

# THE MILITANT

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## Coroner's Jury Clears Murderer Of Florida Negro

By Albert Parker

"Give them a new trial," ordered the U.S. Supreme Court, after Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin were sentenced to death two years ago on a frame-up charge of "rape" in Groveland, Lake County, Fla.

"I'll give them a new trial — with bullets instead of jurors," raged Sheriff Willis McCall. In cold blood, he shot the two of them down, after putting them in his car to transport them to a hearing in connection with the new trial. Shepherd was murdered on the spot; Irvin, critically wounded, survived only because he seemed to be dead too.

### LYNCH LAW

McCall was expressing the views of the whole Jim Crow system — the rich whites who had launched a reign of terror in Lake County in 1949 when Negroes living there began to voice discontent with their peonage conditions; the Ku Klux elements who burned down the homes of Negroes and drove 400 of them out of the community; the police officials, who shot and killed one Negro for "resisting arrest" and tortured three others until they signed "confessions" of rape; the local press, which printed inflammatory demands for the death penalty; the members of the lily-white jury, whose verdict of guilty was so obviously biased that the Supreme Court told them they would have to hold another trial.

### JIM CROW JURY

And because McCall did what the ruling class wanted, he had nothing to fear. A coroner's jury was quickly assembled. It paid no attention to Irvin's hospital-bed report of what had happened. It ignored his charge that McCall had shot them without provocation. It shut its ears to his accusation that McCall's deputy, James L. Yates, finding Irvin still alive, had also shot him. It pretended it did not know that McCall once said he wanted to see Shepherd and Irvin "flinch" as they died, and that Yates once told Shepherd, "Wish you all would run so that I could shoot the damn hell out of you."

### NO EXCEPTION

What jury in the South ever accepts the word of a Negro over that of a white? This jury was no exception. It listened with satisfaction to McCall's lying story that the manacled prisoners had attacked him, and to his explanation: "If I was going to do it (shoot them), I'd have done it a long time ago." And it ruled: "The said shooting was justified by reason that McCall was acting in line of duty and in defense of his own life."

### WHITE SUPREMACY

The "reason" had a grain of truth. "Putting Negroes in their place" always has been regarded as a "line of duty" by the white supremacists. When so-called "legal" means of doing this fail or take too long, the law of Jim Crow always winks its eye at the employment of other means. Anything is "justifiable" if it

helps to uphold the rule of white oppressors and to inspire fear among their victims.

### FBI "INVESTIGATES"

Meanwhile the Department of Justice, receiving indignant protests from Negro and labor organizations, announced that it had decided to "investigate" the case. McCall must have chuckled when he heard this. Because what the FBI was going to investigate was whether or not the civil rights of Shepherd and Irvin had been violated. If the FBI should decide that these rights were violated, then it could seek to get McCall and Yates indicted under a federal law. But what Florida grand jury would indict them? (An effort to get a grand jury indictment of McCall two years ago when he beat and tortured the defendants had failed miserably.) And even if they were indicted, what jury in Florida would convict them? And even if they

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## Walter Irvin Describes How Sheriff Shot in Cold Blood

Lying on a hospital bed, fighting for his life, Walter Lee Irvin told under oath how he and his fellow-prisoner, Samuel Shepherd, were shot down in cold blood by Sheriff Willis McCall in Lake County, Fla., early on the morning of Nov. 8. Following are extracts, reprinted from the N. Y. Post, from Irvin's sworn testimony about what happened after the sheriff put the two prisoners, handcuffed together, into his car and drove off to the town of Tavares, for a scheduled hearing on a retrial ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court:

McCall turned the car off the main road, after arranging for his deputy, James E. Yates, to go ahead of him in another car. After proceeding for a while, he stopped the car, saying there was something wrong with a tire, took his flashlight with him, and got out of the car.

"Then," Irvin continued, "he came around to where Sammy was sitting on the right-hand side of the car. I was sitting in the middle.

"Then he said, 'You sons of bitches get out and get this tire fixed.' I didn't see any tires in back, but we had to obey because he was the sheriff.

"So we went to get out and Shepherd, he takes his foot and put it out of the car and was getting out. I can't say how quick it was, but he shot him.

"It was quick enough, and he turned, the sheriff did, and he had a pistol and he shot him right quick and then right quick he shot me right there (pointing to the right side of his chest). . . He snatched both of us and that threw both of us on the ground.

"Then I didn't say anything. I didn't say nothing. So later he snatched us, he shot me again, in the shoulder, and still I didn't say anything at all, all that time. And I knew I was not dead and I heard him say, 'I got rid of them. I killed the sons of bitches.'

"He ran around the car and called the deputy sheriff on the radio and I heard him say, 'Pull around here right quick. These sons of bitches tried to jump me and I did a damn good job on them.'

"In about 10 minutes the deputy sheriff was there. . . And the deputy he shined the light in my face and he said to the sheriff, 'That son of a bitch is not dead, and then he said, 'Let's kill him.'

"The deputy sheriff then pointed the pistol on me and pulled the trigger — snapped the trigger — and the gun did not shoot.

"So he took it around to the car lights and looked in it and shined the light on it and then something they said was about letting it stay cocked.

"So he turned it on me again and pulled it and that time it fired. It went through me here (indicating flesh of neck) and then I began to bleed out of my mouth and nose. . .

"I managed to pull through O.K. because I did not say anything and did not let them know I was not dead.

"And some people came, there was lots of people there. . . I heard some remarks that, 'He ought to have been dead a long time ago.'

The arrival of witnesses saved Irvin's life. But his testimony was completely ignored by the authorities. They did not even try to check the three bullets that struck Irvin to find out if they came from the same pistol, or to determine if there was anything defective about the pistol that fired the last shot. All that interested them was absolving McCall of his crime as fast as possible.

Here then is sensation Number One of the Eisenhower affair. It reveals at a glance to the whole country the hoax of the two party system. It shows that those who know this better than anyone else are the politicians of the parties themselves. The political wheel-horses calculate that their parties are so discredited in the eyes of the people — a fact that has been concealed up to now by the absence of a labor party — that a glamorous unknown without a program but speaking vaguely about the "higher interests of the nation" and of America's "world responsibilities" would be swept into office with a landslide victory.

THE REAL ISSUE There is an even more important reason for the Eisenhower nightmare in political circles. It is the issue his candidacy would raise. It would be a real one, the real and grim one that the American people ever faced: the issue of war. The anti-Eisenhower candidate could conceivably dodge the question — although it would be no easy matter — but could not keep people from rallying in bitter, determined opposition and hatred.

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### Negro Looked at Girl; Charge: Rape

The monstrous conviction of Max Ingram, North Carolina Negro tenant farmer, of "attempted assault" on a woman from a distance of 75 feet last June now has an equally grotesque sequel. White supremacists, incensed at Ingram for appealing the frame-up, added a new indictment of "assault with intent to rape" carrying a sentence of 1 to 15 years.

Ingram, who was sentenced to two years solely on the strength of the testimony of a white girl that he "looked at her peculiarly" is the father of nine children, and a little better off than the average Negro tenant farmer since he owns his own tools and thus gets more of the crop. Better-off Negro tenants are resented by the Southern white farm bosses.

# GI's in Korea Angered By U.S. Cease-Fire Stall

Lynch-Law in Florida



## Want War Stopped Now; Ask Why Brass Add New Terms

By Harry Frankel

U.S. troops in Korea are becoming angry. They are convinced the Pentagon is deliberately holding up a cease-fire in Korea. The soldiers are asking: Why don't the brass hats want a cease-fire now?

It seems that every time the Chinese and Korean negotiators agree to U.S. demands and make an armistice possible, the U.S. brass kills that possibility by adding new demands. The troops are asking: "Why?"

This information is contained in a special dispatch to the N. Y. Times by George Barrett, front-line Korea correspondent, printed on Nov. 12.

The dispatch begins: "Recent developments in the negotiations . . . have convinced some troops on the fighting front that their own commanders, for reasons unknown to the troops, are throwing up blocks against an agreement." At the same time, the dispatch continues, the Chinese-Korean negotiators are being pictured by some "confused" soldiers in the role of peace-seekers.

### WHY NOT NOW?

The Times correspondent got this opinion from actual discussions among front-line troops. He says: "In a visit last week to three major United States units and two smaller outfits on the front, this correspondent sat in on several 'bull sessions.' In most of them, ranging from a generals' mess to a roadside troop squabble, the same question usually came up: 'Why don't we want a cease-fire now?'"

This suspicion of U.S. intentions in the cease-fire talks appears to be increasing among U.S. troops, and for good reasons. The correspondent continues: "The unadvised way that an apparently increasing number of them see the situation right now is that the Communists have made important concessions, while the United Nations Command, as they view it, continues to make more and more demands. . . the United Nations truce team has created the impression that it switches its stand whenever the Communists indicate they might go along with it."

The Times correspondent then goes on to blame the growing suspicion among the soldiers upon the U.S. information policies, which have restricted news on the talks so that "the Communist versions of the meetings and proposals often have been the only versions available." This is a feeble excuse, as is shown by the fact that the suspicion of U.S. motives is widespread particularly among

### 1,712 More

American troops, impatient and resentful at the stalling of U.S. brass at the Panmunjom conference table, have good reason to desire the ending of the war. The Defense Department, in reporting another week's Korea casualty figures, lists 1,712 more American boys killed, wounded, or missing in action, bringing the total thus far in the "police action" to 99,226.

End the slaughter! Bring the troops home now!

those who are the best informed on what is happening at Panmunjom.

The Tokyo correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, for example, says: "It seems apparent, however, that the Communists have agreed to almost everything the UN originally requested in connection with a cease-fire line. . . To some newsman here, consequently, it seems that when the Communists agreed to the original allied demands, the Allies then boosted their demand. . . What can be gained by such tactics — other than a delay in an armistice settlement — is not clear."

### END THE WAR!

What is clear, is that the American troops in Korea want to go home. They have no cause to fight. They see no reason for continuing the slaughter. Every poll of opinion in this country reinforces the attitude of the soldiers in Korea: End the Korean war now! Bring the boys back home!

## Opposition Stays Solid as Dockers Return to Work

By Frank Faber

NEW YORK — The longest dock strike in New York history ended last Friday when rebel longshoremen voted to return to work after keeping the port tied up for 25 days. The men voted to go back in a body, with their strike-built organization intact, confident they had gained a victory in the long struggle to rid the waterfront of the parasites and gangsters led by "King" Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the AFL, International Longshoremen's Association.

They had forced Ryan to bow to an investigation by a State Fact-finding Board set up to probe the Ryan dictatorship and waterfront gangsterism. The men returned after the Board had promised to conduct an inquiry into waterfront conditions and to review the demands of the rebels that the union contract negotiated by Ryan be reopened.

### MADE RYAN CRINGE

Strike leader John Dwyer, addressing the mass meeting that voted to end the strike, declared: "We've won 100 percent by seeing Joe Ryan cringe." One of the longshoremen summed up the attitude of the rebels when he said: "We've gotten an organizational start, stirred up this old cesspool they call our union, and started a ferment that will eventually blow the lid off the whole rotten mess."

There is a new spirit on the New York waterfront today. Men cherish their picket cards as a badge of honor. They went back determined to build for the future. And this bodes no good for Ryan and his gang.

## SWP \$18,000 Fund Drive Aims at 1952 Campaign

By M. Stein

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party decided unanimously at its Plenary meeting in New York, Sept. 1-3, to enter its own presidential ticket in the 1952 election. This decision means that the socialist peace program will be counterposed to the bi-partisan war program, that the witch-hunt will be challenged by outstanding socialist spokesmen. For the adherents of the Socialist Workers Party this decision will also entail much arduous work in placing the party on the ballot in various states despite all the electoral laws rigged against minority parties. But we know it will be done willingly because of the overriding need to challenge the ruinous course of American capitalism in the coming election.

In preparation for the election campaign, the SWP National Committee decided unanimously to launch a three-month \$18,000 fund campaign which began October 15. This fund will provide for the functioning of the party and the regular appearance of the press for the year 1952. It

will clear the decks for the presidential campaign and whatever special funds may have to be raised for that purpose.

The party's presidential campaign will depend in large measure on the successful completion of the \$18,000 fund campaign. We are fully aware of the difficulties we face. The workers to whom we are appealing for funds are squeezed hard from two sides — by exorbitant taxes and skyrocketing prices. But we count on the devotion of our members and friends to make the fund campaign a success because we know they fully appreciate its political necessity.

### TEST FOR SOCIALISTS

The National Committee decision to enter a presidential ticket in 1952 and to launch the \$18,000 Organization and Press Fund campaign have the same essential motivation — to build a movement of resistance against capitalist reaction. The more powerful this reaction, the more sacrifice is required to build resistance to it. It is in times like these that the ability of

socialists to resist reaction is put to the test. The response to the \$18,000 Organization and Press Fund campaign is one of these tests.

### TWO MONTHS TO GO

The first scoreboard compiled on the basis of receipts through Nov. 12 (see Page 2) shows payments totaling \$3,641, or 20% of the total amount assigned for the three-month campaign. In other words, one-fifth of the fund has been collected in a little less than one-third the time. This means that party branches which have made a slow start will have to exert themselves more in the remaining two months of the campaign.

That the campaign can be a success is indicated by the fact that some branches are ahead of schedule. Newark and Akron are even past the half-way mark. The scoreboard compiled on the basis of receipts through Nov. 12 indicates that the campaign is under way in earnest. We are confident that the branches which are lagging behind will catch up in the coming weeks.

## Wage Board Blocks 10,000 Pay Cases

By Cy Thomas

Ten thousand wage cases lie buried in Truman's graveyard of grievances. That is the figure given by Joseph Beirne, labor representative on the Wage Stabilization Board, in a speech last week before the CIO convention dealing with the "backlog" of cases now before the Board.

With new cases piling up each day, Beirne charged that every effort made by the labor members of the Board to speed WSB procedure has been stymied by those who take a "keen delight in dragging their feet so that months and months go by and no relief is given to the workers whose cases are before us."

### THE CIO RESOLUTION

The CIO resolution on "Wage Stabilization and Equality of Sacrifice," adopted unanimously by the convention, complains that the WSB "has insisted upon the endless submission of applications

for approval of benefits commonly enjoyed. It has piled mountains of rules, regulations and complicated bureaucratic procedures upon American collective bargaining."

There is method to their madness! These stalling tactics were perfected by Roosevelt's "stabilization" experts during World War II to "hold-the-line" against labor's attempts to crack the wage-freezing Little Steel formula.

### THE SLOW DOWN

Professor John P. Dunlop, a labor relations authority and now public member of the WSB, summed up the "stabilization" technique in an article published in the U.S. Department of Labor Bulletin, titled "Problems and Policies of Dispute Settlement and Wage Stabilization During World War II." In outlining the tactics employed, Prof. Dunlop says:

"One of the principal objectives of stabilization is to slow down

the rate of change. This involved the skillful use of delay. . . The use of delay as a stabilization technique is a subtle process requiring the most skillful administrator. The series of steps by which decision on the request to change the Little Steel formula was prolonged played a significant role in the wartime wage stabilization program. . . A good deal of stabilization was delay, or more accurately, simply slow motion."

In case the labor leaders don't know it, they are now getting another dose of the "slow-motion" treatment. The whole wage stabilization program is designed to cripple labor's efforts to keep up with the rising cost of living.

Like the rest of Truman's "stabilizers," Nathan P. Feinsinger, chairman of the WSB, was a guest speaker at the CIO convention. He was there to convince the delegates that the unions still enjoy "free" collective bargaining. Of course, he con-

fessed, "it seems peculiar to say to labor and management, as Congress has said: 'Go ahead and bargain collectively. Strikes are still lawful. But after you've agreed on a wage increase, maybe the government will let you put it into effect, and maybe it won't.' It certainly is 'rather peculiar'; in fact, it's a downright fraud!"

### THE DOUBLE SHOT

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union, also a labor member of the WSB, described how "free" collective bargaining works under Truman's stabilization hoax. "You see," said Rieve, "the employer gets two shots against our one. By that I mean that when the worker goes on strike and if that strike is lost the employer defeats the workers, and that is the end of the story. But if the workers go on strike and they win, their victory cannot be enjoyed by them. They must go to the Board and get it approved and there

the employer comes around once again and says that even though he signed the agreement, he signed it during a strike and requests the Board not to approve the agreement because it is inflationary."

And that, my friends, is palmed off as "free" collective bargaining, under the "free" enterprise system, in this, the home of the brave and the land of the freeze — wages, that is.

Pressure is mounting on the labor leaders. The WSB was scorched by searing blasts of convention oratory. But CIO policy is to stick with the Board and concentrate on breaking through the present wage-freezing formula. If the CIO succeeds in forcing an upward revision in the WSB formula, it is a foregone conclusion that higher prices will follow and the merry-go-round will continue unless labor breaks completely with the "slow-motion" Wage Stabilization Board.

## THE EISENHOWER BOOM AND THIRD WORLD WAR

By George Clarke

The tempest in a teacup stirred up over Eisenhower's recent mysterious visit with Truman provided material for a lot of sensational newspaper headlines. Yet the newspapers scarcely appreciate

how sensational is the question of whether or not the generalissimo of the allied counter-revolutionary armies will run for President of the United States in the 1952 elections. In any case, they did not disclose its real significance to their readers. Let us take up where they left off.

The Eisenhower "boom" has sent shivers down the spines of the politicians of both major parties. On the face of it, it seems a curious thing. Why should they be worried about competition from a man who has been a professional soldier all his life, with no publicly known political record, with no party machine built up over the years to back him up? Yet, it is apparent that Eisenhower could have either the Republican or the Democratic nomination just for the asking.

The important politicians of both parties are still against him as a candidate but they are convinced that no one could defeat him for the nomination if he threw his hat in the ring and that he would be a sure winner in the Presidential race itself. In fact it is not unlikely that there would be no major opposition to Eisenhower if he ran; he would be the candidate of both parties.

Here then is sensation Number One of the Eisenhower affair. It reveals at a glance to the whole country the hoax of the two party system. It shows that those who know this better than anyone else are the politicians of the parties themselves. The political wheel-horses calculate that their parties are so discredited in the eyes of the people — a fact that has been concealed up to now by the absence of a labor party — that a glamorous unknown without a program but speaking vaguely about the "higher interests of the nation" and of America's "world responsibilities" would be swept into office with a landslide victory.

### THE REAL ISSUE

There is an even more important reason for the Eisenhower nightmare in political circles. It is the issue his candidacy would raise. It would be a real one, the real and grim one that the American people ever faced: the issue of war. The anti-Eisenhower candidate could conceivably dodge the question — although it would be no easy matter — but could not keep people from rallying in bitter, determined opposition and hatred.

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# Notebook of an Agitator

## CHURCH AND STATE

It's a fairly safe bet that President Truman didn't know exactly what he was doing when he announced his decision to send a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, nominating General Mark W. Clark to the post. Inhibited by training and constitutional disposition from seeing anything more important or farther in the future than the next election, he probably thought he was just firing off a cap pistol to attract the Catholic vote in 1952. He didn't know it was loaded.

But the recoil of the gun and the noise of the explosion leave no doubt about it. The shot heard 'round the country has had results undreamt of in the philosophy of the Pendergastian politico in the White House. A bitter controversy, long smoldering, has burst into a flame that brings both heat and light into American politics. Sides are being chosen for a fight. In my opinion, it's a good fight worth joining in.

### The First Amendment

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." So reads the first clause of the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution, adopted under the pressure of the people to protect their rights and freedoms. The meaning of this constitutional provision is quite clear to all who have no special interest in muddling it. It is the doctrine of "the separation of church and state."

It means that all religions must operate on their own; that no church is entitled to a privileged position as far as the state is concerned, and has no right to financial support from public funds. Congress is specifically enjoined from "making any law" which infringes this principle. That is how the people of this country have understood the first article of the Bill of Rights; and that is how the highest courts have interpreted it up to now.

All religions claim to operate under the sanction of the Almighty; and with this unlimited power on their side they should have no need of material reinforcement from human institutions such as the state in their business of saving souls. The authors of the first amendment, however, clearly indicated that the people could not trust any church to limit itself to spiritual pursuits and rely entirely on supernatural favor. They all had to be restrained by constitutional fiat from seeking mundane advantages at the expense of rival claimants to the divine certificate of authority. Hence the amendment requiring the separation of church and state.

### Must Resist Encroachment

This doctrine has been subject to persistent encroachment in recent years by the one religious institution in this country which doesn't believe a word of it. The Roman Catholic Church, here and now as everywhere and always, wants temporal as well as spiritual power. They claim the exclusive reservation of all places in heaven, but they want the real estate and money of this world too. By various devices and subterfuges they have been trying, with unwavering persistence and increasing boldness, to get into a preferred position to regulate public morals by police methods and to dip into public funds to support their religious schools.

Their campaign for special privileges has received a tremendous impetus from the president's decision. The constitutional doctrine of the separation of church and state is directly under attack in this proposal. Some protest by the Protestant clergy was no doubt expected by Truman and his advisors. But the unanimity, the fervor, and even the fury of this Protestant counter-attack has upset the apple cart. Frozen with fear over the political implications of the

Catholic aggression and the Protestant uproar, Congress adjourned without acting on the appointment of General Clark as America's ambassador to the Pope. The issue remains in doubt as the controversy rages from one end of the country to the other.

In some respects the conflict has the aspects of a religious war which can have profound consequences for good and evil. But it is more than that. All the people of this country, who cherish the freedoms they have inherited have a stake in the controversy. The leadership of this fight belongs by right to the labor movement, for the trade unions cannot live and breathe without freedom from the control of both church and state. They will not escape eventual involvement, although the entire leadership is trying to evade the issue in craven silence. The simple truth is this: The labor skates are afraid of the Catholic Church, whose cardinals and bishops are already reaching out for control of the unions. Woe to the American labor movement if they succeed!

### Opium of the People

We Marxists are by definition alien and hostile to each and every form of religious superstition. We believe with Marx that religion is the opium of the people; and we are not Marxists, not genuine socialists, if we do not say so openly, regardless of whether our opinion is popular or not. Our business is not to save souls for another world, but to tell the truth about this one. What then, have revolutionary socialists to do with this controversy between the churches? Plenty.

The U.S. Constitution in some of its sections sanctifies private property in the means of production. This must be abolished for the good and welfare of the people, and the future Workers' Government will make the necessary constitutional changes. But in my opinion, one part of the present Constitution will stand; that is the first ten amendments (the Bill of Rights) in general, and the first amendment in particular. The revolutionary people will have no reason to strike out or alter that. On the contrary, believing in and needing democracy and freedom, they will treasure it and guard it.

The first amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious. It seems to me not accidental at all that the authors of the amendment linked freedom of worship with free speech and free press in the same sentence. Thereby they clearly indicated that religion is to be considered a matter of opinion in which each individual is free to choose, and by no means a revelation binding upon everybody. Moreover, "freedom of worship" implies also freedom of non-worship. That's the freedom I am exercising and I would surely hate to lose it.

### Side of the Angels

Under this interpretation of the first amendment, free thinkers and atheists, heathens and public sinners, who are very numerous in this country, have had a chance to breathe and spread enlightenment without fear of the dungeon and the rack. The first amendment has been a protecting shield for the Children of Light and has enabled them to make their great contributions to literature, art and science. A breach in this provision of the Constitution, leading to its eventual repeal, would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world.

The Protestant clergymen are "on the side of the angels" in this dispute, and all friends of enlightenment and progress owe them unstinting support.

— J. P. C.

## CIO Cold to Wage Freeze



CIO coldness to the wage freeze is reflected in President Philip Murray's aloof expression as Office of Price Stabilization director Michael V. DiSalle (left) chats with Manly Fleischmann, administrator of the National Production Authority, at the national CIO Convention in New York.

## FORD LOCAL 600 URGES FIGHT ON AUTO LAYOFFS

DETROIT, Nov. 11 — Several thousand members of UAW Ford Local 600 roared approval at a mass meeting here when President Carl Stellato called on Walter Reuther

to join in a common struggle to solve the growing problem of unemployment in the auto industry. Conservative estimates place the number of unemployed auto workers at 150,000 within the next several months.

Stellato pointed out that "crystal ball gazers" like C. E. Wilson and Reuther have been predicting labor shortages for

over a year, but that these predictions are of little comfort to workers walking the streets. He urged Reuther to stop his attacks on Local 600, and instead of looking for solutions to the manufacturers' problems, to join in a united fight for \$60 weekly unemployment compensation.

The unemployment problem is especially sharp at the Ford Rouge plant, where over 20,000 have been laid off in the last year, Stellato said. This is partly due to the runaway shop policy by which Ford is, in practice, using taxpayers' funds to build new plants in low wage areas. Stellato said that the international union, which has offered little cooperation up to now, should join with Local 600 in filing suit in court to stop the movement of jobs from the Rouge. If this move were to fail, he urged strike action by all Ford plants.

### THE SPEEDUP

Another and more fundamental factor affecting employment cited by Stellato is "the terrific speedup brought about by the introduction of technological improvements, new production methods, processes and machines." Stellato, advocating the 30-hour week with 40-hour pay as the answer to technological unemployment, blasted the labor leaders who were elected as favoring a 30-hour week but who opposed it as "unrealistic" as soon as they got into office.

The audience hooted and laughed as Stellato called attention to Reuther's statement that the 30-hour week would be useful only after the workers had all the things they needed.

Local 600 went on record in favor of a resolution for a 30-hour week with 40-hour pay which was presented to the national CIO Convention by the CIO Woodworkers last week.

Next meeting in this series on current national and international problems will be held at 8:00 P.M. Friday, November 23, with Dorothy Schultz speaking on "The Road to Peace." Meetings are held in SWP state headquarters at 10 S. 4th Street, Minneapolis.

## Coroner's Jury Clears Murderer

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were convicted, the heaviest punishment they would face under the federal civil rights law would be one year in jail!

"The FBI does not hesitate to be 'flexible' about the law when it comes to wiretapping, mail-opening, arrests without warrant, and so on. But it always pleads 'lack of jurisdiction' when it comes to punishing mob terror and lynch violence. Not only Florida 'justice,' but federal law too, is rigged in favor of the Negro people's enemies.

### NEED MASS ACTION

If Truman and the Department of Justice really wanted to get into this case to crack down on the anti-Negro terrorists, they could find plenty of laws and precedents to do so. But they plainly don't want to. That is why the labor, liberal and Negro movements must get into the case themselves and exert their pressure to end the violence against the Negro people and the Jim Crow system that breeds that violence.

### Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on **The Future of American Capitalism**

Speaker: **Michael Bartell**

Fri., Nov. 23, at 8:30 at 423 Springfield Avenue

# Sailor Fights Expulsion From SUP; Hits Scabbing

By Carl Swanson

SEATTLE — The trial of John Mahoney for reinstatement in the Sailors Union of the Pacific moved through its second week with the plaintiff, Mahoney, resting and the SUP beginning their case.

The Mahoney Court case comes as an aftermath of his illegal expulsion from the union for questioning the policy of the scabby Lundeberg leadership in breaking the Canadian Seamen's Union strike in 1949.

Witnesses for Mahoney included Ketchell, Kollentz, Paff, Bayspool, Maloney and Joe Matson, all supporters of the democratic rights of John Mahoney, and all except Matson expelled for their support. They testified on various phases in the fight for democratic unionism against the Lundeberg dictatorship.

The high light of the case was

the testimony of Joe Matson. He testified that he had been a member of the union since 1910. That after San Francisco, headquarters of the union, took action against the Seattle branch for its support of Mahoney, he became chairman of the Seattle branch Emergency Committee. He was ordered down to San Francisco to stand trial for his actions. There they fined him \$500 and placed him on ten year probation.

Judge McDonald, who was busy taking notes, sat straight up in his chair and shouted: "What did you say?" When Matson repeated his statement the judge asked him how old he was. When Matson told him 67, the judge, a man around the same age, seemed visibly shaken.

The Sailors Union is attempting to show that Mahoney's question, "Who gave the pie-cards the right to order men through the Canadian Seaman's Union picket line?" was a provocative question. That Mahoney was in conspiracy with outside forces against the SUP. That over a period of years, Mahoney had opposed the official policy of the SUP.

Tanner, the SUP attorney,

made a fantastic remark. If John Mahoney, he said, had asked his question in a bar instead of a union meeting, he would not have been placed on charges. This remark can only be interpreted to mean that if you have disagreements on questions of union policy the proper place to ask such questions is not in the union hall but in some saloon. Policy making, according to the union bureaucrats, is the monopoly right of the Lundeberg clique.

The defense introduced The Defender, the paper put out by the Seattle branch after Mahoney's expulsion. They tried to use the articles of that paper to prove that Mahoney and his supporters were against the union.

However, the defense witnesses, Tillman, Coester, Johnson, Weisbarth are all pie-cards, ex-pie-cards or would-be pie-cards and are a confirmation of the article in The Defender, called The Machine, which described the type of bureaucrats, who comprise the Lundeberg machine.

A victory for John Mahoney will be a victory against not only the Lundeberg clique, but also against all labor dictatorships.

## L. A. City Council Witch Hunters 'Probe' Art Show

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES — Reminiscent of the book-burning days of Hitler, and amid charges of "red" influence, the City Council of Los Angeles opened an investigation of the city-financed art exhibition in the Greek Theater on October 23. They based the need for an investigation on letters which were said to have been sent in by many people.

As evidence of "communist infiltration" the charge was made that artists in the traditional classification "had been frozen out" and all the prizes given to the exponents of modern art, and that the whole thing had a general smattering of radicalism.

At a hearing held in the Council Chambers, testimony of many specialists in the field was unanimously of the opinion that the Municipal Art Commission had done its best to present a representative exhibition and to have the prizes awarded by an impartial jury.

This testimony, however, did not deter many councilmen from passing judgment on works of art, although it was obvious they did not know what they were talking about.

"One prize-winning exhibit even boldly displayed a hammer and sickle," declared Council President Harold Henry. He was considerably chagrined when informed that what appeared to be a hammer and sickle painted on the sail of a boat in one of the oil paintings was actually the insignia of a certain type of sail boat.

The religious scruples of another councilman were apparently offended. Describing a modernistic piece of sculpture (which was supposed to represent the crucifixion) as being sacrilegious and looking like a sick frog, he said to the mayor: "You're a Christian man, you can't defend this kind of thing." The mayor agreed that he did not like it, but remembering that he was not elected to office because of his opinions on art said, "I wouldn't have picked it, but I wouldn't deny the right of the jury to make such a selection."

When Stalin began to make a mockery of art in the Soviet Union by telling people what to write, how to paint and what kind of music to compose, the capitalist press in the United States assumed an air of righteous indignation. In contrast to the Soviet Union the United States was pictured as the last refuge of the artist, the one place left in the world where the artist was free to develop his ideas without interference. In this, as in other matters, we cannot escape the conclusion that it's just another case of the pot calling the kettle black.

## \$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 500	\$ 275	55
Akron	150	80	53
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	444	44
Chicago	1,000	411	41
Pittsburgh	50	20	40
Milwaukee	250	98	39
Flint	350	118	34
St. Louis	100	30	30
Connecticut	75	20	27
Youngstown	350	90	26
Los Angeles	2,600	610	23
Seattle	400	82	21
Philadelphia	400	68	15
Buffalo	1,000	135	14
New York	5,000	692	14
Boston	550	63	11
Cleveland	300	32	11
Detroit	1,500	138	9
San Francisco	1,000	45	5
Allentown	75	0	0
Oakland	150	0	0
Toledo	50	0	0
General	1,150	200	17
<b>Total through Nov. 12</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$3,641</b>	<b>20</b>

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Fourteen more renewal subscriptions from Flint this week put them well ahead of all other branches. Literature Agent Fred Perry reports that nearly everyone is out getting Militant renewals. "Our campaign is running along nicely," he writes, "and besides getting subs we're making closer contact with old and new friends. Many of these people will be friendly in our coming presidential election campaign."

New York's renewal work has been delayed by their election campaign, but Literature Agent George Rock says that "now that the campaign is over we are ready to go to work on renewals. Our campaign subs are just beginning to expire and we don't intend to let any grass grow under our feet. Last Sunday Johnny and Jeff sold 38 Militants and five copies of the new pamphlet 'The Road to Peace' at an election forum at the Community Church. On the same day Calvin celebrated his birthday by going out and selling a subscription to The Militant." Sales to students continue to be good, George says.

Milwaukee Literature Agent Bill Crane sent in four renewals this week. "As yet we are just

doing routine work," he writes. "Our best is yet to come." New Haven Literature Agent Clara Raymond writes to order extra copies of the Nov. 12 issue of The Militant containing the first article in the Sam Adams series by Harry Frankel. "We want to do some special work with this series, especially on the campus," she writes.

Literature Agent Jane Sebastian sends in some subs gained during San Francisco's recent election campaign. Two subs were sold at their Myra Tanner Weiss meeting. Jane reports an enthusiastic response to The Militant on the part of a new reader who attended the meeting and expressed his appreciation of the accurate information and lucid reporting of The Militant to a friend. "You've just got to read this paper. You're just blind before you read The Militant."

Helen S., Acting Literature Agent for Minneapolis, sends in a sub for the Deephaven Junior Class. The class wants The Militant as a source of information on current events and to help them in an "approach to the understanding of world and national problems."

H. C. sends in an order for extra copies of the Oct. 22 issue of The Militant. He writes, "The editorial on an independent labor policy is the best thing I have read in a long time, and I want to give copies to some of my labor picard friends."

# Letters from Readers

## Striking Dockers And 'Weeping Joe'

Editor: The striking East Coast longshoremen know what they want! They have thrust aside the dictates of a corrupt leadership with a surge of unity hitherto unknown in their ranks. They have made known their just demands and flung them in the face of the bosses "over, around, and through" the sell-out deals of "Weeping Joe" Ryan.

They refuse to yield to the wiles of mediation boards, the pressure of police brutality, and the lying accusations of the capitalist press.

"Re-open negotiations for a new contract before going back to work" is their slogan, and they refused to accept any phony compromise.

The Ryan contract calls for the cutting down of men employed in working gangs. Not only would these smaller gangs be expected to complete the same amount of work (another phase of the speed-up system), but

many longshoremen would find themselves out of a job. One worker expressed his resentment of this clause as follows: "I've been out of the army for five years and have gone through two strikes. Now they want to take away what we fought for."

On the strike scene the police are again employing strike-breaking tactics. One anti-labor newspaper praises the "discipline" of the mounted police as they "herd" Ryan's strikebreakers through the picket line. The hardships and deprivations of the strikers are expressed in the quiet words of a young longshoreman, "It's not so hard on me, but it's tough for the guys with a family and two or three kids."

As cargoes pile up and ships lie idle at their berths, the press spews forth its filthy tirade against the strike, and sheds tears of regret for the huge profits being lost by big business.

The strikers have no publication of their own to speak for them but their action speaks volumes to workers everywhere. They are

writing an indelible page in the ledgers of militant working class tradition by fighting for their demands regardless of, in spite of, and in head-on conflict with, a corrupt leadership, the bosses and their capitalist government agents.

Tom Leonard  
New York City

## His Honor the Judge Was Once a Lawyer

Editor: I was amused and felt quite gratified in reading the article entitled A Petition for Harry Gross, written by J. P. C. in The Militant of Oct. 1. The article shows that the crimes of the judge, in his methods of attempting to get a conviction were worse than those of the petty racketeer, Harry Gross, who apparently is taking the rap for those higher up. There are some facts, however, which were omitted from the article, either through oversight, or lack of acquaintance with the background.

Judge Leibowitz does not come to the public in his regal robes of Justice with clean hands. Before he became a judge, he was a noted criminal lawyer, who pulled out all stops in getting acquittals for his clients. From the bottom to the top of gangland, he was known as "the Emancipator" for the underworld. He has an amazing record, and used to boast that he never lost a case. In fact, it has been rumored that he was appointed judge in defense against the racketeers. So we see he is just as able on one side of the fence as on the other. Some day, when these judicial figures can be properly investigated, and their political clubs are no longer there to shield them, the history of His Honor will put into the pale all the trite mystery novels of crimedom that are now selling like hotcakes.

Sam Stern  
Los Angeles

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## Egyptians Urge British Boycott



Carrying banners demanding boycotting of British goods, Egyptians hold demonstration in Cairo streets. Recalling that several of their countrymen were shot down by British soldiers, the paraders announce that each piaster spent on British goods is "a bullet in the heart of an Egyptian."

## THE EISENHOWER BOOM AND THIRD WORLD WAR

(Continued from page 1)

(Cont. from page 1)

of the war party and its Prussian standard-bearer.

That would be contrary to the whole tradition and purpose of the two-party system which is designed to keep the real questions — the questions that are decisive for the money interests on the one side and the working people on the other — away from the electorate; or to present them in such a way as to avoid the danger of the country being divided into two hostile class camps. This is especially the case with the question of war, the great tabu of American politics where the major parties are concerned.

It is one thing for Taft to appear to be challenging the "useless" war in Korea and the European arms aid program — especially if he makes it clear that the administration's "crime" is being "concocted" to communism. It is another thing to oppose Eisenhower. Unlike Truman, he could not cloud the question with fervent declarations for peace and meaningless gestures to the Kremlin. No one would believe him. He would be the un-

future. And with this huge army at its command and billions of dollars that can tip the economic scales in favor of prosperity or depression, the Pentagon has become a government within a government, more and more the real power in Washington.

Congressmen can still spout off — but it is the Pentagon which decides. Is it any wonder then that the proposal for a General to be the bi-partisan candidate in 1952 is not considered extraordinary, shocking and outrageous?

### THE POLITICIANS' PROBLEM

Strange as it may seem, the one thing that stands in the way today of the Man on the White Horse becoming President is the self-interest and special interests of the politicians of both parties. In reality, a victory for the man "above the parties" is a victory for none of the parties. Elected precisely because he is above party politics, Eisenhower would not be obligated to the party machine and all its hangers-on looking for the plums of office.

The Republicans, particularly those following Taft, who are still the majority in the party, are very conscious of this problem. They have been out of power for 20 years and now for the first time see the possibility of getting back in again. They are hungry for the pork barrel, for the patronage, jobs and spoils that come with the Presidency and they are not enchanted by the prospect of a "victory" for the party emblem but a defeat for the party politicians. But their power to stop an Eisenhower candidacy, since they would not dare mobilize the people on an anti-militarist, anti-war program, is decidedly limited.

The real decision — so long as there is no great mass anti-war movement — rests not with them but with the Big Money which owns both parties body and soul. If the Big Banks, the Big Monopolies, the Big Interests come to the conclusion that they need the General in the White House, then they will scatter the party politicians like chaff before the wind.

That's what happened in 1940. Wall Street was hell-bent to get into World War II. But they knew that the mood of the people was against it and that the Republican candidate against Roosevelt would yield to the temptation to demagogically capitalize on this anti-war sentiment as a good vote-catching device.

Wall Street didn't hesitate a moment. Their general staff, headed by Thomas Lamont, one of the heads of J. P. Morgan, Inc., barged into the Republican convention in Philadelphia and dictated the nomination of Wendell Willkie, a dark horse with no political past, no former association with the GOP but a sure-fire advance guarantee that there would be no campaign in opposition to Roosevelt's plot to drag the country into war.

### THE REAL POWER

Yet the very fact that there is a real danger of an Eisenhower candidacy constitutes the real sensation of the day. In America people were brought up in an anti-militarist tradition. No important military figure has dared to present himself for the highest office in the land since the time of Ulysses S. Grant. All the efforts to start a Presidential push for General "Blackjack" Pershing, "hero" of World War I, were stillborn.

In the last few years, particularly since the end of World War II and the eruption of the "cold war," militarism has been rising as a formidable power, imperceptibly, unceasingly trampling down the most precious of our democratic traditions. For the first time in our history there is a standing army of millions of men in peace time and permanent conscription. The national budget now devotes its biggest portion to wars — past, present and

# Arms Program Plunges Britain, France Into Economic Disaster

By John G. Wright

The economic consequences of the arms program imposed by the U.S. upon Western Europe have made themselves felt, with disastrous force, even before this program has gone fully into effect. Britain and France have been the hardest hit thus far. On Nov. 7 the Chancellor of the Exchequer Churchill's new Tory government told the House of Commons that Britain was facing "the danger of national bankruptcy." Unless some way out is found quickly, "we shall, in fact, be bankrupt, idle and hungry," he said.

Every feature of this unfolded crisis has been cited by Churchill and his Ministers except its primary cause — Britain's arms program which calls for expenditures of four and a half billion dollars annually for the next three years. There will be no reduction in rearmaments. All the cuts are to be made instead at the expense of the food, clothing and shelter of the British people.

National bankruptcy, hunger and unemployment are not merely "threats," as the Tories pretend. The grim fact is that capitalist Britain is already bankrupt and the only hope the Tories have is that the American imperialists will bail them out by extending new huge loans and grants. The British people face the coldest and hungriest winter on record, worse even than during the darkest months of the last war.

That the British people will eat much less than they ever have, is assured by the very first measure of the Tory government which ordered an immediate slash of imports to the tune of one billion dollars. Of this sum, almost \$400 million cover imports of food. This amounts to one-quarter of Britain's total food supply and a proportionate reduction in the food rations. What a savage blow at the already meager diet of the British workers and the middle class!

### THIRD OF SERIES

The bulk of the remainder in the import slash covers raw materials for industry and it is this that brings the threat of unemployment very close indeed.

As for the cold winter, this has been assured by the order of the Tory government limiting domestic coal supply to little more than 10 pounds a day per family for the winter months.

The current crisis is the third in the series that erupted in Britain in the postwar period, being preceded by the one in 1947, "solved" by the multi-billion U.S. loan and grants, and by the one in 1949, "solved" by the devaluation of the pound.

Unlike the previous two crises, the current one has caught the

## Shocked Mikado Hears Students Sing 'Internat'

In a precedent-shattering demonstration, Japanese students flouted the reactionary "sacred" traditions of the Japanese monarchy by singing the "International" anthem of communist revolt, in front of Emperor Hirohito. Three thousand students, demonstrating against remilitarization of Japan, forced the Emperor to retire into a university building during the militant Kyoto mass rally.

The students were angered by the treaty which was forced upon the Japanese by U.S. militarists. This pact prepares the way for the remilitarization of Japan in order to make that country a military base for anti-Chinese and anti-Soviet assault in the Far East.

### SING INTERNATIONAL

Prior to the demonstration, the students had submitted this question to the Emperor: "Will you, as Emperor of Japan, which has renounced war, resist rearming if and when it is forced upon us?" When Kyoto University President Shunjiro Hattori refused to submit this question to the Emperor, the students surrounded his limousine and sang the revolutionary anthem.

The students smashed windows on police cars, and later in the day, reassembled to protest against the action of the University officials in allowing police to enter the university grounds.

capitalists both in Britain and abroad by surprise. Up to the turn of this year, British gold and dollar reserves had been growing. The original British economic survey envisaged a trade deficit of not more than \$280 million in 1951. Actually, it has turned out nine to ten times as large.

When the trade deficit soared in the third quarter of this year, it was confidently predicted that the rise was entirely due to "temporary causes" and that the end of the year would bring improvements. Instead the situation sharply turned for the worse. In the month of October alone the British reserves dropped by one-third of a billion dollars because of the growing trade deficit. The loss of gold and dollar reserves in the previous three months amounted to \$598 million, the largest on record.

### LARGE TRADE DEFICIT

The suddenness and steepness of this decline would be grave enough by itself, but it is accompanied by several other new features. Among these new developments is this, that Britain's trade deficit is no longer confined to the dollar or "hard currency" trade.

There is now a large trade deficit with Western Europe from which a considerable part of British food and raw material imports have come. Previously Britain had boasted of a trade surplus with this area.

Even with the "sterling area countries," that is, those within the Empire pool, Britain's liabilities, which were previously being reduced, have again been rising. Last June these liabilities in free sterling funds held on foreign accounts in London passed the \$12 billion mark, a new peak.

Gravest of all in this connection is the fact that the gold and dollar reserves of the whole sterling bloc have been dwindling. For example, Malaya, the largest single supplier of dollar balances shows this year no dollar balance whatever owing to the suspension of American buying of Malayan tin and rubber.

In addition, the countries of the sterling bloc, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and even Australia have been building up their own gold and dollar reserves, instead of leaving them in London. The flight of capital from the pound has already reached alarming proportions.

Several subsidiary factors aggravate Britain's fiscal difficulties, such as the maturing of the loan repayments to the U.S. of which the first installment of \$175 million has fallen due; the loss of Iranian oil estimated to have cost to date over \$300 million; plus the costs of maintaining the large army in the Suez zone of Egypt, etc.

But the greatest single factor operating to undermine British economy beyond repair is the burden of rearmament. It was the accumulation of "strategic stock-

piles" for the arms program that has shaken the tottering British economy to its foundations. The extra cost of these war materials, which have been bought at top prices since Korea, is officially estimated at not less than a billion dollars; the actual costs have been unquestionably far higher.

In any case, the cost of rearming accounts for the bulk of Britain's current trade deficit, as they must continue in the future.

### FRENCH ECONOMY HIT

France has felt even more sharply the effects of the arms program and the inflationary chain reaction connected with it. The French people have already been told that France must proportionately make even more drastic cuts in imports than Britain. The French trade deficit is more acute than Britain's and her gold and dollar reserves are sinking even faster. It is only a question of time before the rest of the Western European countries become engulfed by this crisis.

An unforeseen situation has been created, in the first instance for American imperialism which is suddenly confronted with a collapsing Western European economy amid the unrestrained drive for rearmament. To the prohibitive costs of arming have now been added the almost equally prohibitive costs of trying to re-stabilize bankrupt European capitalism.

## Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 2

### THE YOUNG SAM ADAMS

By Harry Frankel



These articles analyzing the political forces in the first American Revolution are presented to give the true picture of the birth of our nation, and to stimulate interest in Marxist interpretation of American history. The Militant will welcome letters from readers discussing this topic.

Sam Adams was born in Boston, on Sept. 22, 1722. His father, a prosperous brewer, was also a part time politician who was active in opposition to the crown government of Massachusetts.

Adams was sent to Harvard, the oldest colonial institution of higher learning. He studied law and religion, but was satisfied with neither and was graduated from college without any settled profession.

While Adams was at college, his father lost a good portion of his money in the crash of 1741, caused by the action of the British colonial administration illegalizing the Land Bank, a company which issued currency with land as its sole security.

Many historians have jumped at the conclusion that this action of the British, which compelled young Sam Adams to wait on tables at Harvard in order to finish his schooling, made a revolutionist out of him. This is reminiscent of the story that Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution, became a revolutionist because his brother was hanged by the Czar's government.

In actuality, Sam Adams, like Lenin, was a product of his whole environment. Adams, like the later revolutionist, Lenin, possessed a well balanced mentality and would not permit one single event to determine the whole course of his life.

### The Caucus Club

Adams' father was a leading oppositionist, who was removed from his seat in the General Court (Massachusetts legislature) for his battles in defense of colonial rights. He was, in addition, a founder of the Caucus Club, an opposition center important in the future work of his son. The Caucus Club was a political organization, primarily of workmen. It is said that its name comes from the shipyard trade of caulking, so that the modern word "caucus" is a corruption of "caulkers."

Later, at Harvard, Adams studied the so-called "natural rights philosophers," Locke, Sydney, Harrington, Pufendorf. These were the theorists whose ideas of "natural right" and justice had been used to justify the English Revolution of the 17th Century. It was becoming increasingly common to apply these same theories to American rights.

In general, the whole colonial atmosphere, particularly in Boston, was one of increasing opposition to Britain, at the time when Adams was a young man.

Moreover, Sam Adams had behind him a tradition of more than 100 years of class struggles. The whole previous century had been marked with instances of colonial revolt against the British, through which most of the colonies gained certain rights, such as jurisdiction over purely local affairs, and so on.

These colonial struggles were also class struggles. British rule in America was not just a lid on a pot, which could be removed without disturbing the contents. British rule here depended upon, and therefore encouraged, the oppression of some classes of the population by others. Thus a struggle against Britain had to become also a class struggle.

Before Adams was fully caught up in these struggles, his family tried to equip him with a "respectable" profession. He was first sent to the counting house of Thomas Cushing, merchant, but Cushing soon turned him out, with the remark that he was training young men for busi-

ness, not politics. Years later, Sam Adams was to have trouble with this same merchant's son. He often tried to hammer it into the younger Cushing that he was training young men for politics, not for business.

Adams' father made one more try, this time giving his son a thousand pounds to go into business on his own. Adams loaned the money to a friend who lost it in an unsuccessful venture. After this incident, he started to go his own way.

### Professional Revolutionist

One of his biographers has said of Adams: "He had no private business after the first years of his manhood." And when such a man, with no private business, makes it his public business to oppose the tyranny of a reactionary government and work for its overthrow, we call him a professional revolutionist. That is what Sam Adams was: the first professional revolutionist of American history.

In 1746, at the age of 24, Adams was elected to his first public office: a two year term as one of the clerks of the Boston Market. Later on, in 1753, he was chosen town assessor and scavenger (garbage collector). He held this post until 1756, when he was elected tax collector of his city. This was his job until 1765, when the conflict broke out, and he moved into the "Boston Seat" as one of the four members who made up the representation from the town of Boston.

When Adams left the office of tax collector in 1765, his accounts showed a delinquency of some 7000 pounds. Historians who are anxious to blacken Adams' reputation whisper slyly that Adams was involved in "the worst scandal" attaching to the name of any signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Many efforts were made in Revolutionary times to smear Adams with this charge of larceny. This campaign was never successful in view of Adams' well known character. His reputation for strict personal honesty, and his extreme selflessness and constant poverty make it incredible that he took any money for himself. As he explained, he had never collected these taxes, and the money never passed through his hands. Adams' close personal relations with the very people of Boston from whom he was supposed to collect taxes, and his easy-going ways in the business world must be taken into account, and it is most probable that he was the kind of a tax collector we would all like to deal with. As a matter of fact, the Bostonians didn't want to release him from the job.

Although this has never been charged, it is not impossible that a few shillings were diverted by Adams from the service of the British Raj in America into the revolutionary organizations. If this were the case, wouldn't it be unreasonable for us Americans, who celebrate a Revolution which was won with bloodshed, to balk at the shedding of a few cents?

### Nagging Poverty

We will have more to say later on about the nagging poverty that was with Adams for the greater part of his life. Suffice it to say here that the public offices which he held throughout the Revolutionary period never paid enough in salary to support the household of a father of six children.

Sam Adams was never a self-seeker. He was always to be found in the front line trenches, as he pushed the war against tyranny. He placed his radical principles, in which he had a profound and unshakable conviction, above everything else.

Later, he was to inherit his father's brewery, but he paid it little or no attention, his entire time being occupied with the fight for independence. The business was soon in ruins, but Adams, although penniless, never expressed any regrets over his condition. His wants were few, his baggage light, and his road clear.

(Next Week: The Professional Revolutionist)

## Legal Lynchers

When a Florida sheriff shot down two handcuffed Negro prisoners on Nov. 8, Dr. Channing Tobias, an American Negro, was sitting in Paris as a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. If Tobias had acted as the Negro people wanted him to, he would have taken the floor and used it to denounce this atrocity. But Tobias did nothing of the sort; the only reason Negroes are appointed to the UN delegation is to "prove" that racial prejudice is vanishing in the U.S. and to "disprove" the charges of Jim Crow that the Stalinist delegates invariably use to refute Washington's pretense that it is the champion of democracy.

Later Tobias held a press conference and assured reporters that American Negroes are "making progress toward full equality despite occasional lynchings, discrimination and segregation."

That has become the favorite theme of apologists for the Jim Crow system. "Look," they say, "in the year 1921 there were 64 lynchings, in 1933 there were 28, and since 1940 there have never been more than six per year. Isn't that proof of progress?"

True, the number of "official" lynchings has diminished. But that does not mean that the extent and scope of anti-Negro terrorism and violence has been reduced at all. The form of these crimes has changed, but not the essence or number. Instead of lynch mobs, the Jim Crow system now relies on the police. Close to a hundred Negroes have been deliberately murdered by the police in the single city of Birmingham during the last year — for "resisting arrest," "trying to escape," etc. The columns of The Militant have printed reports of a great many such incidents throughout the country, in New York, and Detroit and Trenton as well as the South. (And where neither lynch mobs nor the police can be conveniently used for this dastardly work, small groups of two or three men do it. The result is listed as a murder and not as a lynching — but the effect, to terrorize the Negro people, is the same.)

This was confirmed on Nov. 10 when the 20 members of the Psychology Department at the City College of New York courageously wrote Truman that the pattern for denying Negroes their constitutional rights had shifted from mob violence "to the more subtle forms of quasi-legal executions or violence at the hands of 'law enforcement' officers." They said the new pattern would give "the aura of official sanction to racial murders" and would expose all the people "to the dangers of a capricious, jungle-like state." They warned that "only the most immediate and strongest action of the federal government can prevent the legal murder of a great many more Negroes in the near future."

That is the plain and honest truth, which is only covered up by stupid prattling about "progress." As the CCNY educators point out, "legal murder" of Negroes on an expanding scale is imminent unless action is undertaken now to stamp it out. But the government will not do anything to stop it unless it is forced to. The American people must make their wishes known on this matter, so firmly and indignantly that the government will not dare to play dumb any longer.

## The Disarmament Hoax

Hypocritical fakery reached a new low in the United Nations with U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson's "disarmament" proposal. The patent insincerity of this "peace" proposal by a government that is pressing headlong for war was made obvious by several facts:

1. The U.S. government virtually admitted that its "peace" plan was a fake, intended only for propaganda purposes, by the many warnings it has given that it intends to take the "peace offensive" away from the Russians.

2. The "disarmament" plan proposes no disarmament, but only a census of armaments.

3. The fake "disarmament" scheme flatly says that disarmament is impossible so long as the present international situation exists. However, Acheson does not make any moves towards giving up the U.S. imperialist aims and attitudes responsible for the international hostility. On the contrary, he shies away from this topic altogether.

4. Washington itself does not take this Acheson proposal seriously, and hardly expects the rest of the world to give it serious consideration. For instance, James Reston, New York Times Washington columnist, says: Vishinsky "accused the Western Allies of hypocrisy, and if the truth is to be reported, there are a lot of people around here who believe there is some justification for the charge... the practical purpose of those proposals was, not to end the 'cold war,' as the Allies proclaimed, but to wage the 'cold war' more effectively... Western Europe has been alarmed about the belligerent tone of American pronouncements for some months." Reston finds the real explanation for the Washington proposals "in terms of propaganda and inter-Allied relations."

"Inter-Allied relations!" There is the clue to the real meaning of the Acheson U.N. speech. The economic difficulties which have been growing in Western Europe for some months are now reaching crisis proportions. Both France and Britain have been forced to cut their import quotas drastically, and the cause of these cuts is the armaments program.

The armaments programs of the countries of Western Europe are being dictated by the Pentagon. Eisenhower is in Europe cracking the whip, demanding they provide more soldiers and produce more guns. This rearmament of Western Europe is opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people. Thus an explosive social crisis is brewing there.

The Acheson proposal, coming at this time, is nothing but a feeble and hypocritical gesture by U.S. imperialism towards the European masses; an attempt to put the onus for the arms race on the Soviet Union, and thus to divert their anger away from Wall Street.

# The SWP's 1951 Vote

By George Breitman

In 1948, when the Socialist Workers Party appeared on the ballot with presidential or local candidates in 12 states, the total of the highest votes it received was 24,798. In 1950, the SWP ran nine campaigns — four statewide, four in congressional districts, one in an assembly district — and got a total of 31,278 votes. This year, when there were five state-wide campaigns, the SWP entered nine campaigns, of which four were city-wide (New York, Detroit, Boston, Oakland), three were county-wide (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Newark), and two were confined to a single ward (Chicago, Philadelphia); the total vote came to 52,109.

We are aware that this is a small vote, and that revolutionary socialism remains a small minority in this country. Nevertheless, for a small party to increase its vote in times like the present, when the witch-hunt is still raging, is an achievement. It shows that the SWP, unlike so many other groups that have given up the ghost or made a separate peace with capitalist or reformist politics, has not been demoralized by the growth of reaction and is on the firing line, seizing every possible opportunity to reach and educate the people about the need for a socialist change. It also proves that even in an atmosphere where red-baiting is still in the ascendant and many people have been intimidated, there is still an important part of the population that is willing to give a hearing to, and express some sympathy for, the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Both of these things are good portents for the future.

"But," some people may say, "how can the election results represent anything but a deep disappointment to you? You have received a few more votes, but you were ineffective so far as the great majority of the people are concerned. How, at this rate, can you ever hope that socialism will be achieved in our time?"

In the first place, we did not expect to win our campaigns this year, or to make big increases in our vote. Political consciousness (let alone class consciousness) in this country is still at a very low level, perhaps the lowest in the world. It is very rare when a majority of the eligible voters go to the polls. Because there is no difference in principle between the two major parties, most Americans think they are doing a smart thing when they vote "for the man and not the party," and they are under the delusion that they "waste" their vote if the candidate of their choice is not elected, even though he is the one who best represents their interests.

A big party that is out of office almost automatically gets practically all of the "protest vote" even though the protesting voters know or care little about its program, while a party like the SWP has a thousand prejudices to overcome before it can win a single conscious and deliberate vote. (We don't mean that every SWP vote is conscious and deliberate; like other parties, we too get a proportion of "accidental" votes — from people who are only vaguely aware of what we stand for or who choose us at random to express their resentment against existing conditions; the point is that the big parties benefit from a vastly greater number of such votes.) We have to work harder for a vote than the Democrats, or even a party like the Liberal, although they have infinitely greater physical and financial resources for vote-getting.

Those are reasons why we did not expect a high vote this year. Those are also reasons why we think it is incorrect to gauge the effectiveness of our campaigns solely by the number of votes we get. For us, an election campaign is still spade-work. It is a chance to introduce ourselves to the public as a separate party, to acquaint them with our program, to teach them the differences between us and other parties. The effectiveness of our election campaigns at the present time can best be judged by how well we did this job, rather than by the number of votes we got this year. In this sense, we think we did a creditable job. The New York campaign this year reached the biggest audience in the history of the SWP in that city. The total vote was 3,553. We gave hundreds of thousands something to think about. We didn't expect that they would vote for us the first crack out of the box. We do expect that they will become our supporters in the future.

And not merely because of our propaganda, electoral or non-electoral. People don't become revolutionary in their thinking as the result of propaganda — at least, not more than a small minority. They become revolutionary as a result of their own experience. When their living standards are slashed to the bone, when they are faced with military regimentation and the threat of atomic annihilation, when they see their liberties being taken away, in a word, when they feel that conditions are absolutely intolerable and that the ruling class is responsible for them and will not change them — that is when they will begin to think and act in revolutionary fashion and to look around for organizations that do the same. This is what we are depending on to achieve socialism in our time — not the fact that we got 20,900 more votes than last time, but the fact that capitalism is rushing toward a crackup in this country as in the rest of the world, and in the process will drive the masses of the people to seek a revolutionary solution to their problems. When that begins to happen, it will be noticeable because the revolutionary socialist vote will grow by the millions. Meanwhile, in preparation for that time, the job we have undertaken, and which we work at between as well as during election campaigns, is to win the most advanced and far-seeing workers to our ideas and party so that they will be able to provide adequate and organized leadership for the coming mass struggle to make a fundamental change in society.

# Revolution in Near East

By Tom Conlan

The capitalist press in this country and in Western Europe is deliberately underplaying the news about the real situation in the Near East. The millions of the Arab world whose living standards are abysmal, in most cases below the level of domestic animals in these areas, refuse any longer to live in this degradation. They hold the old colonial rulers, primarily Britain and France, responsible and are determined to run them out of the Near East.

This new development is among the greatest revolutionary upsurges in history, matching the postwar upheavals in China and throughout the Far East. In one of the few truthful dispatches from Cairo, columnist Stewart Alsop recognizes this. "The plain fact is that this is an essentially revolutionary situation," he wrote on Nov. 12 about the situation in Egypt, and then added that "some sort of basic and probably violent change is inevitable here."

The situation in French Morocco is similar in all essentials to Egypt.

Alsop's best "hope" in the situation is for the emergence of "reasonably enlightened dictatorship" patterned after that of Kemal Pasha in Turkey following World War I. But even this variant holds no allure for London and Paris. They want to keep things as they are, with themselves in the saddle. The rise of native dictators no matter how "enlightened" would likewise spell the end of their rule in the Near East.

As matters stand, Britain would have dim prospects of hanging on in Egypt, or the French in North Africa, if not for the support of Washington.

# On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

In San Francisco, I had the opportunity of participating in the culmination of one of the best election campaigns our Party has conducted. With our two fighting candidates Frank Barbaria for Mayor and Harry Press for Supervisor, the campaign was bound to be good. But in addition, every member of the S.F. branch participated in a daily program of street meetings, sound-truck work and door-to-door discussions of our socialist anti-war program.

Readers of the Militant, I am sure, have followed with great interest the success of the work of Press and Barbaria in getting before unions and other organizations. Their activities and the work of the branch have met with great response. They have had an attentive and sympathetic audience wherever they went. Proof of this was the meeting they organized for my tour. The familiar old faces were lost among the many new ones. People were there who had come to a socialist meeting for the first time in their lives. The S.F. headquarters is relatively large, but not large enough to accommodate the audience. People had to stand throughout the meeting in the kitchen, the office and along the back of the hall.

I was interviewed over KYA, the largest independent radio station in the Bay Area, on a morning program for women. We discussed the Korean war and the Asian revolution. I enjoyed the interview very much but you can imagine my complete disgust when a middle-class woman expressed the hope that things would be straightened out in Asia because she would like to travel there again. The great struggle of the Asian people for a better life than they have known in the past is apparently interfering with her pleasures as a tourist. My heart bleeds for her and all the others like her.

I was also interviewed by Bob Shutz of radio station KPFA in Berkeley. Our discussion was recorded. It will be broadcast twice, once on an afternoon program and later in the evening. Mr. Shutz questioned me extensively in a sincere de-

termined to run them out of the Near East. The whole Arab world which is now so bitterly anti-British and anti-French is turning more and more anti-American. Two steps taken over the last weekend have added greatly to this rising tide of anti-American resentment.

First has been the joint announcement by Britain, France, the U.S. and Turkey that these "four powers" were going ahead with their plans for the "Middle East Command" regardless of the will and wishes of the countries in this area. The announced participation of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, countries thousands of miles removed from the Near East, in this "defense setup," may look good on paper but entirely unacceptable to the Arab world and can only feed the already flaming resentment.

But more important than this "strong" diplomatic maneuvering, has been the second action of the U.S. when it lined up in the UN with France and Britain to "indefinitely postpone" from the agenda the Moroccan question.

Every single Arab nation — Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Iraq — has filed a separate complaint against the French in Morocco. By a vote in the General Committee of six to four, with four abstentions, this Moroccan issue, that is, the whole colonial issue in the Near East, was shunted aside in the U.N. This vote was the handiwork of the U.S. The most illiterate Arab peasant is aware of it today.

Throughout the whole world the contrast will not pass unnoticed of this shunting aside of issues which involve the old colonial system while hypocritically pushing to the fore all the "complaints" against the Soviet Union.

sire to understand our analysis of the Asian revolution.

A street meeting was organized at Sather Gate at the University of California in Berkeley. At U.C. these meetings are a great tradition. The witch-hunters had tried to outlaw them. However, after a long struggle, free speech was preserved at Sather Gate. My meeting was the first since this victory. It was well advertised by leaflet distributions among the students.

The turn-out exceeded everyone's expectations. We held an audience of three hundred for more than an hour. Our San Francisco candidates shared the platform with me. After the meeting discussion continued in large animated groups of students. They kept all three of our speakers busy answering their questions and arguments.

At one point, while I was on the stand and was questioned by a young patriot, a Negro student asked for the floor and made an eloquent speech about where he thought the fight for democracy should be made. "Where do you get the nerve to ask me to go to other lands to fight for democracy I never get at home? I live in a Jim Crow system here in America," he explained with an effort to control his anger. Immediately after his speech a young white woman on the verge of tears tried to answer him that capitalism wasn't the cause of Jim Crow. It was the ignorance and cruelty of backward people, she said. So I spoke at some length to show that capitalism makes people cruel and profits from Jim Crow customs that are generally practiced including the Federal government.

Ideas are beginning to mean something to the students. It's good to see many of them thinking about politics and trying to find answers to social problems. As one young student in an eastern school wrote to me: "The present society in this country demands that we go to war. Obviously, any society that demands that much of us should be questioned and not just accepted." He was right and there are many who are beginning to question it.

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# THE MILITANT

## Harry Press Gets 4% of S. F. Vote



HARRY PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO — Harry Press, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Supervisors in the Nov. 6 election, received 10,404 votes, about 4% of the total. Twenty-five persons ran for the six places to be filled on the Board.

Frank Barbaria, SWP candidate for mayor, got 1,307 votes. Mayor Elmer Robinson won reelection over the other five candidates for this office with a plurality of less than 2,000 votes out of 260,000 cast.

Oleta O'Connor Yates, who was arrested under the Smith Act last summer and ran for the Board of Supervisors from a Los Angeles jail cell, polled 15,932 votes and finished in 20th place.

## 'Dog Tags' for Kids Arouse Mass Protest in New York

By Ida Brant

NEW YORK — The New York City Board of Education has been distributing metal identification tags since Oct. 11, to all second and third grade pupils in public, private and parochial schools.

This will continue throughout the grades until every pupil has received one. On these "dog tags" are stamped the child's name, date of birth, parent's name and school number. Instructions issued were that these tags must be worn by school children at all times!

This move followed the series of atom-bomb drills in which children were instructed to crouch under desks and cover their faces and heads with their arms — as protection against splintering glass, debris and heat engendered by a bomb! Small wonder that these measures have created fear and nervous tension and a sense of insecurity in many of the children. Nor could the parents remain calm and undisturbed.

### PROTESTS POOR IN

Protests poured into the office of the Board of Education and Supt. of Schools Jansen — protests from parents, teachers, psychologists, columnists, liberals. Faced with this storm of indignation, Jansen beat a hasty retreat. On Nov. 2 a "Message to Parents" was brought home by the children. "The Board of Education," it read, "has no wish to interfere with your right as parents to decide whether or not your children should wear the tags."

A movement has already begun in the Parent Teachers Association demanding that Jansen instruct the principals to obtain the consent of the parents before giving out the tags, rather than face them with an accomplished fact.

### WAR PROPAGANDA

The more important aim of these drills and dog tags has not been played by any newspaper. Big Business and its government have long used the courts, the police, the newspapers, the schools, to spread their propaganda. They don't pass up a chance to whip up the war support. The Korean war is not as popular as they had hoped to make it. "Civilian defense" workers are slow in volunteering, despite the many appeals made in Parent-Teacher organizations.

## Twin Cities Public Meeting

on "The Road to Peace"

Speaker: Dorothy Schultz  
Fri., Nov. 23, 8:00 PM  
10 S. 4th Street  
Minneapolis, Minn.

# Halley's Election Jolts 2-Party System in N.Y.

## ELECTION RETURNS FROM NEWARK, PHILADELPHIA

NEWARK, Nov. 13 — George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the New Jersey Assembly from Essex County, received 2,474 votes in last Tuesday's election, a little over 1% of the 185,000 votes cast.

The Republicans increased their majorities in most parts of the state, and have an even stronger grip on both Houses of the State Legislature than before.

The Democrats tried to win the election in Essex County by running a number of popular athletes headed by N. Y. Giants star Monte Irvin on a ticket that was made up primarily of World War II veterans. But it didn't help them. They were beaten by bigger majorities than in the last election.

The "main issue" discussed in the campaign was "Zwillmanism," both capitalist parties accusing each other of having been connected with and indebted to "Longie" Zwillman, the ex-bootlegger who became a legitimate businessman and political power. In this case, both parties

told the truth, but nobody seemed to care much.

The Progressive Party ran an all-women's "peace" ticket for the 12 Assembly seats, but withdrew five of them at the last minute in order to support five Democratic and Republican candidates. The Progressive vote for Assembly ranged between 3,200 and 3,600 votes.

The Communist Party's sole candidate in the Essex election, running for county freeholder, received 1,591 votes.

In 1948, the last time Breitman ran for office, he received 1,010 votes in Essex County.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11 — Battling against the strongest political mobilization of Democrats and Republicans in Philadelphia since the 1900's, Clyde Turner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council from the Fifth District, got 215 votes in the municipal elections held last Tuesday.

Concentrating on the central questions of war, discrimination and civil rights, Mrs. Turner received a warm hearing throughout the campaign. House to house visits in the homes of friends, where the program of the SWP was discussed, and the basis for future activity created. Socialist Workers Party sound equipment toured the district almost continuously during the last two weeks of the campaign, announcing that a socialist fighter was on the ballot. The Militant was introduced to many workers through this campaign.

The most significant fact in the election was the defeat suffered by the Republican Party. Long known as a citadel of corrupt machine politics, Philadelphia was dominated by the Republicans for so many decades that the people began to think it would never be removed from office.

But spurred by the report of the Kefauver committee, and the special grand jury investigations into graft and patronage within the city administration, the working-class and Negro minority cast a solid vote against the Republican machine. Proof of deliberate Jim Crow within the school system, coupled with the long record of brutality on the part of the Philadelphia police, resulted in the largest vote in many years in the Negro neighborhoods, most of it going to the Democrats.

The openly expressed anti-labor sentiments of the Republican candidate, Daniel A. Poling, also helped turn the tide of victory to the Democrats.

Both Democratic and Republican machine bosses tried to find "important national trends" in the Nov. 6 election. The Democrats pointed with pride to their victory in the Philadelphia mayoralty race for the first time in 67 years. The Republicans did the same with their election of a mayor in the normally Democratic city of Little Rock, Ark. But neither of these isolated cases warrants attempts to depict them as weathervanes of how the people are going to vote in 1952.

Most of the shifts that took place were due to local peculiarities and do not indicate anything for next year's national election.

### AN EYE OPENER

However, there was one local campaign that did have some eye-opening lessons for the American people as a whole. That was in New York, the largest and most politically advanced city in the country. The Democratic and Republican bosses preferred not to dwell on this campaign because its results were most disquieting for them.

What happened was that a plurality of the voters went to the polls in New York, ignored Row A (Republican), ignored Row B (Democratic), and voted on Row C (Liberal), electing Rudolph Halley as President of the City Council.

This upset in the traditional procedure and outlook of the voters is the fourth in New York in the last four years. In 1948 the American Labor Party elected a Congressman in the Bronx. In 1949 Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., denied Tammany endorsement was elected to Congress on the Liberal ticket in Manhattan. In 1950 Vincent Impellitteri, also denied Tammany support, ran for Mayor with a party label no one had ever heard of, and won. Four times is enough to justify calling it "a trend."

No matter why the voters backed Halley, by their action they undermined and discredited the idea that the major parties have worked so hard to spread and maintain — that supporting third parties means "wasting your vote" because they don't have a chance of winning.

### A FALSE THEORY

This, in turn, substantially weakens the foundations of the whole "theory of the lesser evil" (that voters have no real choice outside of the major capitalist parties) and will inevitably give an impetus to campaigns and parties independent of the major parties, in New York and elsewhere.

Among other things, it gives a black eye to the labor leaders. With few exceptions, like David Dubinsky of the International

Ladies Garment Workers Union, they blessed and supported the candidacy of the Tammany hack, Joseph T. Sharkey. Anything else, they assured the workers, was "impractical" and "unrealistic." It will be harder for them to get away with that gag in the future.

Even when the capitalist candidates endorsed by the labor leaders are elected, no benefits ensue for the labor movement. When on top of this fact the "labor statesmen" can't even pick a winning horse, their political authority is bound to suffer.

### A STIFF JOLT

The Halley victory has given a stiff jolt to the two-party system. That was the result, if not the intention of the voters. But one thing is certain — it is not the intention of Halley, nor of the Liberal Party leaders.

Halley is a Democrat himself, even though he had to run as an independent. His aim is to save the Democratic Party by reforming it, that is, by changing its leaders. For him the Liberal Party is merely a means for reforming the Democratic Party and promoting his own political fortunes. Like Roosevelt Jr. and Lehman, who were elected with Liberal support but endorsed the Tammany candidate this year, he will use the Liberal Party so long as it is useful for these purposes and discard it when it isn't. He has no intention of helping to destroy the two-party system.

### THEIR REAL AIM

The attitude of the Liberal Party leaders is different, but not fundamentally different. They fear that the Democratic Party can no longer be saved in its present form, even if it gets a few new faces. This fear was reinforced last year, when they supported the Tammany candidate for mayor, only to see him get thoroughly licked. Their aim is to pressure the Democrats into agreeing to work formally with the Liberals, and then to share power with them through a permanent coalition or even a merged Democratic-Liberal Party. In this way they hope to preserve the two-party system in a reconstituted form and to head off the formation of an independent labor party, that will be anti-capitalist in its program and composition.

But the election of Halley may have consequences unforeseen by Halley and Dubinsky. While it will probably persuade the Tammany bosses to reconsider an alliance with the Liberal Party, it will at the same time weaken the arguments of the union leaders that a labor party is "impractical" and strengthen the hand of the militant workers who are advocating a complete break with capitalist politics and the creation of labor's own party. And nothing but good can come out of that.

# Official Labor Politics Bankrupt Detroit Election Results Show

DETROIT — With the lowest vote cast in Detroit city elections in the last 16 years — only 38% of eligible voters turned out — Albert E. Cobo, strikebreaking Mayor, and other incumbent officials were reelected last week.

A light vote had generally been predicted because the workers remained apathetic owing to "the same old crap" policy of the UAW-CIO leadership and the Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council. Although the workers had been aroused by the anti-labor policies of strikebreaking Mayor Cobo, the Detroit leadership made no effort to present an independent candidate.

### THE "LABOR" CANDIDATES

When it became clear that the labor movement would not contest the election of Cobo in its own right, Edgar M. Branigan, County Clerk, who has run for office on both Republican and Democratic tickets, entered the race. This phony politician, who spent a considerable part of his campaign pledging he would not serve "special interests" (references to his endorsement by the CIO and AFL) and denouncing strike action by city workers, naturally aroused no great enthusiasm among the workers.

The balance of the "labor slate" was of the same caliber. Both the CIO and AFL endorsed a number of incumbents for City Clerk, City Treasurer and Common Council, differing in their various selections of the so-called "friends

of labor" but united in tailoring capitalist politicians without any ties or allegiance to the labor movement.

The only union candidates in the field, Thomas F. McNamara, business agent of an AEL building trades local, and George Dean, President of Michigan Federation of Labor, were lost in the shuffle.

### REUTHER FOUGHT HILL

Charles A. Hill, independent Negro candidate for Council, polled more than 65,000 votes even though denied support of the Detroit labor movement. Despite this criminal refusal of labor support, Hill, the only Negro candidate in the race and a man who did yeoman work for the UAW-CIO in the Ford organizing days of 10 years ago, polled more votes than one of the labor "endorsed" candidates. Had labor's support been added to Hill's independent strength, there is a strong possibility he would have been elected.

Significantly enough the opposition to Hill in Reutherite circles and among the "talented tenth" of the Negro community failed to find any response among the mass of the Negro people. In the meetings of the "Voters League," recently set up by the officers of the Detroit NAACP, the leadership found itself on several occasions in head-on conflict with the audience who were virtually unanimous in support of Hill. The Reuther leadership has suffered

a considerable loss of prestige among Negro workers for opposing the FEPC petition drive and their refusal to back Hill.

### CHARTER AMENDMENTS

Still another expression of the bankruptcy of the politics of the UAW and the CIO is their silence on a number of important charter amendments that came before the voters. By a margin of less than 2,000 votes, a proposal was adopted to extend the term for most city officials to four years. Public expression of opposition to this measure would have unquestionably assured its defeat. Failure to oppose this measure seems to flow from the personal bias of the labor bureaucrats for long terms in office and their general feeling arising from the many election defeats they have organized: "Better to do this only once every four years."

### FEPC SCUTTLED

Without any advice from the unions, the voters rejected salary increases for Common Council members. A proposal making more difficult the introduction of ordinance by initiative referendum, such as the recent FEPC petition drive, was among those carried.

One of the saddest features of the elections was in connection with the FEPC proposition. The attempts of the Detroit Negro Labor Council, with the support of Ford Local 600, to place the

issue of a city FEPC ordinance before the voters through a petition campaign was bitterly opposed by the Reuther leadership.

They assured the Negro people in this community that to gain the FEPC, a safe and sane approach of relying on "friends" in the Council and in public life would suffice. Because of this connivance between the labor bureaucracy and the City officials the petition drive for FEPC was shunted aside. More than 10,000 signatures were thrown out. A week prior to the elections the political fakery on the City Council, who had pretended to favor the FEPC, then voted to table all action on the issue on the grounds it was too "political."

### WORKERS CONFUSED

Hopes that the Ford Local 600 leadership would offer an independent policy in the elections were not fulfilled. While differing with some of the individual selections of the Reuther leadership, their policies were in substance the same.

The endorsement of Louis Miriani for Common Council by Local 600 only served to confuse Detroit workers and tended to undo much of the fine work done by Local 600 in the FEPC petition drive. Miriani has been an outstanding opponent of FEPC and Negro rights in the Detroit Council and was the most vocal in the move to table action on the FEPC.