

# Truman's Moves Heighten Danger Of China War

By John G. Wright

NOV. 30.—Three factors are now playing a central role in the acute and hourly aggravation of the international crisis, which was inherent from the beginning in Truman's "police action" in Korea and which has now brought this country and the whole world so perilously close to the outbreak of a major war in Asia, if not to another world war.

The first factor is the abrupt change in the military situation on the China-Korea front. Things have turned out in a way entirely unforeseen either in Washington or Tokyo.

Second is the blind alley into which the diplomats of Wall Street have maneuvered themselves. They had deliberately stalled all along in the expectation of dictating the terms of a possible settlement, with a "strong" military position on the China-Korea border as their trump card. This diplomatic "strategy" blew up in their faces with the military reverses. And

## Lt. Gilbert Faces 20 Year Sentence; Protest Saved Life

The sentence of death passed by a court martial in Korea on Lieutenant Leon A. Gilbert has been commuted to twenty years at hard labor by President Truman.

Lt. Gilbert, a veteran of combat in Italy, was given a drumhead court martial in the early days of the Korean war. The charge was misbehavior before the enemy and he was sentenced to be hanged. No soldier in World War II was executed on this charge and Gilbert was the first so condemned in Korea.

In the early stages of the Korean war American troops were retreating all along the line. It was apparent that Gilbert, a Negro, was sentenced to death for an offense that would have been overlooked in the case of a white officer. Medical testimony that would have sent a white officer to a hospital as a combat fatigue case was disregarded in Gilbert's trial.

The protest on behalf of Gilbert has so far saved his life. But twenty years at hard labor is not much of a life to look forward to. The campaign must be continued till Lt. Gilbert, a victim of military Jim Crow, is freed.

(Continued on page 3)

## REGISTRATION OF CP DEMANDED BY M'GRATH

No Republican administration could or would enforce the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law faster or more vigorously than the Truman administration is doing. Attorney General McGrath's Nov. 22

petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board, demanding that the Communist Party be required to register under the law enacted on Sept. 23, is ample proof of the speed with which the Trumanites are moving.

It is also proof of The Militant's contention from the beginning that Truman is playing the same two-faced game on this law that he played on the Taft-Hartley law. He went through the gestures of vetoing that law, too, and of calling for its repeal after it was enacted over the veto. But while posing as an opponent of Taft-Hartley, he enforced the T-H law to the hilt, employing it as a strikebreaking measure in scores of cases. Now he is doing the same thing with the McCarran law, putting into effect the very provisions which he himself had labeled thought-control measures, while holding in abeyance those provisions which he really opposes, such as the one calling for publication of a list of arms plants.

### HELP'S M'CARTHY'S

McGrath's selection of the Communist Party as the first organization brought before the SACB for an order to register neatly into the administration's double-dyed strategy with regard to the law.

The Stalinists are most vulnerable on the "foreign domination" charges because of their subservience to the zigzags in the Kremlin's foreign policy. The most rabid supporters of the new police-state law would like nothing better than to have its constitutionality based on a case involving the Stalinists, because that is the best variant they could get. They will also be pleased to have the legal precedents for the operation of the law set in the Stalinist case.

Furthermore, the Stalinists are discredited and hated that many opponents of the law will tend to abstain from the fight against it because they do not want to be identified with the Stalinists in any way. The one-step-at-a-time enforcement of the law will, for a while anyway, strengthen the belief that the law is aimed only at the CP.

### DANGEROUS BELIEF

That is the belief that the supporters of the law tried and are still trying to get widely accepted, and it is the most dangerous belief possible. The precedents

(Continued from page 2)

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# STOP THE WAR NOW!

## Withdraw All Troops! Recall Gen. MacArthur!

By James P. Cannon

To the President and Members of the Congress:

Gentlemen:

Once more, as at the start of your Korean intervention, I take this means to tell you what I believe is the heartfelt sentiment of the overwhelming majority of humanity, including the American people today:

Stop your criminal aggression against the Asian people.

Your reckless military adventure in Korea has brought this country into a clash with the 500 millions of China and threatens an "entirely new war" that will engulf millions more of our youth and drain our last resources.

You have permitted MacArthur, with his mad ambition to be the conqueror of all Asia, to deliberately provoke a situation that could mean war on a titanic scale. Now he has turned for a "solution" to the "United Nations and chancelleries of the world."

But that is precisely where this grave crisis of mankind has been forged — in the UN and the chancelleries. Can we then entrust the further fate of the world to pin-striped diplomats?

Your proposed solution, Mr. President, is a threat to repeat the atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by using the atom bomb in Korea.

Take heed, Mr. President, before it is too late! Hear the voice of the people of America and the whole world. They are thundering:

Stop the war NOW!

Recall your madly-ambitious MacArthur!

Withdraw the troops from Korea!

Let the peoples of Asia alone to settle their own fate!

Who wants this war?

Not the Koreans, whose cities, towns and villages have been reduced by your bombs to charred rubble and who mourn hundreds of thousands of the slain.

Not the Chinese people, whose dead in the struggle against imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's despotism number tens of millions.

Not the peoples of Europe, whose fears are reflected today in the warnings to you by their governments.

The German people, by their votes, have just told you in unmistakable terms that they will not bear your arms in another war.

And, if you stop to think about it, Mr. President, the American people are not fools. They are not blind to the price they have paid for your disastrous "police action" in Korea. Their hearts ache for their slaughtered youth. And they dread the hatred that your bombs have generated throughout the vast Asian continent. The American people know that before you can even hope to subjugate the new China, the bleached bones of their boys will be strewn across the desert reaches of Gobi, their frozen corpses will choke the Himalaya passes.

Only your arrogant militarists like MacArthur; only your profits-hungry ruling class of monopolists and international financiers; only the political henchmen of a rapacious imperialism seek this war.

Take heed, Mr. President, I adjure you.

You are trifling with the fate of the human race.

Stop, look, and listen.

This great and good American people abhor militarism and war. They love the ways of peace and freedom. They are trying to tell you their will:

STOP THE WAR NOW!



## WITCH-HUNTERS INFURIATED BY BOOK TELLING TRUTH ABOUT FBI

By Frank Poole

Many people have believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Washington politicians are not interested in books, that they rarely read one. This belief certainly does not hold today. A book has just been

written on one of the most explosive subjects in U. S. life — that of holies, the FBI, and reactionary congressmen and editors have risen as one man to bury the book under an avalanche of distortions and red-

acting. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was written by Max Lowenthal, a corporation lawyer and bank director, who for 38 years has on and off served as federal counsel under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

That Lowenthal's liberalism is of the mild variety is attested by the fact that Herbert Hoover appointed him executive secretary of the National Commission on Law Observance.

Despite his unassailable political orthodoxy the mere fact that he dared write a book with unfavorable conclusions about the FBI has made Lowenthal the No. 1 smear target in Washington today.

As soon as news of the book's preparation reached Washington, the thought-police went into action. In an effort to suppress the book, or failing that to discredit it, Representative Dondorf of Michigan told the House that Lowenthal was "a menace to the best interests of America," and that his record was "replete with incidents where he aided and abetted Communists." This was almost three months before the

that during his 38 years in Washington he had known Alger Hiss and Lee Pressman and some other "suspect" or "proved" Communists. The testimony of this secret hearing was released Nov. 18, by "coincidence" two days before Lowenthal's book was published.

In this period of growing thought-control and witch-hunting, reviewing this book on the

(Continued on page 4)

## SWP Convention Adopts Policy to Fight Reaction

NEW YORK — The 14th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which met here Thanksgiving weekend, took stock of the political situation in the United States and worked out a program

been rejuvenated nor the masses

subdued, and the balance in favor of U. S. military preponderance has begun to diminish. That is why American imperialism has turned now to a more drastic remedy for the permanent crisis of capitalism — an unprecedentedly vast rearmament program and a militarization campaign to which everything else is being subordinated.

Washington has definitely embarked on a course that can eventuate only in all-out war, barring revolutionary events. Along this road there is still the possibility of deals between the White House and the Kremlin, but they can be only partial and temporary.

Analyzing the factors pro and con, Warde concluded that the

weight of evidence seems to be

against the outbreak of global

war in the immediate future. But he warned that the situation in the world, and even in Korea, remains extremely fluid and indecisive, with neither Washington nor Moscow in complete control of the colliding forces, so that the situation is liable to abrupt change. Whatever the future holds, he said, the factors to be taken as the basis for the party's practical work are the existing realities — "the more aggressive role of America's militarists, the heightened danger of war, the stepping up of militarization at home."

Two main consequences flow

from the new turn in policy —

the economic, bringing a clash

### And Now LIRR Wants Fare Boost

Governor Dewey's Public Service Commission began "investigating" the Long Island Rail Road last December. It hasn't yet found anything wrong although 110 have been killed and 500 injured in LIRR disasters since last February. But now, following the Nov. 23 collision that killed 78, the Commission has resumed hearings on — the railroad's petition for a 32% commuters fare increase. This, if granted, would be on top of three previously granted temporary increases of 20% in 1947, 5% in 1948 and 25% in 1949, which would be made permanent.

## 110 LIRR Deaths for DuPont-Mellon Profits

By Joseph Keller

If you were Pierre S. duPont and Richard King Mellon, the two richest directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad and heirs of two of the wealthiest families in the world, you could get away with murder — wholesale murder. You could slaughter 110 people and mutilate more than 500 others in the state of New York in period of nine months while making millions on these crimes and nothing would happen to you.

The Interstate Commerce Commission and federal judges, the governor and state legislature and Public Service Commission, the county and local officials, the Big Business press and corporations would rush to protect you from the just penalties for your hideous crimes.

That is the true story behind the ghastly Thanksgiving Eve collision on the notorious Long Island Railroad which snuffed out 78 lives and injured 331 in the worst train disaster in the history of the state.

Public indignation has spilled over in a roar of wrath, which public officials and agencies are trying to quell with a flood of "investigations," hearings, statements, alibis, etc. The greatest demand is for immediate government seizure and operation of the LIRR to halt further carnage.

The smashup between two east-

bound LIRR trains loaded with more than 2,300 passengers in Kew Gardens, near Jamaica, Long Island, last Wednesday, was the third and worst disaster on this line since last Feb. 17, when a head-on collision at Rockville Center, L. I., killed 32 and injured more than 100. A second wreck on Aug. 6 at Huntington Station, L. I., injured 47.

This pile-up of disasters has

occurred on the most heavily

travelled railroad in the world, carrying more than 400,000 passengers daily in 800 trains that operate two minutes apart in the morning and evening rush hours.

This packed human freight is hurtled at fast speed over jammed lines lacking in the most elementary automatic safety devices. The crash of one train into the rear of another on Thanksgiving Eve was caused for want of an automatic "tripper" — a device that automatically stops a train within a fixed safe distance of a preceding one — which costs \$2,400.

This device — like many others which the LIRR lacks — was "too expensive," according to the LIRR management, who are really dummies for the Pennsylvania Railroad. The Pennsylvania owns all the stock of the LIRR and recent investigations have revealed that the former has

milited more than \$2 billion of

profits from its subsidiary since 1901.

By 1949, the Pennsylvania had run the LIRR into the ground. Then it worked out a phony "bankruptcy" deal whereby the LIRR gets out of paying taxes and the Pennsylvania, nominally out of the control, continues as "favored creditor" to collect interest on \$88 million of bonds on a decrepit railroad whose assets amount to only \$11 million.

When the latest disaster happened the capitalist press which had closed its eyes to the previous catastrophes yelled "Bloody Murder!" and from the liberal N. Y. Post to Hearst's ultra-

reactionary N. Y. Daily Mirror

clamored for "seizure" of the LIRR by state or local authorities.

Governor Dewey's Public Service Commission — which is still

"investigating" the crash that

killed 32 last February — opened

reason to install a safety system.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 5

# How Workers Councils Are Chosen and How They Operate

By Ernest Germain

Caught between the growing pressure of the well-to-do and rich peasantry inside the country, and of world imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy outside of it, the Yugoslav CP had to solve the problem of the hour: How to safeguard the conquests of the revolution against these hostile forces, how to push forward on the road of socialist construction? The only progressive answer possible was the following: By mobilizing the conscious, decisive force in the country, the industrial working class. That was the road chosen by the Yugoslav leaders from 1949 on.

Experience told them that the road was practical only if (1) the workers achieved a minimum standard of living which makes workers democracy practicable; (2) if the active and conscious participation of the working class in the administration of the state and the economy was made possible. From the end of 1949 the whole internal policy of the Yugoslav CP has been concen-

trated on achieving just that goal. And the main road toward that goal has led through the legislation on the workers councils.

## PREVIOUS PRACTICE

When the industrial enterprises, the mines, the transport corporations, etc. were nationalized in Yugoslavia, they were placed under the management of a state-appointed director. The main task assigned the factory union was to collaborate with that manager — as is the case in the Soviet Union. Some forms of workers' participation in the management of the factories existed since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan, in the so-called "production conferences" which could be called by the manager. They were purely consultative organs, and were only used to break some bottleneck in production. In the shipyard Chukarica on the Danube near Belgrade, this "production conference" embracing the most skilled workers and shock-workers, had functioned irregularly and be elected by all the workers in secret ballot.

The procedure employed at these elections is very interesting, because it constituted a transitional stage between the old "one party unanimity" system, which the CPY had inherited from its Stalinist godfather, and the new course of workers' democracy which was slowly being realized in the country. At

lately ever since 1947 and solved the problems arising from the unusually cold weather during the harsh winter of 1949-50.

In the meantime, the leaders of the Yugoslav CP understood that this was not the type of institution that could instill real confidence in the workers. The Supreme Economic Council decided that in the beginning of 1950 elections of factory committees would be held in 200 of the most important industrial enterprises of the country. These factory committees would still be allowed only consultative powers, but they would meet regularly and be elected by all the workers in secret ballot.

The procedure employed at these elections is very interesting, because it constituted a transitional stage between the old "one party unanimity" system, which the CPY had inherited from its Stalinist godfather, and the new course of workers' democracy which was slowly being realized in the country. At

these elections there was only one slate of candidates, but two important provisions introduced real elements of workers' democracy into these elections.

First is the fact that the original slate, worked out by an "electoral committee of the trade union branch," had to be presented to the general assembly of all the workers in the given plant (or in very big factories, to a general assembly of many hundreds of elected shop stewards), who were thereby given ample opportunity to change the slate. Second is the fact that the workers, becoming confident that the ballot was really a secret one, took the opportunity to vote against the single slate, writing in on the ballots during the election itself by the voters. In that same plant, the elected candidates received only between 426 and 381 of the 700 odd valid votes.

The functioning of these consultative factory committees appeared to be very satisfactory

and made a thorough study of these elections and whose articles appeared in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, cites the following facts:

At the big steel plant of Jelitostroj (employing 7,500 workers) two-thirds of the candidates on the original slate were removed at the general assembly of shop stewards; at the Ljubljana turbine plant in Ljubljana (1,800 workers), 20 candidates were added during the general assembly to the slate submitted by the unions. At the Jugostampa printing plant in Belgrade (1,000 workers), only 25 of the 31 slate candidates were actually elected, the other six elected members of the factory committee being workers whose names had been written in on the ballots during the election itself by the voters. In that same plant, the elected candidates received only between 426 and 381 of the 700 odd valid votes.

The functioning of these consultative factory committees appeared to be very satisfactory

and provided a big support in mobilizing the working class. The law of June 28, 1950 was thus prepared, which represented a revolutionary development on the road of socialist democracy. This law actually puts the management of the factories into the hands of the workers, operating through two elected committees: the factory committee, chosen by universal suffrage of all the workers of a plant; the administrative committee, elected by all the members of the factory committee.

## COMMITTEE FUNCTIONS

From August to October 15, these committees were to be elected in all nationalized enterprises. The factory committee would be the supreme legislative body in the management of the plant. It would meet at least once every six weeks, and be composed of from 15 to 120 members. The administrative committee, composed of from 3 to 17 members, would be the executive organ of the management and meet on an average of once a week.

The elections of the administrative committees were a clear indication of the progress made on the road of the democratization of the regime. In many, if not in most cases, several slates of candidates were presented to the electorate. Quoting again the figures cited in the survey of the journalist Pierre Goussent, there were two slates of candidates presented at the election of the administrative committee of the machine-tool plant Ivo Lola-Ribar (2,000 workers), with candidates elected from both slates. There were also two slates presented at the printing plant Jugostampa, one electing 7, and the other one candidate. At the former Bata plant of Borovo, in Vinkovci, Eastern Croatia (5,000 workers) there were three slates of candidates, each of them winning some places. Finally, at the tractor factory of Rankovica there were four slates of candidates, receiving respectively 23%, 31%, 15% and 27% of the votes.

## COMPOSITION

The elected factory and administrative committees are representative of the people who work in the plants. The law requires that at least three-fourths of each committee be composed of the workers actually working at the bench. In general, rarely more than one employee and one technician (or engineer) are members of the administrative committees, besides the bench workers, a majority of whom are average skilled workers. The law also provides that no members

of the workers' councils may be paid in any manner for their activities on these councils.

In order to prevent any formation of a new "workers' aristocracy" inside the plants, the law provides that no members of the administrative council may serve longer than two successive years in this office. By this means the leaders of the Yugoslav CP want to educate the largest possible number of all the workers in administrative and managerial functions, in order to start on the road which leads to the complete withering away of the state, i.e., a situation where all workers

execute managerial functions in rotation.

## HOW DO THEY WORK?

This is the mechanism set in motion by the law of June 28 to achieve vital progress on the road towards socialist democracy. The big question is: To what extent has the letter of the law become reality? To what extent are the workers' councils true organs of defense of the workers' interests, and not some new means of compelling the workers to put out more work and be satisfied with less real wages?

It is too early to give a definitive answer to that question. The workers' councils have hardly started their activities. Many examples, however, already indicate that the Yugoslav leaders are eager to give the workers every opportunity to achieve what the law concedes to them as their right and privilege. Wherever bureaucratic elements tried to organize fake elections or to bully the workers, the workers could appeal to the CP or to the state, which protected their rights.

At the brick-making plant Omladina at Batacji Petrovci, elections were held on a slate which the trade union committees had not previously submitted to the general assembly of the workers. These elections were declared illegal, and new elections were held. At the silk mill of Maribor, a sharp rebuff was administered to the manager who attempted to subordinate the factory committee to himself. At the Metalna plant in the same town where the manager had actually succeeded in using that committee against the workers, they demanded and obtained the recall of the committee and new elections.

## EFFECTS ON PRODUCTIVITY

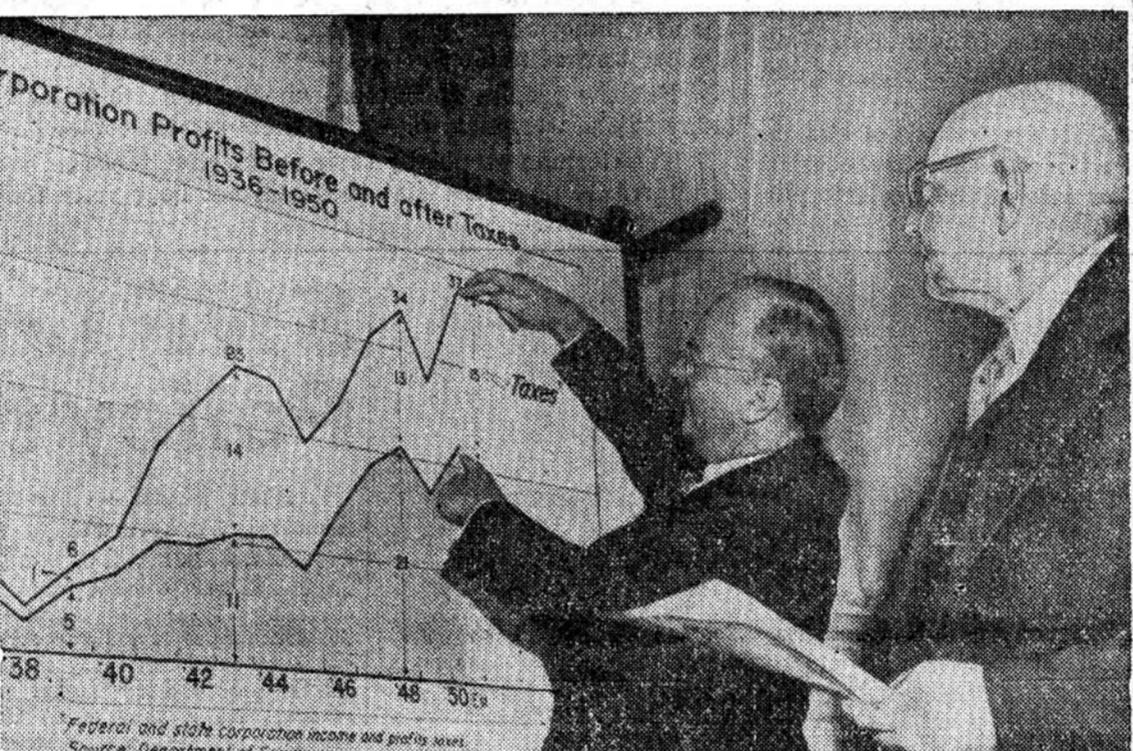
The workers' councils try by all means to increase the managerial capacities of their own members and of all the workers, and to instill the spirit of initiative and free creation in the working class. It is in that field, and not through an increase of physical effort or through speed-up, that the leaders of the CPY hope to achieve an increase in productivity. Results here are also amazing.

The members of the workers' councils of Rakovica are very proud of their new tractor, which was conceived and discussed by themselves, and they have been fighting a bitter battle against the "technicians" who gave them too little assistance in their work. The workers of the Jugostampa printing shop have solved dozens of production problems by introducing new gadgets and inventions.

Everywhere, materials are put at the disposal of the workers to build models of newly invented equipment. Everywhere study classes in technical problems, in electrodynamics, in physics, in accountancy, in law, are organized right in the plants. On the same subjects, the CPY has had a dozen pamphlets printed and distributed in tens of thousands of copies to the workers. The school of practice and the practice of the school are creating a new generation of workers, capable of the day-to-day managerial work in the factories.

(Next week: The Struggle Against Bureaucracy)

## Talk About Excess Profits Tax



Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder (l.) uses a chart to show Sen. Robert L. Doughton (D, N.C.) how corporation war profits could be taxed 75% and still leave plenty behind. Big Business is conducting a vigorous campaign against even this inadequate measure, and a large section of Congress opposes action during the lame-duck session.

## KROLL'S APPROACH

The tone of the Murray leadership was expressed in the speech by CIO-PAC Director Jack Kroll who spoke on the political action resolution just after Truman's Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin, blandly told the convention that the election results were a vindication of the program of Truman's Fair Deal."

Here was the ideal spot to point out that the elections were not a "vindication of Truman's Fair Deal" but a repudiation of his demagogic and broken Fair Deal.

Speaking on the political action resolution, Baldanzi urged the CIO to "re-examine" its policy of supporting "hacks" and "racketeers" nominated by the Democratic Party. He questioned whether, as a result of its support of such elements in the recent election, the people consider the CIO to be "independent of either party."

Baldanzi stated that "the workers of America will no sooner follow PAC-CIO in an attempt to elect a lot of racketeers than they will if the Democratic or Republican Party sponsors them. When we say we support men with a program we must mean that down to the end, and not accept some political hacks that may be handed to us by a Tammany Hall or some other group of politicians."

"SUCKED IN"

He complained that "a lot of so-called New Deal" candidates had "campaigned against the National Health Program, against social security, they were against FEPC, they were against everything that their own party platform said they should be for." Nevertheless, Baldanzi insisted, the CIO leaders could not "assume the blame," because their only fault was that "we permitted ourselves to be sucked in to endorse people who were not acceptable" to the voters.

"A large part of the responsibility" for the election's outcome, he said, rests on "some" of the Democratic Party leaders "who thought this election was a push-over and gave us a lot of political hacks instead of men of great standing in the country to run for office."

They could only beef about some of the reactionary consequences of this program and advise the war government how it might better conceal its reactionary aims under a "progressive" cover. Thus, they proposed that Marshall Plan funds be used to help the European workers more, instead of the rich; that the U.S. stop aiding dictators like Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and Syngman Rhee; that the union leaders be given more voice in foreign policy-making and in the conduct of the war mobilization program.

They opposed the law, verbally at least. It is their duty now to oppose its use against any organization, including the Stalinists. If they shirk that duty on the specious ground that they disagree with the policies of the CP, then they too will be playing into the hands of the McCarrans and McCarthys and striking a blow at the security of the whole labor movement. Militant unionists must do everything they can to prevent such a capitulation.

It is his uncompromising honesty that leaves the capitalist publishers and publicists uncomfortable in his presence. The editors of the N.Y. Times, for example, just couldn't help voicing their reservations after he got the award. Conceding that he is

an artist and that "the United States can be proud that one of its artists has earned the Nobel prize again," it complained nevertheless:

"His field of vision is concentrated on society that is too often vicious, depraved, decadent, corrupt. Americans must fervently hope that the award by a Swedish jury and the enormous vogue of Faulkner's works in Latin America and on the European Continent, especially in France, does not mean that foreigners admire him because he gives them the picture of American life they believe to be typical and true. There has been too much of that feeling lately, again especially in France. Incest and rape may be common pastimes in Faulkner's 'Jefferson, Miss.' but they are not elsewhere in the United States," etc.

## THE REAL POINT

We don't pretend to be well informed as the editors of the Times on the statistics relating to incest and rape in either Mississippi or the rest of the U.S. Anyhow, it's utterly irrelevant. Faulkner's point is not that so and so many cases of rape and incest are committed in the South, but that society itself is

"vicious, depraved, decadent, corrupt," and he has the right to employ any fictional device he chooses for illustrating his point.

Most of Faulkner's work deals with the South, especially the rural South, and its people — the descendants of the slaveowning aristocracy, the newly rich commercial elements who replaced the old aristocracy, the backwoods farmers, the tenant farmers, the Negroes, the intellectuals.

Faulkner is concerned with their relations with one another, their morals, their struggles with the heritage of the old South. His social views are nothing to brag about, being confused and sometimes even reactionary. But because he is an honest artist, he gives a generally true though imaginative picture of the decay and corruption of the Southern system as reflected in the lives of his characters.

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"His field of vision is concentrated on society that is too often vicious, depraved, decadent, corrupt. Americans must fervently hope that the award by a Swedish jury and the enormous vogue of Faulkner's works in Latin America and on the European Continent, especially in France, does not mean that foreigners admire him because he gives them the picture of American life they believe to be typical and true. There has been too much of that feeling lately, again especially in France. Incest and rape may be common pastimes in Faulkner's 'Jefferson, Miss.' but they are not elsewhere in the United States," etc.

Capitalist editors and critics have the right not to like the truth, even when imaginatively presented, about the society they defend against revolutionary change, but they shouldn't be permitted to distort the issue of what it is that they are defending.

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TROTSKY



LENIN

"The bourgeoisie and its agents use the war question, more than any other, to deceive the people by means of abstractions, general formulas, lame phraseology: 'neutrality,' 'national defense,' 'struggle against fascism,' and so on. All such formulas reduce themselves in the end to the fact that the war question, i.e., the fate of the people, is left in the hands of the imperialists, their governing staffs, their diplomacy, their generals, with all their intrigues and plots against the people."

— Leon Trotsky, The Death Agony of Capitalism, 1938.

## The Busy Union Officials

The top union leaders of all affiliations are busier than the proverbial one-armed paper-hanger. They are rushing around to meetings galore to settle the many and crucial problems of American labor. Only, the kind of people they've been meeting with, and plan to consort with in the future, bode the American workers no good.

For instance, last week they were reported to be planning a secret meeting, scheduled for Nov. 28, with a group of Big Business representatives to chart out a program of "self-control" on the matter of wages and prices during this period of war mobilization. Who was there, what was said and decided, we have not yet learned. But we know it wasn't for the benefit of union members.

Last week, too, the labor representatives on the new Wage Stabilization Board — Harry C. Bates of the AFL Bricklayers, Emil Rieve of the CIO Textile Workers and Elmer E. Walker of the independent International Association of Machinists — were sworn in and held their first conference with Alan Valentine, former corporation executive and Economic Stabilization Director, and the industry and "public" members of

the wage board. There the union leaders took up the task of enforcement of a wage-price control law that they themselves denounce as a "fraud."

Finally, W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the National Security Resources Board, summoned thirty union officials — ten each from the AFL, CIO and independent unions — to the Pentagon on Nov. 30 to further discuss how to freeze wages and regiment labor.

The union leaders, it appears, are discussing the problems of labor with corporation owners, with government agencies designed to impose restrictions and restraints on labor, with everybody except those most intimately concerned — the workers themselves. These bureaucrats are being briefed in secret sessions on how to put over the program of labor's enemies instead of mobilizing the forces of labor to draft a program that will defend the workers' interests.

What these union officials should be spending their whole time on right now is a national conference of all labor bodies to discuss and prepare a program to keep this country from war and to safeguard the lives and living standard of the American working people.

## Victims of Capitalism

When 78 people died in the recent Long Island Rail Road collision, the capitalist press milked the tragedy for all it was worth in sensationalism and pretended indignation. But there are no editorial headlines screaming "Murder!" at the slaughter of thousands of American boys in Korea and hundreds of thousands of Koreans.

The same newspapers that cry their mock outrage for the victims of a railroad wreck furiously demand more victims for the war of American imperialism and some of them, following the latest defeat for the U.S. forces, are demanding that millions more be sacrificed in war with China and even a "preventive war" against the Soviet Union.

Yet, if we examine closely the causes for these two seemingly unrelated tragedies, the LIRR wreck and the Korea war, we will find that they both stem from the same thing and that whoever cries murder for the LIRR victims should shout it from the rooftops for the victims in Korea.

Though differing in many respects each of these catastrophes reflects a basic phase of the capitalist profit system. As the article by Joseph Keller on the LIRR disaster discloses, greed for profits led to the neglect of safety measures that snatched 78 persons from their loved ones. And greed for profits is the driving force that is costing the lives of so many thousands of American youth in

Korea and threatens to cost millions in a new world war.

Every year in this country, the drive for profits regardless of human safety causes thousands of deaths and millions of injuries in industrial accidents, mine disasters, rail and plane wrecks. And every few years, the desire to extend profitable foreign investments, grab new markets and resources, seize new sources of cheap labor leads the capitalist system to war.

Capitalism — the private profit system — has reduced the value of human life to the value of dung. Its countless victims of accidents, poverty, social neglect and war fertilize the golden soil of profits. Capitalism can live on only by nourishing itself on more and more victims of its supply of human fertilizer is exhausted.

Whoever feels real sympathy and indignation for the victims of profits-made railroad accidents and profits-made wars will abhor capitalism. He will fight to achieve the system of socialism, where the means of production, exchange and distribution are owned by society and run under the control of the workers. When the railroads, the mines, the factories are removed from the hands of a tiny, ruthless owning class and are placed in the hands of the whole people there will be an end both to such tragedies as the LIRR disaster and to the infinitely greater tragedy of imperialist war.

## What's Left of the Fair Deal

Only a few days before the lame-duck session of Congress convened in Washington, President Truman gave assurances that he would continue to fight for his "whole Fair Deal program." But of the five "must" bills he submitted to Congress there was only one that will be taken seriously — and that is the request for additional billions to supplement previous appropriations for war preparations.

So far almost \$1 billion dollars in military funds have been voted this year, including 10 billions for Korea alone. It was estimated that the supplementary appropriation sought at the lame-duck session would be between 10 and 17 billion dollars more — and that was before Gen. MacArthur's communiqué declaring that a "new war" had started on the China-Korea border.

Next year's arms budget will be far bigger. Secretary Marshall has reportedly submitted a military budget of 45 billions, which Truman has approved, and which will bring next year's overall budget to the 72 billion dollar mark. Further deepening of the crisis with China will make even that astronomical figure outmoded.

Truman also asked for an emergency

loan of \$8 million dollars to drought-stricken Yugoslavia. If Congress clears this loan, it will not be for any humanitarian reasons but as a means of extorting political and economic concessions from Belgrade.

The other three "must" bills concern the extension of the present inadequate rent controls for three months to next March 31; the admission of Hawaii and Alaska to statehood, and an "excess profits" tax bill.

Congress is balking at the extension of any kind of rent controls. The Southern Democrats are threatening a filibuster against the Hawaii and Alaska measures because these would slightly decrease the relative strength of the Southern Democrats in the Senate. As for Truman's "excess profits" bill — to nip off only four more billion dollars of the record profits now running at the annual rate of over 40 billions — even that is meeting growing resistance from the Democrat-controlled Congress.

Only two aspects of the Fair Deal program are not dead. One is the part relating to war preparations. The other is the vote-catching demagogic that has characterized the New Deal and Fair Deal since their inception.

# Opposition to War Rises Among Europe's Masses

By Paul G. Stevens

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As MacArthur rattled the sword at China's millions on the Manchurian frontier and the U. S. delegates, with unmitigated gall, flung the charge of "aggression" at the newly arrived delegation from Peiping in the UN, the rumble of opposition to Wall Street's war plans grew louder last week among the peoples of the West.

British and French representatives in the UN expressed fear lest the American pro-consul in the Far East request once more authorization to bomb Manchurian bases — as he did on Oct. 12 — and be granted such authorization by Washington. Moreover, they were deeply disturbed by reported anti-war sentiments from their homes, and declared they would have to take cognizance of them and oppose any "full-scale" war moves against China.

The strength of the anti-war feelings of Europe's masses was best expressed, however, in Germany where in the course of three provincial elections, several million voters had a chance to register their opinions at the polls. In all three Hesse, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria, the voters expressed themselves in no uncertain terms for the Social Democratic Party of Dr. Kurt Schumacher — which is opposed to German rearmament without a national referendum — and against Dr. Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, the chief party in the federal government at Bonn, which is acquiescent to American plans for Germany's remilitarization as part of the "North Atlantic defense."

Particularly significant was the Social Democratic victory in Bavaria, most conservative of the three provinces, and one-time citadel of Hitler's Nazis. Bavaria, like the other two provinces, lies in the American zone, and the occupation authorities have all along favored the most conservative and reactionary political forces. The election results, therefore, as the N. Y. Times correspondent put it, "cannot be viewed as anything but a serious setback to the Western Allies" and their plans for German participation in "Western defense."

In the state of Hesse, the Social Democrats increased their seats in the legislature from 38 to 47, or a majority of the total of 80, while the Christian Democrats dropped from 28 to 12. In Württemberg-Baden, Schumacher's strength in the legislature rose from 32 to 35, while Adenauer's declined from 39 to 31. In

The elections have also made evident the unpopularity and discrediting of Stalinism — the CP vote dropped to an all-time low of less than 2% in Bavaria, less than the required 5% to get any seats in all three states. But the decline of the CP, the traditional anti-war party, has not benefited the militarists.

The German people are not in the least inclined to be used as cannon fodder by American imperialism. While the anti-war sentiment in Germany was expressed in a popular vote, in Britain the same mood found expression more indirectly through increasing ferment in the Labor Party. Some 80 members of that party have presented or signed motions in Parliament critical of the Labor Government's foreign policy. Most noteworthy among the 80 is

In a group of Labor members of parliament usually associated with the so-called "moderate" trade union wing, the mainstay of Foreign Minister Bevin's following.

Previous challenges to Bevin's policy of close alliance with the U. S. had come from the "Left Wing" of the parliamentary

grant political asylum without the consent of the government from whose clutches the refugee seeks to escape, then obviously the right of asylum is reduced to a mere mockery.

Long before The Hague decision, it became the standing practice of "democratic" governments to violate the right of asylum by the simple device of refusing to grant visas. Leon Trotsky, after he was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin, was hounded from one country to another.

In fact, Trotsky would have been handed directly over to Stalin's executioners had not the government of President Cardenas of Mexico proved the only one with courage enough to grant him asylum.

The military junta who had seized power in the country demanded that the Colombian government turn de la Torre over to them as a "common cold-blooded criminal." This was refused by Colombia on the grounds of asylum for a political refugee. The Peruvian government rejected this, and, in its turn, refused to grant safe conduct abroad to de la Torre, who has been living in the Colombian Embassy for the last 23 months.

The dispute was finally submitted to the World Court, which made its first four rulings on Nov. 20.

The judges did not outlaw the right of asylum in so many words, they did it uneasily by ruling on four specific propositions. They judged that Peru was "not bound" to grant safe conduct out of the country to de la Torre; that Colombia's action in this instance was in violation of existing Latin-American treaties; and, most important of all, that Colombia was not entitled to decide "unilaterally" the issue of political asylum.

In between these rulings the judges sandwiched in a denial of Peru's "right" to brand de la Torre as a common criminal.

But they evaded any ruling on whether Colombia was now bound to hand over the political refugee to the Peruvian police. And when Colombia pressed for such a ruling, the court on Nov. 27 denied the request.

If a country has no right to

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# KOREAN NATION FACES TOTAL DESTRUCTION

Conditions in "liberated" Korea under the regime of Syngman Rhee are such that if the war continues much longer "the Korean nation will be totally destroyed." This warning comes from the Korean Affairs Institute, an organization with headquarters in Washington that has been and still is sympathetic to South Korea and U. S. intervention under the UN's.

An estimated four million are homeless throughout South Korea. "Approximately one half of the residences in Seoul alone were destroyed." Destitute millions are now "fighting death by cold and hunger" and this in the face of the fact that "there is no adequate relief in sight." These and the following quotations are from the Nov. 21 issue of *The Voice of Korea*, published by the institute.

Amid the havoc of war, amid the universal lack of food, clothing and shelter there is a reign of terror raging in areas where the Syngman Rhee regime has been reimposed. No one is immune. "Today all of the inhabitants in Seoul are 'suspects.'"

Arrests involve every layer of the population. These widespread arrests "have touched off a veritable holocaust." Here is *The Voice of Korea's* account of how this holocaust is organized:

### In the Hands of the Police

"Despite the South Korean army's proclamation in early October dissolving all private investigating groups such as the Self-Protection Corps and banning the lynching of communist suspects, and the National Assembly's attempts to reach sane procedure in dealing with 'collaborators,' the police have largely taken the matter into their own hands."

"Although the citizens are nominally protected by 'good citizen certificates,' whether or not a person is a 'good citizen' is left up to the discretion of the policemen assigned to his street. Communist suspects are told that they will receive 'special consideration' if they surrender, but it is again up to police discretion as to whether the suspect is (a) sent to a military court, (b) sent to a civil court, or (c) executed on the spot."

"No warrants are needed for the arrest, detention or searching suspects, as of an Oct. 16 order of the martial-law headquarters..."

"The military courts, consisting of three judges, one prosecutor and one 'official defender,' sentence some 30 'communist collaborators' a day. The 'official defender' does not seem to present any defense for the accused, but merely interrogates in a slightly milder fashion than the prosecutor. The 'fair-mindedness' of the judges appears to be the only criterion as to whether the sentence is death or long imprisonment."

"Anything from having helped to build road-blocks to distributing ration-coupons — if done under the three-month communist regime — is deemed 'collaboration' and the sentence is usually death. Since there are no material witnesses, the extent of 'collaboration' is again left up to the discretion of the judges."

### Arrested in 'Wholesale Fashion'

Rhee's Army Intelligence Bureau issued a "warning" toward the end of October that "anyone found to possess any communist literature after Nov. 5 would be 'treated as an enemy.'" Needless to say, included here under the classification of "communist literature" is any printed matter or anything in writing which is, or may be construed as, critical of the regime or opposed to it.

In Seoul alone "police and military arrested in wholesale fashion 55,000 men and women through Nov. 13 who are suspected of being communist sympathizers." If even greater numbers were not involved it is obviously because there are simply not enough policemen, "tribunals," prison pens and executioners to "process" the victims.

That is what the "democratic government" promised the Korean people by Washington and United Nations actually looks like in life.

# Truman Policy Deepens Danger of China War

(Continued from Page 1D)

Joint Chiefs of Staff, demonstratively has been holding extraordinary sessions, among them with the National Security Council, top strategic body in the land. Acheson, meanwhile, holds down "consultations" with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Everywhere the stress is not on any possible peaceful solution, but on the eventualities of war.

Defense Secretary Marshall in his Nov. 29 declaration on the China-Korea crisis introduced the grim perspective of a "long period of tension" ahead, accompanied by at least "a partial mobilization."

All this was followed up the next day by Truman's declaration at a press conference that the use of the atomic bomb against the Chinese troops was now "under consideration."

Talk of an increased draft, more arms appropriations, and "manpower controls" etc. is becoming more and more insistent.

### AIMED AT EUROPE

All this is not intended for home consumption alone. Nor is it directed at Mao alone to facilitate diplomatic discussions and a possible deal. It is directed also to the Atlantic Allies, to force them to toe the line as in the case of Korea. In European chancelleries alarm has been increasing and there is a marked hesitation to follow Washington in its determination to proceed from a "position of strength" and this position alone.

The most notable development has been the proposal of British Foreign Minister Bevin to resume top-level "Four Power" talks, that is, again seek a deal with the Kremlin. In the European press there is a rising demand to remove Gen. MacArthur.

Limitations of space permit only a brief review of MacArthur's sinister role, which has brought such a grave change in the political and diplomatic atmosphere.

### NOV. 24 "OFFENSIVE"

When MacArthur issued his Nov. 24 "end the war" communiqué, Washington was abuzz with confidence and optimism for

From Tokyo another correspondent significantly notes the "wide discrepancy" between MacArthur's Nov. 24 and Nov. 28 communiques and concludes as follows: "It seems unlikely that UN intelligence has learned of the presence of such a large force of Chinese only during the past four days." If that is unlikely, and it surely is, then the likelihood is that MacArthur deliberately undertook the offensive, heedless of the consequences.

## Who Gives to Charity?

By George Lavan

Most workers believe the charitable institutions of this country are supported by the capitalists. They explain the charitableness of the rich either as the product of guilty consciences or as true humanitarian feeling.

Consequently the results of the most comprehensive survey on philanthropy in the U. S., just completed after two years work by the Russell Sage Foundation, come as a shock and an eyeopener. This survey shows that families with net incomes below \$3,000 a year, i.e., less than \$58 a week, contribute more than 60% of all money to charity. Further, about 82% of all charitable contributions from individuals come from families with a yearly income below \$5,000.

These figures are based on contributions to tax-exempt charities and as is well known the lawyers and accountants of the wealthy make sure that every penny they give is recorded for tax purposes. Workers do not have people to keep such records and it is reasonable to conclude that workers donate more than they are credited with on the official figures. Another factor is that many workers cherish a deep hatred for the big organized charities such as the Red Cross, Community Fund, etc., and exercise their generosity in fields that are not tax exempt. In poor districts contributing to a bereft family to pay the expenses of a funeral is a standard practice. Taking in a neighbor's child when the mother is in the hospital is another charity that the government will not recognize. In how many shops and factory departments is it normal procedure to take up a collection for a fellow worker who has suffered some misfortune? Moreover, donations to hard-pressed strikers in another industry or area is the truest form of generosity and solidarity. These and many others go unrecorded.

Yet the rich get all the credit for being charitable. In reality even the organized charities they control are mainly supported by the pennies of the poor. Why is public opinion on this subject so out of accord with the facts? The answer is obvious: The capitalists control the organized charities and their publicity. Also the capitalist newspapers studiously play up every millionaire's donation till the impression is given that the

rich and powerful are the sole supports of these institutions.

The poor give out of goodness of heart. Maybe some of the rich do, but it is well known that many of them give from motives unrelated to benevolence. Many have the whole thing worked out by their public relations experts. For them it is a propaganda program to blunt the hatred that their ruthless climb to wealth created. Such was the case with John D. Rockefeller, once the most hated capitalist in the U. S., known popularly as "the Octopus." He hired the best publicity man in the country, Ivy Lee, to make the public forget. Under Lee's direction the popular conception of Rockefeller came to be that of a kindly old man who gave huge sums to charity and shiny dimes to little boys.

Income tax considerations explain a lot of the charity of the wealthy. The tax rate in the upper brackets makes tax-deductible giving important, while this factor is of little importance for low-income groups. Another motivation for giving among the rich is the desire to keep or better one's social standing. And don't think that the organized charities don't utilize this motive. In fact they turn it into a pressure and many "generous donors" are cursing under their breath as they are practically blackmailed into shelling out.

From whatever motives the rich give they are amply rewarded by the hosannas of the press and public figures. Even if they are the kind that can't part with it till death and set up a phony "charitable" foundation to escape inheritance taxes, they are hailed posthumously as veritable paragons of Christian benevolence.

Mr. Dooley, that famous Irish wit and philosopher of the early decades of this century, exposed the most celebrated and hypocritical of philanthropists, Andrew Carnegie. Said Mr. Dooley: "I like him (Carnegie) because he ain't shamed to give publicly. Ye don't find him puttin' on false whiskers an' turnin' up his coat-collar when he goes out to be benivolent. No, sir, ivy time he drops a dollar it makes a noise like a waither fallin' down-stairs with a tray of dishes." Today's capitalists may not give as much as Carnegie but they make as much noise.

## "What We Get in Return"

By Albert Parker

Only a few months ago we were being told by Negro leaders that the war in Korea marked the end of American military Jim Crow. But now the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces through its chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall, that "The defense of our GI's in Korea, many of whom apparently are victims of racial discrimination in courts martial proceedings, is the No. 1 task of the NAACP legal department."

What the Negro leaders were talking about last summer were their hopes, and not the facts. They were kidding themselves and trying to kid others into believing that military and propaganda necessities would persuade the authorities to abolish Jim Crow in the armed forces. But it didn't work out that way. In minor respects the brass hats are willing to modify the Jim Crow system; but they are not willing to destroy it. And one of their chief instruments for maintaining Negro oppression and discrimination is the court martial system.

The case of Lt. Leon Gilbert was widely publicized. But it is only one of many. Reporting from Taejon, Frank Whisman wrote in the Nov. 11 Pittsburgh Courier that "ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent of the men" tried before court martial boards were Negro troops from the 24th Infantry. He said one Negro had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment after a three-hour "trial." He observed "two long lines of Negroes going through the two military courts of justice" set up in Taejon. Other Negro reporters told similar stories.

According to Marshall, "the reports of these cases seem to fit into a pattern designed to discredit the heroic performance of Negro soldiers in Korea." He noted that in the early stages of the war, while as well as Negro troops had retreated: "Yet I have seen no reports indicating

wholesale arrests and convictions of white

When Marshall announced that the NAACP was willing to defend any of the servicemen convicted because of racial discrimination or denial of constitutional rights, letters began to arrive from such servicemen in Korea. They told a bitter story. "Investigate the 'mass persecution' of the 24th Infantry," pleaded one. "We are being court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonment for life — not one or two of us, but in groups of four's and five's."

"I don't think I had an even break," wrote a soldier sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. "It seems as though the Negroes are the only ones to get a lot of time. Please, do what you can." A twice-wounded veteran said: "We put up a great battle over here. And this is what we get in return." A 20-year old GI sentenced to life imprisonment wrote: "Every fellow in my outfit has fought hard and tried to make the best of this, but somehow someone seems to be trying to make an example of us in Korea."

These victims of military injustice and Jim Crow deserve all the support that the NAACP, the labor movement and other defenders of civil rights can mobilize in their behalf through mass protest as well as legal action. While fighting in their defense, however, it must be borne in mind that many other Negroes will be victimized by mass persecution inside and outside the armed forces so long as illusions remain about the authorities' intentions regarding Jim Crow. Mass action, independent political action will smash Jim Crow, and nothing else will do it, no matter what the capitalist politicians or brass hats or Negro leaders pretend. That was the lesson of World Wars I and II. That is the lesson of Korea. It's a costly lesson. Let's work to prevent having it taught all over again in a third world war.

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## CIO Convention Sidelights

CIO leaders at their convention in Chicago were silent about the widely-publicized statement of a high-ranking spokesman of the Textile Workers Union who suggested at a recent Senate hearing that labor might accept Taft's proposed 28 amendments to the Taft-Hartley law — which would mean acceptance of the law itself.

However, the resolution adopted by the convention called for "repeal of the unfair and unjust" law and enactment of a "fair and equitable labor relations law, based on the principles of the Wagner Act." Arthur Goldberg, chief legal counsel of the CIO, made what was taken as an indirect answer to the TWU spokesman's position when he said there would be "no compromise on the issue" by the CIO.

Ironically, two CIO-supported Senators, Democrat Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Republican Wayne H. Morse of Oregon, were on hand by invitation to peddle the line of "compromise" on repeal. Douglas told the convention that he was against a return to the Wagner Act and favored some of the key provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. Morse, addressing the CIO Conference on Labor Law, asked the CIO to be "realistic" and asserted that repeal of the law "is not going to happen."

One of the first resolutions adopted by the convention condemned the "ill-considered and unwise" McCarran-Kilgore police-state bill, most of whose sections were drafted by Democrats, and called for its repeal. It urged retention, however, of the section, drafted by the Department of Justice and the FBI at Truman's request, which deals with "espionage and sabotage." The CIO also proposed a presidential committee of "outstanding citizens" to recommend measures of "security" that would "fully protect democratic rights."

Major stress in the resolution was on the registration section of the McCarran Act. It stated, "The tests laid down for requiring registration tread dangerously upon freedom of speech and belief, since they depend upon political tenets rather than actual conduct."

One omission from the CIO resolutions this year was the usual condemnation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a resolution on civil liberties, the CIO leaders referred merely to the Committee's witch-hunting conduct in "prior years." This year the Fair Dealers

voted for increased appropriations for the committee.

An anti-discrimination resolution was adopted calling for enactment of federal civil rights laws, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, "non-discrimination clauses, particularly pertaining to hiring" in contracts, etc. But the resolution speaks falsely of the "crumbling" of discrimination and segregation and "progress" in civil rights. Incidentally, the number of Negro delegates in attendance reached an all-time low. Although there are hundreds of thousands of Negro CIO members, less than 10 were delegates. Maybe, the CIO leaders ought to take stock on discrimination inside the CIO.

It looked for a time as though a full-scale debate would break out over the question of government ownership of public utilities. Leaders of the Utilities Workers Union, holding contracts with Consolidated Edison, opposed a resolution proposing the extension of power developments like TVA because the preamble said that such projects developed with public money should be run by the government. UWU President Joseph E. Fisher raised the cry of "socialism!"

Philip Murray stepped in to allay Fisher's fears and to support the resolution at the same time. "I don't profess to be a Socialist any more than I am a Communist," the CIO president said. "But if I thought it was going to serve the best interests of the people of the United States for the Government to take over enterprises of this kind I would vote for it, no matter what anyone called it." However, he advised the delegates to "disregard" the controversial preamble and concentrate on the objective of increased power developments like TVA. This ended the debate.

Privately in the CIO national executive board, Murray reported the CIO membership at about four million, a drop of more than two million from the wartime peak. In public at the convention, he continued to speak of a membership of "over six million." Last year, even before the expulsions of 11 Stalinist-led unions, the CIO leaders filed a financial statement with the Department of Labor which revealed, on the basis of average per-capita receipts, that the membership was then only 3,700,000. Murray still has a lot of explaining to do about the one-third decline in members.

# THE MILITANT

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Heralding the end of their 11-day strike against Western Electric, these pickets of the CIO Communication Workers of America burned their placards outside the main Chicago office of American Telephone and Telegraph, parent of WE. The union won wage boosts and benefits.

## SWP Convention Adopts Policy to Fight Reaction

(Continued from page 1)

though this took the form of some workers voting Republican for lack of another way of registering their discontent.

At the same time it must be understood that many workers have been conservatized and even corrupted by a decade of artificial prosperity, that organized militancy has ebbed in the labor, Negro and other mass movements. These facts, which make the work of the party more difficult, must be recognized; the party must prepare patiently for turn in the situation and devote itself more to propaganda work.

The turn will come, although its date cannot be set, after the masses begin to feel the full effects of the arms program. When oleo is substituted for butter, when taxes and price rises lower living standards below World War II levels, new currents of unrest will stir up the masses and set the stage for the resumption of the class struggle. At this point the government will intervene with a heavy hand, which will give an increasingly political edge to the struggles against the economic effects of the arms program. By swimming against the stream and holding tenaciously to its principles, the SWP will be in position to take advantage of the opportunities that are sure to arise for lifting the movement for socialism to a new and higher level.

The political resolution was adopted unanimously and will soon be printed. Another important part of the convention was devoted to a

discussion of theoretical and political problems resulting from the post-war developments in Europe and Asia, with special reference to Yugoslavia, the buffer countries of Eastern Europe, the role of Stalinism, and related questions. Murry Weiss was the reporter for the National Committee.

The discussion was serious and fruitful, concluding with the adoption of a resolution on Yugoslavia. The resolution characterized Yugoslavia as a workers state, established by the victory of the proletarian revolution in that country. "The insurgent working masses smashed the old capitalist regime; created new popular organs of power; and were the driving force behind the economic expropriation of the industrial bourgeoisie and the statification of the main means of production, exchange and transportation. This social revolution provides the basic explanation for the successful struggle of the Tito regime against the Soviet bureaucracy and for the progressive evolution of Yugoslavia towards the left since the split with Moscow in 1948."

The resolution analyzed the developments in Yugoslavia as a confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution, traced the reforms that have taken place inside Yugoslavia since 1948, called attention to the dangers facing Yugoslavia as a result of its isolation and the false positions of its leadership, especially its electoral activity and its participation in the struggle against the witch-hunt in every phase of American life, including the unions.

Warning that the difficulties were still great, he outlined a practical program of action for the party to resist the pressure of reaction by strengthening its propaganda work, increasing the distribution of its press, raising the level of its educational work, and concentrating on individual recruitment, especially among student and working class youth.

The convention voted to adopt the report, and to implement it by raising the necessary funds. Almost \$18,000 was pledged by the delegates, with the exact figure referred back to the branches for their final decision. Collection of the fund will begin Jan. 1.

In addition to the regular sessions of the convention, panels were held on trade union problems, the Negro struggle, student and youth work, and the distribution of the party press and literature.

The convention sent greetings to Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, who is now convalescing from a serious operation, and to Natalia Trotsky, widow of the great Marxist leader.

Most of the delegates shared the opinion of one who said: "The discussion at this convention was remarkable for its high political level and its sober and realistic tone which remained fired with the spirit of revolutionary optimism at a time when so many of our radical opponents have given up the ghost. This was a convention that really armed the party to discharge its socialist responsibilities in the coming period."

The next day witnessed the unprecedented scene on the Senate floor of an attack on a book review. Senator Hickenlooper lashed out at Rauh as a distorter of the facts about the FBI and "revealed" the "damaging facts" that Rauh was a leader of Americans for Democratic Action. Hickenlooper dug up other "damaging facts" — such as Rauh's service as a law clerk for Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter, his friendship with former Federal Communications Commissioner Fly of "ADA notoriety," and more of the same.

It is evident that the FBI and its friends will not tolerate any criticism of its thought-control activities. The anti-Communist liberals of the ADA are being notified that they too will be smeared as "subversives" if they reflect that Mr. Hoover can't live forever."

This includes the vote for SWP candidates in single congressional districts in California, Minnesota, New Jersey and Washington, and one assembly district in California, plus partial returns from the state-wide campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. No reports have yet been received on the vote in Michigan, where the SWP ran a state-wide ticket.

## Police Brutality Produces Added Deaths in Detroit

DETROIT. Nov. 25 — For the fourth time in recent months, Detroit police brutality brought death — this time to a cop. Another officer was wounded, while a Negro, Charles Gordy Sr., is charged with first degree murder. The facts clearly prove Detroit's law-enforcement agency to be guilty of the most violent outrages against an oppressed minority.

After the shooting, a police cordon cut off all traffic for blocks around the neighborhood, while they blazed away at the Gordy home with pistols, machine guns, automatic rifles and tear-gas guns. When the smoke cleared, the elder Gordy was taken to police headquarters, while more than 4,000 Negroes milled around his bullet-riddled home. The Negroes defied steel-helmeted riot squad patrolmen facing them with bayoneted rifles, and refused to leave the vicinity.

### HOW IT BEGAN

What touched off this latest outrage of cops was their manhandling of Charles Gordy Jr., as they attempted to take him to jail for questioning. Lacking a warrant, which is a direct violation of a basic civil right, they pushed a pistol into young Gordy's ribs, and twisted his arms as they handcuffed him.

The father became enraged and got his deer rifle. One cop opened fire. Gordy fired back. One cop was killed, another wounded. These are the facts as related by the father. Later, it was found that there was no cause whatever for arresting young Gordy, and the police were compelled to release him.

The Gestapo tactics of the police not so long ago brought death to a teen-age Negro youth in the famous case of Leon Mosley, murdered in cold blood after he was already in the custody of the police; to a young white lad killed recently when the cops wantonly opened fire on a speeding car; and to Beverly Lee, a youth who was shot and killed by police who could easily have caught and arrested him.

### RED HERRING

Meanwhile newspapers are waving the red herring at the Negro people, claiming they are unduly aroused. Their tension, say the newspapers echoing the police, stems from the work of "communists." Even the Secretary of the Mayor's Interracial Committee was compelled to say that the race tension was not caused by "communists."

But Negro leaders are echoing this sentiment, and insisting that "justice" be permitted to take its course. NAACP secretary Walter White, for example,

stated that "the Russians are stepping up their anti-American propaganda based on the race problem, look what they did in the Gordy case. The unfortunate thing is that they have not told us how wisely and capably the situation was handled by the Detroit Police Department and by Detroit Negro leaders."

Labor leaders are silent as the grave.

But the plight of Gordy, a Negro, is symptomatic of the plight of 15,000,000 colored people in the U. S. Hounded from pillar to post; denied the right to eat in restaurants of their choosing; the last hired in plants and the first fired if possible; compelled to work at the most menial jobs with the least pay; forced into ghettos to live under conditions of filth, overcrowding and disease — is it any wonder that when a cop starts manhandling a son and then opens fire, that a father becomes enraged and fires back?

### WHO SHOULD BE TRIED

The Detroit labor movement and Negro community must come to Gordy's aid. A step has already been made in this direction with Recorder's Court Judge Charles Wesley Jones' decision to defend him. But this is not enough. Juries are picked from previously selected lists. These are influenced by public opinion, itself influenced by this city's anti-labor and anti-Negro press. The press is already trying to tie the whole case up to the "communists," who supposedly desire a race-riot.

But an aroused union and Negro movement, throwing full light on the facts in the case and the history of other brutalities of the same nature, can start a counter-campaign and bring an opposite pressure to bear. It is not Gordy who should be on trial, but the police who violated every precept of the Bill of Rights. And even more, the whole social system should be on trial — a system that hounds millions of Negro people because of the "crime" that they are colored.

Defense of Gordy's life can become the symbol for the defense of a people's rights against Jim Crow in its ugliest forms. At the same time it can become the starting point for resistance against the same cops who attack workers on picket lines.

That is why the case is of such importance to both labor and the Negro people.

## ESCALATOR CLAUSE GETS PAY RAISE FOR MILLION

The merit of escalator clauses in union contracts was once again demonstrated when the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the cost of living had soared to the highest point in U. S. history on Oct. 15.

It was announced at the same time that approximately a million workers covered by escalator clauses will receive automatic wage increases of three cents an hour.

Had these workers not been covered by a sliding-scale wage clause their real wages would have been slashed in relation to the rise in prices. Other millions not so protected have suffered accordingly.

The previous highest price level was reached in August, 1948, when the consumers' price index stood at 174.6. (The base figure of 100 is the average of prices for the years 1935 to 1939.) Prices had begun climbing even before the outbreak of the Korean war, and after June 25 they began to shoot up rapidly. By Oct. 15, they reached the record level of 174.8. And every source estimates that with additional billions being appropriated for arms in Washington, prices will continue to keep spiraling during the next period.

### WEAK ASPECT</