

THE KENYA STORY -- AFRICANS IN REVOLT

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THE MILITANT

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After Nov. 4th Labor Will Still Have No Voice

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The fifteen million union men and women, through the solicitations of their leaders, have coughed up millions of dollars for Adlai Stevenson's campaign. Virtually the entire machinery of the organized labor movement has been devoted for months to mobilizing support for the Democrats.

Yet, for all its vast outpouring of money, talent and energy in this election, labor will end up without a single solitary voice of its own in Washington even if Stevenson wins. As before, this mighty giant of labor will be reduced, at best, to knocking on the back-door of the White House for a few cheap favors and to trying to make some corridor deals in Congress.

This kind of politics is ignoble. Still worse, it gets no concessions for labor — not even the pitiful ones used to justify this policy in the early years of the New Deal. This is a policy which does not build labor's own political strength. It merely seeks for the "lesser evil" among labor's enemies — those whom the labor leaders claim will do the workers a little less harm. This "lesser evil," never very apparent, has shrunk to where a high-powered microscope can scarcely detect the difference between Democratic and Republican evils.

Can you imagine the industrialists and bankers being so soft-headed as to pay out good money to elect union men and women to control in Washington? The capitalists entrust their political interests to members and agents of their own class. Why, then, should labor continue election after election to return to political power the business men, corporation lawyers and capitalist newspaper editors who comprise 99% of office-holders in Washington?

Whatever the outcome of the elections, I am confident that the next four years of continued capitalist political rule will demonstrate conclusively the folly of leaving labor's fate in the hands of the Big Business parties. War preparations and war, economic insecurity, heavier repressions will drive home to labor the need for its own party to challenge the rule of the moneyed interests and to fight for the power in Washington.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

Harvester Strike Continues Firm Despite Injunction

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Oct. 2 — In its latest move to break the strike of the Farm Equipment section of the independent United Electrical Workers, the International Harvester Co. has secured an injunction limiting pickets to six per gate at the McCormick Works. A not-too-reluctant judge granted the injunction after the company and daily press painted a lurid picture of alleged lawlessness and violence by the workers.

Despite the injunction, production remains at a virtual standstill. There is no appreciable gain in scabs working. At the West Pullman works, a company-inspired cavalcade of cars with American flags and police escort received a lot of publicity but brought few strikebreakers into the plant.

Negotiations remain stalemated. The company's best offer is an abbreviated version of the worst features of the CIO United Auto Workers contract in a UAW-organized plant, with favorable clauses omitted. The UAW contract, negotiated and signed without consultation with FE-UE, has many ambiguous clauses open to varied interpretation. It also stipulates that reclassification and piece-work rates are not subject to collective bargaining. The contract represents a retreat from original demands.

It is rumored the UAW leaders signed the contract ending the strike at Melrose Park to facilitate a raid on the FE at the Canton Works. If so, they miscalculated, because despite their red-baiting they again failed their raid attempt in an election held last week.

The FE-UE's main concern is a pressing relief problem. With 30,000 on strike, numerous hardship cases have developed. A vigorous campaign is being waged to broaden support for the strike and raise more funds.

Harold Ward, Financial Secretary of Local 108, who is being framed for the slaying of William Foster, a Harvester scab, is now being held without bond for first-degree murder. He has been indicted and arraigned. The first hearing on motions is set for Nov. 14.

The House Un-American Activities Committee has come and gone. The company got an injunction at a key point. An active union leader is being framed on a murder charge. But a real show of union strength now might well convince the company that red-baiting committees, labor-hating newspapers and strike-busting cops won't produce tractors.

Mine Strike Called Off at Least Until After the Election

After a 24-minute conference with Truman at the President's request, John L. Lewis on Oct. 27 urged the 350,000 soft coal miners to call off — at least until after the election — their strike against the adverse ruling of Truman's Wage Stabilization Board. The industry and so-called public members of the board had joined against the union members to lop 40 cents from the \$1.90-a-day pay boost which the mine owners had agreed to in the new United Mine Workers contract.

Truman called in the union and company spokesmen after the Bituminous Coal Operators Association also objected to the WSB's action. Harry M. Moses, Association president, said the operators were ready to pay a \$1.50 increase immediately and leave the remaining 40 cents in a special fund to be paid the miners if the government eventually approves the full raise.

The only immediately obvious effect of the decision to call off the strike is to save the Democrats embarrassment on a labor issue just before the elections. Shortly prior to the WSB-provoked strike that began Oct. 20, Lewis and the United Mine Workers for the first time since 1936 had endorsed the Democratic candidate for President.

It was not revealed whether Truman offered the United Mine Workers any inducement to call off the strike other than the promise of a "fair hearing" on the union's appeal against the WSB ruling. Either the President or his Economic Stabilization Administrator, Roger L. Putnam, could reverse the WSB ruling or offer an acceptable substitute for it. There is no guarantee this will be done after the election.

"Bring GIs Home," Dobbs Urges on Nation-wide Hookup



COURT RULING ON LEGLESS VETERAN SPURS STRUGGLE ON WITCH HUNT

The Circuit Court of Appeals decision in the case of James Kutcher is being welcomed widely as a victory in the fight for civil liberties. Most commentators recognize, however, that it represents only a partial victory and that much more remains to be done before the Bill of Rights will be a reality for Kutcher and other victims of the witch hunt. This estimate was stated succinctly in an editorial statement, "New Light on Loyalty," printed in the Oct. 27 New Republic. The full statement follows:

"A narrow but welcome shaft of light was cast upon the federal employee loyalty program last week. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals held that an employee could not be dismissed solely because he admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This was one of the five organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list as to which the Loyalty Review Board had attempted to make mere membership the necessary equivalent of disloyalty. Such an attempt was found to be inconsistent with the Presidential directive that membership in a listed organization is simply one piece of evidence which may or

EDITORS FEAR "TOP SECRET" FACTS MIGHT SHOCK PEOPLE

A "top secret" government memorandum, containing the Joint Chiefs of Staff's views in 1947 on withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops from Korea, was read to a political rally in Minnesota on Oct. 27 by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, who quit the Republican Party to stump for Stevenson. His purpose was to show that Eisenhower approved the withdrawal.

This fact had been revealed from other sources and was not startling. What brought an outraged clamor from the press was the fact that Morse made public a "top secret" document. This, said the Oct. 29, N. Y. Times

editorially, was "shocking." When such "confidential" documents are "dragged into partisan politics," said the horrified Times, "the precedent . . . from the point of view of both political morals and national security, is not pleasant to contemplate."

Yes, indeed, there's no telling what might happen if the American people got a real peek into the secret files. They might find out the full facts about the war plots of Wall Street's government and call for the only possible answer — a nation-wide movement to clean out the Democrats and Republicans and put a Workers and Farmers government in power.

OPINION OF "THE CHIEF"

The Chief, the civil employees' weekly published in New York, ran an article entitled "Kutcher Ruling Points to Need for New Procedure" in its Oct. 24 issue. Written by its editor, Frank J. Priol II, the article reports the main points in the Appeals Court decision and the pertinent facts in the case of the legless veteran who was fired from his clerical job with the Veterans Administration in Newark four years ago because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Then Priol continues:

"The decision points up and meets to a degree the threat which the Attorney General's list poses to American civil liberties. (Continued on page 2)

SWP Candidate Calls For Continued Anti-war Fight After Elections

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 — The American working people "are against the Korean war; they want it stopped right now; they want the boys brought back home," said Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States, in a nation-wide NBC-TV and radio broadcast tonight.

Climaxing a fighting campaign that has taken him across the country and back on national speaking tours, Dobbs told the American people that neither Stevenson nor Eisenhower intends to end the Korean War. He exposed them and their parties as agents of American capitalism, bent on crushing popular struggles for freedom everywhere.

He called on the workers to vote the Socialist Workers ticket to express their demands for an end to the Korean War and for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from foreign soil.

Votes for the SWP, he said, also "will help speed the formation of a mass labor party" to work and fight for a labor government that will let the people decide foreign policy.

The full text of Dobbs' speech follows:

I have traveled the length and breadth of this country in the last three months. I have talked to industrial workers, white collar workers, students, housewives all the way from Boston to San Francisco. I am in a good position to know what the working people are thinking.

They are against the Korean war; they want it stopped right now; they want the boys brought back home.

CONFIRMS OUR WORDS

I find this overwhelming popular sentiment to be a remarkable confirmation of what our party, the Socialist Workers Party, has said about the Korean war from the start. We said then



FARRELL DOBBS

— and we say again now — that the United States has no business in Korea, and we would never have been there if the American people were given a chance to vote on the question.

This sentiment has proved so powerful that it has broken through the Republican-Democratic conspiracy to keep the Korean war out of the election campaign. Eisenhower and Stevenson are now arguing about Korea, not because they want to give the Korean people the right to run their own affairs, not because

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NEW THOUGHT-CONTROL MOVES MADE BY GOV'T

A series of new witch-hunt moves, partly designed as pre-election efforts to beat off Republican charges of "softness towards Communism," have been made by the Truman administration in the past two weeks.

On Oct. 20, a two-member subcommittee of the Subversive Activities Control Board set up under the McCarran Act called the Communist Party "a puppet of the Soviet Union" that "lives for the day when it can install a dictatorship of the proletariat" and recommended that the CP be compelled to register its officers, members and finances. And on Oct. 22, Truman's Attorney General McGranery announced the following three actions:

(1) Demanded surrender by eight so-called "Communists" now under deportation proceedings.

(2) Requested a new medical examination for William Z. Foster, 71-year-old CP national chairman, in an effort to bring him to trial under the Smith "rag" law. Foster had been indicted with the first batch of CP leaders in 1948, but his trial was held off due to his heart condition.

(3) Initiated deportation or denaturalization proceedings against ten of the 85 Communist Party leaders thus far indicted under the Smith Act.

Like all previous persecutions under the Truman witch hunt, all of these actions were based upon the mere holding of unorthodox political opinions, and not upon the commission of any criminal acts.

The day after the Subversive Activities Control Board panel issued its "finding" and recommendation, the CP national committee released a statement in which it said: "The Communist Party and its members, as has been stated repeatedly, will not register under the degrading, fascist-like McCarran Act."

The CP is not yet legally required to register, since this recommendation is only a subcommittee action. When the full Board releases its decision, it will be subject to judicial review, so that the government faces a full legal battle before it can try to enforce the anti-witch-hunt forces time to organize a strong movement against this first attempt in U.S. history to (in effect) outlaw a political party.

SUPPORT WITCH HUNTERS

On Oct. 28, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party and Morris L. Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union joined with the labor editor of Business Week and several other signers in a letter to the N. Y. Times "warning" liberals against joining any committee to defend the CP against the McCarran Act. The letter said that the finding of the McCarran panel is "fair, proper and correct." It tries to do an advance hatchet job on any movement to defend civil liberties against the McCarran Act by hinting that such movements are "Communist-inspired or Communist-directed."



By George Clarke
SWP Campaign Manager

The campaign will be history when this issue of The Militant turns up in the homes of most of the readers. So there is no need urging you to vote for Dobbs and Weiss. I know that most of you have done that, and have rounded up your friends and relatives to do the same.

For those who are particularly anxious, we should indicate that election boards take their sweet time reporting our votes. In any case, the measure of the SWP's influence on American workers during this campaign cannot be judged in terms of votes. The movement toward the labor party and socialism has not yet reached the stage of action where the tens and tens of thousands who were stirred to thought and hope by the SWP campaign are ready to take the decisive step of voting for its candidates.

But great currents of social discontent, though still swayed by the illusion of the "lesser evil," are abroad, and we have felt them in the reaction to our radio and TV broadcasts and in all the multiple activities of our campaign. We are supremely confident that the stormy times of world-shaking social conflict which lie clearly ahead will lift these forces from a latent to an active state. The current debate on Socialism, Communism and Capitalism, which pervaded the speeches of the Big Business candidates, is a sign that when the masses find their way to their own party, socialist thought and

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Truman's Hypocrisy on the McCarran Act

Truman hit something of a low in hypocrisy when he charged that Eisenhower is "willing to accept the very practices that identify the so-called 'master race'" because the Republican candidate has "embraced" his party colleagues in Congress who voted for the Nazi-like McCarran Immigration Act.

Truman carefully "forgot to remember" that this "master race" law was authored by the Democrats; that a majority of the Democrats in both Houses voted for it; and that Truman himself and his protégé Stevenson have also fervently "embraced" members of their own party who voted for this "repellent" law, as Truman termed it.

The President is quite correct, of course, when he says that Eisenhower "cannot escape responsibility" for his failure to repudiate Republicans who backed this discriminatory law that designates peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe as "less desirable" than those of Western Europe and excludes the former

through an unjust quota system. But neither can Truman and Stevenson escape responsibility for the actions of the Democratic majority in the Senate and House who voted for the bill over the President's veto and whom Truman and Stevenson have endorsed or failed to repudiate.

EQUALLY GUILTY

Republicans and Democrats are equally responsible for the immigration law passed last June, although it was introduced in the Senate by Sen. McCarran and in the House by Rep. Walter, both Democrats. On April 25 the House passed the bill by the overwhelming majority of 206 to 58. The Senate adopted the measure by a voice vote on May 22. Both Houses accepted a conference report on the measure and sent it to the White House.

Among others who urged Truman to sign the bill were Secretary of State Acheson and Attorney General McGranery. Truman vetoed the bill — knowing that there was no danger of its

not being passed over his veto. The next day, June 26, the House overrode the veto by 278 to 113, with 170 Republicans and 108 Democrats in the affirmative; 25 Republicans and 88 Democrats were against.

On June 27, the Senate voted down Truman's veto by 57 to 26. The majority was formed by 31 Republicans and 26 Democrats; the minority was eight Republicans and 18 Democrats. Had even one Democrat who voted to override cast his vote the other way, it would have prevented the necessary two-thirds majority required to set aside a presidential veto.

Truman failed to mention that one of Stevenson's campaign advisers is Senator Fulbright of Arkansas who helped put the law over. The Democratic candidate has accepted the support of dozens of Democratic senators who voted for the law. Like Eisenhower, Stevenson too is "willing to accept . . . practices" characteristic of the so-called "master race."



McCARRAN

The Liars Refuted: Few Own America

By Harry Frankel

When the Brookings Institution issued a report last June showing that the corporations of this country are owned by a small and constantly decreasing segment of the population, the dishonest daily press of the United States hailed this as proving that the corporations are "democratically owned" and that practically every U.S. citizen is either a capitalist or on the way to becoming one. The newspapers and magazines tortured the figures mercilessly to "prove" what they wanted.

The analysis which was presented by the Militant and the Marxist magazine Fourth International (July-August issue) was virtually unique in the country in working out the truthful picture in the form of a detailed breakdown of the facts in the Brookings report.

Since the publication of these articles, fresh voices have been added to the chorus of liars. Adolph Berle, an economist who once collaborated in the writing of a book which showed how enormous the concentration of ownership and control in U.S. corporations has become, wrote on the subject in the New York Times Magazine. His article is an uncritical and unfactual acceptance of the capitalist boasts. It is a piece of frightful dishonesty, coming from a man who once demonstrated his ability to handle economic data relating to the concentration of corporate ownership and control.

"FORTUNE" MORE FRANK

However, in Fortune magazine for September, we come across an animal of another breed. This opulent magazine, at \$1.25 a throw, is intended for the businessman, and moreover for the big businessman. It purveys, for that reason, a species of cynical frankness not to be found in the general press intended for the rank-and-file. Fortune opens its article on the Brookings survey (which it calls "Who Owns Business? — The Broad Stockholder Base is a Beguiling Illusion") with the following:

"When the Brookings Institution recently announced that there are approximately 6,500,000 stockholders in the U.S., the news was hailed as evidence of the widespread ownership of American industry. The Wall Street Journal was pleased that 'One in Every 16 Adults Owns Stocks.' The New York Daily News gloated that the report 'seems certain to encourage believers in U.S. capitalism and spread further gloom and hatred for our economic system among Reds and Pinks.' Well, the more gloom among Reds and Pinks the better, but some of the capitalist cheering is a bit premature. . .

"What really bothered us . . . were those figures on the distribution of ownership. It is hardly a testament to securities salesmanship that fewer than 5 percent of the individuals and 10 percent of the families in the U.S. own stock today."

We are gratified to have Fortune's solid and conservative support behind our lone dissent on the Brookings report. A far more important corroboration of our analysis of the report has appeared, however, in the form of an official survey, conducted for the Federal Reserve Board by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. This report throws very significant light on important phases of stock ownership which the Brookings Institution omitted.

The Brookings Institution, as we pointed out in previous articles, failed to disclose to what extent stock ownership is concentrated within the 6% million people who do own stock in this country. This failure, we said, could hardly have been accidental, since the Brookings report was so detailed in other, less important respects. Our surmise was that the figures, if disclosed, could show that most of the 6% million owned so little stock as to make their holdings negligible, while a tiny minority of stockholders owned almost all stock.

The FRB report, issued as part of a survey of consumer finances, bears out this contention. For example, in the FI article, we estimated that possibly "2% of all shareowners . . . owns outright 56% of the total market value of all stocks of the nation." The FRB report (as summarized by U.S. News and World Report) finds that: "Biggest stockholders — those owning at least \$10,000 worth — hold two-thirds or more of all stock by value. These shareholders make up about 1 percent of all families — that is, separate spending units.

"Medium-sized stockholders — those \$5000-\$10,000 worth — hold most of the rest of corporate stock. They also make up about 1 percent of all families."

Thus this report shows that 2% of all families hold almost all the corporate stock of the nation, with the biggest part of that being held by only half of this 2%. But the Brookings report found that 9% of the families "owns stock." Despite the apparent clash of figures between the two reports there is no real clash. In addition to the 2% of the families which the FRB report shows owns almost all stock, there is another group of families, possibly between 5% and 8% of the families in the U.S., that owns stock, but this larger group owns a very tiny share of the stockholdings.

Liberals and college professors, along with corrupt newspaper editors, will certainly go right on asserting blandly that America is a "nation of capitalists" and that "we are moving towards ever-greater economic democracy." But the facts prove the opposite, and every socialist should arm himself with these facts so that he may, on all possible occasions, explode the pernicious lies.

Stalinism and the Labor Movement:

1. Leon Trotsky: Stalinism and Bolshevism 32 pp. 15c
2. James P. Cannon: American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism 48 pp. 15c
The End of the Comintern 36 pp. 15c
The Road to Peace 48 pp. 25c
3. Art Preis: Stalinists on the Waterfront 32 pp. 10c

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Can Stalin's New "Line" Succeed?

By George Clarke

In its own way, the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, attended by CP representatives from all the important countries and devoting considerable attention to world problems, was an international gathering of Stalinist organizations. These representatives of movements leading millions of people were not in Moscow to discuss and decide the big problems of our times, but rather to listen to the pronouncements from the men in the Kremlin and then to obey them. In this episode alone the degeneration of the communist movement under Stalin's "genius" leadership is symbolized.

During the lifetime of Lenin and Trotsky, in the formative years of the Soviet Republic, Congresses of the Communist International were an annual event in Moscow. Stalin's rise to power led to vast changes in what had been the most effective and democratic international working class center where issues and policies were vigorously debated and then freely decided by majority vote. The Stalin clique crushed the democratic life out of the CI, as it had already done in the CPSU, converted it into a rubber-stamp for the Kremlin's foreign policies, and finally junked it for good in 1943. A caricature of the international was reconstituted after World War II under the name "Cominform." Its sole aim, as has since been revealed, was to tame the rebellious Yugoslavs, but when that failed the Cominform was quietly buried without even the courtesy of a formal death certificate.

CONTRAST TO LENIN

A contrast between the conditions of Lenin's time and our own, and the strength of the organizations represented in Moscow, is still further revealing of the enormity of the changes made under Stalin's rule. Then capitalism was still powerful, its imperialist empires by and large intact, the Soviet Union isolated and ringed on all sides by hostile nations, the Communist Parties were relatively weak organizations. Today, capitalism is crumbling on a world scale, imperialist empires are tottering on three continents, the non-capitalist nations now cover one-third the globe. Communist Parties are the ruling parties in seven countries besides the Soviet Union and the leading opposition force in France, Italy, Indochina, etc. In Lenin's day these parties could

speak on equal terms with the Russian Communists in their own Congress; today, they are humble and humbled "guests" at a hand-picked gathering of the Russian CP which bears equally little resemblance to Lenin's party.

Yet precisely this arrangement between boss and underling gives the clue to the new international "line" promulgated at the Russian congress. This vast movement and system of states is a living refutation of how false and treacherous Stalin's policy of "co-existence" with imperialism has been. The consciousness of this fact, which has spread throughout this world movement, is far more frightening to the Kremlin than the seeming expansion of its influence is reassuring. China's communists under Mao Tse-tung came to power in direct clash with imperialism and its lackeys, contrary to Stalin's collaboration policies and even against his resistance. The communists of Korea and Indochina are engaged in a life and death struggle with imperialism. Despite all the desires of the Kremlin, no compromise was possible in Eastern Europe or Eastern Germany, and they were forced to uproot capitalism politically and economically. This is the balance sheet of nearly ten years of the policies of collaboration in which the Kremlin sought to come to terms with Washington through agreement in the immediate post-war period, and then by pressure after the "cold war" began.

CLASH IS SHARPENING

What lies ahead now? So far as any realistic observer can see, the clash is steadily sharpening and heading toward the fatal showdown between the world forces of capitalism and socialism. This conception, now reinforced by the entrance of fresh battalions into the social struggle in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, has undoubtedly been making significant headway in the movements under Stalinist control, and even among its opportunist leadership. An interesting example of this was one of the entries made by Jacques Duclos, French CP, leader in the notebooks that were found on his person at the time of his arrest last June. In it he spoke of the need for the CP to prepare for civil war in view of the impending war which he considered imminent. This was one among many of the danger signals for the Kremlin. Because if the Communist Parties began to shift from the futile game of collecting sig-



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natures for a "Big Five Conference" to the preparation for revolutionary action, then the Kremlin's control over these movements could be seriously jeopardized. There had already been two thundering examples of this trend toward the merger of revolutionary action and independence from the Kremlin in the events of Yugoslavia and China (which has clearly demonstrated its independence in the essence of things if not openly).

FANCIFUL THEORY

Stalin's new and fanciful theory was aimed at least in part at this developing conception of the revolutionary showdown in the world Stalinist movement. The capitalist powers, he opines, because of their quarrels, would either go to war with one another or would fail to unite for war against the USSR, China, Eastern Europe, etc. The task of

the Communist Parties is therefore to form national fronts with their own capitalist rulers so as to break them away from the coalition with American imperialism. Then, if sufficient time elapses without war, the non-capitalist world will develop so prodigiously as to overwhelm the rest of the capitalist world economically.

If Stalin were right, then we would undoubtedly be on the threshold of another era of Peoples Fronts such as existed in the middle Thirties. But that epoch is irrevocably over, much as Stalin would like to see its return. France, England, Germany and Japan may chafe at Wall Street's economic preponderance but they cannot cut themselves loose from its leading strings without facing ruin. With their empires tottering, and Eastern Europe no longer in the capitalist market, the once great powers are being reduced to satellite status in an American empire. They are no longer their own master to make independent diplomatic decisions as they were before the war. Moreover, no trade with the Eastern bloc could provide more than a respite in their chronic crisis, which cannot be solved for them without restoring capitalism to the countries where it has been smashed. Hence, if these powers may have some temporary inclination (which they cannot follow) to wriggle out of Wall Street's iron grip, the basic pull upon them is to remain in the counter-revolutionary alliance.

MORE SPASM THAN TURN

Yet without such a break-up in the Atlantic coalition, alliances between Communist Parties and

important sections of the West European capitalist class can only be highly transitory — if not completely illusory. Thus the new "turn" to the right becomes more a spasm than a turn as have been all the shifts in CP line since 1947. At most it can demoralize the movements led by the Communist Parties. But in the end, the winds of revolution that are sweeping in from Asia and Africa, and the new social crises that continually undermine the capital-

ist powers of western Europe will prove far more powerful than the directives from the Kremlin.

The Soviet Union may again get the kind of support from English and French workers it received in the Twenties. But that support, Stalin has forgotten, was given to a socialist revolution, not a despotic bureaucracy. From all signs, it appears that it will be given the same way again when the showdown comes this time.

'NEWS' PRINTS LETTER BY KUTCHER ABOUT SWP

NEWARK, Oct. 24—The following letter from James Kutcher was printed in the Newark Evening News correspondence column today, minus the last paragraph:

There was a serious error in The News' dispatch reporting that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington had ruled that the Veterans Administration acted illegally in discharging me merely because of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The error was the statement that the Socialist Workers Party is "generally described as the Trotsky wing of the Communist Party." This is simply not true. The Socialist Workers Party is not generally described in that manner. And it definitely is not the Trotsky wing or any other wing of the Communist Party.

The facts are these: The Socialist Workers Party is an independent party, not connected with any other. It was formed in 1938 by people who were expelled or resigned from the Communist Party because of their opposition to the bureaucratic, reactionary policies of the Stalinists and by people who were expelled or resigned from the Socialist Party because of their opposition to the bureaucratic, reactionary policies of the Norman Thomas leadership of that party.

Since the day of its formation, the Socialist Workers Party has been an anti-capitalist, anti-Stalinist organization, working to teach the American people the truth about Socialism and to persuade them of the necessity for forming an independent labor party to achieve Socialism. Millions of Americans know about the deep hostility between the Socialist Workers and Communist Parties.

It is true that the Socialist Workers Party is sometimes called "Trotskyist" (a different thing from calling it a wing of the Communist Party), but this is not a title that we have invented ourselves. We regard Leon Trotsky as one of the greatest teachers and fighters for Socialism of our time, but we are not idol-worshippers and do not call ourselves "Trotskyists" any more than the Democrats call themselves "Jeffersonites" or the Republicans call themselves "Lincolmites."

When I disavow any connection with the Communist Party, it is in the interests of accuracy. I do not mean to imply thereby that I believe the Communist Party or its members should be penalized for their beliefs. I believe in defending the civil liberties of all persons, including Stalinists.

KUTCHER RULING SPURS FIGHT TO DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES

(Continued from page 1)

The list is compiled without giving the organizations listed thereon the opportunity of a hearing to reply to charges of subversion. The right to a statement of charges, to a fair hearing, to summon witnesses are among the fundamental rights in our system of jurisprudence. As in this case, the organization had no opportunity of a hearing, a member of such organization was dismissed solely because of his membership, hence there was no opportunity to meet squarely the charge, which caused his dismissal.

FEINBERG LAW

Prial then compares the federal "loyalty" program with the New York Feinberg Law under which the Board of Regents is authorized to make up a list of "subversive" organizations for use in firing public school employees. He thinks the Feinberg Law protects "the civil rights of the individual" because it requires the giving of "notice to the organizations concerned, which must be given an opportunity for a hearing before they are actually listed." He concludes from this: "The decision in the Kutcher case is a step towards protecting the civil liberties of federal employees but until the government makes procedural changes along the lines of those found in the Feinberg law the doctrine of guilt by association will permeate our law."

WHERE PRIAL IS WRONG

Prial is right when he notes that the federal "loyalty" program, which denies blacklisted organizations even the right to a hearing, is more arbitrary in that respect than the Feinberg Law. But he is wrong when he says that the granting of a hearing in either case would end guilt by association or a threat to civil liberties.

No government body has the right to proscribe an organization merely because it doesn't like its ideas. As Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas said early this year, the Feinberg Law is "unconstitutional because it 'proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society — guilt by association.'"

I. F. STONE'S ESTIMATE

One of the best estimates of the Circuit Court decision was written by I. F. Stone, a member of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, in the Oct. 17 Daily Compass. Noting that it marked the "first judicial defeat" received by Truman's "loyalty" program, Stone wrote:

"The effect of the decision, unless appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and reversed, is to prevent the loyalty boards from making a finding of disloyalty automatic in the case of Trotskyists and Communists, and to require a personal finding in each case."

"The decision thus reduces the orbit of guilt by association in loyalty cases, and opens up the review in individual cases to this

degree it is a victory for civil liberties."

"The extent of that victory is diminished, however, by two other sections of the decision. It harks back to the Dorothy Bailey case to rule again that loyalty proceedings are 'purely administrative in character, in no sense criminal, and do not require the constitutional and traditional safeguards of a judicial trial.'"

DISREGARD CONSTITUTION

"This means that when Kutcher is tried anew before the loyalty boards, he need not be accorded the kind of trial required by the Constitution in criminal cases. Two of the judges who joined in today's decision, for example, held in the Bailey case (with Judge Edgerton dissenting) that a federal employee could be held disloyal on the basis of secret evidence never disclosed to her and from anonymous informants unknown even to her judges."

"The second limitation appeared when the Circuit Court today rejected the contention of Kutcher's lawyer that the Supreme Court decision of April, 1951, in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case, made it unlawful for the Attorney General to list the Socialist Workers Party as subversive without a hearing."

"Although the Supreme Court majority held that the Attorney General's list could not be drawn up by 'arbitrary fiat,' the Attorney General has not changed his procedure and the Circuit Court held that his designation of the SWP as subversive 'was competent evidence' though no hearing had been held."

HEDGES STILL FURTHER

"Furthermore, the court today said it did not mean to suggest that membership in and activities connected with a designated organization may not, in the circumstances of a case, justify disloyalty in the loyalty of an employee." It said, "Obviously such evidence might fairly support that conclusion, and so require an employee's removal." But it said "in each instance" that determination must be made by the Administrator or head of the federal agency involved.

"This may set a merry-go-round in motion for Kutcher. The original trial board questioned him about his own views and held him disloyal on all the evidence. The weakness of that evidence led to the board order saying that in the case of Trotskyists and Communists discharge was mandatory. The court, in reversing this, reopens the door to the kind of procedure with which the Kutcher case began. . . ."

U.S. Casualties Rise More Than 500%

U.S. battle casualties in Korea leaped to 1,278 for the week ended Oct. 24, rate of weekly toll more than 500% higher than last spring and the largest since Nov. 9, 1951. The announced total of dead, wounded, captured and missing since June 25, 1950 is 123,395.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Ethel Swan-son describes the experience of New York Militant salesman at Dorrance Brook Park in Harlem where Truman made a campaign speech recently. She writes, "Truman's speech was hypocritical, left-sounding, forget-Sparkman-is-the-Democratic-vice-presidential-candidate ballyhoo designed to capture a Negro audience."

"The attendance was short by many thousands the number that the bourgeois dailies had predicted would be there. After the meeting The New York Times wrote 'Harlem audience listens in serious mood.' That was indeed true. A minority of those attending were Truman cheerers. There was no real enthusiasm in the crowd towards any of the speakers. One of the speakers who preceded Truman was citing the 'good' record of his party. When he referred to civil rights the applause was fair to middling, and when he told how they had cleaned out communists from the government, etc., there was a broad silence. Obviously the job of the capitalist politicians is becoming much harder one."

"The people there were taking every bit of campaign literature that was being distributed. We distributed over 500 copies of the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform and A Letter to American Negroes. We were sorry when we ran out of them because many people asked us for them. We also sold a number of papers and pamphlets. These individual scores point to how easy it was to sell our literature: Ruth N. sold 31 Jim Crow Murder of Mr. Jackie and Elaine sold nine to a UAW meeting. Alice and Mitch sold 24 papers" Saturday afternoon at an el stop. Elaine and Inez sold nine to a CRC meeting for Simon Gerson. Howard and Belle picked up subs in the past week. So far this month Manny is leading the Militant Army board in the headquarters with 76 to his credit."

a placard which was more asking than demanding 'Truman Stop Jim Crow' — 'You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Don't you know by now that the Democratic Party is for Jim Crow?' There was every indication at Truman's Harlem meeting that the Negro people are seriously thinking their way towards a radical step that will help smash the big business parties and light gigantic fires of freedom for all oppressed mankind."

Akron Literature Agent Kay Kean writes, "Even though our two tour speakers have left us, their memory and imprint lingers on. Many people learned something of what the Socialist Workers Party stands for during the visits of Dobbs and Weiss. Danny, Lou and I had a friendly reception at the Goodyear plant this past Tuesday when we distributed 400 copies of the party platform. Wednesday Sally and Lou went to a Progressive Party meeting for DuBois. They sold the latest Militant exposing the PP's withdrawal of candidates in Jersey and the CP's endorsement of Sparkman in 1946."

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that the Chicago comrades "are really pitching in around the election campaign with the paper. We held a mobilization in the second congressional district to sell literature and tickets to the Dobbs meeting. The following comrades sold 34 Militants and six tickets door to door: Steve, Dottie, Ken, Elaine, Harold, Mitch, Sam, Inez, John Dee, and Belle."

"Marj sold 35 Militants to a mass meeting of Harvester workers and distributed 100 of the party platforms. Frank and Elaine sold 17 copies of the paper to a Progressive Party rally. Jackie and Elaine sold nine to a UAW meeting. Alice and Mitch sold 24 papers" Saturday afternoon at an el stop. Elaine and Inez sold nine to a CRC meeting for Simon Gerson. Howard and Belle picked up subs in the past week. So far this month Manny is leading the Militant Army board in the headquarters with 76 to his credit."

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Stop and Consider!

"Where liberty dwells," said Benjamin Franklin, "there is my country."

These words were timely when America was born in revolutionary struggle against a tyrannical government. They are even more timely today in the mortal struggle of our generation against the growth of a police state in America.

We think some of the leading members of the American Civil Liberties Union might well ponder them; specifically, Morris L. Ernst, Varian Fry, James Kerney Jr., Herbert R. Northrup, Norman Thomas, Merlyn S. Pitzele and William L. White. These members of the ACLU Board (Ernst is its general counsel) published a letter in the Oct. 28 New York Times that could easily have been ghost-written by the FBI political police.

"An effort is apparently under way to mobilize an impressive list of intellectuals and public figures to protest pending recommendations of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party register as, in effect, a foreign agent with the Attorney General under the Internal Security Act of 1950," say the joint signers of the letter.

They don't mention it — accidental oversight no doubt — but the "Security" Act they refer to is the notorious McCarran law that provides for concentration camps in America. This fascist-like law is ostensibly directed at the Communist Party, which is in disrepute and deservedly hated among workers. Its real target, however, is the entire liberal and labor movement. The registration provisions are now being challenged by the Communist Party and it is this challenge that Ernst, Thomas, et al, are trying to knife.

You would think that everyone concerned about civil liberties would do everything possible to help wipe this unconstitutional law off the books. But the signers of the letter say, "The purpose of this letter is to ask some people who may be inclined to give their name and support to any undertaking which purports to be civil libertarian to stop and consider carefully before associating themselves with the protest in this case." And they say they are "certain that this case represents no limitation upon civil liberties in America. . . ."

This is a truly monstrous betrayal of the cause of civil liberties. These are not camp followers of Senator McCarthy and Senator McCarran. Ernst, Thomas, et al, boast that they have "been actively engaged in the defense of civil liberties for many years." They know that civil liberties means the right to hold and express an unpopular political opinion without persecution by the government. They know that in a police state it's just the opposite. They know that registration is cut of the same pattern as the arm-band identification the Nazis forced on the Jews.

We offer to Ernst, Thomas, et al, their own advice: STOP AND CONSIDER! You cannot destroy the Bill of Rights in the case of the Stalinists and still preserve it for yourselves. Civil liberties can't be divided. You may believe you are soaping the rope to hang only the Stalinists, but with little adjustment by the McCarthys that same noose fits your necks.

CP's New Stand on Kutcher

The change in Communist Party attitude on the Kutcher case can be very important in the fight against the witch hunt.

On Oct. 20 the Daily Worker printed an editorial which was reproduced in part in The Militant last week. That editorial hailed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals on the Kutcher case as a blow to the witch hunt.

This was a complete reversal of stand. In the four years of the Kutcher case, the Daily Worker never once came to the support of the legless veteran, and did not even once report the facts of the case. The Stalinist Daily People's World on the West Coast editorially attacked the Kutcher defense fight with the slander that SWP members are "fascists."

If the Communist Party maintains the changed attitude expressed in the Daily Worker editorial, then it may be possible in the months ahead to look forward to a broader united front in defense of civil liberties.

If the Communist Party abandons its former policy of making its slanderous charges against the Socialist Workers Party the excuse for a disruption of the civil liberties front, if it now shows itself willing to defend all victims of the witch hunt regardless of political affiliation, this would make possible unified action of differing political tendencies that was not possible before.

The narrow and factional policy of the CP, which descended to the shockingly low level of trying to drive political opponents out of the civil liberties movement, never caused the Socialist Workers Party to abandon its principled stand for defense of all victims of the witch hunt. But it has driven many liberals, unionists and genuine civil libertarians away from the committees to defend Stalinist victims of government persecution.

The principled stand of the SWP helped the movement to defend the rights of James Kutcher to assemble far wider support, particularly in the trade unions, than any of the movements in cases concerning the Communist Party. In those cases, the CP factional stand created the impression that one must agree with the Communist Party political line in order to join the defense movement. Of course they called their committees "non-partisan" but their actions belied their words.

We welcome this change in attitude by the CP leaders. Whether they will continue it and carry out its logical conclusions in action remains to be seen. For our part, as both the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant have repeatedly emphasized, we are ready to join with people of any and all political views in the fight against the witch hunt.

The Kenya Story: African Revolt Against Oppression

By John Black

Reports from Kenya this past week indicate that a determined effort to drive imperialism out of the British East African colony is under way. The movement is apparently not just restricted to a small "terrorist" minority, as first reports stressed, but has very wide backing. In the main Kikuyu tribal areas, seat of the revolt, chiefs who are cooperating with the British authorities admit that 90% of the people have taken the Mau Mau oath to fight their foreign rulers. The oath proclaims that the land belongs to the Kikuyu.

A London Times dispatch of Oct. 27 reports further that "Most of the young tribesmen have disappeared, though it is

not certain where or for what reason." Large areas are being ruled under "emergency" conditions, and police terror, the chiefs complain, is swinging support to the Mau Mau. At the capital city Nairobi, on Oct. 26, it is reported that police broke up a resistance meeting with bursts of gunfire at the crowd and speaker, who was later arrested when he sought medical treatment.

Time Magazine for Sept. 1 reported that "official representatives of the Great White Queen (Elizabeth) Across the Waters" pronounced a curse against the African resistance organization known as the Mau Mau (pronounced Mo Mo). The setting for the occasion was a specially arranged ceremony which included the slow butchering of a

goat and its burial with a virgin ewe.

DRIVEN OFF THE LAND

But no amount of magic can erase the longstanding grievances of the native population of Kenya. Much of the vast territory of Kenya is unsuitable for farming. The best stretches of land are in the Highlands. Since the enactment of the Kenya Order the fertile lands are reserved for the white settlers; the unhealthy and poor lowlands are native "reserves." Thus 29,000 white settlers are owners of about 13,000 square miles, while the five million natives are herded into an area of 43,500 square miles, much of which is badlands. The usable portions of the reserves are very densely populated. In the Kikuyu

reserve, density is over 1,000 to the square mile. When natural resources, gold, etc., are discovered in areas guaranteed the natives they soon find themselves evicted. This has occurred repeatedly in the last years.

"FOUR FREEDOMS"

The end of World War II brought promises from the Colonial Office in London that some of the "Four Freedoms" were to trickle down to the native population in Kenya. Another of the notorious Commissions — Kenya is known as the Commission Colony — was sent out and issued recommendations on its return. A brief glance at some of the features of this document is revealing.

A chief grievance of the natives is the complete lack of educational opportunity except for the children of the white settlers. The commission recommended that the educational budget should set aside 670,000 pounds sterling for the education of the European population (some 32,000 altogether). The 56,000 Indians who have settled here had 636,000 pounds sterling allotted. But for the five million native inhabitants of the area the grand total of only 806,000 pounds is promised.

Not only is this out of all proportion to the appropriation for the Europeans and Indians, but native children must pay for this tuition at the rate of 15 shillings per annum, a very large sum considering the wage rates. The fact is that not more than 25 native children a year reach the equivalent of a high school education in the whole colony.

Under the leadership of native nationalist leaders the natives have organized a network of bush schools where they learn the rudiments of knowledge and the political facts of life too.

FORCED INTO WAGE WORK

In other parts of the continent the natives are driven to seek employment, at the shameful starvation wages prevailing, by a system of taxation. If it were not for the tax collector the natives could earn their living by subsistence farming. But cash can only be earned by accepting wage labor. Great resistance was manifested throughout the colony recently when the government

attempted to introduce the "Kipande." This is a certificate of identification on which is inscribed not only the name but the fingerprints, the name of the employer and the rate of wages. The purpose was to facilitate the recruitment of cheap labor.

The struggle for self-determination, for the right to run their own country, has found political expression in Kenya for some time. Soon after the first world war the organization known as the East African Association did the spade work. In 1922 its leaders were arrested and the group outlawed. But the seed of independence and freedom had been sown. In the thirties the Kikuyu Central Association with branches all over the colony and its own publishing enterprise represented the forward-looking young men from the different tribes. It sent its spokesman, Kenyatta, to London to argue the case for the victimized African. Although the Kikuyu Central Association began as a tribal organization in the Kikuyu Group it soon spread and worked for the rights of all Africans without discrimination.

BRITISH REPRESSION

During the war the British banned the organization and disbanded the printing press. The leaders were imprisoned and thousands of its activists were condemned to forced labor on the European-owned plantations.

The end of the war brought a

big upsurge and the Kenya African Union was formed. Its program formulated at the Nairobi conference in 1927 included the demand of "Africa for the Africans." Crown lands and the Highlands to be made available for native settlement, abolition of the "Kipande" and compulsory, free education for all.

The white settlers and the Government answered this with a wave of brutal repressions. Thousands have been arrested and flogged. Editors of native papers are arrested and sentenced for attacking the Government's alliance with the white settlers. The Farmers Union and many other groups have been outlawed and the importation of radical literature from South Africa, India, Britain and the U.S. has been banned. Civil servants are forbidden to belong to any political associations. Since 1950 the importation of all .303 ammunition into the colony has been stopped.

As the most recent events show, all of these efforts have been in vain. The people of Kenya have joined with the South African rebels, with the Egyptian masses, with the Nigerian Gold Coast strikers of recent years and the Southern Rhodesian copper miners in broadening the struggles. The Kenya events, together with the other movements on the so-called "dark continent," show a rapidly growing all-African movement towards light and freedom.

U.S. AUTHORITIES BACKED GERMAN MURDER GANG

FRANKFORT, Oct. 11 — The Social Democratic Party (SPD), whose power in the German labor movement may be compared to that of the Labor Party in Britain,

lost a few illusions on Oct. 8, 1952. That was the day when Mr. Georg August Zinn, Social Democratic premier of the state of Hesse, announced the details of a secret organization called the "German Youth Brotherhood" (BDJ). Supported by U.S. funds, it had prepared so-called "partisan" units in case of a Russian wartime occupation of West Germany, and further decided upon the assassination of "unreliable" Germans.

As "unreliable" this U.S. supported fascist-like organization listed many of the most prominent Social Democrats with whom U.S. occupation authorities deal today in supposed friendliness. The BDJ was formed in June 1950, and was able to distribute a third of a million leaflets almost immediately. On March 15, 1951, it only had 684 members, each of whom paid monthly dues of a half Mark, yet the leaders announced donations of 1,700,000 Marks. Thus within two months after the formation of the BDJ, Die Welt Der Arbeit, official paper of the German unions, was already asking where this money came from.

Several months ago, the Volkstimme, social-democratic weekly for Hesse, denounced the organization, showing that it had criminal elements among its leaders: for example a certain Dr. Paul Lueth, a former army doctor, narcotics dealer since 1945, ex-member of the Communist Party and editor of a capitalist right-wing newspaper after 1947. Three former Wehrmacht officers are to be found among the BDJ gang leaders, among them General Halder. The Volkstimme called the outfit "tomorrow's Hitler Youth."

IGNORE THE FACTS Unfortunately, the first comments of the SPD show that many illusions still exist. The Darmstaedter Echo of Oct. 9 talks about "some good-for-nothing-Americans who gave military training to good-for-nothing-German adventurers." They choose to ignore the plain evidence which points to the fact that the BDJ was part of U.S. occupation activity.

The naiveness of the Offenbach Post is also terrifying. It comments on Oct. 9: "For the future we want to give our protectors from overseas the good advice: Trust the genuinely democratic forces in Germany. Don't do anything without them or against them simply because they honestly tell you the truth from time to time."

Many of the Social Democratic leaders, apparently, have yet to learn that U.S. capitalists are prepared to take the most reactionary measures, to link themselves with fascist elements, and in their war drive attempt to destroy the German labor movement.

CUTHROAT GANG At that time the SPD knew nothing about U.S. support and the terror blacklist. It has now been revealed that the BDJ had formed a "technical service" consisting of between one and two thousand members, almost exclusively drawn from among former officers of the Army, Luftwaffe and Waffen-SS, aged 35 to 50, ranking from former first Lieutenants to Colonels. This "service" trained with German, Russian and American arms: light machine-guns, grenade throwers, explosives for sabotage and demolition, and knives, bayonets, etc., for hand-to-hand fighting and murder. In a house which the organization had bought in the Odenwald mountains, about 100 members received "political training." A certain Mr. Garwood, an American who later disappeared, visited this estate regularly.

The "technical service" also prepared the liquidation of political enemies. The confiscated file cards contained the names of 15 Communist and 80 prominent Social Democrats: mayors, deputies, editors, union leaders, etc. In the BDJ list the SPD leaders are accused of pro-Communist leanings, a cruel irony because such whole-hearted friends of the U.S. occupiers as Brauer (Hamburg) and Kaiser (Bremen) are

GIs Trained for Civil War Fighting



A machine-gun crew and riflemen cover a GI as he moves in on a house at unveiling of U.S. army's elaborate mock village range for training soldiers on how to mop up resistance in cities. The European-like village at Bowling Green, Va., has 20 buildings. This type of fighting, characteristic of counter-revolutionary repression against popular masses, is stressed by U.S. army in line with Atlantic Pact provision for member nations to help one another in putting down "revolution."

Bring GIs Home from Korea, Dobbs Urges

(Continued from page 1)

cause of the heavy American casualty lists that now come to over 120,000 killed and wounded, not because they intend to be governed by the wishes of the American people — no! It is the election that makes Eisenhower and Stevenson talk about Korea.

STOP BLOODBATH NOW

They don't care about the Korean people or American lives — all they are concerned about is votes, and they'll say anything, promise anything to get votes. Eisenhower promises to go to Korea if elected. The American people don't want to send a general or anybody else to Korea. What they want is to bring their sons and husbands home from Korea, to stop the bloodbath right now.

We got into the Korean war by a presidential order — another presidential order can get us out just as fast. But Eisenhower has no intention of issuing such an order. The generals and the Wall Street politicians can get us into these wars but only an aroused and indignant working people can get us out. You won't bring an end to the Korean war by voting for Eisenhower. And you won't end it by voting for Stevenson either.

Stevenson justifies, defends and glorifies the Korean war which he calls mankind's war. What part of mankind is he talking about? Certainly not the millions of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America who are in full revolt against imperialism. Not the working people of Europe, nor the working people of the United States.

DIE FOR WALL STREET

He means that small minority of wealthy men who own vast tracts of land and huge capitalist holdings in the colonial countries. He means the agents of this wealthy minority with whom the Republicans and Democrats are now forging military alliances — like the Nazi and Japanese war-lords, like Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, all of them tyrants hated by the peoples of their own countries.

It is for that wealthy minority, dominated by the Wall Street bankers, that American boys are bleeding and dying in Korea.

THE REAL DANGER

This unholy military alliance against the working people of the world is supported by both Stev-

enson and Eisenhower. They tell you that it is aimed only at Stalin. Don't believe it. This alliance is intended to restore capitalism everywhere it has been abolished and prevent the organization of a socialist society anywhere in the world. It is not aimed at Stalin's crimes but at a majority of the human race.

Stalinism is a problem for the working people to take care of. This task can no more be entrusted to the capitalists than you could depend on a corporation to remove a dishonest union leader without destroying the union.

The real danger facing America comes from within our country, from the two war parties of Big Business, Republicans and Democrats, from their mad bipartisan foreign policy of world domination. So long as they remain in control, there will be one Korea after another which will inevitably lead us into a Third World War.

WHAT WE ADVOCATE

Only the policy advocated by the Socialist Workers Party can put an end to the war in Korea and prevent another world slaughter. We say, in agreement with a majority of the American people: Our troops should be brought home from Korea and all other foreign lands.

The United States should issue a declaration to the world that we recognize the right of peoples in all countries to have whatever kind of social system they want and a government of their own choosing. All questions of American foreign policy involving the risk of war should be decided by a referendum vote of the people.

A MISTAKEN BELIEF

I found in my travels about the country that most people realize there is no basic difference between the Republicans and Democrats on foreign policy. But many workers are thinking of voting for the Democrats in the mistaken belief that at least the Democrats stopped the last depression and will prevent a new one.

How did they overcome this depression? How did they eliminate the ten million unemployed who were still with us after five years of the New Deal? The Democrats did it in 1939 the same way they did it in 1949 — by developing large scale war production.

I agree for once with Governor Dewey when he says "the only way the Democratic Party can bring about full employment is

by the dead and mangled bodies of young Americans." But Dewey failed to add that this is equally true of the Republican Party, because both parties are trying to preserve capitalism. Under capitalism there must be either war or depression. There cannot be peace and prosperity at the same time.

NEED LABOR PARTY

These mutual accusations by the Republican and Democratic candidates confirm what the Socialist Workers Party has long been saying: War can be prevented and depressions avoided only when the working people take control of the government through their own labor party. Because only the working people will put human needs above private profits for the rich. This is what the trouble in the world is all about. This is what the kings of industry are trying to prevent — through a war abroad and a witch hunt right here in America.

Right here and now I rise to the defense of Governor Stevenson against the infamous attack made against him by Senator McCarthy — which I am sure is more than Stevenson would do for me. But every witch-hunting weapon used against Stevenson by McCarthy was fashioned by the Democrats themselves long before McCarthy came on the political scene.

AIM OF WITCH HUNT

The Democrats invented the loyalty oaths, the thought-control laws, the political subversive list and the concept of guilt by association which spawned McCarthyism as a byproduct. Stevenson made it clear in his recent Detroit speech that he supports these witch-hunting measures so long as the victims are working-class political opponents of war and capitalism and not himself or his Democratic cronies. Stevenson was in reality reminding McCarthy that the main design of the witch hunt is to intimidate all opposition to the war and to prevent it from taking organized form in the shape of an independent labor party.

The biggest need of the working people in this election and after this election is a mass labor party. So long as the votes of millions of organized workers go to the twin parties of Big Business, we can expect either war or depression; we can expect a continued trend toward a police

state; we can expect the Negro people to be a political football at election time and second-class citizens the rest of the time. The mess of corruption, war politics, witch-hunting, racial discrimination will be cleaned up only when a labor, through its own political party, cleans it up itself.

VOTE FOR THE SWP

There is only one way you can voice your support for such a crusade in this election — that is by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Your vote for the Socialist Workers Party will encourage others who think like you to do make their sentiments known; it will help speed the formation of a mass labor party in our country.

Great things are at stake on election day, and your vote for the Socialist Workers Party will be important in the November 4 test of public opinion. You will be saying by that vote that you want the war stopped in Korea, that you want the people to decide foreign policy, that you want a labor government and that you want everyone to get an even break no matter what his color or nationality.

DAY-TO-DAY FIGHT

But your vote alone is not enough. That's only one blow in a big fight. Every worker knows that casting a vote for the union in a labor board election does not automatically win improved conditions. The fight goes on the next day and the day after. Building the political movement of the working people is the same kind of year-round job.

The Socialist Workers Party needs men and women who have the same kind of fighting qualities it took to build the unions, who are not frightened by the witch hunters, who have the courage of their convictions and a determination to do something about it. If you are one of these people, we welcome you into our ranks, and we'll fight together in the greatest cause in the history of the human race.

Who Decided That?

"... the Thirty-eighth Parallel ... this bloody line marks the 'defense perimeter' of our country in that part of Asia." — Gen. Eisenhower, Oct. 8, 1952.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
A Socialist Analysis of the
Election Results

Speaker:
George Breitman
Friday, Nov. 7, at 8:30
at 52 Market St.

An Election Incident

By William E. Bohannon

NEWARK, Oct. 28 — The history of the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign in New Jersey this year would not be complete without an account of an incident involving the Progressive Party's attitude to the question of Negro representation in office in general, and my candidacy in particular.

On Oct. 7 the Progressive Party had a radio program for its Senatorial candidate, Katharine Van Orden, in which it was stated: "Another important plank (in the Progressive platform) calls for full representation of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican people in Congress, in State Legislatures and all levels of public office." Mrs. Van Orden was directly quoted as saying: "This plank is a keystone of our entire electoral policy." The broadcast continued: "Where a substantial percentage of the population is colored, the Progressive Party has always supported Negro candidates for office no matter what party ticket they may be running on."

After thinking about it for a while, I sat down and wrote a letter to Mrs. Van Orden. I quoted what had been said on her broadcast, and continued:

"As you may know, I am a Negro and a candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for Congress from the 11th District in New Jersey, the area with the largest percentage of Negroes in the state. I am the only Negro running for Congress in Essex County this year, and I am the only candidate in the 11th District contest who calls for an immediate end to the war in Korea — which your party calls the key issue in the 1952 election."

"I would therefore like to know if the Progressive Party intends to support my candidacy, despite the political differences between us, on the same basis that you have supported Negro candidates on the Republican and Democratic tickets, despite your political differences with them."

"If your party intends to support me, I would like to be informed of it so that I can notify the public accordingly. If it does not intend to support me, I would like to know the reasons. I must say that if you fail to support me, it would be inconsistent with your expressed policy of supporting 'Negro candidates for office no matter what party ticket they may be running on,' and would deprive you of the right to call that your policy in the future."

I asked Mrs. Van Orden to forward my letter to the proper committee and requested a written acknowledgment of its receipt by a certain date. I also sent a copy to James Imbrie, state chairman of the Progressive Party, a man with a good reputation for opposing the witch hunt and one of the organizers of the Trenton Six defense movement.

The Progressive Party never sent a re-

ply to my letter. Mr. Imbrie tried to reach me by phone and left a message saying substantially the following: Originally the Progressives had their own candidate for Congress in the 11th District, but withdrew him because "most Negroes" want to support my Democratic opponent, Hugh Addonizio, on the basis of his "excellent record" on civil rights. Their party is not formally endorsing any candidate in this race because they disagree with Addonizio's stand on foreign policy, he said, but even though they are still anxious to see Negroes nominated and elected, they feel they cannot support any candidate against a man with a record on civil rights like Addonizio's.

To my mind, this explanation, instead of clearing the Progressives of one inconsistency, shows them to be guilty of two.

1. It's not true that they support all Negro candidates for office. They back Negro Republicans and Negro Democrats and Negro members of their own party — all of whom are advocates of capitalism of one kind or another. But they draw the line when it comes to supporting Negroes who stand for Socialism and the replacement of the capitalist system that breeds Jim Crow.

2. The Progressive Party was allegedly formed to fight both old parties, and yet it is supporting Democrats like Addonizio (even though informally), and withdrew its own candidate to do so. The reason given is the most damning thing of all. If it is correct to support Addonizio on the ground that "most Negroes" will vote for him, then why isn't it equally correct to support Stevenson for exactly the same reason? No wonder the Progressive Party is losing support to advocates of the phony "lesser evil" theory. (Addonizio, I must add, not only supports the Korean war but is going around in this campaign bragging about his vote for the McCarran Internal Security Act, one of the worst witch-hunt laws on the books.)

Of course the Progressive Party has the right not to support me if it so chooses, and it has the right to support Democrats. But it has no right to fool the public by proclaiming one policy and following another — either on the question of Negro representation or the "lesser evil."

I have not solicited votes merely on the basis of my color, but on the basis of my platform. One part of that platform includes a demand for Negro representation in office. My party has shown a principled stand on this issue, supporting Negro candidates when they really represent the aspirations and independent action of the Negro people for representation in office (rather than handpicked stooges of the capitalist parties). On this basis last year, for example, we endorsed the N.Y. American Labor Party (Progressive) candidate for the State Supreme Court, Jacques Isler, despite our political differences with him. In short, the SWP policy contributes to independent Negro political action and the eventual formation of an independent labor party, while the Progressive Party policy doesn't.

Notes from the News

INDONESIAN TROTSKYISTS were accused of responsibility for the Oct. 17 demonstrations which rocked Jakarta, capital of the seven-year-old Republic. The accused were the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, which also blamed "right-wing Socialists." The demonstrations, which nearly caused the dissolution of Parliament, called for the election of parliament. Present members of parliament were appointed to office.

EMPLOYERS ARE ROBBERING agricultural workers harvesting carrots in the Salinas Valley in California of \$7,500 a week, the AFL Agricultural Workers Union charges. In violation of California law and U.S. agreements with Mexico on imported farm labor, the employers are deducting the cost of the wire used to bind the bunches of carrots from the low pay of the migratory workers.

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AWARD was presented to the AFL Actors Equity by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Award was for the actors' boycott of the National Theater in Washington, D. C. which refused to admit Negroes. The theater had to close in 1948. It reopened this May without segregation.

LABOR'S DAILY is the name of a daily labor newspaper — the only one in the country — launched by the International Typographical Workers Union in Charleston, West Virginia.

RIOTING SWEPT New Brighton, the Negro reserve (section where natives are legally compelled to live) of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Seven Negroes and four whites were killed. Riots began when police entered the Negro town to make arrests. Police fired into the crowds. Elsewhere in South Africa the passive resistance movement against Apartheid continued despite mass arrests. This movement urges violation of the numerous Jim-Crow laws, such as curfew for Negroes and laws requiring Negroes to carry passes when they leave their ghettos.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, which was raised from the dead at a meeting of Social-Democratic parties in Frankfurt July 1951, held its second congress in Milan, Italy, last week. Preliminary confabs between the powerful delegations — those from Germany, France and the British Laborites, led by Clement Attlee, showed deep disagreement on German rearmament, which the German Social-Democrats oppose. The N. Y.

Times correspondent reported that "every effort will be made to prevent any formal resolutions on the German problem, as indeed on any highly controversial subjects, from being submitted" to the Congress. While it appears no resolution on Germany was submitted, a general resolution on Europe called for the unification of Germany, and in the next breath endorsed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

FREE ENTERPRISE in its purest form has landed a manufacturer of infants' clothing into court in New York. The manufacturer was farming out work for elderly women to do at home at rates as low as five cents an hour. He also made these women pay the parcel post charges when they mailed the finished work to him.

NEW DESK FOR EXECUTIVES is on the market, cost: \$7,000. Panels fly open at touch of a button. Built-in fluorescent lights and section for electric shaving equipment. Built-in radio and cigar lighter and lots more. The refrigerator of the built-in bar makes ice cubes and then cools the area around the desk. All it seems to lack is a built-in phonograph which at the touch of a button will shout: "Yes Sir, Yes Sir, Absolutely right Sir," or "the unions are ruining this country."

18 PROFESSORS from the University of California won a victory in their three-year fight against the teachers' oath the university administration tried to impose. The California Supreme Court unanimously ruled against teachers being singled out for such oaths. However, as state employees, they will have to take an oath now required of all state workers, if they want their jobs back.

JAPAN'S "National Safety Corps," as its new army is called in hopes of fooling the public, made its first appearance in a drill before Premier Yoshida. The Japanese people, who watched it marching through the streets, greeted it with stony silence. In his speech Yoshida emphasized that the "new-born National Safety Corps must be loved by the people." The Japanese constitution forbids rearmament. The U.S. State Department, however, is pressing Japan to rebuild its army.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN will be allowed to re-enter the U.S. if he "can prove his worth and right to enter," Attorney General McGranery told American Legion officials.

HOWARD LERNER SCORES BIG PARTIES ON KOREA

DETROIT, Oct. 26 — Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, attacked and exposed the pro-war program of both the Republican and Democratic parties in speeches he delivered today before two CIO unions in this city. He contended to them both the socialist program of the SWP.

Many in the audiences to which Lerner spoke were ex-miners or had come from the mine regions, and these workers proved particularly interested in his talks. Several of them spoke to him after each of the meetings, anxious to explain conditions in the mine areas as they know them from experience, and to discuss their own problems resulting from the rise in prices. They expressed themselves as pleased to hear a candidate for office who knew from first-hand experience the problems of the working people.

Lerner exposed the Eisenhower demagoguery designed to appeal to the peace sentiments of the workers. He demanded to know what the General could do to end the war in Korea by making his

promised trip to the battlefield.

"Judging from Eisenhower's past performances, it is more likely that a bigger war, rather than the end of hostilities would result from any trip he might make to Korea," Lerner said.

"Stevenson, the war candidate of the Democratic Party, openly proclaims his support of the war policies of the Truman administration, while trying to hold out the promise of peace through negotiations. Both of these parties are committed to a continuation of the war while they try to deceive the people into believing that they are determined to end the fighting," Lerner explained.

Lerner went on to point out that the question of the war is the key to all other questions, since there can be no fight in defense of civil liberties, for a decent standard of living, or for the rights of minorities without a fight against the war.

Victim



Harold Ward, Financial Secretary of Local 108, FE-UE, is being framed in Chicago for slaying of William Foster, a Harvester strike scab, according to the union, which warns that a police "mystery" witness may be "a man whom the police have something on," using "the threat of prosecution" to force him "to act as a fingerman."

Memorials Held for Goldie Goldman in Los Angeles, Phila., New York

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 15 — A large gathering of members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party met here last night in tribute to the life of Goldie Goldman, pioneer fighter of the SWP who died here on Oct. 11 after a long illness.

James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, delivered the memorial address. He described Goldie's inspiring life, from the time her immigrant parents settled with their children in a small town in Minnesota through the 22 years of her adult life devoted to revolutionary socialist activity in New York, Minneapolis, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Rose Karsner, who knew Goldie when she first joined the movement, spoke of her as "one of those rare people, who to a large measure live in the capitalist world of today by the rules and precepts of the Socialist man of tomorrow."

Dozens of telegrams of sympathy and tribute were received from all parts of the country. They included messages from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party; Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for President; and Vincent R. Dunne, SWP candidate for Senator from Minnesota.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 17 — Comrades and friends of Goldie Goldman paid tribute to her work in this city, where her last active years were spent, at a memorial meeting at the SWP headquarters here tonight.

"Goldie's life was similar to that of millions of workers," said Comrade Howard, in the main address, "except that she understood and devoted herself to fighting the oppression the capitalist class imposes on the workers."

The Rev. Little, an Episcopalian minister, described with high praise Goldie's work in the NAACP. The branch library will be given the name of Goldie Goldman Memorial Library.

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — At a memorial meeting in the SWP hall here tonight, comrades and friends of Goldie Goldman honored her more than two decades of struggle for the cause of socialism. Sylvia Bleeker, who knew Goldie when she became a socialist, told of Goldie's serious efforts to study and learn in order to better help the cause. Dave Stevens was chairman. Kay Thorne opened the meeting with the playing of the "Workers Memorial Song."

EXCLUSION PATTERN

When the latest project, the North Beach Place, was recently opened, Authority President E. N. Ayer stated no Negroes would be placed there, following the traditional "neighborhood pattern" policy (exclusion from a new project of persons not of the predominant race or nationality living in the neighborhood before building the project). The NAACP filed a Writ of Mandate and a petition for two families denied admission because they are Negroes. After the first hearing, 15 units were held open pending a decision.

Evidence clearly showed that the Authority did not investigate the eligibility of these two families before the case was filed, but immediately thereafter started a very thorough check into their past financial and personal affairs. The Authority also scraped up some 80 white families with veteran's priority status in order to have certified tenants ready for the 15 units and future vacancies.

MEANING OF RULING

Judge Cronin ruled that the Authority was guilty of an "abuse of discretion" in declaring these two families ineligible and ordered them "certified." This means they have the "right" to live in North Beach, but they have no apartment in which to live. The Judge also ruled this a "class" case and that any other Negro family shall receive equal rights regardless of race.

This city has seven low-rent projects of 2,017 units but only one of 136 units available to Negroes. The 1950 census showed they need 30% of all low-rent housing but now are allocated only 6%.

Attorney Terry A. Francois told an NAACP meeting that the court's ruling would not be a real victory unless a vigilant watch is kept to see that Negroes are put in all projects.

Second Tragedy Strikes Goldman, Cooper Families

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 21 — A second tragedy struck the Cooper and Goldman families last night when Mrs. Rose Cooper, mother of Goldie Goldman, died of a heart attack. Goldie, a pioneer Socialist Workers Party builder and wife of Max Goldman, had died of cancer only eight days before.

Mrs. Cooper appeared to be in good health although deeply distressed by the loss of Goldie. She had attended the Socialist Workers Party memorial meeting here for Goldie and an informal reception a few days later for one of her children from Minneapolis who had come for the funeral.

While Rose Cooper was never active in a political sense, she showed her strong feeling for justice when she and her late husband supported the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Law in 1941 by putting up bond for them. These were the 18 defendants in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case, leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis truckdrivers Local 544.

An incident which took place just a few days before Mrs. Cooper died gives further insight into her character. An incurably ill woman who had been in the same hospital room as Goldie, died and was buried last Sunday. She left an orphaned daughter of 17 who had no other relatives in this country. Mrs. Cooper and her family befriended the young girl and she insisted, despite the heavy weight of her sorrows, on attending the funeral of her daughter's roommate.

The succession of blows she took, particularly the loss of her daughter Goldie, undoubtedly contributed much to bring about Mrs. Cooper's death.

The Los Angeles Local of the SWP last night at its membership meeting heard a brief talk on Mrs. Cooper's life given by Milton Alvin, local organizer. The Local expressed its sorrow and sympathy to the family.

Vote Against War, Bartell Urges in N. Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 — Winding up its campaign for the Presidential ticket of Dobbs and Weiss, and Michael Bartell for U.S. Senator, the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party is engaged in a busy round of meetings, speeches, radio talks and literature distributions.

New York campaigners report that the SWP program, particularly its strong stand against U.S. imperialism in intervention in Korea, is getting an attentive and often sympathetic hearing.

At an upper West Side Youth Temple forum, attended by nearly 1,000 young people last Sunday, Bartell lashed out sharply against the U.S. role in Korea and that part of his speech was interrupted several times by audience applause. Bartell was the only candidate to take this stand on Korea at that meeting, although the Socialist, Socialist Labor and American Labor parties were all represented.

Corliss Lamont, Senatorial candidate of the ALP (New York section of the Progressive Party), after saying he thought the North Korean government guilty of "aggression," restricted himself to a plea for an end to the Korean fighting. Bartell, in contrast, called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and other foreign troops. Later in the forum, however, Lamont told the audience that he thought Socialist Workers Party members should be "in the same party with us," meaning in the ALP and Progressive Party.

In addition to speeches by Bartell and other SWP campaigners at meetings and forums every night, usually several in one evening, the SWP program has been carried repeatedly on various New York radio broadcasts. Several evenings a week for the past few weeks, WNEW broadcast speeches for the candidates. Bartell also appeared last Monday night on the Barry Gray "talk-jockey" program which is a widely heard radio show broadcast from midnight to 3 AM every night on WMCA.

Gray, who has turned the mike over to SWP candidates several times in the past, prefaced this appearance by reading a letter from an official of Station WMCA which stated that the SWP candidates were given time on this program because of legal requirements that all candidates get equal free radio time. The letter went on to say that the station complied with the law, but felt that it should inform its hearers that the SWP is on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations.

BARTELL REPLIES

Bartell then began his interview by replying to the letter and denouncing the "subversive" list. He pointed out that none of the organizations on this list had ever been given a hearing or any chance to reply to the charges against them. He further showed that the list had been called a "purely hearsay declaration" by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, or in other words, it is just one man's opinion and doesn't prove anything.

Among the most successful of all New York campaign activities has been the Friday evening election forum conducted at SWP headquarters throughout the campaign. These forums, which have presented various aspects of the socialist view of U.S. and world issues, have been uniformly well attended. They are publicized through distributions to other forums and meetings, by mailings, and by a weekly advertisement in the N. Y. Daily Compass, which is the paper most widely read in N. Y. radical circles.

Washington's Allies

Japanese Premier Shigeru Yoshida's new 16-man cabinet includes a number of men formerly purged by the U.S. occupation authorities as "war criminals." Among them are Finance Minister Tadaharu Miki, director of the Japan Chemical Industry Company and pre-war head of the giant Mitsui interests; Justice Minister Inukai, Defense Minister Kimura, State Minister Ogata, Labor Minister Tozuka, Education Minister Okana, Agricultural Minister Ogasawara and Transportation Minister Ishii.

Comrade Kean discussed Eisenhower's demagoguery "playing around" with the "peace sentiments of the American people." "He is fooling with dynamite and a new G.I. 'want to go home' movement may yet explode in his face if he's elected President," she said.

At the conclusion of the evening, an old-time British socialist and new friend of the SWP suggested that a collection be made "for a forthright party, the SWP." The enthusiastic collection that followed was a pleasant surprise to members of the party present.

According to Truman's last budget message to Congress, expenditures for hospital construction by the VA were cut in half between 1952 and fiscal 1953. The

troit-area veterans in need of dental care for disease and damage suffered in service are on the slow-moving waiting list, and more than 800 veterans who ought to be in the hospital right now getting neuropsychiatric treatment are awaiting admission to the hospital at Fort Custer. The Fort Custer hospital, meanwhile, is greatly overcrowded and has a shortage of medical and attendant personnel so that those at present in the hospital cannot get adequate care.

BEDS CUT DOWN

The Dearborn hospital, which had 65 resident medical men a year ago, has 16 today, according to Mann. He added: "This is a hospital that could provide beds for 1,017 veterans. But it has been systematically cut down to 850, and now even this number is to be reduced by an additional 160 beds."

"Meanwhile, State and County hospitals are jammed with veterans suffering tuberculosis and mental afflictions. There is no room for the many others, and these veterans are taking beds badly needed by other Michigan residents."

"When these men come out of

New York Friday Night Forum

The Future Of American Politics

The Meaning of The Election Results

Speaker: Joseph Hansen

Fri., Nov. 7, 8 P.M. MILITANT HALL 116 University Place (near Union Square)

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