too, having a number of articles on campaign issues by candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Many branches ordered extra copies of this issue.

The vigorous election campaigns conducted by branches of the SWP are bringing many people into contact with The Militant for the first time. One of these new readers from Massachusetts sent us this little note: "After having read three recent issues of The Militant I am convinced that your philosophy and your ideas represent my feelings and beliefs concerning the present and the future of our country and the world. It is with a new found faith and enthusiasm that I enclose one dollar as payment for a six-months subscription to your truly fine newspaper. Sincerely yours, C.A."

We'd like to call to the attention of all literature agents and friends of The Militant that several hundred of the subscriptions obtained in the July sub-campaign will expire at the end of October. Plans should be made for visiting those who took advantage of the special three-months subscription. Lists of October expirations have been sent to the literature agents to facilitate this work.

Detroit friends have arranged some very successful sales to

Open Forum Series In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — The final two topics in the Myra Tanner Weiss campaign forum series are as follows:

Oct. 27—The Bill of Rights and the Concentration Camp. A symposium.

Nov. 3—The Holifield Story — or Can a Capitalist Politician be a Friend of Labor? Speaker, Myra Tanner Weiss. The forums are held at campaign headquarters, 3012 East 1st Street. All interested in politics and socialism are urged to attend.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1242.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Socialist Party of America, 100 South St. Open Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 2893.
- CHICAGO—106 W. Washington St., Rm 232-234. Phone Desoria 2-4787.
- CLEVELAND—P.O. Box 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun., 8 P.M.
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6267.
- FLINT—SWP Hall, 215 E. 9th St. Open house every Sat. evening. Phone 2-2495.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n, Rm 325, 124 W. 8th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.
- MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Hopkins 2-5357.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue, New York City—Rm. 110 University Place. Phone AL 5-7822.
- BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near 7th St. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm. 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1933, or call TB 3664/4-2375.
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- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Avenue, 4th fl. Open daily except Sun., 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-0410.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278.
- SOLEDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1592.
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TROTSKY

While the magnates of monopoly capitalism stand above the official organs of state power, controlling them from their heights, the opportunist trade union leaders scurry around the footstools of state power, creating support for it among the working masses.

— Leon Trotsky, Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution, 1940.



LENIN

Indo-Chinese Beat Back Army of French Despots

By Charles Hanley

After four years of war in Indo-China, the French colonialists have been unable to reconquer the greater part of that land of rice, cotton and rubber...

the creation of an "anti-communist" Indo-Chinese army.

But the French generals know they cannot rely on Bao, who recently spent three months in Cannes and is only now returning to "his" realm...

asked for 3 billion dollars general rearmament aid, of which 300 million would be used for what the French workers correctly call "the dirty war" against the Viet-Nam Republic.

The Viet-Minh movement which is fighting for the Viet-Nam's independence from the French colonial yoke and from feudal chieftains like Bao Dai, cannot be mechanically identified with the Kremlin, although Stalin, of course, always tries to use such movements for the Russian bureaucracy's own interests and purposes.

American labor should oppose any aid to the French reactionaries and their Bao Dais. The people of the Viet-Nam have the same right to be free and independent and to choose their own form of government as the American people had in their fight against British colonialism in the 18th Century.

Forced Confessions in the U.S. Too

We have heard and read much in recent years about the "Iron Curtain" and forced confessions, but always in connection with Stalin's totalitarian rule.

because official Washington has not dared, as yet, to push to the extreme a policy that so violates the traditions and sentiments of the American people.

In the matter of forced confessions, juridically the McCarran-Kilgore system comes close to anything the Kremlin has contrived. The registration features of the McCarran law literally compel individuals and organizations to sign "confessions" that they are engaged in activities which the law defines as criminal, including espionage, sabotage and terrorism aimed at the establishment of a totalitarian regime.

The law states that "affiliation with" a "Communist" or "other totalitarian" group is not deemed a felony "per se" (in itself). But if you are ordered to register as a "Communist" — that is, sign an admission that you belong to an organization whose activities the law defines as criminal — you must do so or suffer fine and imprisonment.

All "confessions" extorted by the Kremlin are juridically represented as "voluntary." To represent them otherwise would give the game away. The McCarran law disdains the cover of "voluntary" confessions. It brazenly orders you to "confess" on pain of imprisonment if you don't.

While American propagandists continue to make much of the "Iron Curtain" and forced confessions as expressions of Stalin's oppressive regime, they are singularly unconcerned about the "Iron Curtain" and system of forced confessions which have been introduced here by the new McCarran-Kilgore police-state law.

The far-reaching provisions in this law for the exclusion of aliens who at any time in their lives might have had the slightest connection with anything the Attorney General and immigration officials choose to call "Communist" or "totalitarian," are designed to serve the same essential purposes as the Kremlin's "Iron Curtain."

Here, too, reactionary politicians, ridden with fear, are seeking to erect a wall against the outside world. If that wall is neither as high nor as impenetrable as the one the Kremlin has built, it is only

Maneuvers on British Steel Nationalizing Issue

By Paul G. Stevens

The recent national gatherings of the British Labor Party at Margate and of the Trade Union Congress at Brighton revealed a growing and even rebellious militancy on the part of the rank and file. The leaderships of the two respective organizations appeared to take cognizance of this mood among their followers by verbal concessions.

The British capitalist press gave it considerable attention recently, in the aftermath of the parliamentary debate on steel nationalization.

It centered around a report presented at the Trade Union Congress, a report innocuously entitled "Report on Public Ownership," and which dealt with the trade unions' attitude not only to nationalized industries but toward enterprises owned by municipalities, etc.

Viscount Bruce of Melbourne, recently stated: "It is difficult to believe that this rejection (of the steel owners' 'compromise') is not at the dictation of the extreme Left elements in the party. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that there has been some sort of a bargain whereby the nationalization of iron and steel was to be carried through in exchange for support in lengthening the period of national service."

Yugoslavs Curtail Special Privileges

From embattled Yugoslavia comes heartening news. On Oct. 15, the Yugoslav government decreed an end to virtually all special privileges of functionaries, army officers and other officials.

terrible hardships caused by the drought will be enormously strengthened by the knowledge that their leaders and officials are sharing their sacrifices.

According to a N.Y. Times dispatch, the decree "ordered the immediate closing of all special food shops, special rest homes, holiday resorts, villas and other establishments enjoyed by privileged officials." "The basic principle underlining this decree," continues the report, "is that nobody in Yugoslavia, regardless of his job, can receive more food than the miners and forestry and railroad workers."

Yet this is a significant move toward equality which will surely meet with a warm reception by workers everywhere. In the first place, this is not an isolated act. It is in line with a whole series of steps since the rupture with the Kremlin, aimed at democratizing the country, rooting out bureaucratism, and closing the gap between the government and the people.

Thus while in the capitalist world, the gulf between rich and poor constantly widens, and in the countries dominated by the Kremlin the bureaucrats continue to increase their privileges as against the masses, Yugoslavia is leveling the standard of living of the entire population.

Furthermore, the fact that the Yugoslav government did respond to the crisis by enforcing real equality of sacrifice is itself indicative of the progressive, pro-socialist forces at work there. Neither capitalist nor Stalinist regimes act in this manner. They react to similar crises by police terror to protect the privileges of the rulers and suppress mass discontent.

It is true that these measures were taken under threat of famine with the aim of bolstering the morale of the people. Obviously the ability of the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia to endure the

American workers, welcoming this highly progressive measure, should demand that the U.S. government grant immediate and adequate aid to Yugoslavia with no strings attached.

BARTELL ROUTS ALP OPPONENT IN TV DEBATE

(Continued from Page 1)

your late Gideon, Henry A. Wallace, whom you built up as the Messiah that would lead us to the promised land?"

ing the lessons about how phony the ALP claim of independence is. "INDEPENDENT NOW" Finally, Dr. Paolone tried to come back at this shattering socialist attack by insisting that "then the ALP had a coalition policy with the Republicans and Democrats, but now I'm happy to say that's over with and we're running independent."

proved too happy. Maybe going into a clinch would gain her a breather. "We stand for FEPC. Marcantonio stands for FEPC very definitely." She put on her smile again.

"I know that was coming. . . " "Would you mind answering the question?" "Now you're simply trying to create confusion—" "Who is guilty of creating confusion?" demanded Bartell. Dr. Paolone couldn't have looked more pained if Bartell really had pulled one of her lovely teeth. But she managed to get out another smile for the benefit of the television audience.

"Only because neither the Democrats or Republicans will give you a deal. And what about your support of the Republican candidate Bianchi? Isn't that another mistake?" "I was waiting for that. . . No, oh my no. This is different. It was Bianchi who came over to Marcantonio."

There was real panic apparent in the Doctor's voice. You could imagine her visions of getting crossed up with a Stalinist hatchetman like Paul Ross. "We're against the Smith Act. We favor repeal of the Smith Act—" "You're evading the question. Who represents ALP policy, you or Ross?"

I overheard one of the technicians say, "This guy is really good. Last week she looked like a hero against the Republicans. Now she looks like a bum." Haas, the dour SLP candidate, for the first time seemed to take an interest in the outside world and was laughing like a human being. I heard later from those watching television sets that the audience reaction was terrific. It's not often they get to see a fighting Socialist in action. The speed with which Bartell trussed up this ALP candidate amazed them.

"The way Dewey, Lehman, O'Dwyer and Truman came over, no doubt." Bartell then switched the subject to the struggle for racial equality: "You say you are for FEPC, and that Marcantonio is responsible for the legislation that's been passed. But these laws were the result of the March on Washington movement. Why did Marcantonio, along with the Stalinists and the Daily Worker, oppose the March on Washington?" The Doctor taunted up again. Admitting "mistakes" had n't

ON CIVIL RIGHTS "Do you favor defending the civil liberties of the Socialist Workers Party — of the Trotskyists, that is?" "Why of course I do. The American Labor Party stands for everybody's civil liberties." Dr. Paolone's television smile looked almost relaxed, if not triumphant. Bartell shook his head like he hadn't heard right. "You would defend the civil liberties of the Trotskyists!" he repeated incredulously. "Why, of course," she responded grandly. "When I'm elected you come up to my office and I'll take care of your rights." Her followers gave her a round of applause, the only one they ventured during the cross-fire.

Act, the same act used to convict 11 leaders of the Communist Party later. Am I to understand you disagree with your running mate, Ross? You think Ross made a mistake?" There was real panic apparent in the Doctor's voice. You could imagine her visions of getting crossed up with a Stalinist hatchetman like Paul Ross. "We're against the Smith Act. We favor repeal of the Smith Act—" "You're evading the question. Who represents ALP policy, you or Ross?"

SAVED BY THE BELL Fortunately for Dr. Paolone, the moderator brought his gavel down. SWP time was up. The ALP candidate, saved by the bell, was on her feet only because she was held up by the ropes. The moderator warned the ALP and SLP that if they tried similar tactics next week he would rule questions to their own candidates out of order. The three candidates now presented their summaries and the shambles was over. Some of Bartell's admirers claim he took the laurels, but I say it's not proper to speak of laurels when they're carting out the body of the victim.

The attempt at collusion between the TUC General Council, the steel barons and the Tories on this question is further emphasized by the repercussions among the bosses over the parliamentary vote to go ahead with nationalization. The magnates have refused to serve on the board of the nationalized industry. The government has accused them of sabotage and of carrying on a "political strike."

To this, the steel owners have countered with questions about why Lincoln Evans, who has also refused to serve, is not likewise accused of sabotage. They are attempting to drive a wedge in the Labor leadership and, in their narrow concern with their own interests, throw discretion to the wind when they explain the present unanimity of the Laborites. Thus, one of the steel barons,

ASIANS STILL RESIST U.S. IMPERIALISM

By J. B. Stuart

Despite the victories in Korea, or perhaps because of them, resistance to American imperialism throughout Asia is on the increase rather than on the wane. This fact was borne out last week by the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations being held at Lucknow, India; by a statement which Prime Minister Nehru issued to the press; by the sober comments of responsible bourgeois publicists and indirectly, also, in the speech delivered by Truman at San Francisco upon his return from the sensational meeting with MacArthur on Wake Island.

The Lucknow conference had among its participants Indians and Pakistanis as well as Americans, Canadians and Englishmen. The N. Y. Times, which carried daily dispatches on its sessions for a week, reported that on questions of policy the most "left wing" of the Western delegates appeared to be far to the right of the most conservative Asian. According to these reports, the Indians and Pakistanis "bluntly accused the United States of prostituting relief dollars for selfish ends." These speakers, mostly scholars from local universities, expressed grave fear of the "growing circle of United States bases in the Pacific." They protested against "excessive U.S. bombing of Korea" and bitterly complained that the U.S. "places no value upon Asiatic life." Anticipating "economic plans" for Asia, delegates discussed the Marshall Plan. One stated that its purpose was proven to be "to disrupt trade in Europe and redirect it across the Atlantic."

The Times correspondent shrewdly noted that in private conversation the Asian delegates were far more friendly and conciliatory to the Westerners than on the conference floor. The inference is inescapable that these cultural leaders, tied in with their government and the ruling class, have to express publicly sentiments which are far more in keeping with the moods and minds of the vast toiling masses than with those in their own circles.

Nehru Explains Indian Position

This was emphasized later on in the week in Nehru's carefully prepared statement which stressed: "the common features of Asia today are a reaction to the previous colonial regime, a resurgent nationalism, agrarian movements, a desire to get rid of our economic backwardness and a passionate urge for freedom." Communism, he went on to say, although the methods of the Stalinist parties have been greatly disliked, "attracts many people" and appears "in the guise of a liberating movement." While this problem has "its military aspects," Nehru said, "we feel that it is a problem of winning the understanding and goodwill of the masses of the world. Unless people have some hope in the future held out to them, they seek other remedies. To think of the military issue only is to misunderstand the problem."

That is why, he explained, India opposed the crossing of the 38th Parallel in Korea, why it opposes U.S. action in Formosa, why it is in favor of bringing the "New China" into the UN, and why it opposes the U.S. proposals to create separate armed forces "on behalf of the United Nations" in each country. This last proposal, he stated, "seems like converting the United Nations into a larger edition of the Atlantic Pact and makes it a war organization more than one devoted to peace." All these considerations, he summed up, led India not to join the UN's Korean commission. What he was stating in diplomatic language was more bluntly expressed in various Indian newspapers — namely, that the UN was "becoming" a "stooge" of Washington and that India should therefore be careful in its commitments to this organization.

The reactions in Asia have strengthened serious misgivings here over the policy of which Korea was only the most striking example. A Columbia University professor of international relations and expert on Far Eastern affairs, Nathaniel Peffer, takes a particularly sober and dim view in an article for the N.Y. Times Magazine. "A few more victories such as we have had in Korea," he writes, "and we may well be undone." Why this dire judgment? Because "it is oversimplification to the point of fallacy" to regard outbreaks such as the Korean as "deriving wholly" from the "Russian-American conflict" and to seek a solution in resort to arms. The "foundation of stability" in Asia had been destroyed by two world wars and, "as everywhere else in the world, the poorest classes, both peasant and urban. . . refuse to submit any longer to the old order of perpetual poverty." The Russians may exploit this situation, Peffer admonishes, but they have not created it.

"Economy of Money and Resources"

To meet this situation, he advises, neither military strength nor propaganda for abstract democracy will help the U.S. It must simply pour in "adequate" economic aid and stop supporting the old ruling class and its Chiangs, Rhees, etc. "If the absolute power of this class cannot be broken" by Washington and its satraps, he warns, "then it would be an economy of money and resources to write off East Asia at once, for the Communists will get it anyway." Truman's post-Wake Island speech also displays an awareness that MacArthur's policy of the mailed fist is not impressing present-day Asia, an Asia teeming with revolution. While Truman has made no specific economic commitments as yet, while the U.S. fleet has not been withdrawn from Formosa, while no concessions have been made even to Nehru on Korea, his speech nevertheless abounded in demagogic deference to the Asian revolution. In fact, his appeal for support in the Far East for American policy was based on the ground that "our national history began with a revolutionary idea — the idea of human freedom and political equality." On the other hand, he stressed, "the international Communist movement, far from being revolutionary, is the most reactionary movement in the world today" and wants to turn them into "colonial slaves." But Truman's bizarre attempt to pre-empt the anti-imperialist revolution for American plutocracy did not fail to remind the Asians that "our men are fighting now in Asia to help secure the freedom and independence of a small nation which was brutally attacked." When it comes to brutal attack on small nations, the Asians will be more inclined to judge by the havoc wreaked in Korea by U.S. Air Force bombing than by Truman's fine and empty words. American capitalism and its spokesmen are beginning to realize that they are coping with an irresistible revolutionary wave in Asia. But that does not mean that they have an answer to it. For capitalism can have none. The Asian masses, it can safely be predicted, will not be deceived by "revolutionary" talk from any quarter. They will take matters into their own hands.

New York Election Rally and 33rd Russian Revolution Anniversary. Hear: ARTHUR PREIS SWP Candidate for Attorney General Associate Editor The Militant Author of "Welfare State or Socialism?" Chairman: MICHAEL BARTELL SWP Candidate for Governor. ENTERTAINMENT SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS Friday, November 3, 8 PM HOTEL CAPITOL 8th Avenue and 51st Street

SWP on the Air in New York. TELEVISION: Sun., Oct. 22, 5:15-6 P.M. Station WPIX (Channel 11) Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Candidate for Senator, versus the candidates of the American Labor Party and Socialist Labor Party. RADIO: -NEW (1130 on the dial) Wed., Nov. 1, 9:35-10 P.M.

By Walt Whitman

(In 1856 the poet Walt Whitman wrote a pamphlet entitled The Eighteenth Presidency, dealing with that year's presidential election campaign, which was contested by James Buchanan, candidate of the Democratic Party; Millard Fillmore, candidate of the Whigs and of the American, or Know-Nothing, Party; and John C. Fremont, candidate of the new Republican Party. We reprint below some extracts from Whitman's pamphlet which apply in major respects to American capitalist politics in 1950.)

To-day, of all the persons in public office in the States, not one in a thousand has been chosen by a spontaneous movement of the people, nor is attending to the interests of the people; all have been nominated and put through by great or small caucuses of the politicians, or appointed as rewards for electioneering. . . . The berths, the Presidency included, are bought, sold, electioneered for. . . .

Well, what more? Is nothing but breed bred bred like these to be represented in the Presidency? . . . Where is the real America? Where are the laboring persons, ploughmen, men with axes, spades, scythes, flails? Where are the carpenters, masons, machinists, drivers of horses, workmen in factories? Where is the spirit of the manliness and commonsense of These States? It does not appear in the government. It does not appear at all in the Presidency. . . .

Never were publicly displayed more deformed, mediocre, sniveling, unreliable, falsehearted men! Never were These States so insulted, and attempted to be betrayed! . . .

Whence the delegates of the politicians? Whence the Buchanan and Fillmore Conventions? Not from sturdy American freemen; not from industrious homes; not from thrifty farms; not from the ranks of fresh-bodied young men; not from among teachers, poets, savants, learned persons, beloved persons, temperate persons; not from among shipbuilders, engineers, agriculturists, scythe-swingers, corn-hoers; not from the race of mechanics. . . .

Whence, then, do these nominating dictators of America year after year start out? From lawyers' offices, secret lodges, back-yards, bed-rooms, and bar-rooms; from out of the customs-houses, marshals' offices, post-offices, and gambling halls; from the President's house, the jail, the veneral

hospital, the station-house; from un-named by-places where devilish disunion is hatched at midnight; from political hearers, and from the coffins inside, and from the shrouds inside the land; from the skeletons and skulls in the vaults of the federal almshouses, from the running sores of the great cities; thence to the national, state, city and district nominating conventions of These States, come the most numerous and controlling delegates. . . .

Who are they personally? Office-holders, office-seekers, robbers, pimps, exclusives, mal'gnants, conspirators, murderers, fancy-men, port-masters, customs-house clerks, contractors, kept-editors . . . crawling, serpentine men, the lousy combings and born freedom-sellers of the earth. . . .

You Americans who travel with such men, or who are nominated on tickets anywhere with them, or who support them at meetings, or write for them in newspapers, or who believe that any good can come out of them, you also understand not the present age, the fibre of it. . . .

To butchers, sailors, stevedores, and drivers of horses — to ploughmen, wood-cutters, marketmen carpenters, masons and laborers — to workmen in factories — and to all in These States who live by their daily toil — Mechanics! A parcel of windy northern liars are bawling in your ears the easily spoken words Democracy and the Democratic Party. (Buchanan, the slaveholders' candidate, came from the North.) Others are making a great ado with the word Americanism, a solemn and great word. What the so-called democrats are now sworn to perform would eat the faces off the succeeding generations of common people worse than the most horrible disease. The others are contributing to the like performance, and are using the great word Americanism without yet feeling the first aspiration of it, as the great word Religion has been used, probably loudest and oftenest used, by men that made indiscriminate massacres at night, and filled the world so full of hatreds, horrors, partialities, exclusions, bloody revenges, penal conscience laws and test-oaths. To the virtue of Americanism is happening today what happens many days to many virtues, namely, the masses who possess them but do not understand them are sought to be sold by that very means to those who neither possess them nor understand them. . . .

Social Democrats Deplere

By Albert Parker

The New Leader, Social Democratic magazine, deplored the passage of the McCarran-Kilgore law as "an appalling monument to panic and ignorance." Not the whole law, however: "We regret that Congress did not pass the Kilgore (concentration camp) bill alone (instead of tacking it onto the McCarran omnibus measure), for that would have satisfied the country's demand for some anti-Communist legislation and would have given us a standby act for use in an emergency." Concentration camps and the New Leader brand of "social democracy" are clearly not incompatible. . . .

William E. Bohn, editor of the New Leader, went even further in his column. According to him, the Kilgore section of the law "provides that, in case of war, Communists are to be rounded up and segregated. That is a plain military measure. No one can complain that it contravenes anyone's civil rights." To a number of errors or lies in this statement is almost equal to the number of words in it. . . .

The Kilgore section does not apply only in case of war, but at any time the President declares an "internal security emergency" — during war, invasion or "insurrection." It does not apply only to "Communists," but to "each person as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that such person will probably engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." It does not provide for "segregation" but for "detention" in prisons or concentration camps — that is, arrest. It is not a "military matter," plain or fancy, but a political matter, which will be handled not by the armed forces but by the Department of Justice and its thought police. If Bohn really believes that arrest and detention for an indefinite period without jury trial don't contravene civil rights, then he can and should make a similar defense of Hitler's and Stalin's regimes. . . .

The New Leader took note of some of the new law's anti-democratic features, but its main complaint was that "it will not only fail to stamp out Communism but may even encourage it. . . . Few Communists will register, and the great majority will go underground and become harder to deal with. Worse yet, the Communists may take the Act to the Supreme Court, and if the latter

The Ford Foundation

By Larry Dolinski

Henry Ford II has bestowed \$225,000,000 on the Ford Foundation. This sum, the ballyhoo goes, is to be spent to fight for peace, establish security for the masses, guarantee democratic rights, etc. Ford's philanthropy is as fraudulent as his grandfather's. . . .

Old Henry had a knack for winning applause for his "humanitarianism." He was the first to inaugurate the \$5 day, but those around Detroit knew what a fake that was. With the increase in pay came an inhuman speed-up that turned production workers into physical wrecks in a few years. . . .

His grandson has just succeeded in forcing the Ford Pressed Steel workers back to work without the overtime pay for Saturdays and Sundays; Ford production workers are now knocking down to work under a contract that ignores the growing speed-up of the production lines. For every penny granted the workers, grandson like grandfather gets his pound of flesh. . . .

Philanthropy in general is nothing more than a means for the very wealthy to evade income taxes. The forming of foundations is the most favorite device. Thereby not only is the payment of taxes evaded, but complete control retained over the foundation funds. All this, while winning acclaim for humanitarianism, pays off in lush dividends — to Ford and all other foundations. . . .

The Ford Foundation was incorporated in 1936 and is the depository of the bulk of the profits made by the Ford Motor Co. Both Henry I and Edsel Ford on their deaths added to this mass of wealth by leaving all their non-voting shares to

declares it unconstitutional — as well it might — the Communists may eventually walk off with a victory which not even McCarran will be able to legislate against." . . .

For these reasons the New Leader said its "sole hope now is that the present Act will prove so impractical by Nov. 27 that the Congress will have to amend it drastically — and soberly." The only thing that is unclear about its position is which it thinks is worse — the law or the possibility that it might be ruled unconstitutional. . . .

The Socialist Call, published by the weaker wing of the Social Democracy, the Socialist Party, was somewhat more critical of the law as a whole. But its criticisms were on the whole restrained, as when it said of the wholesale detention of Europeans: . . .

"It would be unjust to say that an iron curtain has been erected to keep all dissident opinion and non-American ideas out of the United States. But a smoke screen has been set up which distorts or destroys what should be the major tenet of United States policy: that freedom is the best weapon we have to combat totalitarianism, etc." . . .

Norman Thomas, writing in the same paper, said: "Unless we are to live in a dream world of our own, we Socialists must admit that this year it will make a lot of difference to us and the things we care about if the Republicans supplant Senator Lehman in New York or elect Richard Nixon in California over Helen Gahagan Douglas. I cite these as only two possible examples. Other things being equal or anywhere near equal, lovers of freedom and common sense in America must prefer candidates for the Senate and House who have the courage to oppose the McCarran Act and who will promise to seek its drastic amendment." . . .

This is a back-handed plea for "the lovers of freedom and common sense" to vote for Fair Deal Democrats who have already promised that their "drastic amendment" of the new law will consist of retaining the concentration camp provisions. The Social Democrats' talk about "panic and ignorance" emphasizes that they have forgotten what even they used to know at one time — that where concentration camps are established, Social Democrats generally wind up among their occupants. . . .

Today the Foundation is, as before, owned, controlled and operated by the Ford family with the aid of handpicked trustees and attorneys. In the past, the "gifts" of the Foundation were limited to the Edison Institute, Greenfield Village (which is no more than a monument to Henry Ford) and the Henry Ford Hospital (which is a "poor man's hospital" the way the new Ford is a "poor man's car"). . . .

The only new wrinkle in the quarter-billion dollar "donation" is the scope of the project. In effect, Ford has launched a little Marshall Plan of his own, with the most experienced man in the country at its head, Paul Hoffman, former ECA director. You can be sure that \$100,000-a-year Hoffman will do a good job at guaranteeing Ford investments abroad and, in passing, will promote American investments generally. . . .

For the average American workers there are no loopholes to avoid the new 18% withholding tax. Least of all can he incorporate a foundation to support his family and call it charity. Big Business is preparing for a full-scale world war and is determined to make the American workers pay for the whole of it. The overhead for such a war would call for a tightening of belts and sacrifices such as Americans have never seen. The American working class is preparing their answer for these Billionaire shysters. . . .

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'Pilot' Has Some Explaining to Do

Divvying Up



Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin (L) meets with Chairman W. Stuart Symington of the National Security Resources Board and Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall to discuss problems of manpower and "labor's role" in mobilization. The workers themselves have no say on what happens to them or their living conditions; Big Business and Big Brass make all the important decisions in Washington.

The NMU Pilot, paper of the CIO National Maritime Union, had the following banner headline in its Oct. 5 issue: . . .

"Commies Impose 5.49% Peanut Settlement on MC&S Members." . . .

This referred to the wage settlement made by the leadership of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, which was recently expelled from the CIO as "communist-dominated." . . .

On Oct. 9 the daily press reported that the NMU and the Atlantic and Gulf District of the AFL Seafarers International Union had negotiated contracts providing for a wage increase of 6.38%. . . .

We look forward with interest to the next issue of the Pilot. In all justice it should explain why, if it is correct to call a 5.49% raise a "peanut settlement" in these times, it isn't correct to use the same term for a 6.38% raise. . . .

Gov. Williams -- Record Of Millionaire 'Liberal'

By Howard Lerner

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan

Bow-tie sporting, polka-dancing Gerhard Mennen Williams, heir to the \$12 million Mennen shaving cream fortune, was catapulted to the Michigan governorship in 1948. "He knows that in Michigan the Democrat seeking state office must look to labor for votes," says the conservative English weekly, The Economist, put it on Oct. 22, 1949. . . .

His strategy for wooing labor votes without really stepping on the toes of Big Business is to blame the Republican majority of the state legislature for blocking practically all of his proposals. In this way he figures he can get credit for being a great "friend of labor" at absolutely no cost to himself or his fellow capitalists. . . .

The record of Soapy Williams' accomplishments is to be found in a "Fact Book" which he has published for the purpose of snaring the labor vote. He takes the credit for raising old-age benefits from \$50 to \$60 a month. His "Fact Book" boasts: . . .

"He carried out that promise and the Legislature approved the increase as recommended." Truly a mighty accomplishment — even the "financial interests" didn't object. The old people starving to death on this pittance cannot fail to appreciate this great philanthropy. . . .

Soapy also wanted to prohibit the state from regaining old-age

payments from the estates of the deceased. But the Republicans balked. Involved are some \$25,000 a month. Soapy prevented a telephone rate increase, added \$4 a week to unemployment compensation benefits and proposed a 4% tax on corporate profits to balance the budget. This just about sums up his "progressive" achievements. . . .

SALES TAX REMAINS

While boasting of these piddling moves, he has meanwhile completely forgotten his own promise to wipe out the sales tax. Four out of every five dollars in taxes in Michigan come from the workers through this sales tax, which is a favorite method of milking the public. On this issue Soapy and his ADA-PAC backers are today silent as the tomb. They holler only about peanuts while reemts are stolen. . . .

When it comes to fighting against discrimination Soapy's record reeks. His current budget does not include a dime to enforce the Diggs Act which makes it a crime to discriminate in public places. . . .

The governor could easily stop discrimination in the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission's notorious hiring methods. Yet he has never issued an executive order to this effect and the MUCC continues to send workers out on jobs in accordance with color calls. . . .

A big to-do was made when an executive order was issued eliminating segregation in the National

Guard. Aside from the fact that there are few Negroes in the Guard, this order is not retroactive. Says the "Fact Book": "The order applied only to the future, and did not require the breakup of any existing units or transfer of units." In other words, everything remains virtually as before. . . .

HIIS FEPC LAW

Soapy's FEPC law was so rotten that even the Republican "financial interests" agreed to endorse it. Only after they realized that he would get the political credit for it did they back out at the last minute. Soapy's law included no penalties. "The Commission would have been empowered to receive and investigate complaints, and, by negotiation and conciliation, to obtain remedy without recourse to legal action." This toothless bill provided no fines, no imprisonment for violators, only "negotiation," "conciliation," "education." . . .

On housing, Williams introduced a law, which did not pass, to build 20,000 homes over a period of several years. In Detroit alone there are 75,000 houses that should be razed and replaced by new ones. . . .

He also proposed to give the vote to 18-year olds. Why? Because the youth are today 2 to 1 for the Democrats as against the Republicans. Great liberal! . . .

The millionaire governor also boasts of obtaining some modification of the vicious Bonine-Tripp anti-labor law, already weakened by the courts because the Taft-Hartley Act has precedence over it. . . .

"ANTI-RED" LAW

The crowning achievement of this shyster was sponsorship of a law against "subversives." While he could not spare a cent for enforcing the Diggs Act, he did find a quarter of a million for a Michigan gesture. . . .

"A maximum penalty of life imprisonment is fixed for anyone associated in any manner with plots to overthrow or destroy the government by force, violence, sabotage or terrorism." So "advocacy" alone is a crime. So is "publication or sale or circulation of written or printed matter advocating overthrow of the government by force." Williams is agreeable to such a law. His own proposal called "only" for a maximum penalty of 10 years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. Some liberal! . . .

When questioned about firing a "communist" in view of the fact that the CP is still legal, he said that "a department head can find some reason for dismissal, much as I dislike to circumvent the law." Williams is quite ready to circumvent the law when it comes to firing people for their opinions, but he is unwilling to enforce laws when it comes to fighting against Jim Crow. . . .

The tragedy is not that this slick faker seeks to pull the wool over the eyes of the people, but that the CIO and ADA leaders help him. No, it is not the CIO and ADA leaders who have captured this millionaire, but he and his ilk who have captured them. And the chief victims of this contemptible game are the workers of Michigan. . . .

Witch-Hunters Open Trial of 5 Ford Workers

DETROIT — Amid much publicity in the local capitalist press, the trial of five alleged Communist officers of Ford UAW Local 600 started on Oct. 9. This trial is

part of an anti-red campaign initiated by Carl Stellato, Local 500 president, under the inspiration of Walter Reuther at the outbreak of the Korean war. The Reutherites were able to get a hand-picked 11-man trial board since they have a mechanical majority on the lame-duck General Council. . . .

The five unionists are: Paul Boatin, John Gallo, Nelson Davis, Ed Lock, and David Moore, all old-time Ford workers and founders of Local 600. They are accused of following the Communist Party line, and of being subservient to the CP and Russia. The accusations against them were very broad and general. As the Detroit News put it, Stellato charged them with signing the local's "loyalty" pledge "with mental reservations and in bad faith." . . .

The defendants' requests for "specific" charges on the opening day of the trial were ignored by Reuther's prosecuting attorney, A. Zwierding, and the trial committee. Composed of Stellato's stooges, the trial committee will no doubt render a verdict conforming to the charges. Zwierding, a personal friend and hireling of Reuther's, is another one of the many in top UAW circles who used the socialist movement as a stepping stone to personal advancement in the labor movement. . . .

LONG TRIAL EXPECTED

The five defendants are going to be tried individually. The local newspapers say that the trial will last until next February, and blame a lengthy trial on the defendants even before it is started. In reality, it will be Stellato, Reuther and their stooges who will drag out the trial for two main reasons. . . .

The first reason is to give the appearance of a "fair" and "democratic" trial. The second and more important reason, is that the Local 600 general elections are scheduled for February. The frame-up trial is designed to serve as a campaign issue with which to smear the opposition. . . .

Local 600 is the last remaining big section of the UAW which the Reutherites don't control. In last year's election, Reuther's supporters were thrown out of key union posts and received a minority on the executive board. This anti-Reuther trend will be reinforced this year because of the sell-out 5-year agreement. Reuther and Stellato, fearing a normal democratic election, are resorting to a McCarthy-like smear in a desperate attempt to take over control. . . .

So far Stellato's attorney has been dragging in a lot of professional red-baiters. J. R. Adams, former UPWA official and at present a staff member of the CIO, traced the changes in the CP line since 1939. The third evening of the trial saw the introduction of a quotation from a pro-Stalinist Bulgarian paper which stated that on Stalin's birthday, Paul Boatin told a reporter that a group of workers sang "Happy birthday, dear Joe." . . .

BOHANNAN OUTLINES SWP HOUSING PROGRAM

NEWARK, Oct. 16 — The Housing Act of 1949 is "not a real slum clearance program, but a mockery of one, whose chief aim is to promote the political fortunes of

demagogic politicians." This was the view expressed today by William E. Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 11th District, in a letter replying to an inquiry from the New Jersey Association of Housing Authorities regarding his own public housing and slum clearance program. . . .

To substantiate his charge, Bohannon called attention to the inadequate provisions of the present housing law — a million units over a seven-year period during which more than a million marginal dwellings will become slums. Bohannon also denounced the coalition of Northern Democrats and Dixiecrats which last year prevented the adoption of a provision to abolish segregation in public housing. . . .

The SWP candidate outlined his own housing program, as follows: . . .

HOMES, NOT BOMBS

"If elected to Congress, I will fight for a federal program to clear the slums and erect 25 million low-cost, low-rent housing units. . . .

"To finance this program, I will advocate the transfer of the billions now being used for war preparations, and the transformation of the taxation program to . . .