

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 32

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## No Compromise In Fight for Equal Rights

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

The following is the full text of a speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, over Dumont TV, 5:30 to 5:45 P.M., Aug. 3:

Our country has been pushed dangerously close to a third world war. The powers-that-be are committing us to a terrible fate without troubling to consult the opinion of the people.

We are not asked; we are told. Those who object to the schemes of the war parties are not answered with reasonable arguments.

They are slandered as "subversives" and threatened with thought-control laws.

An atmosphere has been created in which it is no longer easy for people to speak their minds. Under these harsh conditions we are soon to elect a president.

### VITAL QUESTION

We are about to cast a vote that is supposed to express our views on the vital question of war or peace.

According to newspaper propaganda there is freedom for us to choose the policy we want. All we have to do is decide whether to vote for the Democrats or the Republicans. That is a fake and a fraud.

There is no important difference between the Democrats and Republicans. That was made pretty plain by their recent conventions. It was made even plainer by their selection of candidates. Never have two candidates for the presidency been so closely in agreement on so many major issues.

### EISENHOWER

The Republicans offer General Eisenhower as their presidential candidate.

He is the man who was sent over to organize the military forces of Western Europe for war.

Eisenhower has now been put up as the man to regiment the American people for that war.

The Democrats have nominated Governor Stevenson of Illinois. The newspaper reporters asked Stevenson what he thought of Eisenhower's approach to foreign policy.

Stevenson said, "I think we are in substantial agreement."

What is this agreement? A civilian governor can have with the outstanding five-star military

### For President



FARRELL DOBBS

ist in the country? It is an agreement to plunge our nation into war against all of Asia and at least half of Europe.

### COLONIAL PEOPLES

The war is intended to suppress the independence struggles of the colonial peoples. It is meant to beat down by force all attempts to replace capitalism with a socialist society.

People in other countries are to be denied the right to a government of their own choosing. American armies are to be used to prop up foreign rulers hated by their own countrymen.

This terrible war will cost the lives of millions of our youth on foreign battlefields. We will see our own cities in ruins, our national wealth exhausted. Labor will be driven at long hours with intolerable speedup.

### MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Attempts will be made to bring the unions under virtual military discipline. In fact, preliminary steps to control the unions have already been taken.

During the five years of cold war labor has experienced more government strikebreaking than at any time since the open-shop days of Herbert Hoover.

Now waiting in the legislative hoppers are new laws designed to cripple the unions. They will be brought into the open as soon as the election is over.

The Negro people are learning that a war-like foreign policy blocks any chance for them to win equal rights here at home. Five years of the cold war have actually intensified the evils of

(Continued on page 4)

## British Labor Moves to Stop Wage Freeze

### Union Leaders Blast Industry Profiteers

By T. Burns

LONDON, July 2 — One of the biggest issues in England today is British labor's struggle for higher wages against the wage-freeze policy of the Churchill government. Wage demands already in negotiation affect some nine million workers — one-half of the laboring force of the entire country. These include such key industries as the engineers, miners, railroad men, longshoremen and agricultural workers.

This movement has been directly caused by the sharp increases in the cost of living. Prices of food, fares and other essential items in the family budget have been going up since the Tories took office. British workers are not highly paid by American standards. The average metal worker brings home about \$22 a week. Most working class housewives are finding it harder to make both ends meet these days.

### REFLECTS INCREASE

The Tory government has officially announced that it intends to hold the line on wages. This was demonstrated in a most provocative way when the Minister of Labor rejected an increase of \$1.40 a week awarded to one and a half million workers in the retail trades. These distributive workers are among the most poorly organized and lowest paid. A sales clerk gets less than \$18 a week even in London. Moreover, the employers themselves had agreed to this meager increase which was only half of what the union asked.

This decision has aroused tremendous resentment throughout the labor movement which rightly regards it as a Tory declaration of war on the working class. They feel that the government is deliberately trying to attack organized labor at its weakest point. The Minister of Labor's decision serves as a signal to all the employers and employers' associations to turn down the demands of the unions in their industry. The wage claims of the miners and railroad workers have already been denied by government boards.

The British workers are all the more determined not to yield because of their general hostility to Churchill's policies. His government is trying to hand the nationalized industries back to private owners, and has lightened taxes on the rich while imposing new charges on the Health Service of the people. They further feel that the government refusal to give any wage increases is bound up with the maintenance of the rearmament program which the workers oppose.

### A WAGE FREEZE

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler, has sought to convince the workers to abide

(Continued on page 4)

# Both Parties Sold Out Negroes, Powell Says

### The Grave-Diggers



## Worried Boss Politicos Woo the Colored Voters

Both the Republican and Democratic party leaders are trying hard to cover up after Rep. Adam Clayton Powell stated in Harlem that the Negro people may boycott both presidential tickets.

Neither party would even promise to fight for a compulsory FEPC or campaign for genuine racial equality at their conventions. But now they're trying to pose as friends of the Negro people.

Eisenhower and Stevenson made hypocritical statements on Aug. 4, seeking the important Negro vote in the large Northern cities.

### BALANCE POWER

The reason for this is clear. As the N. Y. Times put it on Aug. 5, "The so-called Negro vote is now expected to hold the balance of power . . . in New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and several other states."

Trying to defend the Democratic Party after Powell accused it of "betraying" the struggle for Negro equality, Stevenson said, "I think every one who is interested in civil rights and in

more rigid realization of equality of treatment should feel deeply grateful to Senator Sparkman. I personally do."

Sparkman, Democrat's Vice Presidential candidate, has done the following things to win the "gratitude" of the Negro people.

### SPARKMAN'S RECORD

In May 190 he voted to continue the anti- FEPC filibuster. In June, 1950 he voted to continue segregation in the armed forces. In March, 1949, he voted against limitation of debate on civil rights measures. In April, 1949, he voted against withholding Federal funds from Jim Crow schools.

Sparkman voted against abolition of the poll tax in 1945, against an anti-lynch measure in 1948. And this is only a part of his consistent anti-Negro record.

That is the man to whom Democratic Presidential candidate Stevenson feels "deeply grateful."

The Republicans, also seeking the Negro vote after refusing to put a strong FEPC plank in their platform, gathered together a

group of Uncle Tom Negro leaders in an attempt to paint up Eisenhower as a fighter for equality.

Bishop D. Ward Nichols of New York, who headed a delegation of these leaders to meet with Eisenhower reported:

### AGAINST FEPC

"The general told me he is not yet willing to concede that the only solution to civil rights is through a compulsory Federal law." But, nevertheless, Nichols said, "We find Gen. Eisenhower to be a sincere, honest man" who stated "he would be a soldier fighting in the ranks of civil progress."

As a soldier, Eisenhower fought for "civil progress" by maintaining segregation in the armies he headed. His running mate Nixon is one of the Republican Congressmen who have consistently voted with the Dixiecrats against the labor movement and the Negro people.

That is the choice the two capitalist parties offer the Negro voters.

## Harlem Congressman Hits Own Democratic Party on Rights Plank

NEW YORK, Aug. 3 — Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (Dem., N. Y.) today declared that the Negro people had been "sold down the river" at the Democratic as well as the Republican conventions. The Negro Congressman, who is also minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Harlem's largest, threatened that his people would boycott the Presidential and Vice Presidential elections on the basis of the present civil rights programs of the candidate of the two major parties.

Rep. Powell's blistering attack on his own party's betrayal of civil rights was made in a statement presented to an overflow crowd of 3,500 in Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom. It was greeted with tremendous cheers.

### HITS PARTY'S PLANK

The civil rights plank adopted by the Democratic convention was a "complete disappointment" to "every Northern liberal," said Rep. Powell.

"It does not even mention FEPC. It evades the segregation of the Negro in the United States Army and in the nation's capital, which should be the citadel of democracy but is its cesspool. It ignores the abolition of segregation in interstate transportation. It does not pledge any action; it does not even urge; the only word that it used is 'favor.'"

### SPARKMAN ANTI-LABOR

The Congressman, who has served as a Democrat in the House of Representatives for eight years, linked the Democratic Party's betrayal on Negro rights with its real anti-labor character. He pointed to the selection of Senator Sparkman of Alabama for the Vice Presidential candidacy as a blow not only at Negro rights but at labor. Senator Sparkman, said Rep. Powell, "has voted every single time against every single civil rights

### Hits 'Sell-Out'



A. CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.

issue in the House of Representatives and in the Senate." He added that Sparkman had also voted against the minimum wage law and for the Smith-Connally

(Continued on page 4)

## BUFFALO PLEDGE RAISES FUND QUOTA TO \$18,500

Buffalo's prospects for a \$500 increase in their pledge to the SWP presidential campaign fund reported two weeks ago are a reality, write the Buffalo comrades.

"When we announced that we were increasing our fund pledge from \$1,000 to \$1,500 we took it for granted that it would show on the scoreboard and that's the way we want it." Buffalo turned in \$184 on their pledge with the comment, "We are confident that we will fulfill our pledge in full and on time." Buffalo's percentage dropped from 61 to 59 per cent this week, a step backward that means a step forward since the drop is due to their increased pledge.

This additional pledge which raises the national total of \$18,500, accounts in part for the small gain nationally of only one per cent this week, but contributions are still lagging, putting us 25 per cent behind schedule. Only two branches, Connecticut and Minneapolis-St. Paul are on or ahead of schedule. Connecticut is only three per cent short of their goal. St. Paul sent in \$75 to put the Twin Cities right on the 69 per cent "on schedule" mark.

Ten branches made the weekly deadline to bring up their percentages. Oakland made an \$82 payment moving ahead 27 per cent and seven notches on the scoreboard. Akron also made a good gain drawing 14 per cent nearer their goal. Boston sent in \$19 for a four per cent gain.

We have received word from Milwaukee that the branch is thinking seriously of ways to raise their pledge to the fund. We

hope to have a favorable report from them soon.

\$150 from Los Angeles raises their total by seven per cent this week. "We are planning other sizable chunks in the near future to catch up on our deficit quickly," they write.

San Francisco sends in \$32 for a three per cent advance. "We hope that the balance of our pledge will be coming in more rapidly from now on."

New York is pointing up the importance of the Socialist Workers Party \$18,500 Election Fund by a large poster, portraying a worker swinging an axe down upon an octopus representing capitalism. Dave Stevens tells us. The tentacles of the octopus are labelled to show WAP, the WITCH HUNT, JIM CROW, INFLATION, and the other evils flowing from the capitalist system. The arm and axe are movable and show the amounts reached on the way to our goal. Dave promises, "the octopus will be dead in good time and New York's quota will be paid in full."

(See Scoreboard on Page 2)

We were glad the other day to see Sam K., an old friend of the Socialist Workers Party who never fails to pay us a visit when he hears we are in need of some help. A fighter for socialism for many years, Sam came up to the office to hand in \$2 from his very small income to help spread the message of socialism in our election campaign.

## 'Why Are We, the U.S., Hated?'

By Tom Conlan

There has been a tide of bitter anti-American feeling running for some years now throughout the world. This has been almost completely ignored by the news services and the big dailies. They have hitherto permitted in cables from abroad only an occasional passing reference to anti-American manifestations, which were usually dismissed as clumsy "Kremlin propaganda."

But recently a change in editorial attitude is to be noted. Editorial comment on the hatred of the U.S. abroad has started appearing. The immediate reason for this is the recent attack on the floor of Iran's Parliament, demanding the ouster of all Americans, particularly of the U.S. military mission.

### HAND PICKED

In the Iranian Parliament, a hand-picked body of Iranian ruling circles, there is not a single Communist deputy. What is more, the sharpest attacks have come from the supporters of Iran's leading religious figure.

In a July 30 editorial entitled "Why Are We Hated?" the N. Y.

World-Telegram & Sun, chief paper of the Scripps-Howard chain, takes note of this outburst in Iran and then adds:

"It is time we were asking ourselves why so many people hate us. While Iran is an extreme case, anti-American feeling is gaining ground in most parts of the world. It is finding increasing expression in Britain and Western Europe, as well as in the so-called backward countries."

### WHAT'S WRONG?

The editors cautiously conclude that there must be something wrong with "a foreign policy which makes enemies where it should be making friends." But just what is wrong, they carefully refrain from saying. Let us briefly spotlight some of the main "faults."

Nobody need be told why the people of, say, Iran or Egypt hate Britain. Nor why the French are so cordially abominated in Algiers, Tunisia or Morocco. The British and French colonial despots have richly earned the enmity of the people whom they have so long ruthlessly exploited and oppressed.

The revolt against colonialism has spread from the Far East to the Near East. It is an insurgent movement for liberation such as the world has never seen before. It embraces literally the overwhelming bulk of mankind. Precisely at this moment, colonialism has found a new champion in — the American imperialists.

### AMERICAN DOLLARS

While Washington keeps boasting of the miracles it will accomplish in "backward countries" by means of Point Four, "technical aid," etc., hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans know that American dollars and American tanks, planes and guns are being used to shoot down liberation fighters in one country after another.

If it were not for U.S. aid and backing, the British and the French would have been kicked out long ago from their remaining possessions both in the Far East (Indo-China, Malaya) and in the Near East (French North Africa, Egypt, Sudan etc.). America is hated because of this.

Throughout the entire postwar period the Asian and African

people have watched the American imperialists ally themselves with the most despotic and reactionary native elements — Syngman Rhee in Korea, Bao Dai in Indo-China, Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. The mass hatred of these and other despots is naturally transferred to their American backers.

### PROMOTES WAR

And finally, America is hated as the promoter of war. So far as the colonial people are concerned, the American warmakers are a terrible, immediate threat. They have devastated the Korean peninsula from one end to the other. Indo-China continues to be ravaged by war thanks primarily to Washington. So in Malaya, the frantic activity of building air bases, from the coastal areas of North Africa through the island chains in the Pacific brings global war closer and closer home to the people in "backward areas."

The surprising thing is not that demands should be publicly raised for Americans to get out and stay out, but rather that such demands were not raised sooner.

## WHICH PARTY?

An Editorial

The forthright exposure of the Democratic Party's hostility to Negro rights by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell is a welcome departure from the all-too prevalent subservience of the Negro and labor leaders. Powell correctly blasted both the anti-Negro and anti-labor character of the Democrats.

Undoubtedly Rep. Powell's angry words reflect the feelings of the Negro people who have been segregated, terrorized, bombed, murdered and beaten during Truman's administration.

It is undeniably true that neither Democrats nor Republicans offered a program at their Chicago conventions that will bring full social, economic and political equality to the Negro people. On the contrary, both parties seek the support of the Southern White Supremacists.

But Rep. Powell, did not draw the logical conclusion from this fact. It is necessary to break with both old parties — or face more treachery.

A conference with Stevenson or a talk with Eisenhower, as Powell hopes, will not change the character of the Democratic or Republican parties. No matter what they promise in exchange for votes they are capitalist candidates committed to perpetuation of Jim Crow.

That Rep. Powell has spoken out is to his credit. But that is not enough. There must be a new road. That is the road of independent labor political action. It is the road advocated by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, whose television speech on this subject is printed on this page.

A new political party of labor, which would represent the working people and fight against the anti-labor, anti-Negro political representatives of Big Business, would mark a new stage in the struggle for Negro rights.

A political alliance between Negro and white workers in a labor party, would be a powerful force. It would conduct an unequivocal struggle to wipe out the division between workers on racial lines — a division that serves only the interests of the corporations.

It is time to mobilize the political power of all workers, white and Negro, to defeat the political monopoly of the Jim Crow, anti-labor representatives of the profiteers.



# Mass Unrest in Egypt Forces King Farouk's Ouster

**By Charles Hanley**

In the Jan. 7 issue of *The Militant* I predicted: "The near future is bound to witness considerable changes" (in Egypt) "where the average wage still is under one hundred dollars a year and the mortality rate of infants the highest in the world."

On July 26, 1952, King Farouk abdicated in Alexandria after his regime had been overthrown by a military coup d'état. A group of Army officers directed by General Mohammed Naguib had seized power "in order to fight corruption" and addressed an ultimatum to the king who consented to appoint Ali Maher Pasha Prime Minister but refused to approve a constitutional amendment stripping him of most of his royal powers.

Troop detachments then smashed their way into Farouk's Alexandria palace; he was given eight hours to leave the country and departed on the yacht *Mahroussa* with his wife, his

daughters and his baby son, Egypt's new King Fuad the Second.

Mohammed Naguib Bey and Ali Maher Pasha were hailed as liberators by the masses and by the Egyptian press. They are being supported by the Wafd (National Independence) Party and its leader Nahas Pasha, an old enemy of King Farouk and former Prime Minister.

An era of reforms has been announced. Mohammed Naguib declares there will be no attempt made to prevent the normal functioning of constitutional parliamentary government (practically suspended by Farouk). Several grafters were arrested, and high officials of Farouk's court and administration dismissed.

On July 30 the titles of the Egyptian nobility — Pasha and Bey — were abolished. The General and the Premier, (a Bey and a Pasha) were the first to renounce theirs. (Following Egypt's example, the Kingdom of Jordan is also abolishing these

titles which are an heirloom of the old Turkish Empire.)

The Wafd Party has come out with a program of social reforms. It demands higher taxes for the rich and the rehabilitation of poor peasants. The capitalists are to pay the state's aid to the poor.

Even if the Wafd's bourgeois elements should be reluctant to actively put into practice such a program, the trend toward social reform has become so strong in the Egyptian proletariat that it cannot be ignored. The political leaders simply have to take it into account. The absolute power of the wealthy pashas is shaken. The workers are moving forward.

What will be the new regime's policy with relation to world imperialism? It is perhaps too early for a clear answer to this question. Yet in the long run internal reform and the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated, for the influence of foreign capital is the main support of the rich pashas and therefore the main obstacle to effective social changes.

Even a temporary suspension of anti-imperialist actions would not change this: Should the new government abstain from carrying out social reforms, it will eventually become unpopular. If however, it inaugurates a policy of pressure against the big capitalists, tension between Egypt and the United States will build up sooner or later.

The State Department is aware of this danger to imperialism. It has warned the new government, demanding that popular demonstrations against foreigners and foreign property be prevented. The shock of the big Cairo riots of Jan. 26, 1952 has not been forgotten. The imperialists fear that at the disappearance of Farouk's "moderating course" may spell new trouble.

In order to calm down American apprehensions, General Naguib urged the people "to tell foreigners that they are dear in your eyes." He even caused the law which forbids foreigners to own controlling interest in any Egyptian business to be revised.

He assured the British Ambassador that despite the abolition of the monarch's political power the Monarchy would not be abolished.

British diplomats at first felt somewhat relieved after Farouk's abdication: The king had always been an enemy of the English. They hoped a compromise settlement of the Suez and Sudan questions might become possible with Naguib. But when the latter proclaimed Farouk's baby-son "King of Egypt and the Sudan" (the title formerly adopted by Farouk) it was obvious the Naguib regime could not be handled easily: The Egyptian masses want the British domination in the Canal zone and the Sudan to come to an end. Without the British leaving the canal zone and the Nile valley, Egypt's independence is threatened. Naguib knows this.

Whatever Naguib's reaction to eventual American proposals of military agreements and Anglo-Egyptian settlements will be, his coup d'état is in any case, a transition to a new chapter of the revolutionary struggle in the Middle Eastern countries. Anti-monarchist feelings for the first time become visible in Cairo as well as in Teheran. While Farouk was expelled from Egypt, Premier Mossadegh barred the Iranian monarch from the political scene (just as Naguib did in Egypt). The Shah of Iran is to become a mere figurehead while the baby-king of Egypt stays in Italy — a very pale symbol of tradition.

Farouk is said to retain followers in Egypt (undoubtedly among those who were able to enrich themselves during his reign). Some high officers of the Egyptian Navy are among those supposed to favor his return. But his only chance of return lies in a failure of the Naguib regime to fulfill its promises. If Naguib wants to become the Kemal Pasha of Egypt he will not only have to "purge" the administration, but also to obtain the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil, as Kemal did in Turkey after World War II.

## Takes Over in Egypt



Gen. Mohammed Naguib Bey (1.), leader of the military group that recently seized power in Egypt, shown leaving his Cairo headquarters with two aides. This coup, which led to ouster of King Farouk, reflects growing mass unrest among poverty-stricken peasants and workers.

## Few Big Stockholders Control Corporations

By Harry Frankel

The corporations of the U.S. are owned by a narrow grouping that is growing smaller. Evidence to prove this was made available in a Brookings Institution study entitled "Share Ownership in the United States" published on June 30.

This may be surprising to you if you read any of the newspaper accounts of this survey at the time it was published. Virtually every press account hailed the report as proving that America is a "land of capitalists," that Wall Street does not dominate the corporations, and that Marxists have been all wrong about this country. These accounts were, without exception, deliberate falsifications, as the facts will show.

### A SMALL MINORITY

The Brookings Institution survey reports that there are about 6,490,000 shareholders in the United States. This constitutes only 6.4% of the adult population of the United States, so that 93.6% of the adults of this country are entirely excluded from any part in the ownership of the corporate wealth of the nation. That doesn't seem to prove that the U.S. is a "nation of capitalists." On the contrary, it shows that Marxists claims as to the oligarchic nature of U.S. capitalism are well founded.

Which way is the trend going? Are more people becoming stockholders, or are fewer? The Brookings report contains some information about this question, but the newspapers deliberately disregarded it. The Temporary National Economic Committee, it reports, made the most reliable pre-World War II estimate of the number of shareholders. This government committee judged that there were between eight to nine million share owners in 1937. This means that there are between 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 million fewer shareholders now than in the depression year of 1937, at a time when the population of the country was about 80 million smaller than it is now.

To put this in terms of percentages: In 1937, about 10% to 11% of the adult population owned stock in at least one corporation, according to reliable estimates. Today, according to the Brookings Institution, only 6.4% of the nation's adults own stock.

### WHAT IS AVERAGE?

How about the 6,490,000 people who do own stock? How many of them own enough to make any difference either in their own lives or in the control of the corporation whose stock they own? The report tells us that the average shareholding has a value of \$6,500. But this average figure doesn't mean a thing. For example, if I own 99 shares of stock and you own 1, then you and I own between us an "average" of 50 shares each. However, the report does have some information on this point.

Common stock shareholding are divided by the survey into three groups: blocs of fewer than 100 shares, blocs of 100 to 1,000, and blocs of more than 1,000 shares. Of all the shareholdings on record, 67% are in the smallest class; that is, in blocs of less than 100. These small holdings, while they are the biggest group of holdings,

take in less than 10% of the total shares.

The average shareholding in this group is so small that it would hardly net its owner a week's pay (\$72) in earnings each year. This class of shareholdings cannot be included within the capitalist class, since its owners must have other sources of income in order to live. Some of these owners may be capitalists, but if they are, they are getting their money from some other place. Certainly none of the shareholdings in this class are big enough to have any control or effect whatever on the policies of the corporations. And yet, this bloc of shareholdings includes more than two-thirds of the individual holdings in the nation.

### GIANT HOLDINGS

At the top of the heap, the exact opposite picture may be seen. Only 2% of all shareholdings take in 58% of all common stocks outstanding today. These are the giant holdings of 1,000 shares and over. The average holding in this group is 5,195 shares with a value of \$175,000. These 2% of the stockholders, less than 400,000 holdings in all, dominate the corporate picture.

The middle group of stockholders includes 31% of all holdings, and about 32% of all shares. This takes in the holdings between 100 and 1,000 shares.

If we were to make the most generous possible concession, and assume that this middle group is part of the controlling segment of corporation owners (which it is not; its shareholdings are too small), we would still find that only a little over 2 million people, or 2% of the adult population, have some hand in controlling the corporate structure.

(A fuller analysis of the Brookings Institution report will be published in a coming issue of *Fourth International*, Marxist magazine — H. F.)

## LOS ANGELES Friday Nite Forum

1702 East 4th Street

August 15

National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

A Symposium

Comparison of the SWP convention with those of the Democratic, Republican, Progressive and Socialist Parties

Chairman: MYRA T. WEISS

SWP Candidate for vice-president of U.S.

Auspices: Los Angeles School of Social Science

## Book Review

By John Black

FRAIL BARRIER. By Philip Gillon. Vanguard Press, New York, N.Y.

The central character of *Frail Barrier*, a new novel about the problem of the Union of South Africa, is the resourceful young Anglo-Saxon attorney Peter Justin. The death of his respected and well-

known lawyer father leaves him only a reputation, a set of inherited principles and debt. Justin is torn between the struggle for his financial survival and his genuine desire to maintain a not-remunerative practice among the natives. From the attorney's vantage point we get a cross section of the social, racial and political conflicts of South Africa.

### HIS DIFFICULTIES

He is threatened with financial ruin unless he betrays a native capitalist client who is being hard-pressed by his competitors in the Indian community. His impoverished Boer bookkeeper steals from him and peddles the attorney's office secrets, thus reflecting his anti-Anglo Saxon and anti-Native hatred. Sixpence Ngadi, a poor native client, is driven to violence and murder against his jailers and overseers in an effort to be reunited with his family.

The portrayal of a few months out of Peter Justin's life also outlines his hesitating development from a friend of the natives to a man who wants to dedicate his life to the liberation of South Africa from its white supremacists.

### END EXPLOITATION

"He told himself that he would fight for the end of the exploitation of men by men." But he wants to be sure that a new tyranny would not inevitably arise. He answers his doubts. "He did not believe that Man was so avid for power and cruelty, by nature so evil, that he change from capitalism would inevitably involve the creation of a new tyranny, the establishment of worse oppressions than those that would be destroyed." Justin had come to understand that political freedom and social emancipation go hand in hand, that true democracy is impossible under capitalism. "Such a struggle would not make him a supporter of World Stalinism, on the contrary he would be working to save South Africa, perhaps all Africa, for true democracy."

Peter Justin came to realize

that meant a complete and irrevocable break with his past friends and clients, that it called for different standards of right and wrong, different legal concepts. "... he did not care. Those laws and codes were the props of an evil system that had to be destroyed."

### ANOTHER WAR

He saw that the future held more than court battles and that there was no chance for gradual inch-by-inch advance in the face of Maian reaction in South Africa. "Some time or another the crisis would come — another war, a clash between the two white groups, a rising of the black workers — and he had to be ready to take his place in the struggle. He knew that many of his friends would brand him as a traitor to his color and his class; he would be loyal to humanity and to himself."

### LEADERS NEEDED

Justin bids fair to become an outstanding advocate for the social changes due in South Africa. But his great ideal, the American abolitionist Garrison, is not the most urgent requirement of the South African natives. The natives are the overwhelming majority in the Republic; they work the industries and the mines of the country. Much more than the help of attorneys (and these are important) the native workers need leaders out of their own ranks. Black trade unionists finding their way to the political concepts of socialism, leading their brothers in the fight for emancipation, this is the primary requirement for the future of a free South Africa.

The author, Philip Gillon, was a practicing attorney in Johannesburg for fifteen years. It is likely that the section dealing with the political evolution of his chief character are auto-biographical. If so, this clouded his vision, for the one outstanding weakness of his otherwise revealing and tension-loaded book is the absence of a real spokesman for the fighting black workers of the Union of South Africa.

## \$18,500 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 125	\$ 121	97
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,500	1,035	69
Akron	150	100	67
Detroit	2,113	1,194	57
Chicago	1,500	844	56
Cleveland	300	164	55
Buffalo	1,500	792	53
Allentown	40	20	50
St. Louis	50	25	50
New York	4,500	2,143	47
Newark	1,000	410	41
Boston	500	193	39
Flint	300	100	33
San Francisco	900	259	28
Oakland	300	82	27
Philadelphia	350	85	24
Seattle	400	91	23
Milwaukee	275	55	20
Los Angeles	2,200	400	18
Pittsburgh	40	5	13
Youngstown	400	25	6
General	150	164	110
Total through August 4	\$18,500	\$8,307	44

## Class Origins of War in Korea

By Art Preis

(Third of a Series)

"The fighting in Korea is not, of course, a civil war in a distant land," led the British Tory Anthony Eden shortly after June 25, 1950. With this lie, the spokesmen for the American imperialists and their UN allies try to cover up the violation of their own UN charter which forbids the UN to interfere in the internal affairs of any country.

There are, however, too many aspects of the Korean War that defy explanation in terms of the U.S.-UN claim that the struggle began simply as an "unprovoked aggression" by North Korea against South Korea. The fact that Korea was artificially divided after the Second World War by agreement between Truman and Stalin no more negates the civil war nature of the struggle than did the division of the United States into the Union and the Confederacy fundamentally alter our Civil War.

Such events, for instance, as the recent battles between the Korean prisoners of war on Kojima Island and their U.S. captors make sense only if we recognize the real nature of the whole struggle in Korea. Thus, Lindsey

Parrott, Tokyo correspondent of the N.Y. Times, could explain the Kojima events only in terms of civil war. He wrote on May 17, 1952, that "the Korean conflict is an ideological, far more than a territorial or a national war — in effect, a civil war plus a fundamental clash of faiths — and this is what gives Kojima a special character."

The Kim Il Sung regime of northern Korea and the Syngman Rhee regime of southern Korea headed hostile class formations within Korea. By and large, the workers and poor peasants of both South and North Korea supported the Kim Il Sung government, while the capitalists and landlords in both sections backed the Syngman Rhee forces.

The economic policies of the two regimes reflect their class natures. George M. McCune, in the Oct. 15, 1947, *Foreign Policy Reports* described how in North Korea "lands and property of Japanese and Korean landlords were confiscated and transferred free of charge in perpetual usufruct to various categories of peasants and to the people's committees," and that a "second revolutionary step taken in North Korea was the nationalization of industry." But in South Korea, "whatever the cause, 'oppressive tenancy conditions' prevail under (American) Military Government and are not being effectively alleviated by appropriate reform measures."

According to Washington columnist Robert S. Allen in the May 9, 1951, N.Y. Post, censored notions of the much-publicized General Wedemeyer report on the Far East "deal entirely with South Korean President Syngman Rhee and the 'extreme right-wing group' around him. Two deletions are to the effect that Rhee cannot be elected in 'an honest ballot.' Another lengthy deletion characterizes Rhee's intimates as landlords, bankers and mortgage holders who will 'fight to the finish any attempt to better the lot of the average Korean.'"

Thus, the true picture of Korea before June 25, 1950, was one of ever fiercer class struggle and civil war both within the territories controlled by each of the two regimes and between them. For the Korean people, south and north of the 38th Parallel, the fight has always been basically a class battle between those who were confiscating the property of the few rapacious rich and those who were "fighting to the finish any attempt to better the lot of the average Korean."

To maintain themselves in power, the rich in South Korea were "bent on rule as arbitrary as that of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's Spain," according to a N.Y. Herald-Tribune correspondent in May, 1948. Walter Sullivan, writing in the N.Y. Times of Feb. 1 and 2, 1950, described the murderous terrorism practiced by the Rhee police regime. "Torture appears to be an accepted practice," Sullivan wrote, and the official figure of political prisoners in the "re-education" (concentration) camps was 40,000.

Stanley Earl, an official ECA labor advisor in Korea and former secretary-treasurer of the Oregon State CIO, related on his return from Seoul on July 14, 1950, that in the year prior to the outbreak of full-scale war "the Rhee government put 150,000 people with families in jail. The prisoners are bulging. I went through them."

The workers in South Korea, Earl said, were "oppressed, suppressed and regimented" and "the people (union leaders) I worked with were continually being put in jail." He was especially bitter about the U.S. officials in Korea. "You can't instill democracy with cocktail parties for the big shots and conferences with the bankers." And he added: "I did not go over there to sit at a desk and liquidate the working people."

As a consequence of these conditions in South Korea, continuous civil war raged for years within the country and flamed back and forth across the 38th Parallel. In the Aug. 28, 1947, N.Y. Times we read that Syngman Rhee "feared a civil war" if the U.S. troops were withdrawn from South Korea. A few weeks later the Sept. 25 N.Y. Times reported that Lieut. Gen. John R. Hodge, U.S. occupation zone commander in Korea, had "indicated that the American zone in Korea might expect a Communist-led uprising in the next few weeks" and "said 'subversive activity is growing by leaps and bounds. They're trying to bring on a new rail strike.'"

Labor struggle and civil war ran hand in hand not only in the minds of Rhee and Hodge, but in real life.

The UN Commission in Korea reported to the 4th Session of the UN General Assembly how "with

the aim of suppression, the government (South Korean) sent large forces of troops" to Cheyijun, in South Korea, where an uprising took place in 1948, "but disorders did not die down until the beginning of 1949. Military operations had not ended even in May, 1949. Villages were reduced to ashes and the damage to buildings, cattle and crops amount to billions of won (wan)."

Details of this civil war are given in the book *Red Storm Over Asia*, by the British author Robert Payne, a long-time resident of China and a bitter opponent of the North Korean and New China regimes. He concedes that the Rhee government, on whose behalf the U.S. intervened in Korea, "had aroused the hatred and sullen resentment of the majority of the people." He cites the report of a UN commission to the effect that in the two years preceding June 25, 1950, "border incidents" and "guerrilla fighting" by "both sides" had resulted in 18,000 deaths.

In this connection we have the testimony of Col. A. Wigfall Green, former Judge Advocate and President of the Board of Review for the Trial of Koreans in the American Military Government in Korea and now on the faculty of the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. In his book *The Epic of Korea*, published in 1950, Green reported that the UN Commission "deplored the frequent raids at the thirty-eighth parallel. . . It has been estimated that during 1949 North Korean casualties were 19,006 killed; 3,281 wounded; 7,140 captured; and 2,144 surrendered. Among South Korean forces, 1,247 were killed and 2,303 wounded."

These figures refute the idea that the "first shot" in Korea was fired on June 25, 1950, and was an "unprovoked aggression" against South Korea. No one can say when and by whom the "first shot" was fired. And the fact that North Korean casualties in two years of civil war before June 25, 1950, were eight times as many as South Korean, indicates that Rhee's regime was far from the meek, peaceful, "defensive" force that the imperialist propagandists have made it out to be.

A year before Washington undertook its "police action" against "sudden" "unprovoked aggression," the U.S. News & World Report of July 8, 1949, had disclosed that "Korea is torn by large-scale warfare between the Russian-sponsored North Korean Republic and the U.S.-backed South Korean Republic."

The full-scale warfare that broke out on June 25, 1950, was the outgrowth and extension of a preceding class and civil war and continued to bear its unmistakable stamp.

(To be continued)

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The Fifteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party recently held in New York heard many inspiring reports from literature agents and other delegates about the opportunities open to Militant salesmen. Seattle and New York were enthusiastic with the response in their areas to the paper.

The Twin Cities and Chicago branches reported the many new recruits and friends won to the party through Militant sales.

Jean Simon told of the successful sales of hundreds of papers to AFL and CIO delegates attending conventions in Cleveland. Many of these delegates were already familiar with *The Militant*, but many from the deep South and isolated areas came in contact with the paper for the first time through reading *The Militant* in the Cleveland Public Library.

Lou Clement reflects the enthusiasm of the convention in his first report from Akron since his return. "Today I sold two new subs to the paper, 10 single copies and five copies of the Harry T. Moore pamphlet. My opinion is — sell the paper NOW. The fact that we are participating in the election creates an interest in our ideas. Many people have heard part or all of one or more of our radio and television broadcasts."

Oakland Literature Agent Frank Kaye, top subgetter in the West Coast competition for Militant subs, writes to express his appreciation of the Los Angeles Militant Campaign Victory Dinner held recently before the convention. "The dinner was swell and I'd like to thank all the Los Angeles comrades for their kindness. The discussions before and after dinner were full and excellent. I'd also like to thank the West Coast branches for the prize they awarded me. Let's make this the biggest Militant year yet!"

"I am always interested in reading in *The Militant Army* about why working people or students throughout the country buy a subscription to or a copy of *The Militant*," writes New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson. "Many Militant readers are not yet ready to support everything the paper stands for, but they are

attracted to our principled stand against the witch hunt or to our slogan for a labor party or to our fight against Jim Crow.

"On a hot summer evening recently, I walked up and down a few streets in a Puerto Rican neighborhood and talked to many people who were on the sidewalks or sitting on door steps to escape the heat of their overcrowded apartments. In an hour I sold 18 Militants. Most of them bought the paper when I told them that *The Militant* was for getting the U.S. troops out of Korea and for the fight of all colonial peoples for independence. That is what they seemed to be primarily interested in. They have had firsthand experience with imperialism in Puerto Rico. I called attention to the schedule of radio and television broadcasts and urged them to tune in. I hope we will hear from those who listened to the inspiring speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss."

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — For information, write P. O. Box 1540.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues. 5:30-8 P.M. Social Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO — Forum-Militant, 829 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3 9600.

CHICAGO — 234 St. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-5:30 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — 10609 Superior Ave. Phone ANdrew 9-6053.

DETROIT — 6108 Edinwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Phone TR 1-6251.

FLINT — SWP, 1307 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANdrew 9-6053.

MILWAUKEE — 317 N. 2nd St., 2nd fl. Open Sun. through Fri. 7:30-9:30 P.M.

MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-8 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN — For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK — 82 Market St., cor. Plane. Phone AL 1-116 University Place. Phone AL 1-7852.

BROOKLYN — 18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, write P.O. Box 1853.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

ST. LOUIS — For information, Phone MO 7164.

ST. PAUL — Phone State headquarters, MAIn 7781.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore St., 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE — 1000 1st Ave., 1st fl. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs. 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 8278.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St.

## Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1 for six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name

Street  Zone

City  State

☐ \$1 Six months ☐ \$2 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal



# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 6-7468

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN  
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;  
\$2 for 6 months. Single Copies (5 or more copies): 5c each in U.S.;  
10c each in foreign countries.  
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-  
itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorial.  
"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office  
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVI - No. 32

Monday, August 11, 1952

## Capitalism and War

Capitalism did not always breed war. Toward the close of the Nineteenth Century, when the rising capitalist system triumphed over the outlived feudal order, the capitalists marched forward under the banner of peace. As a matter of fact, they needed peace in order to consolidate their gains, to start the expansion of the productive forces, to build up the internal markets within the newly established national frameworks.

This epoch saw the rise of Great Britain, France and Germany as the great world powers. This epoch gave rise to illusions of gradual but steady progress, of lasting peace and prospects of prosperity. By the first decade of the Twentieth Century this bubble burst.

Capitalism itself had undergone profound changes. The unparalleled expansion of productive forces was accompanied by ever larger concentrations of capital in fewer and fewer hands. Monopolies were born. Industrial capital lost its supremacy, or more accurately it fused with banking capital. This new and highest form of capital, finance capital, fusing with the capitalist state, set new reactionary forces loose in the world. Requiring the world arena for their operation, the monopolies vied with one another for markets, for sources of raw materials, for new areas of investments.

But the rise of monopolies found the world already divided among a handful of dominant powers. Hence stemmed the need to redivide the already divided world. This could be done only by force of arms, and the turn of the century found the dominant European powers turning to militarism, building up their military forces for the coming showdown.

The first of the global wars came in 1914-18. It served notice to mankind that capitalism and war had become indivisible. Vast military expansions and explosions had become inseparable from production on a capitalist basis. The interval between World War I and World War II demonstrated how impossible it was for capitalism to function without diverting the major part of the forces of production to arms output, in preparation, naturally, for another projected global war.

This organic need for arms production to even keep the outmoded system running was obscured by the fact that it was the German fascists who launched the arms race in the late Thirties. The "peace-loving democracies" needed the arms race — and the war — no less urgently than did their trigger-happy fascist rivals.

The huge war program was the only thing that pulled American capitalism out of the ten-year old depression. The postwar developments have served to underscore this grimness of truths. The only thing that has averted an economic bust in the U.S. has been the stepped-up arms program. It is openly admitted in ruling capitalist circles, here and abroad, that even a moderate scaling down of the American arms program carries with it a threat of depression.

Catastrophic depression or global war — that is the ONLY ALTERNATIVE that capitalism has to offer mankind.

## British Fear World Slump in 1953

A widely-held view in Europe is that 1953 may well mark the beginning of a world depression, barring the outbreak of global war. The Bevanite periodical *Tribune*, which expresses the views of the left wing of the British Labor Party, published on June 13, a study by Dudley Seers, entitled "How Near Is the World Slump?" —

"So far as one can ever be sure of any prediction in economics one can be sure of this: there are really only two possibilities for 1953, a world war or a world slump. "It is true that the American economy may keep running at nearly full capacity for weeks or months, since arms expenditure is rising by over 10 billion dollars a year. But sooner or later, a collapse must come. Even if the Americans could continue to find some use for their national output on the present level (roughly \$300 billion), they cannot indefinitely find a use for the sort of things now being made."

The tremendous expansion of the productive capacity, especially, for steel, electricity and oil — at rates far above prewar peaks — is singled out as one of the factors bringing depression closer.

"Now, we don't need to assume that purchases by the U.S. government will actually fall," explains the *Tribune* article. "Suppose that they merely ceased to increase and such a levelling off is indeed intended for 1953. Then American industry will be able to fulfill its defense orders without installing more machinery. There would be unemployment in the industries making machinery and in the industries which sell to them, such as the steel industry. The people thrown out of work would buy less themselves, industries making consumer goods would find their factory capacity ample or even excessive, and the sales of plant and machinery would fall further, creating still more unemployment. The recession would, therefore, spread over the nation and over the Western world."

What concerns the Europeans is that the repercussions of even a "mild" depression in the U.S. may prove too much for the shaky European economies.

"But a mild recession (in the U.S.) could still be enough to shake the economic structure of the West. We have already seen in 1949 the effects of a very mild U.S. recession, and in the last few months the consequences of what is merely a cessation of stockpiling. The American economy now has so dominant a position in the world that a tremor in New York may mean a landslide of prices and incomes in other cities."

The author's conclusion is that "we must exert what power we can on the United States to encourage the adoption of economic policies that will make the slump less likely, or reduce its scale."

# Enthusiastic TV-Radio Letters Keep Pouring In

And still the letters pour in. Hundreds and hundreds of letters from all over America — yes, and from Canada and Mexico, too — asking for copies of the TV and radio speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Mrs. Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

This week a good portion of the samples of the letters we publish are from the South and the West Coast. We are especially proud of the letters from both Negro and white workers praising the Socialist Workers stand for full equality. Favorable letters are printed under the head "FOR"; hostile (of which we find only two printable) are under the head, "... AND AGAINST."

## FOR

On Saturday I heard the last part of the talk made by someone in the Socialist Workers Party and I would very much like to have a copy of this as was announced over WAGA. I would like so much to send you the copy of a letter that I wrote to this so-called "Senator" R. B. Russell of Georgia but unfortunately I have misplaced it somewhere. To date, I haven't had any reply from the "Senator" and probably won't.

I am one of the steel workers out on strike now and I wrote Russell regarding one of his "promises" to our local back in '46 when we were having some trouble down here, and while some of the boys believed that Russell would keep his promise to us, I did not, as I know what he is. R. G. Atlanta, Ga.

You seemed to have brought out some very important points, some of which had never crossed my mind. I really enjoyed your speech and I would like to have more information as I am interested in your party. J. C. Georgia

## "For First Time We Heard Truth"

Dear Mr. Dobbs:

In regards to your campaign talk on TV Sunday, we wish to learn more of your organization. We are deeply interested and for the first time we heard truth.

Thanks to God someone has brought the truth to light and that someone is you. Keep on working and our prayers are with you and I hope that my people, the Negro race, will listen and accept the truth.

If there is anything we can do to be of any help we will gladly be at your service. Thanking you deeply and hoping to hear more of you in the near future.

Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Kansas City, Mo.

I was made amazingly happy and much surprised to hear your speech over the radio. No doubt you will make a tour of the nation during the campaign and I am writing mainly to ask you to stop in Missouri. R. H. Montana

I would be glad to get a copy of your courageous broadcast over WXYZ on Sunday night. Mrs. A. H. Detroit, Mich

I am much interested in your party and its suggestions for improving government. Please send a copy of your candidate's speech and any other information on your party. A. P. Highland Park, Mich.

I'd like very much to have copies of all of Mr. Farrell Dobbs' campaign speeches. Because of irregular working hours I shall be unable to hear all of them. However, I shall listen to as many as possible. J. S. Chicago, Ill.

Kindly send me a copy of your TV broadcast on July 19. It was a very interesting broadcast. I believe it has a lot of truth behind it. I have never voted as yet, and I'm the mother of four boys. I hope they never have to go to war, but no doubt they will as they are healthy, strong boys. But under the circumstances that I've had to bring them up, believe me, it's a wonder they are.

I'm supposed to get a check from the Army for my 7-month-old baby. His father has been gone nine weeks. As yet no check. The Red Cross tells me they are sorry. I have no ice box or refrigerator, so there is a great food waste. If you could see how I have to live, believe me, you would know why I have never voted. But your speakers impressed me very deeply. That's why I would appreciate a copy to read and enjoy more thoroughly. Sorry to have bothered you but I would love to have one. Mrs. R. F. New York

Over the radio I heard a talk from a man running for President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for the laboring class

of people. The program said I could get a copy of this speech. A. C. G. Texas

Would you please send me information regarding your party. I have heard the Socialist Workers Party's aspirations on television, and have consequently become very interested. D. T. Milwaukee, Wis.

I regret to mention that I am the only Socialist registered in this county, but we are not allowed on the ballot in this state. I never saw so much about socialism from a capitalist standpoint, but they never let a Socialist reply in press or pulpit or radio. But when this war winds up they will be slaves of DEBT, and are now but do not know it.

I lectured for many years and followed the electrical trade and am still able to do a good day's work, age 70 past. I regret that I am much disappointed in the bringing about of Socialism. I thought after reading Edward Bellamy's books it was so ideal that every one would accept and by 1925 or 30 we would have Socialism. But it has been defeated by wars. But this one to come will finish off the capitalist system. I feel it is digging its grave now.

I am glad to learn some people can express themselves at the ballot box. If I cannot, I refuse to vote. The Democrats and Republicans are a set of exploiters and murderers. I have contempt for this so-called Democracy. But Norman Thomas says the Democrats are O.K.

I'd be glad to hear from you. I remain, Yours for Socialism. E. S. Bisbee, Ariz.

Please send me information on your platform. I am a Liberal Republican and am interested in examining your ideas. W. C. Stockton, Calif.

I would very much appreciate copies of the acceptance speeches of your Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. I heard one in part and heartily approved every word said and am most interested in having copies of both speeches to read and pass on.

Mrs. D. O. Pasadena, Calif

I was impressed by the honesty and courage of the speeches and the truths told. I shall pass these speeches around to as many people as will read them. R. P. Los Angeles, Calif.

Please send me a copy of Mr. Dobbs' acceptance speech. If

# Yes, G. S., I Certainly Have Experienced Thought-Control

By Farrell Dobbs  
SWP Presidential Candidate

I want to express again my deep thanks for the hundreds of wonderful, moving letters that have continued to come in response to our TV and radio broadcasts. Mrs. Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Vice President and my running-mate in the 1952 campaign, joins with me in acknowledging our gratitude for these inspiring letters of support.

"This week I am continuing my efforts to answer questions raised in some of the letters. I am not only willing but anxious to clear up points of doubt. Two good questions regarding my statements on "thought-control" are raised by televiewers in Brooklyn and Philadelphia.

G. S. of Philadelphia, Pa., writes: "I was amazed at what you had to say concerning your own country. (That is, I take it for granted that you speak as an American to your fellow citizens). KNOWING WHAT A DREADFUL THING 'THOUGHT-CONTROL' REALLY IS, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU IN WHAT FORM YOU EXPERIENCED IT. I would appreciate it if you would let me know."

The other letter, by A. B. of Brooklyn, N. Y., says: "I am interested in your party's program but do not want any-

## For Vice-Pres.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

## A Name Fontana Ought to Know

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send me a copy of the radio talks given by Mr. Farrell Dobbs and the lady (I did not get her name) given on July 20.

Mrs. J. L. Fontana, Calif.

[Editor's Note: — The lady on the radio program is Mrs. Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President of the United States. She gained national prominence in 1946 for her exposure of the Jim Crow atrocity in Fontana, Calif. when a Negro family of four were burned to death in their home after they had been threatened by white supremacists. Mrs. Weiss, through a speaking tour and her pamphlet, "Vigilante Terror in Fontana," aroused state-wide sentiment and forced an official investigation of this atrocity.]

Please send me further information on the Socialist Workers Party and how to stop further war. C. P. Santa Rosa, Calif.

I was much impressed by your (Myra Tanner Weiss's) all too short talk on the radio yesterday, July 20, and would like to ask if you have a group in this area or whether you have literature that supplements your talk. E. C. Oakland, Calif.

Listening to the acceptance speeches of the Socialist Workers Party's candidates, I was impressed. I would like to obtain a copy of the Party's platform and some information on the party itself. Voting for the first time, I want to cast a wise vote. J. B. Pismo Beach, Calif.

Please send me a copy of Mr. Dobbs' acceptance speech. If possible send me a dozen for distribution. E. T. California

I am sorry I did not tune in on time to hear all of your speech of July 20. I would appreciate it if you could send me all of your speech. I think we are going around in circles with the Republican and Democratic parties and I, for one, would like to see you [Farrell Dobbs] in the White House. J. C. California

I am a college student and am interested in obtaining and studying the information which was mentioned on a radio network broadcasting the 1952 convention of the Socialist Workers Party from New York City. I know very little about what type of material you might send, but would be most interested in any explanatory information. R. L. C. Colorado

Please send me 100 copies of the address made by your Presidential candidate on peace. I can use them to good cause. Yours for peace. J. F. M. Idaho

Please send acceptance speeches and platform of your party. H. M. T. Mississippi

I was very much interested in your speech and I agree with you on many things. J. A. North Carolina

Farrell Dobbs' radio speech hit the bull's eye as far as I am concerned. Please send me a copy (or copies) as per your offer. G. K. Seattle, Wash

My reception was rather poor on account of the static and I did not get the name of the candidate. But what I got of his address or speech was great. Keep it up. I would like one copy at least of the evening's speeches of July 19 and could use a dozen if I could obtain them. I would be glad to get them and willing to donate \$1 toward the campaign fund. Yours to the bitter end. C. G. B. C., Canada

I listened in to your speech last Sunday night and appreciated it very much. It is right in my line of thinking. I would like a copy of the speech so I may show it to others and let them see what you stand for. With best wishes for your future success. Mrs. J. M. Detroit, Mich.

I heard your most interesting, most inspiring talk Sunday. I would appreciate it if you would kindly send me a copy. S. F. Philadelphia, Pa

I would like to have a copy of your acceptance speech so I can read it carefully. It sounded very valid to me. C. B. California

I heard Mr. Dobbs on television Sunday and quite agree with him. Would you please send me the literature mentioned? F. O. Brooklyn, N. Y.

I listened with great interest to Mrs. Weiss' radio talk over Station WMAQ recently and would like to receive from you some literature pertaining to the present world situation and social-economic affairs in America. G. W. Chicago, Ill

Would you please send two copies of Mr. Dobbs' speech on the radio last Sunday. I would like to read it and also present a copy to a friend. Mr. Dobbs has a rousing delivery. A. D. Indianapolis, Ind.

I think like this if a man becomes so fed up with Government in the country in which you live why don't you go to your Uncle Joe and work for him? I am sure that if you went to Uncle Harry and explain to him that you want to go, I am sure he will see to it personally that

Under Stalin you would be kept in pitiful ignorance and have been far worse off than the workers you are trying to support. Your party is s - - - and I wish to tell you b - - - s would stay on your side of the iron curtain. Or are you afraid to go back? It is the Communists who start race riots not Americans. I am afraid to sign my name I might be killed in bed. An American for Democracy (No Address)

I am a citizen and resident of Mexico. There may not be much I can do in your present campaign, but I teach English and I'm sure any literature I could have from you would be ideal material for my pupils. This, in the long run, may contribute to a better understanding of your struggle against the greed of our present capitalism all over this world, excepting the socialist countries. We heard your interesting program on TV and would like more information regarding your party. J. R. Mexico

"Want Better Way Of Life for All"

Dear Mr. Dobbs:

Please send me one of those Socialist Workers pamphlets or books which you had on your TV show Sunday. I am a white man, but do believe in a much better way of life, whether we are white or colored. I believe in better working conditions for working people. And better for the veterans of our nation. I work for Uncle Sam and I am doing work where a couple of other men could be working and all have eight hours a day. N. K. Kansas

Please send me literature. I am interested in the movement. J. G. Hialeah, Fla

I would like very much to know how I may help the Socialist Workers Party. I have all the faith in the world in this party. Most everyone like myself desires a change. I will do everything within my power to help bring this change about. Please send me any information that might help. Mrs. P. K. M. Missouri

Tonight I heard part of one speech and a whole speech made by a member of your party and its candidate for the presidency of the United States. I enjoyed these talks very much and would like to have the copies of these speeches. Any other literature will be appreciated. I am a citizen and resident of Mexico. There may not be much I can do in your present campaign, but I teach English and I'm sure any literature I could have from you would be ideal material for my pupils. This, in the long run, may contribute to a better understanding of your struggle against the greed of our present capitalism all over this world, excepting the socialist countries. We heard your interesting program on TV and would like more information regarding your party. J. R. Mexico

I heard the radio address of your Party's presidential candidate, Mr. Farrell Dobbs, with a good deal of interest. I'd like to know more about your Party and its program. J. D. Dorchester, Mass.

I saw your most interesting TV program on July 27 and enjoyed it to the utmost. Please send me a copy. With deep appreciation. O. M. Atlanta, Ga.

Just hearing and seeing you on television makes me feel better, knowing you are for the working man and I am writing for more information about your party. I came back from World War II and have tried to get an increase in compensation ever since the war ended. I wrote letters to Washington, D. C., to senators, etc., and I still get 10% and no more. But I do not want it to happen to all other vets so I am ready to fight as a true American. I have written a few items in the local paper under the letters to the editor column and the editors were against me for being against the Korean War. One item I wrote on January 26 against the Korean War was printed some time in June, but only half of it. L. G. Minnesota

I am a recent college graduate. During my school attendance I was politically active in the Students for Democratic Action, the student division of ADA. The reason I'm writing is because I was thoroughly disgusted with the Democratic and Republican conventions. I watched them with intense interest on TV. Then I was thoroughly possessed by the TV program sponsored by your group that I saw yesterday. Your candidates for President and Vice President of the U.S. were a welcome relief from all the ranters of meaningless phrases I'd been watching previously. I'd like you to send me whatever information you will, your platform, etc. I do not as yet wish to commit myself, but wish to learn as much as possible about socialism in order that I may make more intelligent decisions. W. M. Memphis, Tenn.

Thus far I am in complete agreement with your aims and ideals, and I am interested in your program. With the tentative view of affiliating myself with your party, I would appreciate receiving further information. A. G. San Francisco, Calif.

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

10¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

— A Hard Boiled Sergeant (No Address)

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

10¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

— A Hard Boiled Sergeant (No Address)

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

10¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

— A Hard Boiled Sergeant (No Address)

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

10¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

— A Hard Boiled Sergeant (No Address)

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

10¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

— A Hard Boiled Sergeant (No Address)



## Report on 'Progress'

By Jean Blake

The July issue of *Fortune* magazine contains an article, "Negro Employment: A Progress Report," by John A. Davis, professor of political science at Lincoln University and holder of a grant of money from the Ford Foundation to study and write in the field of civil rights.

As might be expected, the *Fortune* article is directed to employers, not to Negroes or to their natural allies in the struggle for equal rights, the working class. Consequently, his use of the statistics on Negroes in industry is aimed at making the following points:

1. There has been "an uneven but advancing line of progress" in the employment of Negroes on a non-discriminatory basis in the last decade.

2. "These advances were possible because in many instances enlightened management" took the lead in abolishing discrimination in its plants.

3. The problem, therefore, is not whether progress is being made, but whether it is being made fast enough. "In a world that is about 65 per cent non-white the Communist charge of racial exploitation in America reverberates with a crashing emphasis," he says.

4. More progress has been made where there is fair employment legislation than where voluntary means are employed to eliminate discrimination. In fact, his statistics tell him "The gains in Negro employment were possible only through FEPC."

5. Employers need not fear that FEPC legislation will compel them to do anything they don't want to do. (The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce agreed to a city ordinance in January 1950. "So far there has not been one prosecution." The federal FEPC in four years of operation "handled 13,000 cases. About 5,000 were settled by negotiation, the others were dismissed through lack of jurisdiction, withdrawal of charges, failure to prove a case, etc.") The New York commission in 1951 "handled 294 verifiable complaints, of which 128 were dismissed and twelve withdrawn. Only one case was ordered for formal hearings; all the others were settled by conciliation or dismissal."

6. "A large number of labor unions do restrict job opportunities for Negroes" but management can't revise their policies; that's a job for labor and for government. The government has compelled some unions to stop discriminating, but enforcement machinery against employers holding government contracts is lacking.

7. "In education (by which we hope to solve the race problem in America), the Negro teacher finds it hard to obtain a position above the grade-school level in the North and West." There are more Negro professors in the South, but all in Jim Crow colleges.

8. "An enlightened management has the responsibility and an opportunity to lead the way." Those are Davis' main points. He tells the bosses what they will listen to, he thinks: They are the class that can eliminate discrimination in employment. They should do it in the interest of American imperialism's control of the world. They need not fear legislative compulsion because, as the facts demonstrate, it is used only against labor, not against employers. The government, after all, is theirs.

But neither the hard-headed capitalists nor realistic workers will go for it. The bosses, as a class, have no illusions that they will win the war against anti-imperialist movements all over the world by propaganda about the blessings of American democracy. That's why they are placing their chips on A-Bombs and military might — pure, naked force. Similarly, at home, the white supremacists made it clear this past year that fire-bombs and murder are weapons they don't hesitate to use when legal means are too slow in "keeping the Negro in his place."

Moreover, workers — and that's who Dr. Davis is talking about when he talks about Negroes in industry — know something the learned doctor did not deduce from his statistics: The gains made in employment were the result, not of the policies of "enlightened management" or even of FEPC, but of struggle by workers under relatively favorable conditions. The bosses needed more workers to exploit in the stepped-up war economy, so the Negro workers increased their demands, and made gains.

But even Dr. Davis' examination of history and statistics show that a longer view, not just the past ten years, reveals such gains are not guaranteed, or secure. They have been won and lost — in the past. As long as "enlightened management" has the power to grant concessions, it has the power to take them away.

Only when the workers have the power, and own and operate industry themselves, will permanent gains be made in the elimination of discrimination not only in employment, but in every phase of American society.

## Notes from the News

THE FRANCO GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN is demanding several billions of dollars worth of aid from the U.S. government, before it will agree to the establishment of American military bases in that country. Franco is holding out for enough military equipment and U.S. dollars to give him a chance to beat down the inevitable uprising of Spanish workers in the future.

THE OPEN SHOP EMPLOYERS in the women's coat and suit industry in the New York area are now doing a \$45,000,000 business, as compared with \$600,000,000 in unionized shops; the Cloak Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union estimates. By avoiding the 35-hour week, cutting wages and evading contributions of 7½% of payrolls to a welfare fund, the open-shoppers have been expanding their business rapidly. The ILGWU plans an organizational strike to unionize them.

THE DIXIECRATS ARE starting to whoop it up for Stevenson. Latest supporter of the Democratic candidate for president is White Supremacist Gov. Byrnes of So. Carolina, who threatened to secede from the union if the government forced equality in Carolina schools.

PROFITS WILL CONTINUE to be up in the stratosphere, according to the magazine *Business Week*, which estimates corporate profits for 1952 at \$18 billion.

## No Compromise in Fight For Equal Rights -- Dobbs

(Continued from page 1)

inequality, segregation and Jim Crow in this country.

A hard-boiled policy of repression at home is the natural consequence of a foreign policy aimed toward all-out war. Therefore, Eisenhower and Stevenson can have no important differences on domestic issues because they agree on major questions of foreign policy.

This fact is reflected in their selection of candidates for vice-president. Eisenhower picked a witch hunter. Stevenson chose a Dixiecrat.

Neither of them means any good for the working people or the oppressed minorities.

## TAFT-HARTLEY

Democratic and Republican policy on the Taft-Hartley law presents further proof that those who agree on foreign policy can have no important differences on domestic issues.

Eisenhower wants to keep the Taft-Hartley Act on the books, with some minor amendments. Stevenson has substantially the same position as Eisenhower on this question. He said in a public statement that he saw "no necessity for repealing" the Taft-Hartley law.

Stevenson obviously intends to ignore the Democratic party's promise to abolish this anti-union law.

It is the same story on the civil rights issue.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

The Republicans say that each state should "order and control its own institutions." Eisenhower plainly intends to follow this Dixiecrat doctrine.

That means he will do little or nothing for the Negro people.

The Democrats, on the other hand, make more promises than the Republicans on the civil rights question. Then they put up as their candidate, Stevenson, who said that the states should "seek their own solution" on civil rights.

## DIXIECRAT VOTE

Both Eisenhower and Stevenson are ready to brush aside the rights of the Negro people in a cynical contest for the Dixiecrat vote.

Most working people and oppressed minorities have known for some time that the Republican party is not their friend.

At the same time they have clung to the hope that the Democratic party would give them a little justice.

Leaders of unions and Negro organizations flocked to the Democratic convention to ask consideration of their social, economic and political grievances. The Democratic big-wheels brushed them aside none too politely; then rammed through the convention a bad platform and nominated a worse candidate.

This experience should make it plain that the Democrats and Republicans are for all practical purposes a single party — a pro-war, anti-labor, anti-Negro party, running under two names.

It should be clear that the working people and oppressed minorities need political independence: independence from the Democrats and Republicans; and independence from their war program.

An independent labor party is needed; a party devoted to the

cause of peace and friendship between the working people of all lands; a party dedicated to the creation of a workers and farmers government in this country.

The formation of an independent, anti-war political movement of the American working people is inevitable. Of that we can be certain. Yet we can't just sit and wait for a labor party to come into being. Great political events do not occur simply because the time is ripe for them.

## LEADERSHIP

Men and women must step forward to give the leadership required by the times. None know this better than those who helped to organize the CIO.

They understand what it will take to get a labor party going. Movements require educators and propagandists. They need agitators and organizers.

Movements need men and women who have faith in the cause and the courage of their convictions.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** The Socialist Workers Party has entered the presidential contest to arouse the forces needed for the organization of an independent mass party of the working people and oppressed minorities.

I have proudly accepted nomination as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party to help present that program to the American people.

Our party will welcome correspondence with interested persons. We will be happy to send representatives for discussion with groups wishing to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party program.

VOLUME XVI

## Mike Bartell Featured on Phila. TV

Philadelphians were treated to a different type of broadcast when the Socialist Workers Party went on the air for an hour and three-quarters program.

This opportunity arose when station WPEN granted time on its popular Steve Allison program, July 30. Speaking for the SWP were Michael Bartell, New York candidate for U.S. Senator, Ann Chester, Pennsylvania candidate for U.S. Senator, and Robert Chester, state campaign manager. Opposed to them was Assistant Professor Edward Janosik of the political science department of the University of Pennsylvania, aided by the moderator, Steve Allison.

The program began with questions about the differences between the Socialist Workers Party and other parties, but once the discussion reached the point of characterizing the Smith Act (under which SWP leaders were sent to jail) as a "Gag" Act the discussion sharpened. Professor Janosik objected to the use of the term "Gag" Act claiming that under some circumstances ideas might be proscribed. As a liberal Democrat he was forced to come out against the witch hunt now rampant.

The discussion moved from the witch hunt to the comparison of socialism and capitalism, to the advantages of a planned economy, and reached its climax on the question of the Korean war. While both Janosik and Steve Allison objected to the characterization of the Korean fight as a fight for independence and opposed the slogan of "Bring the boys home now," they were unable to refute them. Their only recourse was to the old bromides "there have always been wars" and "would you want Stalin to come over here?"

Since it was customary in this program for listeners to phone in and express their views as well as to pose questions to the speakers it was possible to check on the interest raised by the discussion.

## British Labor Hits Wage Freeze

(Continued from page 1)

by the wage-freeze by arguing that higher wages would only result in higher prices, and the workers would be no better off. Other capitalist spokesmen declare that the billion and a half dollars a year that the wage claims come to would have a damaging effect upon Britain's economy at this critical time.

To refute these arguments, the Engineers Union has presented figures to show that it is wages that are chasing prices, and not the other way around. Between April 1947 and October 1951 weekly earnings in the engineering industry increased 26 per cent while the cost of living rose 34 per cent. Even more significant is the fact that profits during this same period went up by 137 per cent! According to the government's own statistics on national incomes, profits in 1951 were a billion and a quarter dollars more than the previous years. This alone would almost cover the cost of the wage claims. Yet the government says nothing about any damaging effects of such exorbitant profits on the national economy.

The more conservative leaders of the Trades Union Congress, headed by Mr. Arthur Deakin, have been advising the workers to exercise restraint in their demands and struggles. But the workers are in no mood to comply. An indication of their spirit was given by the recent strikes of 20,000 workers at the Briggs and Ford auto plants near London.

Some of the largest trade unions have recorded their opposition to any wage restraint policy in motions submitted to the Trades Union Congress which will meet from September 1st to 5th. In the words of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, they object to the Conservative government "placing the greatest burden on the section of the population least able to bear it." In addition to resolutions for higher wages and lowered prices, a number of motions call for reductions in the arms program, for the extension of East-West trade, and for meetings of the great powers to stop the drift toward war.

It is clear that the Tory government and the trade-union movement are heading toward a show-down. The wage question has become a burning political issue and has posed still more urgently the need for labor to get the Tory government out of power.

## THE MILITANT

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1952

NUMBER 32

## Michigan Federal Court Upholds Vicious Trucks Law in Split Vote

By Howard Lerner

DETROIT, Aug. 5 — A three judge Federal District Court on July 30 upheld the constitutionality of the infamous Trucks law by a 2 to 1 split vote.

The judges unanimously agreed later to continue the restraining order which prevents application of the law until it is tested in the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision relates only to portions of the law pertaining to the Communist Party as such. The legal suit of the Stalinists did not contest the law in all its aspects.

## SWP SUIT

The Socialist Workers Party suit against the law, filed in the Wayne County Circuit court, contests the law in its entirety, including sections dealing with so-called front organizations and its unconstitutional provision making it mandatory for a defendant to testify against himself. The SWP suit is awaiting scheduling on the Circuit court docket.

The majority opinion of the Federal court specifically denies the Communist Party its legal rights and its right to the ballot. Judge Charles C. Simons stated the panel held the law constitutional "only on its face." Many aspects of the law were not ruled on.

## DETROIT NEWS

Relating indirectly to this matter, the Detroit News pointed out in an editorial (July 31):

"It was claimed also that the provision requiring Communists to register with the State violates the constitutional guarantee against self-incrimination, and on this the court seems to have avoided a direct ruling. It was held, rather, that the plaintiffs, by bringing the suit, had forfeited for themselves the right to raise the question."

"A ruling on the registration provision presumably must await the prosecution of some non-registering Communist, at which time, eventually, the claim as to self-incrimination again will be raised."

The two judges who voted to uphold the law based their decision on world conditions in which "democratic concepts are challenged." There was little attempt to justify the decision on constitutional grounds.

Despite his political opposition to the Stalinists, Farrell Dobbs,

Socialist Workers Party candidate for president stated, "Our party is for the defense of the Communist Party victims of this ruling, since the rights of all are involved."

In his dissenting opinion, Judge Levin stated, "The act before the court cannot be said to meet the test of due process as it has been enunciated . . . by the Supreme Court. It in effect forces a man to take the stand and testify at his own criminal trial. . . . The enforcement of this act would constitute a continuing threat to freedom of speech and assembly."

Discussing the act, and pointing out that many of its most dangerous aspects are still to be tested, Detroit News columnist W. K. Kelsey wrote Aug. 1: "Let's suppose, Mr. Citizen that you are enrolled in some organization which you have been led to consider 'liberal' but in no wise dangerous to the country, and that you suddenly find it on the Attorney General's list of 'Communist Front' organizations. If you don't register with the police, you can be penalized under the Trucks Act. If you do register, you can be prosecuted under the so-called 'Little Smith Act' passed by the (Mich.) state legislature in 1950."

These important parts of the law will be tested in the Socialist Workers Party suit, filed by Farrell Dobbs and Howard Lerner, SWP State Chairman in Michigan.

## OPPOSITION GROWS

Even as the judges were debating the law, opposition to the Trucks act grows. The July issue of *ADA World*, official organ of the Americans for Democratic Action carried a story headed "Board Blasts Trucks Act." The Students for Democratic Action National Board passed a resolution requesting SDA chapters to take an organized stand against such laws.

Meanwhile, the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, supporting the SWP suit, continues to grow as a dozen more prominent union officials and liberals were added to the committee in Detroit this past week.

## NEGROES SOLD OUT BY BOTH PARTIES -- POWELL

(Continued from Page 1)

Anti-Strike Act and the Taft-Hartley Act.

Rep. Powell was especially bitter in his denunciation of Negro delegates and leaders at the conventions of the two capitalist parties. He charged that the "Negro in 1952 was sold down the river at both conventions by 'Uncle Toms' who spearheaded the sabotage of the civil rights planks in both party platforms."

He put special blame on William L. Dawson, Negro Representative from Chicago, for compromising at the Democratic convention on the civil rights plank and blocking a minority report for a compulsory FEPC. If the Democrats brought Dawson into New York during the campaign, said Rep. Powell, "they might as well forget trying to carry Harlem or New York State. One thing we Harlem Negroes decided a long time ago. We don't want any 'Uncle Toms' north of 110th Street."

He also charged that House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who chaired the Democratic convention, "used every trick at his command to bring back into the convention the Dixiecrats who had been overwhelmingly put out."

The Harlem Congressman said "we will vote only for our country, city and state candidates unless between now and November we can get firm assurances from Governor Stevenson and Senator Sparkman that they will campaign on a more forthright civil rights program than the ambiguous one adopted in the party platform." He urged labor and liberals "not to jump blindly on the Stevenson-Sparkman bandwagon. If they do, they are likely to find out on Election Day that the only tune the bandwagon can play is 'Stars Fell on Alabama.'"

While he still held the door open for his own future support to the Democratic national ticket if he gets some kind of extra "assurances" from Stevenson, Rep. Powell's testimony will stand as an irrevocably damning indictment of the Democratic Party's real position on Negro rights.

Evidence of widespread dissatisfaction among Detroit auto workers can be seen in the recent round of UAW-CIO local union elections. In local after local the incumbent officers either suffered defeat or experienced close contests. As the incumbents for the most part were tied to Walter Reuther, International President of UAW-CIO, the anti-administration tendency at the local union level reflects a considerable loss of prestige for the Reuther leadership.

In Hudson Local 154, scene of recent speedup fights and Company offensive against the union, the incumbent Reuther-supported administration was replaced by a slate headed by George Lucas and Claude Bland. (Bland has been prominently identified with the opposition Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW-CIO).

In another Reuther stronghold, Dodge Local 3, the election resulted in a split administration among the top officers.

Possibly of greater significance and concern to the Reuther leadership was the election in Briggs Local 212, one of the UAW's largest locals and the home base of Emil Mazey, International Secretary-Treasurer. The attempt of the Reutherite administration headed by Ken Morris which has been in office for four terms to replace Recording Secretary Jack Pearson suffered a sharp setback.

Pearson was re-elected by a margin of more than 2,400 votes over his Reuther-Morris slate rival Russ Bari, who is reported to have Association of Catholic Trade Unionists connections. Formerly Morris and his slate were re-elected by 3 to 1 margins. This time Morris polled 7,200 votes to 5,600 for one opponent and 300 for a third candidate. This vote is especially significant in view of the absence of a hard-hitting aggressive opposition campaign. The Local 212 Executive Board was virtually split between the contending groups.

In Budd Wheel Local 306, Kaiser-Fraser Local 142, GM

Transmission Local 735, Ex-Cello Local 49, Fleetwood Local 35, Detroit Steel Products Local 351, and Plymouth Local 351 the elections resulted in split administrations, election of opposition candidates, or close elections requiring run-offs.

In Ford Local 600, the largest UAW-CIO local, which has been under the dictatorial hand of an "Administrative Board" of the Reuther machine, the long delayed union elections are no cause for joy to the International administration.

In spite of the arbitrary removal of dozens of active union leaders, an unprecedented campaign of misinformation and slander against the Ford Local leadership, and the general witch-hunt directed at the Ford Local leadership, the Unit elections to date mark a defeat for the Reuther administrative gang.

In the large Ford Maintenance Unit of 7,500 members, Art Speed, Unity Coalition candidate, was re-elected in spite of major concentration of the administrators in an attempt to defeat him. In the Dearborn Assembly Plant with 4,000 workers, Mike Donnelly, a Unity Coalition leader, was re-elected. Similarly, Jack Poole, Unity Coalition candidate for President in the Casting Machine Unit of 1,000 members, was re-elected.

Reuther maintained his control in two small Ford units voting thus far. Joe Berry, Reutherite incumbent, was re-elected without opposition in the Miscellaneous Unit of 1,000 members and the Central Parts Depot Unit of 500 replaced the incumbent Reutherite with right-winger Mike D'Agostino.

In several units, Independents were elected. These include the Transportation Unit, the Open Hearth Unit and the Rolling Mill.

In an apparent effort to steal a victory which they cannot obtain by an appeal to the Ford workers, the Administrative Board has announced that the names of Paul Boatin, Nelson Davis, Ed Locke, Dave Moore, and Johnny Gallo will not be permitted on the ballot in their respective

units. This action without charges, without a hearing, without a trial, is a flagrant violation of the International Constitution of the UAW-CIO.

In spite of these desperate moves, the trend in Local 600 is clearly in the direction of a victory for the Ford workers and their local union leadership headed by Carl Stellato.

Victory of the Stellato forces in Local 600 could have a progressive effect on the UAW-CIO as a whole. The action of the International Union in placing an administrator over Local 600 and the hysterical anti-red campaign which accompanied this move had a marked effect upon opposition groups in the local unions. Fear of being red-baited by the administration was reflected in the their programs. The campaigns for the most part were

conducted on a very low plane. In almost every instance, the local groupings resorted to declarations of independence from radicals and professions of patriotism in an attempt to escape the Reuther red-baiting brush.

The elections clearly record the growing restlessness of the auto workers with Reuther's program of promises for the future coupled with a policy of policing the contract and restricting the efforts of the workers to defend themselves against the ever-increasing production demands of the corporations. This tendency has first expressed itself on a local union level with rising opposition to the incumbent administrations. The net effect has been to weaken the hand of the International administration and permit a broadening of the struggle on a higher plane.

## LOS ANGELES

## School of Social Science Announces Landmark of Scientific Socialism

Instructor—MAX STONE

6 sessions

- Session 1 — The founding of Scientific Socialism by Marx and Engels.
- Session 2 — State and Revolution, by Lenin; Imperialism; History of the Russian Revolution, by Trotsky — the test of Marxism in the "Epoch of wars and revolutions."
- Session 3 — The struggle to defend the principles, strategy and tactics of Marxism against Stalinist reaction.
- Session 4 — The formation of the 4th International and the great struggle to defend Marxism against petty-bourgeois revisionism at the outbreak of World War II.
- Session 5 — The History of American Trotskyism — the Leninist theory of the revolutionary party as applied to American conditions.
- Session 6 — Documents of the Third World Congress of the 4th International. Marxist analysis of the post-war epoch.

For information write to

## THE MILITANT

1702 EAST 4th STREET LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
or call Wa 9238