

Asian and Latin American People Spurn U.S. 'Aid'

American imperialism has suffered a series of stinging rebuffs in its attempt to bribe and coerce other countries, particularly in Asia and Latin America, into committing themselves to back Wall Street in a world war.

So far 10 countries have refused U.S. offers of "economic and military aid" through the Mutual Security Act, because they do not wish to provide cannon fodder for Washington or to be turned into other Koreans.

WORLD WIDE MOVEMENT

The resistance of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to U.S. domination and to the attempt to tie them to Washington's war chariot has taken on the character of a world-wide movement. Recent examples of this resistance are shown by Mexico, Burma and Indonesia. They illustrate how deep is the suspicion and hostility everywhere toward the U.S. conquerors and how great is the opposition to being involved in any war for the benefit of American Big Business.

The Mexican government announced on Feb. 21 that talks between it and the United States on the matter of military aid had collapsed. The reason for the failure of the talks is indicated by Sydney Gruson, in his report to the Feb. 22 N. Y. Times.

He points out that "implicit in the principles" of the Mutual Security Act "is agreement to contribute materially to the defense of the free world whenever and wherever the countries participating in the program consider it necessary." In short, the U.S. requires a quid pro quo — a price — for any aid to backward and poor countries. That price is: Support of U.S. military adventures anywhere.

Gruson reveals that "the Mexicans considered this to mean a commitment to send their troops outside their national territory. They were not prepared to accept anything that even hinted at such an undertaking. The negotiations never really got beyond this obstacle."

We must not assume that the Mexican government officials personally are averse to the U.S. offer. They have not been noted for resistance to U.S. pressure. The fact that they do not accept indicates that popular opposition to military agreements with the U.S. must be tremendous. This is true for all the countries which have rejected MSA funds and arms.

MASS OPPOSITION

In the case of Burma, which the U.S. militarists have planned to convert into a base for eventual invasion of southern China, the rejection of MSA aid "throws new light on what is stirring in southeast Asia," reported Ronald Stead, staff correspondent, to the Feb. 1 Christian Science Monitor.

Stead, who has covered southeast Asia extensively, revealed that "the reason given for refusing MSA aid is apprehension of becoming involved in war by an entanglement with America." He said that "to the Burmese, aid from the Mutual Security Agency savors too much of future reciprocal obligations in the military sense."

The Monitor's reporter also admitted that "I found widespread Burmese suspicion of American (Continued on page 2)

SAN FRANCISCO CARMEN STRIKE ENDS IN VICTORY

By D. Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 23 — In a militant demonstration of rank and file solidarity seldom seen since the great general strike of 1934, San Francisco street carmen

The carmen learned in 1950 the role of their union officials in holding them back and they made no bones about it at their meeting of the first night of the strike. George Johns, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, attempting to win their confidence, told the AFL membership that he had been handling situations like this for 15 years. The answer he got from the men was: "That's exactly why we don't want you to take over here!"

The provision for eight hours work in a spread of ten has been in the city charter since 1924. For two years an AFL Local 1380 member has fought in court to have it enforced. He won a court order on the question last week. The city said they would appeal. Instead of abiding by the ruling, the Powell cable lines increased the range time to as much as 11 hours and 25 minutes!

Defying threats of the city administration to suspend their civil service benefits and prepared to fight a strikebreaking court injunction the embattled carmen forced the city authorities to capitulate to their demand before calling off the strike.

The strike began with the walkout of the 91 Powell Street cable-car men. When the other carmen recognized the danger to themselves in the threat of civil service suspension thrown at the cable-car men, 1,400 AFL carmen voted to walk out in support of the strike. Buses and cars were immediately taken off the street and picket lines were supported by 1,100 CIO carmen. Solidarity of the rank and file of both unions with the cable-car men was an expression of discontent with the two years of court litigation they had gone through in attempting to get their demands.

LEARNED LESSON

The carmen's quick strike action grew out of lessons learned in 1950 when a strike committee had been set up over the same issue but no strike called because they lacked Labor Council sanction. This time the rank and file took matters into their own hands and won.

REFUSE TO WORK

When the cable grip men and conductors refused to work these new timetables, Mayor Elmer Robinson's response was, "These men have been pampered too much." When the cable men asked that the city abide by its charter, the mayor's attitude declared, "The men are not going to get away with this."

Significant in this strike is the fact that the striking carmen were civil service employees — "slaves without right," who had

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite!

Son Died in "Needless War," Says Mother, Rejecting Medal



Calls Her Boy a Symbol Of All the Slaughtered

WHY ARE AMERICAN TROOPS IN KOREA?

An Editorial

Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, blustering grenade-toting commander of "Operation Killer," has hurled a tirade against the many people who are asking, "Why are U.S. troops fighting in Korea?" There is "no slightest excuse," he claims, for anyone to ask such a question, because "even the blind can see" that the U.S. invaded Korea to fight against "unprovoked aggression."

His "explanation" of U.S. aims in Korea is no more enlightening — or convincing — than when first used by Truman at the start of the "police action." But Ridgway's intention is not to convince anyone; rather it is to help intimidate and silence those who dare in any way to question the purposes of U.S. intervention in Korea.

His words are aimed particularly at people like Mrs. Donna Cooper, of Memphis, Tenn., who sent back her dead son's Purple Heart medal to Truman along with a powerful indictment of the whole "needless slaughter" in Korea. They are designed to cut off any future outcries like those of Mrs. Dorris Davis, widow of the jet ace Maj. George A. Davis Jr., who charged that her husband was killed in "a war without reason."

Why does the U.S.-N. military chief find it necessary at this late date — the 22nd month of a war in which admitted U.S. casualties number over 109,000 — to make a demonstrative "explanation" of what the war's about? This is conclusive evidence that millions who are not blind still can't see a justified reason for U.S. intervention.

They have heard the claim of a war against "unprovoked aggression" for a thousand times. And they still think it's a lie even when it's repeated by a Ridgway. They don't believe that the American explosives and napalm, which have almost obliterated Korea and wiped out millions of its people, have served any good or just cause. They do feel, even if they cannot explain the matter precisely, that there is something terribly evil in the U.S. invasion. And they are right.

This is an imperialist assault upon a colonial people who are determined to rid themselves of foreign exploitation and capitalist-landlord rule. This is another, but more horrible, "dirty war" like the one the French butchers have been waging for 6 years to enslave Indo-China or the British tyrants have been pressing against the Malaysians. This is part of the scheme of U.S. Big Business to conquer and exploit the earth.

That's why Ridgway can only repeat a stale lie to the question of why U.S. troops are in Korea. And that's why the American people must demand: Get the troops out of Korea!

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION BACKS SWP SUIT IN ILL.

CHICAGO — Support of the Socialist Workers Party's fight against liberal Governor Stevenson's "political ghetto" law is growing steadily.

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union voted unanimously to back the Socialist Workers Party's suit in Federal Court. The suit asks that the law be declared unconstitutional and that an injunction be issued to prevent county officials from enforcing the law. They are now working out the practical steps.

This law, House Bill 1030, makes it a criminal offense for a citizen of Illinois to cross a county line and solicit signatures on a petition to place a new party on the ballot.

Students on the University of Chicago campus responded to this law by forming a "Campus Committee to Fight 1030" which has been formally recognized by the University of Chicago administration. The committee will hold protest meetings and rally support from the general student body. Some students have already made financial contributions to aid the court action.

VEIL OF SECRECY

The veil of secrecy with which the Illinois legislators and Gov. Stevenson attempted to envelop this law is being torn apart by

Says U.S. Had No Right to Invade Korea

By Art Preis

"Today I buried my first-born, my son. . . I can find no place among his memories for the Purple Heart or the scroll. I am returning it to you with this thought — to me he is a symbol of the 109,000 men who have been sacrificed in the needless slaughter, a so-called police action that has not and could never have been satisfactorily explained to patriotic Americans. . ."

Mrs. Donna Cooper, of Memphis, Tenn., wrote these bitter words to Truman on Feb. 16, when she sent back a medal and scroll awarded for her boy Paul, a machine-gunner killed in action Oct. 1 in Korea. The grief-stricken mother added:

"If there had been any need for armed conflict to preserve the American way of living I would have given him proudly and would have treasured the medal. However, since there was nothing superficial in his whole life, I cannot mar his memory by a medal and stereotyped words that fail to promise a better tomorrow for the ones that he and others have died for."

OPPOSED FROM START

The pro-war Big Business press was unable to twist and distort Mrs. Cooper's words, as it had done previously with several similar protests. In a subsequent statement, Mrs. Cooper, who said her son wanted to be a priest and "we gave him a good Catholic burial," made it clear that she and Paul had opposed U.S. intervention in Korea from the very start.

"I don't know anything about politics," she said. "All I know is that we shouldn't have gone in here in the first place and that it's a needless slaughter, as I told the President. I have spent more than \$100 of my own money telling the same thing repeatedly in wires to Ridgway and the United Nations in Paris. I never received an answer."

Although the big-shot general of "Operation Killer" did not deign to reply to a heart-broken mother whose only son was killed under his command, Ridgway two days later made a savage attack on people like Mrs. Cooper who, he complains, are daring to ask, "Why are we there?" in Korea. "I think the question deserves him who asks it," belittled this blood-thirsty imperialist general who boasts about his "Operation Meat Grinder."

KOREA AND VALLEY FORGE

He likened the courageous people who dare, despite the witch-hunt, to protest the criminal intervention in Korea, to "weak people" who, he lied, asked, "Why are we here?" at Valley Forge. All the men at Valley Forge knew why they were there — they were patriot volunteers fighting for national independence on their own soil. The GIs in Korea are conscripts dragged unwillingly to a foreign land to crush colonial people seeking their national freedom.

Many newspapers which gave whole columns to Ridgway's war propaganda did not give a line to Mrs. Cooper. Yet it is she who speaks for the American people. Hers is the true voice of American mothers trying to be heard above the brazen clamor of imperialist politicians, profiteers and militarists.

Detroit Unions, Negroes Condemn Witch Hunters

By Everett Kennedy

DETROIT, Feb. 25 — The "hearings" of the House Un-American Activities Committee were delayed this morning as Republican and Democratic members of the committee squabbled over the question of televising the proceedings.

Representative Potter, Michigan

Cost-of-Living Still on the Rise

The cost-of-living index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has continued its rise into 1952, the latest report shows. Another one-tenth of a per cent was added by price rises and rent boosts between Dec. 15 and Jan. 15. Living costs stand at 190.2 per cent of the pre-war average.

Unions with escalator wage clauses stand to get a pay increase. A million CIO auto workers will get three cents an hour more. This makes a total of 24 cents an hour automatically gained by General Motors, Ford and other auto workers since their sliding wage scale went into effect.

Republican and an announced Senatorial opponent of Democrat Blair Moody, had given the "go ahead" to TV stations to set up equipment in advance of the scheduled hearings. Committee Chairman Wood, Democrat from Georgia, and Representative Moulder, Democrat of Missouri, voted against televising the proceedings and the wrangle was on.

In the midst of charges and counter-charges of "politics" being played on the TV question, the major aim of smearing the labor movement and creating a witch-hunt hysteria had given way momentarily to the political ambitions of the contending major parties.

In the meantime, names of eight of the forty persons subpoenaed have been made public. As expected, names of officials of UAW Ford Local 600 were high on the list. Two of the four top officers of Local 600, vice-president Pat Rice and recording secretary William Hood, were on the list. Other officers of Local 600 were reported to be on the list of forty.

Among those subpoenaed was the Reverend Charles Hill, unsuccessful candidate for City Council in the recent election and long active in struggles of the Negro community. It is reported that more than half of the subpoenaed persons are Negroes. A strong protest to the witch-hunt committee was issued by the Wolverine Bar Association, an organization of Negro attorneys in Detroit, through its secretary William Bell II. They charged the committee's prime objective "is to defame, malign and endeavor to destroy the good reputation of any witness whose associations, beliefs and opinions on controversial issues of the day do not conform with the committee's notion of what is or is not Americanism."

Local 600 announced the subpoenaing of its local officers in a special front page story in Ford Facts, official paper of the local union. The statement published by the "Local 600 Defense Committee" announced that "the Executive Board of Local 600 unanimously adopted a policy of giving full support to the Local Officers and any other member (Continued on page 2)

Pa. Petition Drive Passes Half-Way Mark

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 25 — Incomplete returns show that Pennsylvania branches of the Socialist Workers Party, in the first week of a 21-day campaign, collected over one-half of the signatures needed to place the party's slate of presidential and state candidates on the ballot for the 1952 elections.

Over 3,000 signatures are needed, according to state law, and the SWP is aiming at 12,000 signatures before the filing date, March 10.

The State Committee of the SWP hailed the results of the first week's activities as a remarkable achievement, surpassing the results of all previous SWP petition campaigns in this state. It attributed the achievement to a combination of two factors: the high morale and spirit of the canvassers, and the

unusually favorable response from the population in Philadelphia and other industrial cities.

SWP CANDIDATES

The candidates named on the petition are Farrell Dobbs for President, Grace Carlson for Vice-President, Ann Chester for U.S. Senator, and Clyde Turner for State Treasurer. They will appear on the ballot under the name, Militant Workers Party.

The Philadelphia campaign headquarters, at 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., was the scene of intense activity and mounting enthusiasm over the weekend.

The canvassers worked three shifts a day, returning to headquarters after each shift to eat meals prepared by the commissary committee, exchange experiences, compare results and

benefit from suggestions. Each time they returned, their spirits were higher, their enthusiasm more contagious, as they related stories of the warm reception and sympathetic comment they had encountered. Some also brought back money contributed by people anxious to help the cause along.

SUPPORT FROM WORKERS

One worker donated 50c, saying: "If you have the courage to come out and fight like this, I know the money is going to the right place."

Another: "If you have enough guts to circulate this petition, the least I can do is sign it." A veteran discharged from service in Korea signed, after bitterly denouncing the Korean war and saying, "We should never have got into it."

In a number of cases where groups of people were approached, there was hesitation and then political discussion among the people themselves, pro and con, about the advisability of signing. Most of the time the final decision was favorable, and the whole group signed.

Negro men and women signed eagerly when they saw The Militant and learned about the party's program to fight lynch-terror. There was also an excellent response from white workers to the idea of running independent labor candidates against the Republican and Democratic parties. Some of these pointed to the British Labor Party as the example for American workers to follow. Several asked to be put on a mailing list and to receive copies of The Militant. There was very little hostility.

Once in a while there was some rebuffing, but very little. Most who would not sign acted apologetic.

The opinion of the canvassers was that discontent with high prices, unemployment (serious in the building trades here), anti-Negro terror and war, is growing, and that there is a marked readiness to listen to radical ideas.

The stiff ballot requirements in this state are designed to prevent or discourage minority parties. But the SWP took the obstacles as a challenge, and met them in a fighting spirit, with results that surprised some of the members themselves. The presidential campaign is off to a running start in Pennsylvania, and all the signs indicate that the SWP will get a sympathetic hearing this year.

Colonial People Are Not Fooled By Negro Diplomat Appointments

By Albert Parker

How is the U.S. ruling class going to overcome the resentment of the colored people of the world against the system of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination practiced against the American Negroes? How is it going to remove the widespread suspicions and fears these people have that the U.S. government, instead of spreading democracy, will treat them in substantially the same way that it treats the colored people at home?

American Negroes point out that there is a simple way to do it — by abolishing the Jim Crow system here. But Truman and Acheson have no intention of

doing that. Instead, they seem to be paying close attention to suggestions and demands that Negroes be appointed to some more diplomatic posts and missions. It would not be too surprising if Truman made some such appointments this year, both for international propaganda and domestic political reasons.

WINDOW DRESSING

The idea seems to be to use Negroes as window dressing, just as labor leaders are used to camouflage the Big Business character of the war preparation program by being given a few seats on government agencies.

A beginning has already been made in this direction. Dr. Channing Tobias is a member of the U.N. delegation to the UN. Before him, Mrs. Edith Sampson held a similar post. In recent weeks Mrs. Sampson has been touring the Scandinavian countries, explaining how much progress the Negroes have made and promising, according to some reports, that they "will have complete equality within five years."

A few weeks ago Eleanor Roosevelt inadvertently gave away the reason why Tobias and Mrs. Sampson were appointed in the first place. During the UN General Assembly sessions in Paris, she was interviewed by a representative of the Associated Negro Press, who asked her what effect she thought the Civil Rights Congress petition charging the U.S. with genocide against the Negro people would have.

"The genocide petition has had little effect in United Nations circles because of the presence of myself, Dr. Channing Tobias and Mrs. Edith Sampson," she replied. Around the same time the New York press gave some prominence to the return of a Negro pastor

from a round-the-world trip. The Rev. James H. Robinson had visited 17 countries under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church and had made hundreds of speeches at meetings where the chief interest of the audiences was in the American Negro question.

The pastor's own approach was apparently a little more subtle than the one reportedly employed by Mrs. Sampson in Scandinavia. He says that when he was confronted by hostile questions, he immediately conceded that things were bad. "And after ten minutes of that, they knew I was no apologist for America's misdeeds. They were willing to admit that I was honest. And, having reached that conclusion, they were willing to believe me when I told them of the improvements that are being made, of the day-to-day progress, of the real advances in race relations in our country," etc., etc.

On the basis of his experience, Robinson said, the U.S. State Department should hire a number of "bright young American Negroes" for its embassies abroad as "the cheapest and smartest way" to defeat communism. They should be sent abroad "not only to explain but to demonstrate by their work and presence the progress we can make."

The emphasis here, as in Mrs. Roosevelt's remark, is on the wonder-working effects that can be achieved by the "presence" of Negroes, whether their mission as apologist for the Jim Crow system is carried out in a crude or subtle fashion.

ACHILLES HEEL

But there is evidence to indicate that it does not work out quite as well as the Rev. Robin-

son suggests. The Feb. 12 Christian Science Monitor printed excerpts from a speech made last month — to the Economic Club of Detroit by Minoo R. Masani of Bombay, a member of the Indian parliament. He said: "We have had in the last two years distinguished American Negro citizens coming over to India who have discussed frankly and fairly with us their problems; who have told us of the ambitions of their people and how much remains to be done, but also of the progress made and the efforts that are being made to solve this problem. But a few months pass and comes the account in newspaper headlines of the Cicero race riot, and all the good work that is done by your compatriots just fades away. . . . That really is your Achilles' heel."

It is not the only Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism, but it certainly is a sore spot. The capitalist class can hire the shrewdest propagandists in the world, but what good will it do them so long as the facts of life speak louder and more impressively than the most cunningly contrived propaganda? How are they going to deceive the colored peoples of Asia and Africa with Negro window-dressing so long as the Jim Crow system keeps pushing the window-dressing aside and letting the rest of the world see the real, ugly visage of American capitalism?

This is a tough problem. But fortunately Negroes and white workers need not lose any sleep over it. Let the capitalists and their diplomats and their servile labor and Negro leaders wrack their brains trying to solve it. The more trouble it gives them, the better off we will be, and the sooner the Negro people will win equality.

Letters from Readers

Zionism and the Middle-East Revolt

Editor: History always uncovers all lies.

Today in the Middle East, we see the revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples against British, French and American imperialism. At this stage of the struggle, the feudal and bourgeois leaders of these countries are at the head of these movements.

It was but a short time back that the Zionists, and especially those of the yellow-Socialist variety, boasted of their progressiveness against that of the Arab leaders and nations.

Yet today, when the masses of the Middle East are rising against imperialism, the Zionists, as always, line themselves up with imperialism. They call for a closer alliance between Israel and the American and British imperialists. They plead that they can help maintain the reactionary status-quo in the Middle East if

they can get more military aid from Washington.

The most reactionary Arab leader stands leagues above these miserable yellow-Socialist Zionists.

The only road for the Jewish masses of Israel is to proclaim their solidarity with the revolutionary workers and peasants of the Middle East in their struggle against imperialism. It will be a hard task, in view of the policy of Israel up to now. Their hands are stained with the blood of Arab workers and peasants. It is a task that will take quite a bit of convincing, but there is no other road.

Either that or another mass graveyard of Jewish masses will be dug in Israel. This time, however, with the help of Israel's "socialist" Zionists.

S. G.

New York City

Tax Collectors and Workers' Wages

Editor: An event occurred at my place of work that is almost unbelievable: the confiscation of a total week's pay by the income tax collector for a claimed shortage in a tax paid over five years ago.

This modern holdup artist came to the firm with so-called legal claims and demanded immediate payment of any wages due. The firm's representatives called me and told me they were helpless and must turn over to him all wages due, something over \$80.

I asked if Hitler ever did such a thing and if they knew about a New York state law limiting to 10% any garnishment of salary. According to this holdup man disguised as a tax collector, it is the right of the federal government to claim 100%, and more if possible; and it is common practice to take all wages of workers in big plants who owe income tax and refund whatever part the self-appointed judge and jury decides the worker needs to live on.

Well, fellow Americans, those are facts. Too many people are not familiar with the ins and outs of tax claims, although lately some of the shady dealings of big-time operators have been made public. These racketeers are now riding high on small wage earners who may be delinquent in order to cover up their own guilty records.

I wonder what the Boston tea party was all about, if it wasn't something to do with taxes.

A Reader

New York City

Different View Of Comic Books

Editor: In an article reprinted from Ceylon in the Jan. 21 Militant, the use of comic books to spread the message of Wall Street among the peoples of the East is described. At present we may not be able to put out a lot of printed material ourselves. We may have to limit our contacting to those who are prepared to understand our present concentrated papers and literature.

Yet the use of comic-type books to spread our own ideas would be very effective if we were prepared to arrange it. However, the Ceylon article condemns comic books in general, saying "they create the habit of not reading at all. . . . An unrestrained reading of comics will result in a state of unrestrained imbecility in which a person will not be able to understand anything except what strikes his eye. Anything which requires the least bit of reasoning or reflection will baffle him completely."

It is good to hear someone attacking the comics, for there is a lot of baloney in them; but the comics only reflect evils — they do not create them. To over-estimate the harm that is done to the children of workers by comic books is to underestimate their resistance to disease, and their potentialities in general.

D. B.

E. Richmond, Calif.

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Victim of Undeclared War



"I'll be okay, Mom," Marine Sgt. King Long weeps as he meets his mother in Oakland, Cal. The youngster lost both legs in the Korean "police action." U.S. casualties in Korea now total 105,992. This figure does not include thousands of frostbite cases, many of which resulted in amputations like that of Sgt. King.

Police Interference Fails to Stop Penn. Petition-Getters

By June Carey

ALLENTOWN, Feb. 25 — The Bethlehem Globe-Times reported that I and a Philadelphia fellow-canvasser for the Socialist Workers Party had been picked up by

the police in this area last Tuesday. A similar article appeared in an Allentown paper, and I understand went out over the UP wire and local radio stations. Here is what happened:

We were taken in, supposedly on the complaint of a woman who had signed our petition. The "charge" was that we were "pressuring" people by stating that we were for labor and interested in the problems of working people.

After being hustled down to the station in a police car, we were turned over first to the desk sergeant, then the captain, and finally the police chief.

POLICE INTERFERENCE

I felt they would have liked to slap a charge on us but could find no basis for doing so, since they knew that what we were doing was legal. What they succeeded in doing was to prevent us from working in this area for two days with the excuse that the city solicitor had to give a ruling on the legality of petition campaigns.

We were warned by the police that we were not to say that we

are for labor (or, as the chief put it, give our program, thereby pressuring the people). Finally, at the end of the second day, the matter was cleared up when we came back to inquire again. The Globe-Times story reported:

"Det. Capt. Michael J. Fox said their papers were in order and they had legal right to solicit names to the petition and were taken into custody only because of complaints. They were released."

WORKERS ANGERED

This publicity did not do us any harm. In fact, it created a lot of indignation, especially among the steel workers, who told me they were angry because there was a principle involved, and they felt we had a right to get signatures and run candidates.

Later, when we were getting signatures in front of a steel plant, we saw the cop who had taken us to the station. He was directing traffic, and said hello in a cheery tone, but his face was awfully red.

Asian, Latin American People Spurn U. S. "Aid;" Fear War Commitments

(Continued from Page 1)

motives when I was in the troubled country during my recent 20,000-mile tour of south and southeast Asia.

PROTEST FROM BURMA

A body of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, armed and supplied by the U.S., has been making raids on southern China from Burmese territory to which they had fled in 1949. The Burmese government has protested use of Burma as a base for Chiang's raiders and has especially good reason to fear a conflict with China which would be a pretext for "liberation" on the Korea pattern by U.S. bombers.

The question of accepting aid from the U.S. has caused a crisis so acute in Indonesia that it has brought the fall of the 20-man coalition Cabinet of Dr. Sukarno Wijorojandono. Previously the mere charge of maintaining "close contact with American diplomats" had sufficed to precipitate the fall of the Ministry of Dr. Mohammad Hatta in August 1950.

The latest ministerial crisis in Indonesia involves directly the question of MSA aid. It broke out when the cabinet rejected an agreement made in January by Foreign Minister Achmad Subardjo to accept U.S. aid under the MSA. A majority of the cabinet, the Parliament and the two ruling parties, the Masumi (Indonesian Moslem Consultative Council) and the PNI (Independent Nationalist Party) revolted against this as a violation of their joint agreement "to conduct an active and independent foreign policy for the promotion of world peace."

FEAR IN INDONESIA

Tillman Durbin, N. Y. Times Far Eastern correspondent, wrote on Feb. 23 that behind the opposition to MSA is that "many Indonesians" fear it will "mean committing Indonesia too heavily in the United States' direction." Moreover, "because capitalism

The American Way of Life

The Capture of Willie Sutton

On Feb. 18 N. Y. Police Commissioner Monaghan jubilantly told the press: "We've got Willie Sutton. This culminates one of the greatest man hunts in the history

of the department." Then he embraced the two patrolmen and detective who had made the arrest and promoted them on the spot. Reporters were told how the vigilant police recognized Sutton on the street and confirmed their identification by finger-print comparison.

For several days the newspapers were filled with praise of the efficient police department and a ceremony at City Hall was planned where Mayor Impellitteri would honor the police who had captured the man the papers were now calling "the field marshal of crime." Then the true story broke.

HOW IT HAPPENED

Willie Sutton fell into the toils of the law because 24-year old Arnold Schuster sold pants in his father's store — "Mac's Clothes Shop." Hung up on nails in the back of the store were "Wanted" circulars with pictures of criminals sent out by law enforcement agencies. Sutton's picture had been hanging there for months.

On Feb. 18 young Schuster was in the subway. Sitting opposite him was a man who looked familiar. Racking his brains, Schuster finally realized it was the man in the picture — Willie Sutton. He followed him off the subway and trailed him to a gas station. Then he spotted a police car. Schuster told the cops: "Don't think I'm crazy, but I think Willie Sutton is at a gasoline station down at the corner." The cops found that Sutton had taken a rental battery to his stalled car a few blocks away. They went up to him and said: "Are you Willie Sutton?"

"No," was the reply, "I'm Charles Gordon." He produced a driver's license in that name, so the police drove away. Seeing this, Schuster concluded he had been mistaken and went back to the pants counter.

A BIG JOKE
Back at the station house the two cops told the story as a joke to a detective. The detective who had nothing to do laughed and

NO JUSTICE!

When his bail was set at a quarter of a million he protested, saying: "Here I sit with \$250,000 in bail on me. What did I do? I never hurt anybody. I am not a violent man. I am accused of robbing a bank of \$64,000, and they brand me as the nation's No. 1 criminal."

Sutton was outraged. Here he was being treated like a "red" while "others like Alger Hiss, who imperiled the nation, were permitted to roam the streets in comparatively low bail," he complained.

"Others," he demurred, "who are accused of having defrauded the government of hundreds of thousands of dollars merely get a letter from some committee in Washington asking them to please come in and talk it over."

"Maybe that's justice," Sutton concluded, "but it's puzzling to a guy like me."

— George Lavan

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles reports a successful sale of the Feb. 18 Militant featuring the article by Albert Parker telling of the jailing and bombing of Negroes for fighting Jim Crow. Literature Agent Jeanne Morgan writes, "The great event of the week here was the mass protest rally on the Moore case held at the Shrine Auditorium. The rally was sponsored jointly by the NAACP and the local labor movement, both AFL and CIO, and was consequently quite an historic occasion. A large number of comrades were on hand to sell our literature and to distribute leaflets for our meeting with George Clarke speaking on 'The Coming International Showdown.' The score: Militants sold, 189; FI's, 11; leaflets distributed, 2,500. High-scorers were May, Jeanne, Gail, Mili, Marianne, and Lou. We also had a good sale of literature at our Clarke meeting. In the previous two weeks Milt, Erroll, Gail and Evelyn did a good job, selling 92 Militants at St. Louis meetings in the Negro and Mexican communities."

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Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports that the highlight of the week for New York was a sale at the NAACP convention in Washington, D. C. Connie, Myron, Rebecca and Fred E. took down the Feb. 18 Militant and the new issue of Fourth International featuring the article by George Breitman on the new dangers and new tasks facing the Negro struggle. They sold 74 papers and 64 FI's to delegates at the afternoon and evening sessions, at the hotel, and at the banquet on Monday evening. Fred E. was high-scorer, selling a total of 40 Militants and 31 FI's.

Ethel also reports a sale at CCNY by Beth and Donald of 15 papers and three FI's. Work in the projects is going well, she says. This week Joyce sold another subscription at Lillian Wald. St. Paul sends in more renewals and says that although the latest snowfall of one foot is slowing down the walking a bit, they are still working toward completion of their lists.

Literature Agent D. C. tells of an interesting experience he had while visiting St. Louis sub-

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues. 8:30-9 P.M. Socialists meet every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 620 Main St., 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sat. Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7381.

CHICAGO—734 N. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:30 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND—10600 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TF 7-6267.

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ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters, MAin 7781.

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SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm. 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs. 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone MAin 997.

YOUNGSTOWN—24 E. Federal St.

FORD WORKERS TOLD LEGAL RIGHTS IF QUIZZED BY FBI

Published below is a series of questions and answers reprinted from Ford Facts, Feb. 16, official organ of UAW Ford Local 600 for the information of their members who have been harassed by the FBI and kindred agencies. (Edit.)

In recent months the Defense Committee of Local 600, UAW-CIO, has received numerous requests from members for information concerning their legal rights when questioned by FBI or other agents. The following questions and answers will give our members this information: These are YOUR rights whether you are a citizen or non-citizen.

Q. If an agent of the FBI or Immigration Service, or a Congressional Committee or the City Loyalty Board asks me questions, do I have to answer?

A. No. You don't have to answer any questions or give any statement. Under our Constitution you cannot be forced to answer such questions.

Q. What can an agent legally do if I refuse to answer questions or make a statement?

A. Nothing.

Q. Does my wife or family have to answer such questions or make any statement?

A. No, they have the same right to refuse.

Q. If they ask me or send me a letter to go to their office, do I have to go?

A. No.

Q. Suppose they give me a subpoena?

A. You always have the right to consult counsel before you testify or make a statement. You can insist on this right before you comply with the subpoena.

Q. Suppose they have a warrant for my arrest?

A. Then you must go. But you do not have to make any statement without first consulting counsel.

Q. Suppose I am called into the office by Ford supervision to make a statement to such an agent?

A. Supervision has no right to call you into the office for this purpose. Insist that your committeeman be called. He will not permit you to be questioned in the plant.

Q. Do I have to answer questions concerning my political beliefs or affiliations?

A. No. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution gives you the right to refuse to answer such questions.

Q. Do I have to become a "stool-pigeon" about another's political beliefs or associations?

A. No — for the same reason.

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Korea and Valley Forge

Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, commander of the U.S. invasion armies in the Far East, has tried to draw a parallel between the Korean War and the American Revolution. In a Tokyo speech made on the eve of Washington's birthday, he cast himself in the role of a latter-day Washington, fighting for freedom today as George Washington did 175 years ago.

"The lessons learned through Gen. Washington along the Schuylkill River at Valley Forge," he is quoted as saying, "have been taught again to us along the Rhine, the Elbe, the Nakdong and the Han. . . Valley Forge remains a living symbol of the strivings of men for freedom. . . Korea is but one more revelation of the continuance of that struggle."

Armed with this historical precedent, the learned General arrogantly questioned the right of the American people to protest the presence of U.S. troops in Korea.

There is a parallel between the Korean War and the American Revolution, but Ridgway has it backwards. His analogy would have been accurate had he assumed the mantle of British General Gage, or Burgoyne, or Cornwallis, rather than that of George Washington. Like these bigoted officers of King George III, Ridgway is today the representative of the most barbarous cause on earth. Let us draw the parallel as it actually should be drawn.

Wall Street's government tried to maintain in power the Syngman Rhee regime, a corrupt, terroristic and reactionary government which, by dictatorial means, restrained the people of Southern Korea from all progressive measures, kept the land in the hands of the rich landlords, etc. This is comparable to the governments established by George III in the American colonies.

Wall Street's government launched a vast armada against a land separated from this continent by the broadest ocean in the world. King George sent his great armada across the second broadest ocean in the world.

King George III justified his war against a colonial nation with the cry of "aggression." He shouted that the colonists had started the war with the destruction of British property at the Boston Tea Party, and with the firing on British troops at Concord and Lexington. Like George III, Wall Street's government today justifies the most barbarous ravaging of an entire land by the single excuse that the other side "started" the war.

King George III filled out his invading armies with bands of hired mercenary Hessian troops. Like King George, only with less success, Wall Street's government today tries to use dollars to hire other nations to help it in the suppression of people fighting for their freedom.

Finally, George III's generals were often incompetents who wasted the lives of the innocent young men they had dragged into their armies. Is there a parallel between these past British generals and the present day MacArthur, Ridgways and Van Fleets? The record tells the tale.

HYPOCRISY MASKS U.S. ANTI-PERON CAMPAIGN

By J. Gomez

The U.S. imperialists are not only engaged in a "cold war" on the European and Asian continents, they are conducting another one on the American continent: against the Peron regime of Argentina.

The Peronista organ *Democracia*, Feb. 3, charged Washington and Wall Street with trying to "encircle" Argentina. This charge has a valid basis.

The "cold war" against Peron began with his advent to power in the early forties, and has been intensified in recent months. This came as a result of the fact that in his struggle for reelection Peron was forced, under pressure of popular sentiment, to take a stronger stand against both Yankee imperialist interests and native Argentine plutocratic elements.

FEAR OF PERONISM

Despite all the propaganda to the contrary, the "cold war" against the Peron regime is not motivated by humanitarian considerations. Both Washington and Wall Street see in Peronism a mortal danger to their economic and political domination of Latin America. They fear the threat to their profits and privileges of such movements which represent the nationalist-minded bourgeois forces of Central and South America.

The U.S. attacks upon the Peron regime for its lack of "democracy" are saturated with hypocrisy. The real reason for the rage of the imperialists is the aspiration of the Argentine people for national independence which finds expression in Peron's resistance to playing the role of puppet and satellite to Washington.

WELL KNOWN FACT

It is a well known fact that a majority of Latin American countries are today dominated by

dictators much more vicious in the suppression of the most elementary human rights than the Peron regime. Yet they are the darlings of the Yankee imperialists. Just to mention a few: the personal dictatorship of Trujillo in Santo Domingo; the feudal lord Somoza in Nicaragua; the despotic Odría regime in Peru; the bloody military clique in Venezuela; the military Junta in Bolivia; the ultra-reactionary regime in Colombia which, in its brutal suppression of human rights, forced a considerable section of the people into an uprooted life of guerrilla existence, etc.

Yet, in the face of these known facts, there is no "cold war" against these dictators. The reason is obvious. Washington and Wall Street are not engaged in a battle for human rights and principles but are concerned solely with the preservation of their economic and political control of the semi-colonial Latin American countries and their "right" to exploit their people. The Yankee money-bags would join hands with all the devils in the world so long as they would remain obedient to their dictates.

And there is nothing unusual in all this. It is, rather, an expression of the fact that the material interests of the American financial oligarchy come more and more into open conflict with the best interests of humanity. It isn't our job to defend the bourgeois Peron regime in Argentina; but, in the interest of truth, it is our job to establish that the imperialist gang in Washington and Wall Street are not the "defenders of democracy" in Latin America but its worst enemies.

What Eisenhower Thinks

By John F. Petrone

WHAT EISENHOWER THINKS, edited and interpreted by Allen Taylor. Crowell, 1952, 186 pp., \$2.75.

It is no longer a secret that Eisenhower is a conservative (in fact, it never was, not even in 1948 when many labor leaders desperately decided to back him for the Presidency because it then seemed that Truman did not have a chance). This new book, containing excerpts from Eisenhower's speeches and statements, documents his conservatism in a conclusive way.

That is absolutely its only merit. Reading it is like chewing hay. Eisenhower has not missed out on a single cliché of the political babblers; he gives us the accepted platitudes about democracy and statism not once, not five, but at least a dozen times. He seems incapable of expressing one spontaneous thought or one original idea. And his style is no improvement on Truman's, difficult thought that seems.

TITLE MISLEADING

The title of the book is misleading. It does not show what Eisenhower thinks, but that he says and has said with a view to winning the confidence of the ruling class and of the conservative machine politicians of

the Republican Party. And even then it does not include everything of significance that he has said: The editor leaves out those statements of the brass hat that said a little too much. Two examples will suffice:

Eisenhower's great theme is that the American people must be on guard against "security" and "statism." By security he does not mean what the Pentagon calls "military security" — he means social security, social reform measures, etc. (This lifelong military bureaucrat has himself been very careful, however, not to give up his \$18,761 a year pension.) And when he talks about the need to oppose statism, he does not mean the trend to a police state and militarization, — he means any intervention by the government that interferes with property rights, profits, etc. (Naturally he is a devout advocate of such statist measures as conscription and UMT.)

The editor includes a great many of his statements on this subject. But he omits the one that presented Eisenhower's views in their sharpest and crudest form, minus the "idealist" hogwash he generally surrounds them with — from a speech delivered to the St. Andrews Society in New York on Nov. 30, 1949:

"I do not believe that security, in the sense that we may live in a slothful indolence and ease and



EISENHOWER

stagnation, can ever be achieved, unless we do it, gentlemen, as slaves of someone who directs us. Possibly we have become too regal of things we call luxuries. We want to wear fine shirts and have caviar and champagne when we should be eating hot dogs and beer. I have seen all around the world many people lying beneath white crosses. They are there because they believed in something more than trying to be sure that they would not be hungry when they were 67."

Similarly, with Eisenhower's

attitude to the struggle for Negro equality. The book quotes a speech he made in Harlem in 1949 containing trite remarks like those Truman makes on this subject on certain occasions. But it omits the statement he made before a Senate committee in April 1948, when in response to questions about segregation in the armed forces, he said:

"I do believe that if we attempt merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else, we are just going to get into trouble."

Here are a few other quotations showing why Eisenhower is an acceptable candidate to Wall Street and the Dixiecrats:

"Increased productivity... alone can better the position of labor." "With only rare exceptions, they (American workingmen) have striven within the framework of our laws and traditions to improve their lot through increased production that profited all Americans."

This "tribute" to labor makes it hard to understand why American workers ever needed unions — or why they should need them now. No employer ever has objected or will object to having the workers "improve their lot through increased production." What were all the bloody labor struggles and sacrifices about anyhow?

The record would not be com-

plete without another "refutation" of Marxism, and Eisenhower supplies that too. Marx, he said in a speech to the American Bar Association in St. Louis on Labor Day, 1949, preached "the falsehood of an inescapable class warfare that would continue within such a society as ours until, by violence the workers erased all traces of traditional government. If Marx were right, this day should be, in all our great country, an annually recurring provocation to riot, physical strife and civil disorder. The factual evidence of his blunder is so clear that it ought not to require emphasis."

"REFUTES" MARX

But Eisenhower felt he needed some additional evidence besides the absence of riots on Labor Day. What was Marx's error, according to the general? He did not consider "the many thousands of times each year in meetings of management when businessmen — though primarily charged with concern for cost, production, distribution, and profit — subordinate those material things to increasing the welfare of their employees." Also: "He could not imagine a great nation in which there is no proletariat, in which labor is the middle class that he so much despised and hated."

But on the very next page after this "crushing" refutation of Marxist predictions about the permanence of class warfare under capitalism, Eisenhower, appealing for closer class collaboration between capital and labor, forgets himself and complains that American "industrial relations . . . now sometimes appear to be no better than a state of armed truce, punctuated by outbreaks of industrial warfare."

FBI Arrest Ten Ku Kluxers -- For Molesting Whites

The FBI's widely publicized arrest of ten members of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina on Feb. 16 should not deceive anyone into believing that now the government has started a drive to stop the lynch-terrorist practices against Negroes and other minority groups in the South.

In the first place, the ten Kluxers were not arrested for flogging Negroes (although they had done that) but for flogging a white man and woman. In the second place, the Kluxers were seized only because they made the mistake of transporting their victims across the state line into South Carolina, thereby opening themselves to a Federal charge of kidnapping.

The North Carolina case does not constitute a warning to the KKK that the FBI is out to get them for their racist crimes. On the contrary, all it constitutes is a warning that (1) they had better lay off whites, and (2) they had better not take their flogging victims across a state line.

The fact still remains: Despite all the demands and promises of "vigorous action," not one terrorist has been arrested by the FBI for attacking Negroes since the current outbreak of violence against them began about four months ago.

The conclusion still holds: The capitalist government in Washington cannot be depended on to protect the rights or lives of minority groups threatened by terrorism; the minority groups, in alliance with the labor movement, still have to defend themselves.

Egypt and the British Labor Left

The editorial statement published below is reprinted from *Socialist Outlook*, which speaks for the Left Wing of the British Labor Party. (Ed.)

The refusal of successive British troops from the Suez Canal Zone threatens to involve the British people in a full-scale war against Egypt.

It has already led to the cold-blooded massacre of 48 Ismailian policemen, and the consequences of this dastardly action have inflamed a revolutionary situation throughout all Egypt and the Sudan. Vast troop concentrations and naval re-inforcements suggest that Mr. Churchill is quite prepared to march on Cairo, bringing death and destruction to Egyptian peasant and British conscript alike rather than concede to the legitimate national aspirations of the Egyptian people.

WHAT THEY FEAR

He has already appealed to the rulers of the United States for help . . . and he will get it. First, because the Suez Canal is of vital strategic importance in the war which all the imperialist powers are preparing against the Soviet Union; and second — even more urgent — because the movement of national liberation which is sweeping across the Arab world is threatening to turn into a movement of SOCIAL LIBER-

tion against poverty, inequality, landlordism and capitalism.

All the capitalist press was quick to detect the mark of the working class in the recent Cairo "riots." Not only were British clubs and hotels attacked, but so also were the sumptuous playgrounds of the rich and corrupt rulers of Egypt itself.

"The lower levels and the laborers have taken over!" said Sir Miles Thomas, after the plane in which he was escaping was rushed by Egyptian airport laborers. The note of ruling class fear in this statement has been echoed by every big capitalist and landlord throughout the world — not excluding Egypt where Farouk promptly sacked his Cabinet and imposed a curfew and Martial Law.

No wonder the New York Times, in discussing Churchill's proposal to send American troops to Egypt, agreed in these words . . . "the bell tools for us also!"

Indeed it does. After centuries of the most horrible exploitation which has reduced millions of working people to a depth of poverty incomprehensible to most British workers, the masses of the old colonial empires have been forced to take desperate measures to secure bread for their empty bellies. Like our own Chartist forefathers, inscribed on their banners is the slogan . . . "Bread or Blood!"

Imperialism cannot compromise with such a movement. They must shoot it down. Or, to put it more correctly, they must get YOU to shoot it down. And this is what they are now doing . . . in Korea, in Malaya, in Indo-China, in Morocco, and now in Egypt.

NOT OUR WAR

Yes, for all the representatives of capitalism and imperialism "the bell tolls."

If we allow ourselves to be overcome by the fumes of "national unity," if we unite with the Tories in trying to stop the inevitable, then we, too, shall go down to the destruction which surely awaits this imperialist system.

And, in that case, we shall deserve to. For what does the Egyptian peasant and worker want? Bread and land for himself and his children and a country free from foreign domination. How can Labor deny these things which we accept as a right for ourselves?

TORIES MAIN ENEMY

Labor has nothing to fear from the Egyptian people. They do not want to impose any burdens on our backs. They do not want to drive us into war factories, shatter our social services and reduce the educational standards of our children. It is the Tories who want to, and must, do all

these things so that we shall build the tanks and guns with which to shoot down the peoples of Egypt, Korea and Malaya.

Shame on our Movement if it accepts this ghoulish Tory proposition! We shall be laying a rod for our own backs. How can we snatch from the Tories the guns which are undermining our standard of life, if we agree that these guns should be used against our fellow-workers in Egypt? If we are REALLY opposed to Toryism, if we REALLY want to bring them down and thus secure another, and better, Labor Government, we shall do all in our power to frustrate these Tory plots against the freedom of the Egyptian people.

The poor farmers and workers of Egypt and the Sudan are our people. The British Tories are not.

Stand by the Egyptian people! Withdraw all British troops!

Notice To Subscribers

Due to a breakdown in the printing press at the shop where *The Militant* is printed, circulation of last week's issue was delayed. Regular publication schedule is resumed this week.

The Editor

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 17—

THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By Harry Frankel

With this installment, we conclude publication of this series. Readers who would like to get back issues of *The Militant* containing previous installments should address their requests to the Business Manager.

The American Revolution comprised, as we have seen, not merely a revolt against Great Britain, but also a struggle by the farmers, artisans, planters and sections of the merchant class against the wealthy ruling classes of the colonies: the large landowners, big merchants and the top layers of the clergy and professional class. This fight of class against class resulted in important social changes in America.

The Agrarian Revolution

Charles A. Beard writes: ". . . The American Revolution was more than a war on England. It was in truth an economic, social and intellectual transformation of prime significance — the first of those modern world-shaking reconstructions. . ."

The most important single social aspect of the revolution was agrarian. Decisive changes in the land system were wrought. The vast crown lands, slated to be formed into proprietary estates, were all confiscated outright. The question of their future disposition was fought out in the Continental Congress, where Sam Adams, supported by Thomas Jefferson, enforced the rule that these lands were to be held by the state legislatures for the benefit of the inhabitants, rather than ceded to proprietors in large parcels.

Hundreds of vast landed estates were confiscated, in most cases under laws that decreed forfeiture of property by persons found guilty of Tory activity. However, some estates were confiscated even where their owners went along with the Revolution. For example, the Virginia estate of Lord Fairfax, one of the most extensive in the country, was taken from him despite the fact that he never opposed the Revolution, but solely because of revolutionary opposition to landholding aristocracy.

The confiscation and division of these large

estates and the Crown lands were accompanied by the destruction of all feudal and semi-feudal property laws, such as primogeniture and entail which were designed to hold the big estates intact, and quit rents, which cost the colonists tens of thousands of dollars each year. Further, the laws which restricted voting to owners of land were largely eliminated. While many property qualifications remained after the Revolution, a citizen no longer had to own land in order to vote. Personal property of any type sufficed.

These changes add up to a social revolution on the land. All restrictions on the development of capitalist agriculture were removed. The landholding aristocracy held enormous political and economic power in some parts of New England, throughout the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and to some degree in the southern colonies solely by virtue of its ownership of land. This landholding aristocracy was smashed and was never able to rise again in the United States.

Property, Slavery and the Church

Property confiscation was not limited to landholders alone. Many merchants, clergymen and professional men lost their fortunes through the action of revolutionary decrees and tribunals. It is difficult to estimate the extent of property values confiscated by the revolutionary people. At the end of the war, a group of some 2,500 exiled Tories appealed to the British Parliament for restitution of their losses. A commission appointed to sift and reduce their claims arrived at the conclusion that this group had lost about \$40,000,000 in property values. This was the extent of property lost by perhaps 2½ percent of the exiled Tories. For purposes of comparison, the total land valuation in the U.S. ten years after this time was only about ten times this amount.

Although exact figures are not available, indications are that these confiscations add up to one of the largest non-compensated expropriations on record in the capitalist revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Slavery was seriously shaken. As a direct result of the revolution, and partly as a result of the participation of Negroes in the revolution (there was an average of 54 Negroes in each of Washington's battalions), about 11 or 12 percent of the slaves were freed. Most important, slavery was abolished in the six Northern and Middle colonies, thus establishing the solid non-slave area which was to serve as the base for the later assault on Southern slavery.

An established church existed in nine of the thirteen colonies prior to the revolution. In most cases, the established church was one which was adhered to by a minority of the people. These church institutions received financial support out of public tax money, and were further buttressed by various discriminatory religious laws. Establishment of the church was totally destroyed as a result of the revolution.

Growth of Industrial Capitalism

Nor did the merchants escape unscathed. This class, and particularly its wealthiest portions, was shaken to its foundations by expropriations of property, loss of former power and position, exile and impoverishment. Its place was taken by an overhauled capitalist class, very different in personnel and changing in the nature of its activities.

The colonial capitalist class was predominantly merchant-capitalist. It made its money, not by producing commodities for sale upon the market, but by buying them cheap and selling them dearer. In other words, this class did not transform the old modes of production, but preserved and exploited them. Its dominance was therefore reactionary.

The American Revolution, while not definitely bringing the dominance of merchant capitalism to an end, established the conditions for its destruction. All restrictions on the development of industrial capitalism were destroyed, at least in the northern region of the nation. Moreover, the state power was utilized to facilitate the growth of the capitalist mode of production. The fact that manufacturing took an immediate upward leap in the years during and immediately following the revolution is not at all accidental.

The place vacated by the old wealthy classes was taken by a new aristocracy of wealth, which was soon far richer than the old. These are the rich we have with us yet, the capitalist class that still rules over America. At that time, this class was progressive, since it had a great mission to fulfill. It would destroy slavery, settle the whole continent, develop production, multiply

factories, mines, mills, transportation facilities. It was to be the organizer of a vast and immensely productive economy. In the process, this class would become bloated with wealth, senile and reactionary. It would bring into being its own gravedigger, the industrial working class of America, by transforming the immense majority of the people into property-less proletarians.

From our vantage point in time, we can thus see the part played by the American Revolution in the growth of our nation, and in preparation for the socialist stage of society on this continent. The immense struggles of labor against the enslaving power of capital which are now developing have their roots in the revolutionary past.

The workers' socialist movement will produce new Sam Adamses in the coming struggles. These new revolutionists will differ in many ways from Sam Adams, for they will be socialists, and not petty-bourgeois individualists. They will differ from him in many other aspects of ideology and background. But they will not differ from him in one respect at least. The coming Sam Adamses, like the Adams of old, will know how to pursue the struggle of the oppressed with courage, with intelligence, with devotion, until they see the fight through to a victorious conclusion.

We have not attempted, in these articles, to deal with every aspect of Sam Adams' career. For example, his reactionary attitude towards the Shays' Rebellion of New England farmers in the post-revolutionary period has not come within our scope. We have been concerned with Sam Adams solely as a revolutionist.

The art of revolution occupies a peculiar position in world history. There is perhaps no other that is mastered by so few, and is of service to so many. Like all other revolutionists, Sam Adams, who devoted his life to this art, met with social disfavor for most of his life, and the very height of social approbation when it came into its own, as a revolutionary crisis gripped the nation.

Sam Adams is the revolutionist without peer in American history. His command of the revolutionary art, and of its associated skills of propaganda, organization and strategy, has never been equaled on this continent.

Like all great revolutionists, Sam Adams belongs to the people. His glory and his triumph came with the glory and triumph of the people. His fame will shine brightly once again in the admiration and affection of the people when they rule this land once more.

The End.



Dorothy Martin (L) and Ben Grainger, who were kidnapped and beaten till their blood flowed, have accused ten Ku Klux Klan members of the crime. The ten Ku Klux terrorists were arrested by the FBI because they had taken their victims across a state line.

Viva Zapata!

By Jerry Warren

Viva Zapata is an exciting, well-directed, well-acted movie. With considerable fidelity to history it tells the story of Emiliano Zapata's role in the Mexican Revolution of 1910 till his assassination in 1919.

Most Americans will derive their first knowledge of the great Mexican revolutionary leader and the Zapatista movement from this movie. And while a movie is no substitute for history or biography, yet those who see Viva Zapata will get a correct general idea of how and what the Zapatistas fought for. This may inspire many to read about the Mexican Revolution, and Edgcomb Pinchon's novelized biography of Zapata, on which the film is largely based, is a good book with which to begin.

The film begins with the portrayal of Zapata's evolution into a rebel against the sugar plantation owners of his native state, Morelos, and the brutal dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. Inability to silently witness the injustices of the regime forces Zapata into the hills as an outlaw. His guerrilla movement, based on the peons of Morelos, becomes the southern army of the revolution, represented in the North by the armies of Villa, Carranza and the liberal politician, Madero.

In life the thing that distinguished Zapata from all the other leaders of the long Mexican revolution was his unswerving demand for distribution of the land to the peasants. This is well brought out in the film. It is on the land issue that Zapata for nine years leads his armies and breaks with every president and dictator who comes to power in Mexico City. The political reformer, Madero, who will not settle the agrarian question, the dictator Huerta who overthrows and murders Madero, Carranza — all of them are fought by the indomitable agrarian revolutionist, Zapata.

Some critics have waxed sardonic about Marlon Brando's characterization of the revolutionary leader. While other interpretations of Zapata's personality certainly were possible, one thing is obvious. Having decided on this characterization, Brando and the director, Elia Kazan, stuck to it consistently and made it convincing. It certainly serves to underline the two main features

that make Zapata the greatest figure to emerge from Mexico's revolutionary decade — his incorruptibility and his unrelenting determination that the peasants should get the land.

Throughout the film there is only one piece — a brief one — of propaganda. That is an explanation of why Madero fled to the U.S. from the prisons of Dictator Porfirio Diaz. "There is political democracy in the United States. The right of asylum. What we want to have here in Mexico," or words to that effect, are said.

This, of course, is an outright falsehood. U.S. imperialism was one of the chief beneficiaries of the Diaz dictatorship and the American press and the whole government apparatus was at Diaz's service. There was blood on the hands of President Taft, his attorney general, Ambassador Creel, the U.S. Secret Service, the immigration officials, state governments, Texas Rangers, local sheriffs, etc., who ruthlessly turned Mexican political refugees over to Diaz and his firing squads. One of the glories of the American socialist movement of those days was that it succeeded in some cases in saving Mexican political refugees from deportation.

While this is the only sin of commission in the movie there are many sins of omission. The role of U.S. imperialism against the Mexican Revolution is nowhere depicted. Even in the scenes showing the palace revolution against Madero and his assassination there is no hint of the leading part played by the U.S. Ambassador. Nor is the Catholic hierarchy, arch-enemy of the Revolution, mentioned. Needless to say, the "solidarity" expressed by the Zapatistas with the Russian Revolution and their parades with slogans hailing Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks (whom they called "the Zapatistas of Russia") are omitted.

The major shortcoming of the film is that it fails to give the audience a sense of the scope and duration of the Zapatista movement. It was not confined to Morelos — at one time southern Mexico from Atlantic to Pacific was under the rule of Zapata's peasant republic. Zapata took Mexico City twice and successfully led his armies for nine years. Nor did his agrarian program die when he was assassinated. The land reforms of present-day Mexico are direct results of his great struggle.

The U. S. Votes No

By Fred Hart

"All peoples shall have the right of self-determination."

In the past the spokesmen of U.S. imperialism paid lip-service to this principle, during both World War I and World War II. But today they oppose it, and vote against it.

That is what happened on Feb. 5 in Paris, at the final meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A resolution was introduced to include in a proposed covenant on human rights a provision flatly stating the principle quoted above.

The U.S. delegation voted against it. So did the Western European countries with colonial empires, the non-Asian members of the British empire, and Brazil. The resolution was supported by the Soviet bloc, and most Latin-American, Arab, Asian and African delegations. It was passed by 36 to 11 with 12 abstentions.

Of course the resolution by itself is not going to provide self-determination to any country now denied it, and neither will the covenant to be drafted by the Commission on Human Rights. But it was valuable, and deserves the publicity that the capitalist press did not give it, because it showed where the U.S. government stands to-

day on merely a verbal declaration such as it never hesitated to support in the past.

Another part of the resolution asked the Commission on Human Rights to appeal to members of the UN to avoid "maneuvers calculated to frustrate" self-determination and abstain from "aggression under the guise of defense." This part of the resolution was supported by Egypt and other victims of imperialist domination, and was opposed by the U.S. and allied imperialist powers, who succeeded in deleting it, by 21 to 19 with nine abstentions.

Eleanor Roosevelt, leading the fight against the resolution that was adopted, complained that its wording was "not satisfactory" because it did not specify when, how and to what extent it was to be implemented, and because it gave "no leeway whatever, as it is worded, to the Commission on Human Rights in drafting provisions on self-determination."

But these fake arguments fooled nobody. The real objection of the U.S. delegation was that the resolution was TOO specific. They want "leeway" to keep on stalling and time for more "maneuvers calculated to frustrate" the just demands of oppressed nations.

Notes from the News

SCRAM!... While campaigning through Wisconsin recently in his bid to get the Republican presidential nomination, Senator Taft went through the Chevrolet auto plant in Janesville. As he walked down the assembly line the co-father of the Taft-Hartley Law stopped and tried to show how friendly he was to labor by shaking hands with a worker. The CIO worker, Al Heinke, however, refused the "honor" and told the bigwig politician, "Go on — I've got my work to do."

"IT'S A SAD COMMENTARY, but when you have police ordering police around, things are pretty bad." — Col. Arthur S. Bell, acting civil defense director commenting on the scene of the third airplane crash in Elizabeth, N. J., when more than 2,000 badge-wearing officials descended on the scene of the disaster and got in each other's way.

OLIVER EDMUND CHUBB, former head of the State Department's Office of Chinese Affairs, cleared by a Loyalty Board of charges for which Secretary Acheson suspended him last June, immediately handed in his resignation and received voluntary retirement status. He said he did this because even though he had been cleared of "disloyalty" once, he was exposed to "future jeopardy on the same or similar grounds." He must have been thinking of John Stewart Service, who was cleared six times and then fired the seventh.

KKK CROSS AT HARVARD.... Although the news was suppressed, reports leaked out that a fiery cross had been burned in the Harvard College Yard in front of dormitories housing nine Negro students. Said to have been placed and lit by three unidentified students, the burning Ku Klux symbol was soon knocked down by booing students.

BOOK BURNING.... The Sapulpa, Okla., Board of Education revealed that it had removed and burned certain books in the High School Library. Charles Hartman, spokesman for the Board, re-

fused to give the titles of the burned books adding that they were "volumes of no consequence." He revealed, however, that one of the books was a history that allegedly was too approving of socialism and that others dealt too frankly with sex. Hartman said that the women's group that purged the library shelves was so thorough that it even looked up the background of some of the authors.

NOT SO FAR OFF.... President Truman in a banquet speech referred to President Grover Cleveland, who, she said, became loved for the enemies he made. "I hope they will love me for that same reason when the time comes," Truman continued. Cleveland was the president who inaugurated "Government by Injunction" in the railroad strike of 1894 and imprisoned strike leader Eugene V. Debs. He was loved by the railroad trusts for that. Truman resembles strikebreaker Cleveland in his use of injunctions and strikebreaking against the railroad and other unions. Finally, no one but Wall Street loved Cleveland, who became so discredited that in 1896 his own party had to repudiate him.

GIDEON SPEAKS.... Henry A. Wallace, not-so-long-ago darling of the Stalinists and former leader of the Progressive Party, has written two congratulatory letters to career-stool pigeon Herbert A. Philbrick, who became a national "hero" for his spying in the Communist Party. Wallace wrote that he was impressed by Philbrick's "evident sincerity and desire to give the facts."

BLOODY PROFITS.... Casualties in U.S. coal mines totalled 39,040 for 1951. Of these 790 were killed. The coal operators and their political stooges are busy fighting legislation to compel mines to follow the Bureau of Mines Safety Code.

TRENTON'S JIM CROW JUSTICE.... Last Aug. 19 Trenton police, infuriated by revelations of their anti-Negro policy in the Trenton Six case, committed another atrocity. In the Negro neighborhood police ordered a group of people talking on a street corner to move. When the people objected they shot and killed Robert Kelly, 26-year old veteran whose "attitude" had brought him police persecution for a year. This month Trenton "justice" wound up the case. Kelly's mother, who had tried to stop the police, was fined \$100 dollars and two brothers, also present at the murder scene, were sent to prison with one-year and three months sentences.

DANGEROUS SENSE OF HUMOR.... Recently a retired Ohio railroad worker sent a postcard to Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder. The card said: "I like your dollars but not your sense," followed by his name and address. He was visited by representatives of the FBI and intelligence section of the Internal Revenue Dept.

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Husband Killed in Mine Blast



Six United Mine Workers members were killed and four others injured in a coal mine explosion near Greensburg, Pa. A nurse is trying to comfort Mrs. Mary Magrey, whose husband was one of those killed. Coal operators are still fighting against mine safety legislation.

SITDOWN ANNIVERSARY MEETING HELD IN FLINT

By Fred Perry

FLINT, Feb. 17 — Five locals of the CIO United Auto Workers in this city joined today in celebrating the 15th anniversary of the victory of the sitdown strikes which forced General Motors to grant union recognition.

A banquet attended by 2,000 was held at the IMA hall. The capitulation of GM to the Flint auto workers in 1937 was the most important victory of the CIO organizing drive. Speakers included Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey, Roy Reuther, Jack Livingston and other officers of the UAW, Governor Williams, and three prominent leaders of the '37 strike who are now out of the union — Bob Travis, Wyndam Mortimer and Leo Krzycki.

For an occasion of this significance an attendance of 2,000 cannot be considered much of a success; especially when it is compared to a rally in a previous year at which John L. Lewis spoke to some 5,000 or more workers. It had been announced that John L. Lewis was to be among the speakers but he did not appear. The Arrangements Committee consisting of Bill Genske, Financial Secretary of Fisher #1, Cy Davis, Pres. of Fisher #2, and Leo Haley, Pres. of A.C. went to Washington more than two months ago in an attempt to get Lewis to speak. They were unsuccessful in getting to see Lewis, who claimed to be sick.

Nevertheless, the committee publicly announced that Lewis was going to appear. However, it was obvious to anyone who heard the committee's report that Lewis was refusing to attend; most likely because he was piqued at the fact that Genske, Livingston and other Reutherite bureaucrats with no record of participation in the sitdowns were to be given equal billing on the program.

Besides this boner on Lewis the

S. F. Community Excludes Chinese

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO — Supreme Court decision against restrictive covenants does not apply in California! This is the attitude of home owners in the Southwood district of South San Francisco which prevented a Chinese family, the Sing Shengs, from buying a home here. After Sheng had made his down payment on the house, complaints and objections started to pour in.

Sheng fought with the Chinese Nationalist Sixth Army during World War II. In 1947 he came to the United States to study for the diplomatic service and planned to return to China after he graduated from college. But after the Chinese Communist Party came to power in the revolution there Sheng decided to come to San Francisco where he got a job as an airline mechanic.

Sheng, who believed all the stories about democracy in America, decided to put "democracy to a test" at a meeting called by the home owners to which he was invited. He proposed a secret ballot on his right to live in the community. Sheng's belief in democracy received a serious blow when the votes were counted. Out of 216 votes returned, 174 objected to his living there, 28 had no objections, and 14 no opinion. American imperialism's brand of democracy to the colonial and semi-colonial people — even those of its so-called "allies" — once again is proven to be false.

GEORGE CLARKE DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL SHOWDOWN AT MEETINGS ON WEST COAST

By Milton Alvin

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 24 — A capacity audience filled every seat in the Socialist Workers Party hall last night to hear George Clarke speak on "The Coming International Showdown." Tracing world developments from the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the present, Clarke showed the inevitable march of hundreds of millions of peoples toward the revolutionary socialist solution of contemporary world problems.

"One third of the globe has been torn from the dying system of capitalism, from the river Elbe to the China Sea," he said, "and the movement leaps from country to country and from continent to continent."

Analyzing the driving forces of American imperialism, Clarke described how the Wall Street-Washington political machine is blindly rushing into a Third World War, trampling upon the rights of the peoples in Europe and Asia and destroying the traditional democratic rights of the American people at the same time.

"What are the opposing forces in this coming showdown?" he asked. "On the one side there is

Joint L. A. Rally Protests Anti-Negro Lynch-Terror

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 22 — In a dramatic united outpouring here last night, 5,000 people of all races and creeds massed at the Shrine auditorium to protest the ruthless terror that has swept Florida.

In the largest demonstration in Los Angeles since World War II, the powerful labor movement, Jewish, civic, liberal and religious

groups demonstrated by their presence that the Negroes are not alone in their fight against discrimination and intimidation.

The demonstration was profoundly significant. The meeting was far away in time and distance from the events which called it into being. It was held two months after the bombing murders of the Florida NAACP leader, Harry T. Moore, and his wife, Harriet, which climaxed the floggings, cross-burnings, bombings and murders that have flared unchecked throughout Florida. And Florida is 3,000 miles from Los Angeles.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took the initiative. It recognized that the labor movement and the other minority groups would share their opposition to the bloody events occurring at the other end of the nation, if only they were informed of what is taking place.

Their appeal for support did

not go unanswered. Sharing the platform with NAACP representatives were Alfred T. Lunceford, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Los Angeles CIO Council; Thomas Ranford, president of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council; C. V. O'Halloran, regional director of the CIO United Auto Workers; City Councilman Edward Roybal, a representative of the Mexican-American community; and spokesmen of a dozen other labor, minority, liberal, civic and religious organizations.

DANGEROUS PATTERN

The NAACP set the tone of the meeting and provided the principal speaker, Walter White, its executive secretary. White pointed out that the events in Florida are part of a dangerous pattern and linked this pattern with the budding semi-fascist organizations springing up, such as the America Plus movement in California. He also said the people of Asia, Africa, India and the Caribbean are asking themselves: How can we believe in America's protestations of democracy? What right have we dark-skinned people to believe that we, too, wouldn't be treated in the same way the United States treats its Negroes?

Thomas Ranford of the AFL pointed out that "any action against one minority group is an action against this nation." He declared that the AFL officially condemns what happened in Florida, and called for similar rallies to be held throughout the nation.

The events in Florida as they unfolded and the call for the Shrine demonstration were given the silent treatment by the daily press. But the groundswell of sentiment for the protest was so strong that the County Board of Supervisors gave the meeting its endorsement. This was followed a few days later by official approval from the City Council. Belatedly, the daily papers got around to giving meager publicity to the event.

EFFECT OF WITCH-HUNT

The demonstration at the Shrine illustrated again the extent of the ravages of the poisonous witch-hunt, and especially its effect upon liberals and the labor bureaucracy.

The crowd that turned out was a rebuff to the witch-hunters. But before the rally, the labor bureaucracy was terrified at the thought that by showing their solidarity with the Negro people they might be branded as "Reds," and that some "Red" organizations might creep in and take over. Publicity which they put out reeked with this fear. So obsessed were they by it, that they utilized the precious space accorded to them by the daily papers to advise all and sundry that no Communists were wanted, instead of using the opportunity to urge workers to support the meeting.

The witch-hunt also scared off Hollywood stars. So intimidated are they by the "investigations" of the various "Un-American" committees, that they shied away from lending their names to the demonstration.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

The demonstration brought into focus the miserable role being played by the Stalinists. Here was a true united front against the injustices heaped upon the Negro people. The Stalinist People's World chose not to give it publicity. They carried only one brief report of the action taken by the UAW. Other than that, the People's World was silent. They did not call upon their members to fill the Shrine. This rally they did not control and could not use for their aims. Therefore, though they dared not openly condemn it, they also did not support it.

The Socialist Workers Party although also not invited to join the rally, gave its full support and did everything in its power to build the meeting. The SWP is not concerned with "controlling" movements and using them for its own advantage. It is concerned instead with promoting the drive of the Negro people for their rights.

The major defect of the meeting — and an important one — was the fact that, after calling this impressive force into being, the NAACP gave no direction for future action. A mass demonstration is excellent for giving voice to spontaneous protest. But it is far from enough. This united front now formed must be welded into a solid force, capable of striking out at the terror in Florida, the America Plus fascists in California, or wherever else reaction seeks to set the clock back.

Street Car Strike In San Francisco Ends in Victory

(Continued from page 1)

unions but whose unions were not recognized as official bargaining units by the city government. The mayor thought that this was a powerful club in his hands. He issued an ultimatum that the 91 cable men either get back on the job by Wednesday noon or be suspended, with loss of their civil service pensions. Their answer was an appeal to the other car barns and the entire city was tied up to protect the 91 men.

CITY CAPITULATES

Throughout the strike, the city officials screamed: "You can't strike against your city government." On the third day an injunction was issued against picketing. At the same time an injunction was issued requiring the city to immediately grant the eight in ten provision to the cable men.

The picketing injunction came at the same time as the granting of the strike demands and therefore it did not play the role that it might have in drawing the class lines even sharper. The AFL membership were prepared to fight such an injunction. A strike leadership was elected to provide leadership in the event their officials were arrested and plans were already set to replace this committee if it got arrested.

What the CIO would do if the court issued an injunction against AFL picketing was a question during the strike. President Henry S. Foley of the CIO said: "I feel that removal of the picket line would remove any reason for the CIO carmen not to go to work." This did not express the feeling of the CIO membership who were in complete sympathy with the strike. There was no indication whatever that they would go through a picket line, visible or otherwise.

For three days cars were parked all down the middle of Market Street as San Francisco drove, hitched or walked to work. No publicity was put out by the unions other than a newspaper ad on the legal angle but the general attitude of the working people in this union town was one of admiration for the solidarity of the strike.

The flagrant anti-labor attitude of Mayor Robinson, whose election was supported by many local labor leaders, gave a clear political lesson to the workers of the city on the necessity of electing their own labor candidates into the city government.

UAW Local Urges Detroit Stoppage In Jobless Fight

DETROIT — Expressing the anger and bitterness of the auto workers to the testimony of Willis Hall, representative of Detroit's Chamber of Commerce and other employer spokesmen in Washington, the General Council of Local 212 adopted a strong resolution on the unemployment crisis at its meeting Saturday.

Kenneth Morris, President of Local 212, introduced a resolution reviewing the background of the unemployment fight and sharply condemned the testimony of Hall in Washington that "105,000 unemployed was 'normal' for Detroit."

During discussion on the Morris resolution an amendment was offered urging the International Executive Board to set a date for a city-wide, stopwork demonstration to effectively bring to the attention of the American people the plight of Detroit's unemployed and the solid support of the membership behind the program of full unemployment compensation. After considerable discussion on the unemployment problem, the resolution was adopted as amended.

Even though 40,000 unemployed in Michigan have already exhausted their benefits and 7,000 more exhaust their benefits weekly it is clear that the Moody-Dingell bill in Washington to supplement state compensation does not stand a chance for favorable action if left to the whims of the politicians. Similarly the measures in the Michigan legislature appear headed for certain defeat. It is obvious that nothing will come from the beggings and pleadings of the "labor statesmen." Only direct action by the mass of the auto workers can frighten the boss politicians into action favorable to labor.

The fact that this is being recognized by advanced auto workers can be seen in the adoption of the Briggs resolution.