

# Marshall's New Post Strengthens Military Caste

In another of his notorious "surprise" decisions President Truman has kicked out Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, naming in his place the five-star General George C. Marshall.

Johnson's letter of resignation and his own "nomination" of Marshall as his successor in the post are merely a flimsy cover for this drastic move.

On the political plane Marshall's appointment does not represent a capitulation to the Truman administration or to the Republican opposition. Instead of reversing official foreign policy, this change in top-level personnel represents a strengthening of it. As a matter of fact, Johnson's departure was hastened by his behind-the-scenes maneuvers against avowed administration policy. Conservative capitalist dailies do not hesitate to hint at Johnson's complicity in Gen. MacArthur's statement on Formosa and the public advocacy of "preventive war" by prominent figures in the Defense Department.

The most significant and far-reaching political aspect of Marshall's appointment lies elsewhere. It is the tremendous strengthening of the military caste, already so entrenched in the seats of power, that is bound to result from Marshall's assumption of the office of Secretary of Defense.

Never before in this country's history has a military figure been appointed to a comparable Cabinet post in control of the armed forces. Not only by tradition but by federal statute only a civilian is qualified to hold this post.

## WHAT LAW SAYS

When Congress passed the Unification Act, it specifically provided that the "Secretary of Defense shall be appointed from civilian life" and further barred from office any "person who has within ten years been on active duty as a commissioned officer in the regular component of the armed services." This was done precisely to safeguard against the obvious powers that would accrue to the military caste once it became entrenched in such an office.

## GRACE CARLSON NOMINATED FOR CONGRESS BY MINN. SWP

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 9 — Grace Carlson, Minnesota organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, today was named the party's candidate for representative in Congress from the Fifth Minnesota District.

The action was taken at a state convention held in the party's headquarters here.

In a statement released to the press, Grace Carlson, who was SWP candidate for vice-president in 1948, declared:

"I am entering the race for representative in Congress from the Fifth District as an anti-war candidate. All of the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties support the criminal destruction of life and property in Korea today; tomorrow, they will applaud the extension of imperialist war to wider areas.

"I will raise my voice in defense of the right of the Korean people to defend themselves against foreign aggressors. In line with the Socialist Workers Party election platform, I will support the democratic rights of the peoples of Asia, Europe and other continents, as well as the civil liberties of the American people which are now being trampled upon by Wall Street's agents in Washington."

With a flick of the pen, Truman has thrown all this into discard by blandly announcing that he would request at once special legislation from Congress authorizing a five-star general to assume a position from which both tradition and law bar him. The most reactionary Congress in modern times, which has already ripped the Constitution to shreds, will hardly balk at this latest brazen violation.

Needless to add, the most authoritative capitalist spokesmen, especially the press, are deliberately stalling over, as Truman did, this aspect of Marshall's nomination. But every serious worker, every defender of elementary democratic rights and civil liberties, will understand that it strengthens the danger of military dictatorship.

## ARMS PROGRAM PLACED IN BIG BUSINESS HANDS

With his Sept. 9 speech President Truman formally announced the conversion of this country's economy into war production. While cautious in his wording, he made it nevertheless plain that it would mean harder and harder work, longer and longer hours, less and less civilian goods and necessities, increasingly higher taxes, with the wage freeze and the job freeze in the offing.

To dispel any doubts about the long-range nature of this "guns not butter" program, Truman emphasized at the very outset that it would last "for many years to come." The current plans, he explained, call for war expenditures by next June "at the rate of at least \$30 billion a year," adding that in the following year "we shall probably have to spend more." The bigger the war budget, all the more drastic must be the slash in living standards. In other words, the worst is still to come.

## "Freeing" Koreans — Jim Crowed Here

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the UN division of trusteeship, told the AFL Sleeping Car Porters convention that American Negro soldiers were "fighting valiantly" in Korea in order that Koreans might enjoy "that freedom and equality which these same Negro GIs have never experienced in full at home."

Leaving aside the matter of just what the Koreans will get out of the war, the questions Negroes want answered are these: When are they going to get some of that freedom and equality for themselves? Must they wait until, say, the Koreans, come over to help them?

By Art Preis

The Nazi-like Kilgore bill, which was introduced by six "Fair Deal" Senators, is proof enough that whatever the Trumanites have against the so-called "Red Registration" bills, like Senator McCarran's, it is not that these bills violate constitutional rights.

McCarran's police-state bill at least pretends to preserve the right of trial by jury, habeas corpus, public hearings, confrontation of accusers, and other safeguards against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. The Kilgore concentration-camp bill, which Truman called an "improvement" over McCarran's, denies all these rights.

Under this "Fair Deal" bill, whenever the President and Congress declare a state of "internal security emergency," the Attorney General can throw into a concentration camp anyone he "suspects" "might" engage in "espionage or sabotage" or merely have "knowledge" of same.

## WHO WILL PROFIT

But there is one section of the population — and it is an insignificant minority of monopolists — who will profit fabulously from the war preparations as they invariably have in the past. With the corporations chalking up record-smashing profits, Truman merely wagged a finger at "inexcusable" price rises and postponed to a future date "a just and fair excess profits tax."

The elaborate system of agencies (including the newly created Economic Stabilization Agency) that will run the entire "defense" set-up is to be completely under the control of the billionaire corporations. Although some key appointments are still to be made, the "dollar-a-year men" — that is, top executives of the biggest corporations, banks and that Wall Street plunderbund — are once again to be firmly in the saddle.

One of Truman's first actions after his speech was to appoint William Henry Harrison, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph, one of the world's largest monopolies, as head of the National Production Authority. This agency, while formally under the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department, has sweeping powers over all civilian production, can arbitrarily allocate any materials designated as critical, order cut-backs of civilian goods or "plan" expansion in vital industries.

Within the War Department itself, the Military Traffic Service, whose budget already runs to half a billion a year, is headed by E.



GRACE CARLSON

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# Senate Votes to Turn U. S. into Police State

## Why Trumanites Prefer 'Preventive Detention' Camps

By Art Preis

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## NO EVIDENCE NEEDED

A "detainee" tossed into a concentration camp because he "might" commit some crime some time in the future could be released only by appeal to an administration board. But the Attorney-General is required to show only "reasonable grounds" for the detention. He does not have to present any "evidence" that he claims may "endanger internal security" if disclosed. The "detainee's" final appeal is to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals — but it could not reverse "findings of fact" by the administration board.

Even the N.Y. Times, which supports the Kilgore bill, admits "this proposal for preventive arrest represents a startling departure from American tradition." How startling can be seen from the provisions of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights which declares that "the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury," nor be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law;" and that "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor," etc.

The Kilgore "preventive arrest" bill is indeed a departure from American tradition — its origin is to be found only in the notori-

(Continued on page 4)



## Open Letter to Senator Lehman of New York

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

In your speech at the New York State Democratic Convention accepting re-nomination as candidate for the U. S. Senate, you made the following boast:

"I, myself, have sponsored legislation to put all Communists and would-be spies and saboteurs in detention camps during times of invasion or other national emergency. In my judgment that would in a practical manner really meet the Communist threat to our internal security. I hope my bill will pass."

Have you completely forgotten recent history? Does your mental level prevent you from seeing the logic of what you propose?

I seem to recall a few years ago that you were loud in your denunciations of concentration camps in Germany. It now appears that you didn't oppose concentration camps in principle. You only opposed them under the Swastika.

## A FAMILIAR RING

I seem to recognize too a familiar ring in the excuses you offer for concentration camps in America. Didn't the Nazis argue that concentration camps "would in a practical manner really meet the Communist threat to our internal security?"

Those concentration camps led to gas chambers and soap factories as ingenious means of disposing of "would-be spies and saboteurs." And the Nazi idea of who constitutes a "Communist threat" took in the Jews, members of trade unions and widened still further until no one could feel himself safe.

Do you have any guarantee that the standards of admission to concentration camps under the American flag will prove more discriminating than they were in Germany, once the monstrous system you propose gathers momentum? What immunity, for example, can you assure the Jews in America, including yourself?

On your return to Washington a few days after your notorious boast, you voted against the "concentration camp" bill as finally passed in the Senate. You were against the provision forcing any one arbitrarily designated as a "Communist" to register. You weren't defending civil liberties.

## So They Decided to Use Both

KEY, THAT'S NO GOOD — USE THIS ONE!

## DEBATE IN SENATE WAS LIKE A LYNCHING BEE

By John F. Petrone

The Democrats and Republicans tied a rope around the neck of the Bill of Rights when the House of Representatives passed the Wood-Mundt-Nixon police-state bill on Aug. 29. The noose was tightened when the Senate took up the McCarran registration bill, and the congressional lynching was moved toward its climax when the Trumanite Senators brought in the Kilgore concentration camp bill.

The Wood bill is bad enough; the McCarran bill is even worse. They both set up a board of three or five persons empowered in conjunction with the Attorney General to designate any organization as "communist" or "communist-front" and to order them to register their officers and members; both set heavy prison sentences and fines for non-compliance.

The main difference between them is that the McCarran bill does not contain the Wood provision barring members of registered organizations from jobs in "defense plants"; but it contains, unlike the Wood bill, a provision making it "unlawful for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship the direction and control of which is to be vested in or exercised by or under the control of any foreign government, foreign organization, or foreign individual."

Under this provision people could be sent to prison for advocating FEPC, compulsory health insurance, price or rent control, or public housing laws — all be-

## 'Fair Dealers' Back Merged Gestapo Bills

The American people stand closer today to loss of all their democratic rights and liberties than at any time since Britain's King George III ruled this land.

With Democrats and Republicans joining in an overwhelming wave of reaction, the Senate on Sept. 12 voted 70 to 7 to scrap the Bill of Rights, set up a military-police state and toss political dissenters into concentration camps in true Nazi style.

Most of the Trumanite "Fair Dealers" — who had offered the Kilgore concentration-camp bill as a "substitute" for the McCarran omnibus anti-"subversives" measure, which they had called "dangerous, burdensome and repressive" — wound up by voting to add the Kilgore plan to the McCarran. All but seven voted for the final combined McCarran-Kilgore bill.

Even these seven — Senators Lehman, Graham, Green, Keauver, Leahy, Murray and Taylor — did not oppose the establishment of a police state. They sponsored and voted for the original Kilgore bill to give the Attorney General power, during a state of "internal security emergency," to throw persons who "might" be spies or saboteurs into concentration camps and "detain" them there indefinitely without trial. They opposed the combined bill because, as Lehman put it, the McCarran section is "unworkable."

Thus, the outstanding political fact about the whole debate and action in the Senate is that not a single Senator — NOT ONE — spoke or voted against police-state rule in all forms. Not one voice was raised in real defense of the people's constitutional liberties. The sole difference arose only over what kind of police-state bill would be most "effective."

Never in the entire history of the Senate has there been such a unanimous display of fraud and hypocrisy. Senator Paul Douglas, speaking for the supporters of the Kilgore bill, charged that under the McCarran bill innocent people would be "smeared," patriotic organizations could be labeled Communist "fronts" and "loyal" persons and groups could be punished for exercising their right to oppose domestic and international policies with which they sincerely disagreed. So, he voted for this "smear" bill with the Kilgore bill added.

On the other hand, Senator Homer Ferguson, one of the promoters of the McCarran bill, called the Kilgore bill "the first blueprint of a dictatorship in the U. S." and a "thought-control bill." McCarran himself called it "unconstitutional" and "not workable under any accepted standard of Americanism which includes the preservation of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights." They voted to combine this "dictatorship" bill with their own.

Thus, both sides voted for measures they themselves had blasted as death to the Bill of Rights.

The scheme for combining both police-state bills into one was proposed by Majority Leader Scott Lucas, Truman's chief senatorial whip.

The registration and concentration-camp bill has been sent to a joint conference committee of the House and Senate for "ironing out." The House has already shown its sentiments by passing the Wood bill, similar in basic features to the McCarran bill, by a vote of 354 to 20.

Congress has the police-state knife poised at the throat of the Bill of Rights. Only mass intervention by the people can stay its hand.

# ALP Makes Deal with Republicans

By Gladys Barker  
SWP Candidate for Lt. Governor of New York

NEW YORK, Sept. 12 — Last week I said in The Militant that the American Labor Party was running Dr. W.E.B. DuBois for Senator from New York "merely to utilize his prestige" to promote "another dirty deal with the capitalist parties."

I added that the ALP chiefs want "to prove to the Democrats that it doesn't pay not to make deals with the ALP. In other words, their policy has no more resemblance to independent labor political action this year than it did last year."

Within a few days this was borne out to the hilt. Last Friday, Marcantonio, the ALP candidate for Congress, came into the judicial convention of his party with none other than William J. Bianchi in tow. Bianchi is the Republican candidate for State Senator in the 22nd Sena-

torial District, which is in Marcantonio's territory.

Marcantonio was purring like an alley cat with a fish head fresh out of the garbage can. He announced Bianchi as "a personal friend who represents the gang-up" against Marcantonio.

Bianchi told the gathering he was going to plug for Marcantonio's re-election.

In return, naturally, Marcantonio and his machine, which includes the Stalinists, pledged to do their best to put Bianchi in the State Senate. The Stalinist sheet, the Daily Worker, feels that this opportunity to help put another Republican in office is a great victory.

Only a few months ago, Bianchi swore that he would not accept ALP endorsement. In 1946 and in 1948 Bianchi headed the fight against Marcantonio and did his best to take Marcantonio's place on the Congressional payroll. Bianchi expected to lead the fight against Marcantonio again this

year at the head of a coalition of Democrats, Liberals and Republicans.

However, the coalition double-crossed him and the designation went to James G. Donovan, a Tammany wardheeler in need of a soft berth. So, in accordance with the ethics of these political cut-throats, Bianchi double-crossed the coalition and discovered what he had no doubt known all along, that he and Marcantonio are birds of a feather.

## BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Tammany, of course, suspects that the double-cross may have been hatched in the smoke-filled rooms of the Republican command. Tammany's candidate against Bianchi is Alfred E. Santangelo. This political leg man of the bankers and Big Businessmen announced great indignation over the Bianchi-Marcantonio deal. Maybe because in 1948 he rated as a "personal friend" of Marcantonio and enjoyed all that goes

with the not-so-rare privilege of climbing into the ALP bed.

The big difference between ALP politics in 1948 and 1950 thus boils down to this, as the record shows: In 1948 the ALP backed Democrats. In 1950, when the Democrats decided deals were out for the time being, the ALP opened negotiations with the Republicans.

All the noise about "independent" candidates this year turns out to be one-tenth spite politics and nine-tenths pressure for continuation of the old rotten deals with the completely corrupt capitalist political machines.

Just to remove any lingering doubt as to the ease with which they can be had, the ALP heads yesterday announced the withdrawal of two more of their "independent" candidates. In their place went the names of John A. Ross, Jr. and Philip Watson, candidates for Municipal Court judges in Harlem. You guessed it! They're both Republicans.



# Solidarity Wins Rice-Stix Strike In Record Time

By Ed Johnson

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 10 — Rice-Stix Warehouse workers, members of Local 688, Warehouse and Distribution Workers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, by showing their solidarity with workers from the Rice-Stix Shirt factory in Blytheville, Ark., members of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, won in one and a half days a strike which the Blytheville workers had been carrying on for months and seemed to be losing.

The Blytheville workers had been receiving wages of 65c and 75c. When the new minimum wage of 75c began to operate, production schedules were raised and those workers who could not meet the new schedule were paid only 65c. Those who could were paid 75c. In order to get vacations, it was necessary for workers to make production records which

## Hansen Demands Senate Reject O'Dwyer as Envoy

NEW YORK, Sept. 13 — Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. Senate, today condemned William O'Dwyer's nomination as Ambassador to Mexico and asked to be heard by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which is now considering objections to the proposed appointment.

The text of Hansen's request to the Senate committee follows: As candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Senator from New York, I ask you to reject appointment of O'Dwyer as Ambassador to Mexico.

O'Dwyer solemnly pledged while running for office of Mayor of New York that he would retain the five-cent subway fare. In office he carried out the demands of the Wall Street real estate and financial interests and doubled subway fares, thus increasing the cost of living for millions of New Yorkers least able to afford it.

O'Dwyer's campaign promises proved worthless. The character of the man obviously makes him unfit to hold public office.

As Mayor, O'Dwyer broke numerous strikes. His police department became notorious for brutality to Negroes and Puerto Ricans. He was instrumental in extending Jim Crow housing in New York. Under his administration, thought control was imposed on New York public schools. In brief, O'Dwyer's record shows him to be an enemy of the people.

It is clear that O'Dwyer can be trusted to faithfully represent the selfish interests of American imperialism in Mexico; but by no stretch of the imagination can he be considered a representative of the American people, who hold the warmest friendship for the people of Mexico.

When may I appear to oppose awarding this political flunkie of Big Business the high-paying post of Ambassador to Mexico?

# 1948-1949 F. I.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
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# To the Memory of Oscar Coover

By Farrell Dobbs

National Chairman, Socialist Workers Party

When you die, it has been said, all you can clutch in your hand is that which you have given away during your lifetime. Thinking of his last hours from this point of

view, we know that our beloved comrade, Oscar Coover, passed from our midst a richly endowed man.

He asked very little for himself — to eat a little higher up on the hog whenever he could; to enjoy a nip now and then in good fellowship; to have plenty of Edgeworth tobacco for his familiar curved-stem pipe, without which no portrait of him would be complete.

Beyond the necessities of life and a few modest indulgences he had little craving for purely material things. He was too big a man to chain himself to such a small-minded perspective. He wanted to live a purposeful, constructive life and leave the world a little better place for his having been here.

## THE FRUITFUL LIFE

He found in the Socialist Workers Party the fruitful, gratifying life he sought. Throughout his long years in the party he gave everything he had, without reservation or qualification, in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of humanity.

All of us cherished the comradeship of Oscar, whom we affectionately called the Cat, but we did not realize how deeply he had crept into our hearts until word reached us of his imminent death.

When that bitter news came there was a spontaneous outpouring of concern for him from every quarter of the party. To his dying hand was returned the love he had so generously given during his lifetime, to comfort and cheer him in his last precious hours.

Now that a few weeks have passed since our dear comrade was taken from us, we can begin to understand more fully his important role in the movement. We

can already see that he was more than just a member of the party. He was a tradition. He left an indelible stamp on those he worked with.

It was common knowledge that Oscar was sometimes a bit overzealous in husbanding the party's resources. As a result some people believed the rumor once circulated in jest that he was watering the ink in the National Office.

These little foibles were among the ingredients that helped make Oscar so intensely human. Yet you could not work with him, laugh with him, share his love of life and his great compassion for humanity without feeling yourself in the presence of greatness.

Yes, Oscar Coover was a great man. Not because of any flaming manifesto he wrote, for he was not a writer. Not because of any soul-stirring speech he made, for he was not an orator. Not because of his skilled generalship of the movement, for he was not a general.

Greatness in the complete sense is measured on a broader gauge. Oscar's greatness lay in the fact that he was the living, walking personification of the great rank and file that is going to transform the world and make it a better place to live. He symbolized their courage, tenacity, resourcefulness, their selfless devotion to the movement.

He was not a perfect man, nor was he a genius. He was just a good man, with many strengths and some weaknesses too. He was right as rain.

I say to you who have the normal human need to feel that you are doing something important, that your life has real meaning — I say to you, look into the mirror of Oscar Coover's life. There you will find justification for your



OSCAR COOVER

own role in the movement, whatever it may be.

Like him, you have stepped into the vanguard in the struggle for socialism by joining the Socialist Workers Party. Now you need only serve the party, like he did, to the best of your own individual ability, and you will have attained the most purposeful, constructive life you could possibly live.

I knew Oscar intimately and worked with him closely for almost seventeen years. I want to

jealousies and personal indulgences.

## HE NEVER SHIRKED

Real organization men, like Oscar, do not claim a monopoly over any department of work, nor do they shirk any task as beneath their dignity. They do whatever job the party assigns to them, they do it with a genuine revolutionary will.

Another quality of Oscar's was that he always pitched, day in and day out, in good times and bad, no matter how big or small the task, no matter how hard or dangerous.

He kept branch books; distributed Militants; presided over the food table at socials where he sliced the ham so thin you could almost read a newspaper headline through it; he helped defend picket lines; and went unflinchingly to prison when the capitalist government attacked his party for opposing the last world war.

It was always a mystery when Oscar slept. He was usually last out of the party headquarters at night and first in the next morning. During the 1934 Minneapolis drivers strike, he worked days at the electrical trade and spent his nights helping out on the picket lines or at the strike headquarters. Here at the camp he put the last poker player to bed and woke up the cook in the morning.

Oscar was a working class warrior in every fiber of his being. He was against capitalism morning, noon and night. He lived by the creed of the Red soldier in John Reed's powerful book, Ten Days That Shook the World, who said, "There are two classes, don't you see, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. . . And whoever isn't on one side is on the other."

## SENSE OF HUMOR

One of the things that made the Cat a good man for the long pull was his sense of humor. You can stand a lot of tension and you can shoulder a good many disappointments if you know how to laugh now and then. Some of his stories, often told by him, have become legendary. I want to recall one of his lesser known stories that illustrates both his militancy and his sense of humor.

Years ago, when the stage hands were fighting to build their union in Minneapolis, Oscar was working as a stage hand in a local theater. At Christmas-time the owner, who wanted to pay scab wages, tried to butter up the workers by handing out scrawny turkeys, while his wife passed around cheap neckties. Oscar and another worker decided to spike that business once and for all.

They tied a necktie on one of the turkey carcasses and loaded a double-barrelled shotgun as props for an unscheduled act. Then, during a change in scenery while the show was on, they stepped out in front of the curtain, tossed the turkey into the air and blew it to smithereens with the shotgun. The owner got the point.

Oscar's sense of humor was only part of his warmth. He always thought of his comrades as something more than mere cogs in a machine. He remembered that they were human and sometimes grew tired, or were off their feed, or fell into personal difficulties. He was one of the first to notice when something was amiss with a comrade and he was always quick to offer his help.

He had an uncanny ability to peg a phony a mile off and he wanted no truck with that breed. But he was endlessly patient and understanding with sincere people. Oscar never condemned a person for making a mistake, no matter how serious, provided he tried to learn better and didn't repeat his mistake too many times.

## IN PRISON

Those of us who were in prison with Oscar were probably privileged to know him best. In prison you react strongly to men, for or against. Hemmed in as you are by walls and bars through endless days, there is little room for subterfuge. All the barriers are down. You see each man just as he is, in all the stark reality. Having thus seen the Cat, we loved him all the more, and every right guy in that prison was his friend.

Among the greatest of Oscar's qualities was his unshakable faith in the ultimate socialist victory. He never stopped pitching for socialism, not even on his death bed. He planted the socialist seed

## SWP Candidate Hails Action by NAACP in Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 11 — In a statement to the press today, Mrs. Clyde Turner, U. S. Senatorial candidate of the Socialist (Militant) Workers Party, hailed the recently launched energetic campaign of the Philadelphia NAACP to stop police brutality directed against the local Negro community.

"Police brutality is not new in the cities of America," Mrs. Turner said, "but what is new is that the victims and our local NAACP are not permitting it to go by unchallenged. The continuing series of protest meetings against the police brutalities against Oscar Williams, the Smith sisters, and the most recent victim, Joshua Mason, have brought out into the open the ugly facts of police terror practiced in Philadelphia for many years."

"The NAACP and the Negro community should push forward the anti-brutality campaign to enlist the support of civic and labor organizations, for a united campaign that will not cease until, in every instance, police officers guilty of brutality are dismissed, and the officials that condone such practices are removed from office.

"The NAACP should ask every candidate for public office to declare himself on this specific issue. Broad platitudes about favoring civil rights are not enough. For my party, its gubernatorial candidate and myself, I pledge that we will assist the NAACP campaign to the fullest extent."

"The program of the Socialist Workers Party calls for full equality for the Negro people, which is a vital part of the struggle of all working people against the system that breeds race hatred. Only the establishment of a Socialist America democratically controlled and governed by workers and farmers can bring about such full equality."

And so when the agents from the CP ask you to sign their "peace" petition, just ask them a few questions. Ask them to show

## Letters from Our Readers

### Pleds for Action to Put A-Bomb Under Trade Union Control

Editor:

Five years ago, on a beautiful summer morning the people of a certain city arose as usual and began a new day that seemed like any other. Of course most of them expected to be alive and well at the setting of the sun. But while the morning was still young, and the sky was still blue and the sun was still shining, thousands were reduced to atoms, their bodies floating somewhere in space, denied even a grave on the earth where they were born.

Thousands of others met a much worse fate, and found themselves crawling on the ground, their bodies covered with terrible burns, skin hanging in strips from their faces, destined to suffer agonies until they died of pain and thirst. Others lived to enter the wards of hospitals to live for a while and endure the tortures of hell — while "our" degenerate scientists coolly studied the effects of the atomic bombing upon them and brazenly published articles in the capitalist press, telling what they had "learned" from the condition of these helpless victims — as if they were writing of experiments upon rats.

That city was Hiroshima, that day was Aug. 6, 1945, and the weapon that murdered and maimed them was the atom bomb. And now the agents of the Communist Party urge us to sign a petition calling on the capitalists to outlaw that same atom bomb.

But five years ago, when the capitalists and their vile press all gloated and rejoiced over the martyrdom of Hiroshima, the Communist Party and its Daily Worker also gloated and rejoiced over that same atrocity.

And so when the agents from the CP ask you to sign their "peace" petition, just ask them a few questions. Ask them to show

## Politicians Regarded As Most Expendable

A Birmingham newspaper asked a cross-section of the local population who should have priority for limited shelter space in case of a bomb attack on the city. Everybody put politicians at the bottom of the list.

## Lawyers Guild Backs Intervention in Korea

The executive board of the National Lawyers Guild, at its quarterly meeting in Chicago last week, adopted a resolution supporting the intervention in Korea, while criticizing U. S. foreign policy as contributing to the war. It also denounced the Kilgore bill, which its president, Thomas I. Emerson, said would provide "a dragnet by which to incarcerate all manner of people whom the Attorney General, his staff, professional informers and others might suspect and whose political ideas might in his eyes make them spies."

## Nazi General Gets Post With West German Govt.

The West German government has picked as its military adviser Lt. Gen. Count Gerhard Schwerin. He is a Nazi general, who commanded tanks in Africa and Russia during the last war. His appointment was approved by the U. S., British, and French occupation officials in Germany.

## J. Parnell Thomas Freed, Says He Was Too Vigilant

J. Parnell Thomas, ex-congressional witch-hunter convicted for robbing the government, was freed on parole after nine months in jail. "I have paid a high price for vigilance (against subversives)," he complained.

## Withdraw All Troops From Foreign Soil

"Take the war-making powers away from Washington; let the people vote by referendum on all questions of peace or war. Down with the war-making alliances woven into the Atlantic Pact. An end to military and economic aid to blood-stained tyrants like Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and Syngman Rhee. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Let the Korean people decide their own fate. For the complete independence of the colonial peoples. No confidence whatever in the United Nations, dominated by despots and designed to spread the illusion that peace is possible under capitalism. Full solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers in all lands — those dominated by American imperialism as well as those dominated by reactionary Stalinism. Defend Yugoslavia against the Kremlin and Western imperialism. For the Socialist United States of the World." — From the SWP 1950 Election Platform.

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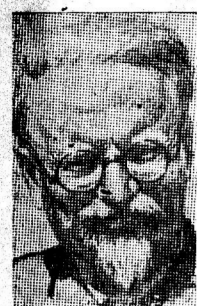
# THE MILITANT

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Monday, September 18, 1950



TROTSKY

"The regime of bourgeois democracy appeared on the basis of liberal capitalism, that is to say free competition. That epoch is now far in the past. The present monopoly capitalism which has decomposed and degraded the petty and middle bourgeoisie, has thus undermined the ground under bourgeois democracy. Fascism is the product of this development. It does not come at all 'from without.' In Italy and Germany fascism conquered without foreign intervention."

—Leon Trotsky, interview in London Daily Herald, March 1939.



LENIN

# The Yugoslav Position On the War in Korea

By Fred Hart

The full text of Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj's Sept. 8 statement on Korea, now available, reveals how flagrantly the capitalist press has distorted Yugoslavia's position on this question. The Tito regime has not joined with the imperialist powers in their war against North Korea but is continuing the position of neutrality it has maintained from the beginning of the conflict. Kardelj's statement concludes by saying:

"Immediately following the outbreak of the war in Korea, the Yugoslav Delegation (to the UN) endeavored to have the operations brought to an end, to have both sides heard, and to find forms of negotiations which would prevent continuation of the war and remove the danger of its spreading. . . The Yugoslav Government considers that it can best serve the cause of peace by continuing to adhere strictly to such a policy, consistently refusing to give support to any hegemonic policy in Korea and endeavoring to find ways of containing and liquidating the Korean war in the speediest possible way. It goes without saying that the Yugoslav government will continue to offer moral and political aid to the Korean people in their struggle for unification and general independence."

### FALSE POSITION

Although the Yugoslav leaders have not aligned themselves with the imperialist powers, their "plague-on-both-your-houses" position on Korea, now officially stated for the first time, is bound to cause considerable damage to Yugoslavia's prestige among the insurgent peoples of Asia. It will go a long way in nullifying their courageous stand of recognizing the Ho Chi Minh government in Indo-China in the teeth of imperialist opposition. One can well imagine the reaction of an anti-Stalinist Korean Communist engaged in a life-and-death struggle on the battlefield. In all probability he would say to Kardelj:

"I would subscribe to your statement that 'those (the Soviet bureaucracy) who continue to pursue an aggressive, hegemonic and anti-socialist policy towards Socialist Yugoslavia cannot pursue another, that is, a peace-loving, democratic, socialist policy of genuine equality and brotherhood among all peoples in other parts of the world.'"

"That is undoubtedly true, and it is one of the great dangers we and all other movements for liberation must face and overcome. But does that change the fact that we are fighting to unify our country, to divide the land among the peasants, to place the power in the hands of People's Committees against the murder-

ous resistance of a foreign imperialist army and the feudal-capitalist dictatorship of Syngman Rhee? Should we give up this struggle and permit our country to become an American colony because Stalin is trying to exploit the war for his own anti-socialist aims?"

"Many of us are aware that Stalin is trying to subvert our aspirations for freedom. Others, perhaps the majority, have the same illusions you had about Stalinism only a few years ago. But that is a danger we will face later on. Now we confront armed intervention. That is the gun aimed at our head today, and we must knock it away first before we can deal with Stalin's poison tomorrow."

"Tito says that because of Stalin's influence in our struggle, it will not lead to independence. On the same basis you would have had to deny support to Mao Tse-tung and now to Ho Chi Minh. On that basis it would have been false to have supported your partisan struggles in Yugoslavia during the last war. Does not the danger also exist, in the event of a Russian assault on Yugoslavia, that the imperialists would attempt to exploit that conflict to subvert your independence? Should we on that account withhold our support?"

"In any case, are we not in a better position as a people in arms, fighting for our own land and our own people's property, to ward off the danger of Stalinist hegemony? We have learned from our experiences with Stalinism, as contrasted to the tragic events in other Eastern European countries, that your victory over Stalin derived precisely from such revolutionary factors as now exist in our country. Can you have forgotten these lessons so quickly or are you saying that the class struggle favors only those of Yugoslav descent?"

"You reproach us for not having sought 'other ways of struggle for independence and liberation.' Please be specific. Should we have entrusted our fate to the tender mercies of Syngman Rhee, who smashed our unions,

murdered our brothers by the hundreds and filled the jails with the fighters for freedom? Should we have asked the U. S. imperialists who broke up even the mild 1945 coalition government to come to our assistance? Or should we depend on the UN which has turned down even your mediation proposals? In saying that the war has exposed our people and country to terrible suffering and to the ravages of war, you speak not like Lenin but like Plekhanov who became forever notorious among Marxists for his statement that the Russian workers should not have taken up arms in the 1905 revolution."

"You also reproach us for not knowing that the war 'would seriously threaten world peace, inspire all the forces of aggression, start the war machines of the big powers running and correspondingly sharpen all international antagonism.' That same reproach could be turned against the Russian workers in the 1917 revolution."

"Why did you make your stand against Stalin? Did that not sharpen the 'international antagonisms' and 'threaten world peace'? If the workers and oppressed colonial peoples followed such advice there would never be any revolutionary struggles and nobody would ever achieve freedom."

"We appreciate your difficulties, caught between two ruthless powers. But you will not find the way out of them by turning your backs on our struggles. On the contrary, such a position can only strengthen Stalinism by withdrawing your support from the anti-Stalinist forces, or those who will be anti-Stalinist tomorrow. Or if on the other hand we go down in defeat, imperialism will be further strengthened, better able to deal with you alone when they stand on the charred bodies of the defeated people of Asia."

"It is important that Yugoslavia survive. But it is no less important that Korea, China and Indo-China survive with the right to determine their own fate. You cannot sacrifice us for your own interests and still survive."

# "MYSTERIOUS" POWER OF NORTH KOREANS

By Joseph Keller

No one with even a slight knowledge of military science would have considered it remarkable if American forces had quickly halted and even cracked the North Korean army. What is considered "miraculous" by most military analysts is that the Koreans have been able to continue the offensive and, since the middle of August, to reduce the U.S. beachhead by a third.

The official explanation for the amazing power of the Korean drive — the alleged "overwhelming superiority" in numerical strength and weapons — is strictly a fiction. Not even in the number of trained soldiers does the Korean army enjoy more than a slight superiority, let alone the three-to-one advantage which is considered by U.S. military experts themselves the minimum for a sustained offensive.

The "U.N. defenders. . . probably now number, including South Koreans, almost 150,000 men," reports Hanson W. Baldwin, well-informed military analyst in the Sept. 10 N.Y. Times. "Yet, if our intelligence guesses were correct the enemy probably had no more than 170,000 men in or near the front line, which gave him only a limited superiority. . . Moreover, 'by last week the U.N. forces superiority in tanks was estimated at five to one,' the same issue of the Times admits.

### Virtually All Industry Destroyed

As for air power, the U.S. is bombing Korea on a scale comparable to the air attack on Germany — but without opposition. There is every reason to believe the North Korean charges that U.S. bombings have already wiped out virtually all industry and rail transport in Korea and laid waste a large part of its cities, towns, villages and fields and killed untold thousands of civilians. The U.S. air command publicly boasted two weeks ago that more than 60% of Korean rail transport had been destroyed and Maj. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, commanding the Far East Air Forces Bomber Command, said that B-29 bombings had wrecked so many North Korean industrial plants "that worthwhile targets were hard to find." (United Press, Sept. 14.)

The question that has the military specialists in the Pentagon burning the midnight oil, that is being raised by all informed press commentators on the Korean war, is: What is the mysterious source of power for this Korean army, composed largely of backward peasants, which by ordinary military standards should have been shattered weeks ago?

There is no mystery to it. The answer is simple: The power of this army is the Korean people.

Without the active support of the Korean populace — who are responding to the social and land reform program of the North Korean regime and are aroused to implacable hatred of the U.S. invaders by the ruthless bombings — the advance of the Korean army is inconceivable.

Frank Robertson, Korea correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, wrote in the Sept. 8 issue that "it is time to examine the reasons an army possessing far superior equipment and enjoying the tremendous advantage of unrivaled air power continues to lose. . . it is certainly not that the United Nations forces in Korea are overwhelmed by weight of numbers."

His explanation — an explanation that recurs ever more frequently in the reports from Korea — is that the North Koreans have "made full and most effective use of their intimate knowledge of guerrilla warfare. . . guerrilla activities are integrated so closely with their general plan as to become a most important part of that plan."

But it is an axiom of military science that irregular guerrilla fighters, who operate behind an enemy's lines, can be nothing but a minor and temporary annoyance unless they are operating among a friendly and cooperating populace. They must have food, shelter, replenishment of arms and manpower, protection from exposure to the enemy whose troops control the territory. This is possible only where the people themselves support the guerrillas.

The people in Korea are the eyes and ears of the North Korean army; they are its transport system. And whenever they have the chance, they rise up in mass actions behind the U.S. forces.

### Not Imagination That's Lacking

When motor and rail transport were destroyed, "human and animal supply trains. . . would crawl through the mountain defiles and along the ridges to the front lines" and "the North Koreans generally are turning to the manpower of the masses to bring up supplies to the front," reported the N.Y. Times last week. At the same time, writes Robert P. Martin, Overseas News Agency correspondent in Korea, although "fighting in supposedly 'friendly' territory against a theoretical alien invader," the U.S. command finds it "difficult, sometimes impossible, to get intelligence on enemy troop movements." Moreover, the Army has failed to build air strips although "there is plenty of labor in South Korea, but no one apparently had imagination enough to use this manpower."

The explanation for this alleged "lack of imagination" is that, far from being able to utilize the South Korean workers and peasants, the American command is concerned only with trying to keep them from falling on the U.S. rear. Thus, Tokyo news dispatches reported on Sept. 9 that 30,000 of the civilian population of Massan, near the supply port of Pusang, were being evacuated because it was rumored that 100 guerrillas had "infiltrated" the city. The evacuation was "a precaution sometimes taken. . . to prevent possible infiltration by the Communists and local uprisings behind the lines. . . a technique reportedly used with considerable success by the invaders as they made their push down the Korean west coast," reported Lindsey Parrott of the N.Y. Times.

MacArthur claims to have rehabilitated five divisions of Syngman Rhee's South Korean army. Why aren't they being used as guerrillas behind the North Korean lines to mobilize the South Koreans against the "communist invaders"? Perhaps the answer lies in Hanson Baldwin's complaint that "there were apparently a number of inexplicable retreats, and even one report of a platoon-sized South Korean unit going over to the enemy" on the northern sector.

Nothing throws more light on the real nature of U.S. intervention in Korea than the fact that the people America is supposedly "defending from invasion" are supporting the "invaders" and look on their "defenders" as foreign invaders and destroyers to be driven from their land.

# Their Silence Bids Assent

Newspapers last week featured pictures of AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray laughing and smirking at the side of a grinning Truman, with whom they and other union leaders were dining. We don't know the cause of their mirth — unless it was the great "joke" Truman was pulling on the American people by attacking the McCarran bill as a menace to the Bill of Rights while his chief lieutenants in the Senate were pushing the Kilgore bill to turn this country into a concentration-camp state.

We wonder whether they'll show elation if the joke turns out to be on them — if they, like their counterparts in Germany, wind up in "preventive detention" camps? Wherever capitalist governments have established concentration camps, the labor leaders have ended in them.

At their dinner with Truman, the union leaders are reported to have pledged support for his war mobilization program. Did this include support for the Kilgore bill to imprison people without trial who "might" commit a crime? If they even discussed the Kilgore bill, they didn't say so. Perhaps they considered it bad manners to raise so unpleasant a topic at a good fellowship feast with "The Boss."

Let us — for the moment — put the most charitable interpretation on their silence. Let us concede — just for now — that pressure of social engagements left them lit-

tle time to form a judgment on the Kilgore bill. Still, they did have something to say about the Wood Bill passed by the House. They called it a police-state bill. By their own admission, anyone who voted for it favored a police state.

Does that mean the AFL and CIO leaders will no longer support Democrats who voted for the Wood bill? If they did, the CIO and AFL would have to abandon a large percentage of the candidates they are supporting in the coming elections. Only 17 Democrats voted against this police-state measure.

And if support of a police state is a criterion for opposing any candidate — and what better criterion is there? — then how many candidates would these union leaders have left in the Democratic Party if they struck from their slates Lehman and other "Fair Deal" supporters of the Kilgore bill, the most totalitarian measure ever offered in Congress?

Taken with their public silence on the Kilgore bill, their latest demonstration of political good-will toward Truman — leader of those who pushed the bill — is a token that these union leaders are ready to surrender the most cherished rights of the American people to preserve their unholy alliance with the Truman administration and the Democratic Party. They breathe fire and brimstone against police-stateism — in the Soviet Union. But give it a Trumanite "Fair Deal" label and they'll embrace it here.

# Democracy Gets in Their Way

When Congress last spring passed the bill killing federal rent controls at the end of the year, it added a provision that the localities could decide for themselves whether or not to retain rent control for an additional six months. The joker in even this provision is that this decision could either be made through a referendum or left up to "the local legislative body."

What this has meant in practice was demonstrated recently in the city of Detroit where the Common Council voted by 5 to 2 against placing the rent control extension issue on the ballot this November. Thus five individuals, representing the interests of the rich and serving the real estate lobby and the rent sharks, arbitrarily deprived the vast majority of the Detroit's citizens of any say whatever on an issue that affects them so vitally.

This high-handed action was enthusiastically acclaimed as "the only proper course" by the Detroit Free Press in an editorial on Sept. 8. "Since there obviously are more tenants than landlords, any general balloting would go in favor of

the renters," coolly argue these "democratic" editors.

It is not often that capitalist editors are so outspoken and defend so openly the interests of the minority ruling class. They applaud the brazen suppression of "majority view in this matter." Why? Because, if you please, the majority is bound not to be "impartial" — "since the majority has a personal financial interest!"

Who has a better right to protect any and all of its interests, including its "financial interest," if not the majority? But when it comes to defending the "personal financial interests" of the tiny minority of rent hogs or the rest of the wealthy minority in this country, these hypocritical Detroit editors, like others of their brotherhood, line up each time against the most elementary democratic procedures, lauding each and every violation of the majority's rights and interests.

"The only proper course" for the people of Detroit and of other localities is to demand that they themselves decide on such issues as rent control along with every other issue affecting the vital interests of the majority.

# Henry Wadsworth Longfellow-traveler

Another brick was added to the structure of America's "internal security" when Nevada's gambling casinos joined the "loyalty" oath parade last week. Every joint in Reno swung into line after the managements of two big clubs ordered their employees to sign non-Communist oaths. Among the 105 employees of the Cal-Neva Casino who had to sign was the nude model who poses in a champagne glass. One can see at a glance the possibilities for subversion here.

But no sooner was this avenue for "communist infiltration" closed off by the "loyalty" oath than the red menace was found to have penetrated an even more vulnerable place — Hollywood.

Ever-alert guardians of "Americanism" at Monogram Studio were aghast to discover that "Hiawatha" — that 95-year-old classic by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow — has been subtly injecting "communist" poison into every generation of American school children for nearly a century.

Monogram had been working six months on a film script based on Longfellow's poem dealing with the life and exploits of the 15th century Onondaga

Indian chief. Then, to their horror, the studio executives realized they were spreading nothing but "communist" propaganda. Hiawatha's efforts as a peace-maker among the warring Indian tribes, through formation of the confederation of Five Nations, said a studio spokesman, might be regarded as a message for peace and "help Communist designs." Shuddering, they withdrew the picture from production.

But now that we know where the danger lurks, we can take prompt action. Doesn't that "communist" best-seller, the Old Testament, have a part about "beating swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks" and don't they speak of a certain central character in the New Testament as the "Prince of Peace"? Where won't these "communists" penetrate next?

Good decent Americans should sleep better at nights knowing that the "communists" won't be able to undermine American institutions like the gambling and girlie joints so easily and that the story of Hiawatha (now we know why its author insisted on calling him a "noble REDskin") was really written by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow-traveler.

# Arms Program Is Put in Hands of Big Corporations

(Continued from Page 1)

G. Plowman, vice-president of the U. S. Steel Corporation.

The top "policy" man in overall charge of the program is W. Stuart Symington former corporation executive.

These appointments are only a foretaste of what is to come as swarms of corporation executives await the "call" from Washington.

Ironically enough, Truman himself first came into prominence because of the scathing report issued in 1942 by a Senate committee he headed which exposed the "outrageous" contracts secured under the World War II agency — the OPM. This agency, charged the Truman Senate Committee, was controlled "by persons holding important positions with large companies who were willing and anxious to serve on a dollar per year, or without compensation basis."

Condemning the profiteering and the enormous war profits of the giant corporations, the Truman report declared: "All important procurement contracts must be approved by these (dollar-a-year) men, which means that contracts must conform to their theories of business. Since they represent the largest companies, this means that the defense program in all its ramifications must obtain the approval of the large companies."

In 1950 Truman in the office of President is perpetrating and adding to all the "outrageous" practices which he helped expose and denounce as Senator in 1942. His own report of eight years ago reads today like a self-condemnation.

# WORLD-WIDE INFLATION IS NOT JUST A 'RISK'

By John G. Wright

Capitalist authorities in this country and abroad keep harping on the "risk" of inflation in connection with the vast military expenditures and preparations touched off

by Truman's undeclared war in Korea. Among the latest to issue such a warning is the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund — an institution, by the way, which was ostensibly set up to avert such calamities as inflation.

Commenting on the report released last week, Camille Gutt, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, issued a "most solemn warning" that "defense spending" could touch off a world-wide wave of inflation, "accompanied by international financial chaos." It is noteworthy that this IMF report was prepared before the outbreak of the Korean crisis.

There is more than the customary double-talk in all these warnings about inflation "risks." World-wide inflation is not something in the unforeseeable future. The first wave started rolling since the end of June. The only questions now in doubt are: how fast will the successive inflationary waves come and how quickly and deeply will the scourge of inflation strike?

The military orders have still to take their effect so far as the American economy is concerned, the Kremlin has not officially launched its own expanded arms program, and yet in the ten weeks since Korea there has been a thumping hike in prices. As of Sept. 1 the Bureau of Labor Standards' general index of basic commodities shows a rise of almost 22%. In other words, in terms of basic commodities, the purchasing power of the strongest world currency — the U.S. dollar — has already declined by more than one-fifth since Korea.

On the world markets the prices of such basic raw materials as wool, rubber, cotton and non-ferrous metals have recorded even more spectacular leaps. Rubber has almost doubled in price; cotton has jumped by one-third while wool has experienced an even steeper rise. Lead is up by 40%; tin is up 30%; hides by more than 25%, with proportional increases in the other commodities.

And all this has happened before the insatiable war machine in this country and elsewhere has really started chewing up raw materials and necessities on a scale that is bound in "peacetime" to dwarf all previous wartime experiences.

# New York SWP Election Rally

"After Korea — What Next?"

Hear the truth about the undeclared war in Korea and the drive against democracy at home.

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Candidate for U. S. Senator

MICHAEL BARTELL

Candidate for Governor

GLADYS BARKER

Candidate for Lt. Governor

Chairman: HARRY RING

Candidate for Comptroller

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 8 P. M.

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8th Avenue and 51st Street



# A Police State?

By George Breitman

For more than three years we have been warning and fighting against the transformation of this country into a police state. On some occasions critics have declared that we were exaggerating the danger, oversimplifying the issues, sensationalizing the facts — that things were not as bad as we contended, and not likely to become appreciably worse for a long time to come.

But we think that our warnings have been fully confirmed by the events of the last few weeks in Washington. We don't know in what form the House and the Senate will combine the Wood-Mundt-Nixon and McCarran-Kilgore bills they have already adopted, or what Truman will do when the amalgamated bill is sent to him for signature, but it doesn't matter — the fact is that this country is already on the verge of becoming a police state. And even if it doesn't happen in the present session of Congress, the political situation is such that it can happen in the next.

Looking back, we can trace the beginning of the end of capitalist democracy as we have known it in this country to 1947, in the middle of which Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act and at the end of which Truman initiated his "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist. Of course there had been plenty of repressive legislation and executive action before then — the Smith Act of 1940, the Voorhis Act of 1940, the Smith-Connally Act of 1943, etc. — and these had helped to create the atmosphere and the precedents for their successors. But repressive as these measures were, they were also by and large exceptional; they were administered in an experimental and even tentative fashion; the ruling class was still cautious and uncertain about the necessity or advisability of applying them on a mass scale.

But beginning with 1947, and increasingly since then, the trend that had been foreshadowed by the earlier legislation began to harden. The ruling class had come to the conclusion that it could no longer afford democracy and that a component part of its campaign to dominate the world was the regimentation of the U. S. itself. The trend toward a police state began to assume a pattern into which the major parts of domestic policy were consciously fitted. The Taft-Hartley Act was designed to housebreak and intimidate the labor movement; the "loyalty" purge to silence and victimize dissident political opinion.

The McCarran-Kilgore and Wood bills are direct continuations of the reactionary laws and executive orders set into motion in 1947, but they go far beyond them and the enactment of either

would signify a qualitative change in the sphere of democratic liberties: the Bill of Rights, in reality, would be dead. We don't mean that we would have fascism overnight. No, independent and revolutionary political organizations would still exist and even function, opposition newspapers would still be published and anti-war meetings would still be legally permissible, at least for a while. (Even Hitler did not and could not execute his entire program at one stroke.) But opposition activity would be at such a disadvantage and conducted at such a risk that freedom of speech, press and assembly, even if they remained on the books, would be abrogated in practice. When a man will have to risk being thrown out of his job and into jail (under the Wood bill) or into a concentration camp (under the McCarran-Kilgore bill) every time he utters an independent political view or takes an anti-capitalist political step, then the American variety of capitalist democracy will have ended, and been replaced by a military-police regime closely resembling those of several Latin-American dictatorships. That is what the mere enactment of these bills would mean, even if they were not enforced at once or on a mass scale; the decisive thing is that they would give the ruling class the legislative and judicial power to enforce them whenever it found it most convenient.

These truths have to be recognized and spoken if the American people are going to be mobilized for victorious defense of their democratic rights, but they are no reason for either gloom, panic or pessimism. If it is foolish to deny that reaction is in the saddle today, it is a hundred times more foolish to deny that the American working class is trying to ride it far from tamed or broken. The ruling class knows that; the very fact that it feels driven to adopt such repressive measures is proof that it harbors deep-seated fears of the working class, which continues to display signs of its instinctive militancy, rebelliousness and power despite Taft-Hartley restrictions. The party that put over the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 was repudiated, driven out of office and forced to dissolve itself as soon as the masses got wise to their game; the same fate is being prepared for the two parties bearing responsibility for the present police-state bills. Repression can affect but cannot abolish the class struggle, by means of which the Bill of Rights was won in the first place, and by means of which it can and will be preserved or reinstated. Despotism has the floor today, but the final word will be spoken by the working people.

# Hitler Did It Too

By J. Blake

There are plenty of differences between the United States of 1950 and the Germany of 1933, but the similarity between the Senate's concentration camp bill and the Nazi decrees abrogating civil rights is startling enough to make Americans sit up and take notice.

On Feb. 28, 1933, at the behest of Chancellor Hitler, President von Hindenburg signed the emergency decree turning Germany into a huge concentration camp. To "prevent communistic acts of violence which endanger the state," the German constitutional provisions against despotic rule were suspended.

"Consequently," this decree declared, "restrictions of personal liberty, of the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, of association, and of assembly, interference with letters, mail, telegraph, and telephone secrets, orders to search houses and to confiscate as well as restrict property beyond existing legal limits are permissible."

The legal authority for the decree, it asserted, was Article 48, Section 2 of the Weimar Constitution, which empowered the President of the Reich to abrogate the constitutional guarantees protecting the fundamental liberties of German citizens if and when public security and order were disturbed to such a degree that peace could not be restored otherwise.

The burning of the Reichstag building the day before by Nazis who blamed the Communists served as the government's pretext. Rule by virtual martial law continued, of course, even though the charges against the Communist leaders in the Reichstag fire trial in the fall of 1933 were so flimsy that a German court acquitted the major defendants.

Now the Senate has adopted the proposal of the Trumanite Senators to give the Attorney General similar power to wipe out civil rights in the United States any time the President and Congress see fit to declare "an internal security emergency."

Under this bill the administration would have power to throw anyone into a concentration camp without jury trial or bail and detain him there indefinitely. All the Attorney General would have to do is charge the individual interned with being a "danger to national security," claiming possession of "reasonable grounds" to "suspect" he "might be" engaged in "espionage or sabotage."

If his "evidence" came from the FBI or other government agents or if revelation of such information was deemed "dangerous to national security," the Attorney General would not have to reveal it. Under the Kilgore bill, not even an order from a federal judge could release the victim.

Section 7 of the Prussian decree of Feb. 10, 1936 making the Gestapo an executive organ of the public prosecutor's office similarly provided that "no order or affair of the Gestapo is subject to control by the administrative tribunals." In other words, Gestapo evidence or "proof" against an accused person did not have to be revealed in hearings, nor were Gestapo actions reversible by the courts.

The same decree turned the concentration camps over to the Gestapo, giving them the legal authority to take anyone into "protective custody" for as long as they pleased — even if a criminal court had already absolved the accused of guilt or if he had already served his sentence in prison.

"Reasonable grounds" for internment without trial in the proposed "Fair Deal" law includes "an investigation . . . made in the past, which serves to indicate probable complicity" in an act of espionage or sabotage.

Other "reasonable grounds" for incarceration in an American concentration camp would include membership in the Communist Party, "having knowledge of, or giving or receiving instructions in," sabotage or espionage "in the service of" the Communist Party, a foreign government or party, or "other parties" that seek "the overthrow of the government by force or violence."

The Nazi emergency decree also stated that its object was to "prevent communistic acts of violence which endanger the state." On March 23, 1933 the Fuehrer said in his first Reichstag address as Chancellor of the Reich:

"Theoretical equality in the eyes of the law cannot be extended to toleration on an equal basis of those who scorn the laws on principle, or indeed to surrendering the nation's freedom to them on the basis of democratic doctrine. But the government will accord equality in the eyes of the law to all those who take their stand on the line adopted by the nation and behind the national interests and who do not deny their support to the Government."

Sounds ominously familiar?

# A Great Deal of Difference

SCENE: The U.S. Senate, debating the merits of the McCarran and Kilgore police state bills, Sept. 8, 1950.

CHARACTERS: Senator Ferguson (R, Mich.), defender of the McCarran bill; Senator Douglas (D, Ill.), defender of the Kilgore bill.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to ask the Senator whether what is provided for under the internment section of the Kilgore bill is a crime.

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; it is not a crime.

Mr. FERGUSON. What is it?

Mr. DOUGLAS. In the case of danger to the security of the United States —

Mr. FERGUSON. It provides for punishment, does it not?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; it does not. It provides for detention. There is no criminal punishment in the major provisions of title 2. We did not accuse the Japanese or the conscientious objectors during World War II of any crime. But we detained a great many of them.

Mr. FERGUSON. What is the difference between detention and imprisonment?

Mr. DOUGLAS. There is a great deal of difference.

Mr. FERGUSON. What is the difference?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The worst part of imprisonment is the blot upon the name which comes from conviction for a crime. Defamation of character

is worse than detention. That is something which it seems to be very difficult for certain persons to understand. Defamation is really more injurious than is detention.

Mr. FERGUSON. Let us keep to the subject. What is the difference between detention and imprisonment?

Mr. DOUGLAS. There is a great deal of difference. In the first place, there is physically a difference. The internment camps and relocation centers have not been the same as Alcatraz.

Mr. FERGUSON. What about cases of false imprisonment, where a person is detained and considered to be imprisoned.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Detention is one form of imprisonment, but it is not the exclusive characteristic of imprisonment. Imprisonment would involve a very different type of detention, and, in addition, would involve a defamation and a stigma upon the character which detention does not leave. . . I would say the difference is that imprisonment is meted out to those who commit crimes while detention is the holding of a group of people, some of whom we have reason to believe would commit a crime if not held. But detaining a person is not to accuse him of a crime and is not punishment for a crime as is imprisonment.

From Congressional Record, Sept. 8, P. 14609

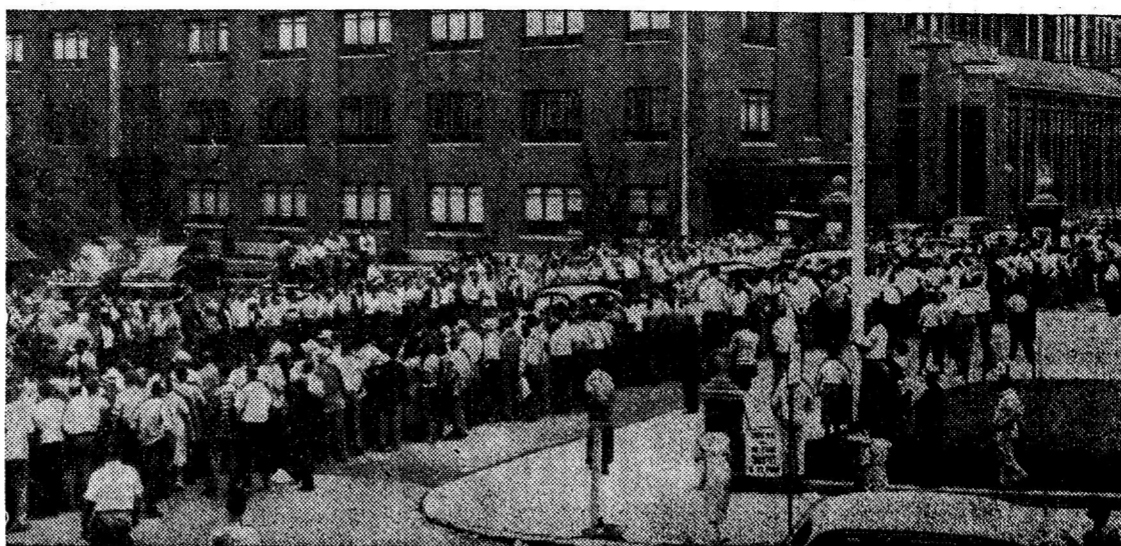
# THE MILITANT

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## GE Workers on Strike in Lynn



Striking members of the CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers are out on strike at the Lynn, Mass., plant of General Electric, putting pressure on the corporation to meet the contract demands of GE workers. When mediation began, IUE officials called off a scheduled walkout, but the workers in many GE plants went out just the same.

## Lynn IUE Pickets Force GE to Evacuate Scabs

By Martin Williams

LYNN, Mass., Sept. 10 — On the morning of Aug. 29, plant gate "educational talks" were given by the business agent of Local 201, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, to the River Works employees of the General Electric Co. At the conclusion of these talks the Lynn workers returned to their jobs with no retaliation on the part of management.

In Everett, the GE plant gate meeting was scheduled for 1 P.M. As the Everett workers punched out to attend the meeting, it was suggested by their foremen that they need not return that day. No official company announcement was given. At 1:30 P.M. upon return to their jobs the workers found that their clock cards had been removed from the racks and that they were effectively locked out. Negotiations with management failing, the workers immediately held another meeting and passed a "no contract-no work" resolution. Picket lines were organized around the Everett plant and quickly joined by second and third shift workers.

On Aug. 30, a mass meeting of employees of the River Works, Allertonst and West Lynn works was held to explain the action of the Everett workers. At this meeting, attended by over 15,000 workers, it was voted almost unanimously to support the action of the Everett workers. Picket lines were immediately thrown around all plants.

On Aug. 31, a foreman leaving the River Works plant ran down and injured five IUE pickets. The police rushed the scab to the local lock-up before the remaining pickets could mete out their own punishment.

FOREMEN RESTRAINED

At 11 the same night, a newly employed guard ran down a picket captain who attempted to stop him. For the next day, not one foreman left the plant.

The Local 201 navy, a 35-foot lobster boat patrolling the waters of the Saugus River off the River Works wharf, successfully boarded a boat hired to smuggle food to the besieged foremen and seized same on Sept. 1. Pickets were arrested and temporarily charged with "piracy." Coast Guard and local police could find no legal pretext for holding these men and they were later released. That afternoon, after much

negotiation between local police, GE management, and union officials, it was agreed that the foremen could leave the plants.

Under the eyes of nearly 2,000 workers at the River Works the hungry, unshaven, unwashed scabbing foremen were conveyed from the plant by local police. Although there was a good deal of justified name-calling by pickets, the foremen (nearly scared to death) were allowed to leave.

UE ATTITUDE

Under the "rule or ruin" leadership of the Stalinist-controlled UE, many misguided workers were told that this was a phony strike and only a move by local IUE leaders to catapult themselves into national fame. In spite of UE instructions to boycott and heckle IUE pickets, by the third day of the strike a fair majority of UE members, including a few Stalinists, had joined their fellow-workers on the picket lines.

Apparently this strike is not as popular as the one in 1946. The picket lines have shown an almost constant falling off, partly because of poor leadership and lack of support from other IUE locals. The local leadership has thus far refused to enlarge the strike committee, composed of officers and executive board members, to include members of the rank and file. All positive action has come from a rapidly developing left-wing opposition within the IUE.

It is felt, locally, that the UE will accept a minimum contract to embarrass and further disrupt the weakened IUE position. It is possible that a "back-to-work" movement will be started if nothing positive results from IUE-GE negotiations through the Mediation Board, due to begin this week.

## DEBATE IN SENATE WAS LIKE A LYNCHING BEE

(Continued from Page 1) the backers of the McCarran bill. And the rug was constantly being pulled from under them by the fact that they had supported legislation and executive action every bit as arbitrary as they rightfully pointed out the McCarran bill was.

Thus when Lehman complained about the registration provisions, Ferguson (R, Mich.) reminded him about the reactionary Voorhis Act of 1940 which required the registration of "every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity" and made him crawl into admitting: "I certainly have no criticism of that law."

TRUMAN'S PRECEDENT

Douglas denounced the McCarran bill because "Once charged with being a Communist front, an organization, however noble its aims, has its effectiveness impaired and its reputation ruined." Yet in the same speech he said: "I have always felt that probably it is a good thing that the Attorney General has prepared his list of so-called 'subversive organizations' . . . Some of the organizations may be improperly listed, but on the whole I think that listing was a good thing."

To which Ferguson said he wanted to know why the supporters of Truman's "loyalty" purge procedure, under which the Attorney General lists "subversive" organizations "without their having the right of defense, hearing or appeal," should object to the McCarran provision which would do the same thing, only under the supervision of a board and the authority of a law. The Trumanites could not show any difference, certainly not any difference to their credit.

Whatever debating advantages the Trumanites had were quickly wiped out after they introduced the Kilgore bill, which would permit the Attorney General after the declaration of an "emergency" by the President and Congress to "detain" anybody without a

trial, and without even having to charge him with any crime.

THE "BURDEN"

Under the McCarran bill, Kilgore explained, "the burden is on the United States" to prosecute the alleged subversives, whereas under his bill "the burden is upon the man charged with being a subversive" to prove that he should not be "detained." That, he boasted, "would tend to expedite the whole procedure, whereas the provisions of the McCarran bill would tend to slow up the procedure."

Douglas, trying to show a difference between this proposal and the Nazi method of sending their political opponents to concentration camps, could find only this: "Congress is going to be able to inspect the detention centers. It is not like the German system, in which there was no agency of the legislature to keep watch."

EMBARRASSING SUBJECT

The McCarranites were given a field day; they were able to weep crocodile tears about thought-control, subversion of the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury, etc. Ferguson slyly made reference to the fact that the Soviet Constitution of 1936 contains an "elaborate bill of rights" but negates those rights by its provision that "no person may be placed under arrest except by the decision of the court or with the sanction of a State attorney."

And he added: "That is exactly what this (Kilgore) internment provision does. It permits a person to be imprisoned upon the sanction of a State attorney. It does not even say by the decision of the court." Douglas quickly tried to change the subject by pointing approvingly as "precedent" to the U.S. government's incarceration of Japanese-Americans, including 70,000 citizens, during the last war.

And so, as the Senate debate moved to a close, each side accused the other of seeking to destroy civil liberties. In this one respect, each side was telling the truth.

## Detroit Workers Aid UPW, Foil Union-Busters

By Howard Mason

DETROIT, Sept. 11 — The sanitation workers of the United Public Workers Union, aided by the magnificent solidarity of the AFL and CIO rank and file, have successfully repulsed a vicious assault

upon their union by the labor-hating city officials, headed by Mayor Cobo and aided, monastically enough, by leaders of the AFL and CIO who were in an unholy alliance with the city administration in its attempt to smash this union.

After a week of struggle, the sanitation workers broke what was in effect a lockout against them by the city authorities, returned to work without victimization and received assurance that their demands for a wage increase will be seriously considered. Under the circumstances the outcome can be considered as a victory.

The struggle began a week and a half ago when 1,000 members of the Sanitation Division who belong to the UPW (a union expelled from the CIO on the charge of "Communist" leadership) held a two hour demonstration in front of City Hall for a 20 cent an hour wage increase.

STATE LAW INVOKED

The notoriously anti-labor Mayor Cobo immediately invoked the Hutchinson Act, a state law that forbids strikes against the city. Cobo fired the 1,500 sanitation workers who were not at work that day, although the leaders of the union immediately explained that they were not on strike, and, as a matter of fact, intended to have the men work an additional two hours the same day to make up for the time spent at the demonstration.

Cobo insisted it was a strike, and announced that those workers who wished to regain their jobs would have to sign a statement that they had not knowingly violated the Hutchinson law, and that the signers would then be "screened." This move was obviously aimed at the militants, to victimize and drive out of their jobs those who acted as spokesmen for the demands of the men.

The UPW, realizing it was fighting for its life, branded Cobo's actions as a lockout, and called upon its members to refuse to sign the Hutchinson "yellow-dog" affidavits. The UPW established picket lines at the Public Works stations throughout the city, and sent out an appeal for aid from the labor movement of Detroit. In a leaflet passed out to workers marching in the Labor Day parade, the UPW, 90% of whose members are Negroes, pointed out that the attitude of the city government was "reminiscent of the plantation overseer."

The response they received from the union officials will go into the annals of the Detroit labor movement as one of the most shameful.

Frank X. Martell, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, AFL, told Cobo that he had branded the strikers as a "subversive element seeking to control public service in the interests of a foreign union," and had asked all AFL unions to "turn a deaf ear" to their requests for support.

Not to be outdone, Milton Murray, national executive secretary of the CIO Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, flew to Detroit from Washington, and, together with Earl Harris, business agent of the AFL Municipal Workers, assured Cobo that they would work for restoration of collections of garbage in order to "speed up wage talks." Over the UAW radio, another CIO official explained that Cobo had promised to try to raise wages in November.

In an attempt to keep his hands clean of the outright scabbing being practised by Martell, Murray and others, UAW President, Walter Reuther, told the press that "no officer or representative of the international UAW has consulted with Mayor Cobo on the Sanitation Workers strike or has otherwise commented on it." A hands-off attitude!

The successful struggle of the UPW is a tribute to their rank and file, and even more, to the rank and file of the AFL and CIO city unions, who resisted the urgings of their leaders to cross the UPW picket lines, and thereby crippled Cobo's union-busting attempt. As the lockout progressed, support began mounting. Among the telegrams backing the strikers sent to Mayor Cobo were those of UAW Locals 600 and 22.

SUCIDAL POLICY

Perhaps the most important aspect of the entire fight, at least so far as the future of the American labor movement is concerned, is the sinister policy of AFL and CIO officials, who under the pretext of fighting a "subversive" organization, joined forces with an anti-labor city administration in an attempt to smash a union engaged in a struggle to protect the conditions of its members. Such a policy can wreck not only the struggles of any militant unions whom the official labor leaders view as "leftist," but also the organized labor movement itself.

## Why Trumanites Prefer "Preventive Detention"

(Continued from Page 1) ious to get rid of such "clumsy" procedures not only because it's hard work getting "proof," but it's not easy to convince American juries, even hand-picked ones.

In the first Smith Act case, the 1941 Minneapolis trial of 28 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis truck drivers Local 544, the jury completely acquitted 10, threw out the most serious charge against the others and almost brought in an acquittal for them too. It took months to get a conviction in the trial of the Stalinist leaders last year.

The administration is thinking in terms of locking up tens and hundreds of thousands as "subversives." FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover says he has a list of 12,000 alleged Communist Party members to begin with. The House Un-American Activities Committee claims to have a list of "subversives" numbering a million!

Obviously, the government can't bother with evidence and proofs and fair jury trials when, in the words of Senator Kilgore, the aim is to take "swift, direct, effective action against subversives." For that, the Trumanites must take a leaf from the book of Hitler and Stalin — "preventive detention."

One of the aims of the Trumanites in offering the Kilgore bill was to block the McCarran bill which the FBI doesn't like because it requires the government to offer proof to juries. At the same time, the Truman administration is using the Kilgore bill

as an answer to the Republicans and anti-administration Democrats who charge that Truman has been "coddling" the "reds."

FURTHER STEP

Right after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt had almost every person of Japanese descent in the country — men, women and children, including native-born citizens — driven from their homes, farms and businesses and "detained" for years in isolated concentration camps. Since the war, there has been great criticism of this on constitutional and legal grounds. The Kilgore bill is designed to give specific legal sanction to procedures which the government has already put in practice, but has dared to use only against a racial minority whose country of origin was at war with the U.S.

Truman did not even need a law to victimize thousands of government workers, like the legless veteran James Kutchner, who were fired or forced to resign on charges of "suspected disloyalty" or as "bad security risks" without public hearings, the right to confront accusers or even obtain a statement of specific accusations.

In the case of the "loyalty" purge, the penalty was loss of livelihood and public opprobrium. But Truman wants to carry the "loyalty" purge procedure further. He wants to penalize all so-called "subversives" with loss of their freedom — by arbitrary arrest and indefinite "detention" without trial.