

U.S. Fears China Policy Discussion In Truce Talks

By Art Preis

The Korean truce negotiations last week entered a new phase — one most embarrassing and disturbing to Washington and the Pentagon. For the first time in their more than seven months of stalling and palaver over the technical aspects of a cease-fire, the American negotiators have been forced to confront the fundamental issues involved in the Korean war, including the U.S. aims toward China.

Under Point 5 of the agreed-upon agenda for the truce conferences, which provides for recommendations for a political agreement to achieve a full termination of the Korean war, the Chinese and North Korean delegates at Panmunjom proposed that a formal conference be held ninety days after an armistice is reached to attempt to reach a permanent settlement of all "questions related to peace in Korea."

This clear and simple proposal, which would commit the U.S. to nothing more than another interminable conference, exploded like a bombshell amidst the U.S. truce team and in the White House, State Department and Pentagon. They acted as if the Chinese-North Korean proposal was a blow aimed below the belt. The pontifical N. Y. Times editorialized on Feb. 10 about "pitfalls and booby traps" and recommendations of an "unsavory variety."

TABOO PROPOSALS

Hastily, the American negotiators (there are no other UN countries represented on this "UN" truce team) brought in counter-proposals. They did not want to deal with "questions related to peace in Korea" but only with "Korean questions" related to the peace. No sir, the U.S. spokesmen were not going to be "booby trapped" into discussing such issues as Truman's sending of the Seventh Fleet to Formosa to protect Chiang Kai-shek, the U.S. arming of Chiang in preparation for an invasion of China, etc.

The Chinese and North Koreans, of course, have an irrefutable answer to this. They can contend, and correctly, that American imperialism itself from the start linked its intervention in Korea with the question of Formosa and ultimately with the fate of all China and Asia.

Truman's order on June 28, 1950, for the U.S. "police ac-

tion" in Korea was part of his general directive on U.S. military action in Asia. This included his decision to send the U.S. Seventh Fleet to surround Formosa where the bloody dictator Chiang Kai-shek had holed up after being driven off the Asian continent by the revolutionary Chinese people. Truman also announced his support, by money and arms, to the French attempt at reconquest of Indo-China from the Indo-Chinese people.

WANT NO PEACE

Long prior to the Peiping government's entry into the Korean war, Washington not only openly protected and sided with an avowed counter-revolutionary armed enemy of the Chinese people, but supplied that enemy with

(Continued on page 2)

FBI FRAMEUP METHODS EXPOSED IN HAWAII

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which illegally taps telephones and plants dictaphones to invade the privacy of citizens recently got a taste of its own medicine. At the same time its unsavory frame-up methods were glaringly exposed.

In Hawaii, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union broadcast over Station KHON the recorded conversation of two FBI agents with David Thompson, the union's director of education.

The G-men called on Thompson at his home and tried to persuade him to help them convince Jack W. Hall, a union official indicted with other union members as alleged "Communists" under the Smith "Gag" Act, to turn government stoolpigon.

Not knowing that their words were being recorded on a tape recorder, the agents shot off their mouths, undoubtedly believing that if their conversation were reported verbally, they could perjure themselves out of it.

HATCHING FRAMEUP

The agents, who are preparing a frame-up case in Hawaii like

"Get the 40th Out of Korea"

Wives of soldiers of the 40th Infantry Division, formerly a Southern California National Guard outfit, drove 50 cars in a block-long parade through San Bernardino's business district on Feb. 2 to protest the sending of their husbands to combat in Korea. Their placards read: "We want our daddies" and "Get the 40th out of Korea." Los Angeles relatives and friends of the Division wrote Senator Nixon a letter charging that the men were told when they joined the Guard they "would never be called upon to serve in a foreign country, not even in what is so-called police duty."

Victim on Trial For Life Again In Fla. Frameup

Walter Lee Irvin, victim of the Groveland "rape" frameup, went on trial for his life again in Ocala, Fla., on Feb. 11.

This was the second time he was being tried on the frameup charge of "raping" a white woman in 1949. Last year the U.S. Supreme Court reversed his conviction and death sentence because he had not received a fair trial.

Samuel Shepherd, co-defendant with Irvin, was not in the courtroom when the trial began. He was murdered, when Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall shot them down in cold blood last November.

Nor was Harry T. Moore present. A leader of the NAACP and one of the most active defenders of Irvin and Shepherd, he was bombed to death on Christmas night because he demanded that McCall be tried for murder.

"PROBER" A KLANSMAN

McCall, however, sat in at the new trial. He was exonerated of the murder he committed, partly as a result of testimony by Jefferson J. Elliott, "investigator" appointed by Gov. Fuller Warren. Elliott supported McCall's lie that he shot Irvin and Shepherd in "self-defense" although they were handcuffed and helpless.

Last week Stetson Kennedy, Florida newspaperman and Nation correspondent, revealed that Elliott is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Kennedy got this information from Elliott by posing as a member of the Klan himself. Kennedy immediately informed the FBI in Washington. But so far, nothing has been done about it by the FBI or anyone else, including Gov. Warren.

Dispatches did not report if Elliott was present at the trial too.

PREJUDICE RAMPANT

The trial proceeded like a cut-and-dried affair. The defense asked that the trial be moved to another county because white residents were prejudiced against Irvin. It tried to introduce a poll taken by Elmo Roper, showing that of 518 whites questioned in the county, not one thought he was innocent. But Judge Futch would not let the poll be introduced, and denied the plea for a change of venue. (Futch ate lunch during the trial with the prosecuting attorney.)

A number of Negroes were included among the panel from which the jury was drawn. But the prosecution made sure that no Negroes were allowed to sit on the jury itself, which is as illy-white as the one that condemned Irvin in the first trial.

Workers of the World. Unite !

THE MILITANT

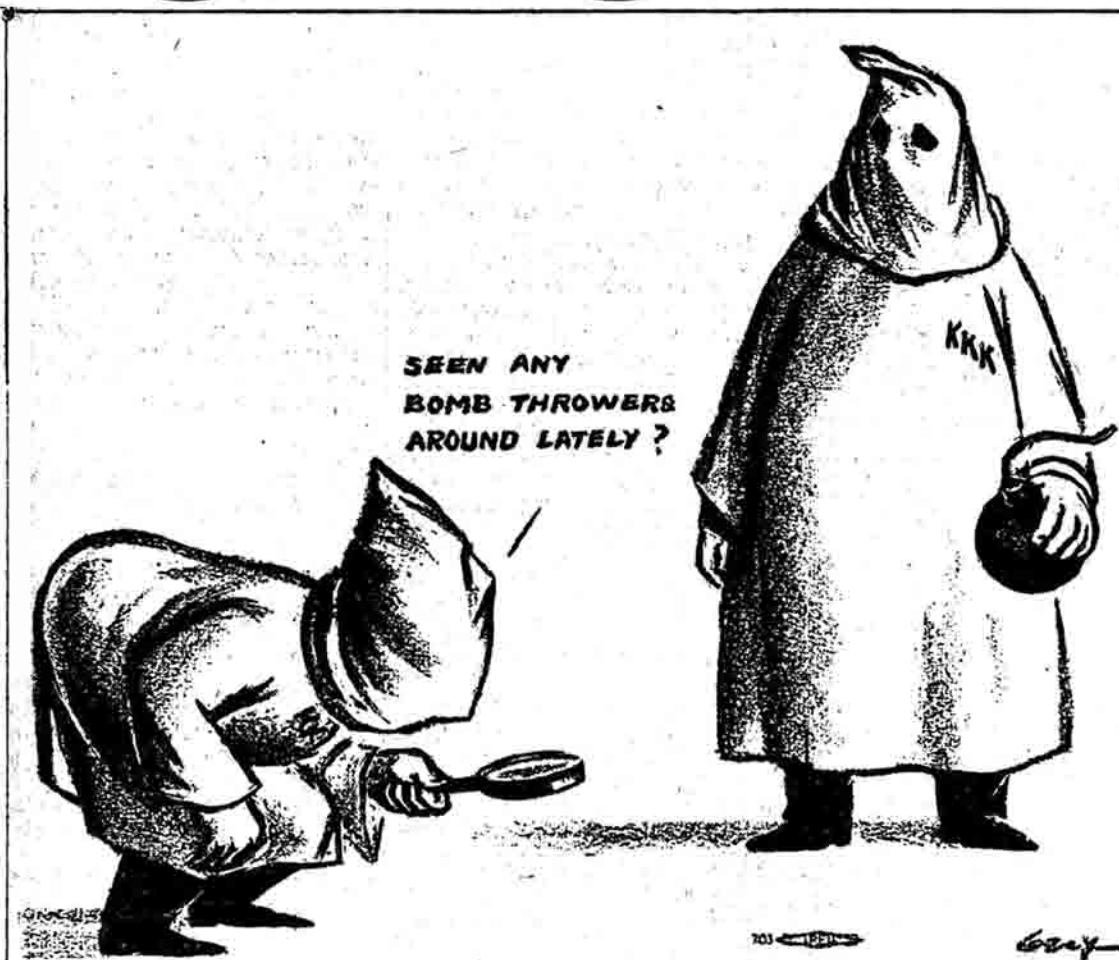
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 7

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Negroes Bombed, Jailed For Fighting Jim Crow



News Item. Jefferson J. Elliott, assigned as a special investigator by Gov. Fuller of Florida, scene of the bomb-murders of NAACP leader Harry T. Moore and his wife, is accused of being a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

'Law' Used To Intimidate Foes of Bias

By Albert Parker

When threats fail to intimidate the Negro people, bombs are used to frighten them out of the fight for their civil rights; and when bombs fail, the "law" is used. That is the story of Cairo, Illinois, where eight people were arrested on Feb. 7 because they defied bombs and continued their efforts to break down segregation in the public schools.

In Cairo, which is in southern Illinois, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has insisted that the school authorities abide by the state law and admit Negro children to the schools nearest to their homes. Until now, they have been restricted to inferior Jim Crow schools.

The answer of the white supremacists was — force and violence. On Jan. 28 a shotgun blast was fired into the home of Dr. James C. Wallace, NAACP leader and the first Negro candidate for the Cairo school board. The next night a bomb exploded in the home of Dr. U. F. Bass, wrecking his bedroom. Three sticks of dynamite were found together with a partly burned fuse under the tire shop of Henry Dyson, NAACP vice president.

BURN FIERY CROSSES

To make sure that nobody would misunderstand what was happening, fiery crosses were burned in and around the town, and Dr. Wallace was warned by letter and phone to move himself and his family out of the state or suffer the consequences. Earlier, the windows were smashed in the house of David V. Lansden, a white lawyer who had been consulted by the Negroes opposing Jim Crow in the schools.

When these acts of terrorism failed to intimidate the Negroes and they continued to insist that their children be transferred to the nearest schools, the Jim Crow forces resorted to another weapon — the "law."

Warrants charging "conspiracy to endanger the life and health of certain children" were then sworn out against eight persons active in the school fight, and they were arrested and held in \$1,000 bail each. The eight were Dr. W. A. Fingal, president of the Cairo NAACP; Dr. Wallace; attorney Lansden; Lester Bailey and June Shagalloff, NAACP field secretaries; W. S. Madison, Arthur Jelks and C. P. Williams.

WHITE MEN RELEASED

The police had also arrested four white men as suspects in the Bass bombing, and released them on bail of \$2,000 and \$1,000 each.

That is what is known as "justice" in Cairo. Eight people whose only crime was that they asked for the enforcement of a state law, are arrested and held in substantially the same bail as four men who are accused of breaking the law and attempting to deprive others of their lives and their rights.

The "conspiracy" charge against the eight NAACP leaders is reminiscent of similar charges used to frame up and convict radicals and labor leaders under the Smith Act. Whenever the capitalist politicians can't "get" their opponents for anything they have actually done, the charge of "conspiracy" comes in very handy for them.

The Cairo case as a whole is reminiscent of the bomb murder of Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP leader, and his wife, who were killed in an effort to terrorize the Negro people. The main differences are that by good luck no one has yet been killed in Cairo and that neither state nor FBI officials in Florida have yet arrested anyone for those outrages. (Time will tell if the four arrested in Cairo will be punished for their terrorist

(Continued on page 2)

SWP Election Campaign Under Way in 3 States

The 1952 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party was under way in earnest last week. In two important industrial states, Michigan and New Jersey, petitions were being collected for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. In Pennsylvania, final preparations were made for a petition-gathering campaign which begins on Feb. 18. And in Illinois, the Socialist Workers Party sued Governor Adlai Stevenson and other state officials in order to upset a new unconstitutional law that would make it impossible for minority parties to get their candidates on the ballot (see story on Page 4).

Michigan got off to a good start on the first day of its campaign. Detroit reported the collection of 1,600 signatures. From Flint came word that over 300 names had been secured in a single afternoon by only four canvassers in Bay City (Bay County). Satisfactory progress was also reported from Lansing (Ingham County).

The SWP is aiming at approximately 15,000 signatures by May in order to qualify for the ballot in Michigan. The petitions must be signed by at least 100 residents in at least ten counties, with no more than 35% from any one county.

PENNSYLVANIA CONFAB

A conference of Pennsylvania SWP branches was held in Philadelphia on Feb. 10 to complete arrangements for the arduous job of qualifying for the ballot. The delegates heard a report on the importance of this work by Morris Stein, representing the National Committee, and a recording of National Secretary James P. Cannon's political report on the 1952 campaign to the New York Local convention.

After a discussion of the problems to be overcome, the conference voted unanimously to secure 12,000 signatures to put the Dobbs-Carlson ticket on the state ballot.

In 1948 a 30-day period was

allowed for collecting signatures. In order to make a hard job even harder and to discourage working class parties, Pennsylvania officials have reduced the period to 21 days — from Feb. 18 to March 10. This is also a month earlier than was required in 1948, during the worst part of the winter when canvassing on the streets is very difficult.

Despite the added obstacles, the delegates were confident of success. (In Pennsylvania, because of the election law, Dobbs and Carlson will appear on the ballot under the name of the Militant Workers Party.)

NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN

In New Jersey the SWP reported last week that it has gone over the top and already has more than the number of signatures required by the state law. However, it intends to spend the next week getting additional petitions to guard against the possibility of being challenged. The final date for filing in Trenton is March 6.

New Jersey canvassers said that they had fulfilled the legal requirements this year in a shorter time than it took in 1948. "Getting signatures in wintertime is not an easy thing," said one spokesman, "but it's not hard either. There is a surprisingly large number of people who don't engage in politics actively themselves, but who are eager and sometimes enthusiastic about giving their names to help a working class party win a place on the ballot."

MICHIGAN PETITION

The canvassers in Bay City, Mich., said they found little hostility or rebuffing from workers reached on the street. They report:

"Many signed because they favor the democratic right of an opposition party to function. Some said they were signing because they are fed up with the graft and corruption revealed about the Democrats and Republicans. Others expressed dissatisfaction with the economic difficulties facing them as a result

of high taxes and inflation. Some openly stated their opposition to the war drive of the major parties and their sympathy for socialist ideas."

Local SWP candidates thus far announced are Arne Swabeck for Governor of Illinois; Marjorie Ball for Illinois Secretary of State; George Breitman for U.S. Senator from New Jersey; Myra Tanner Weiss for Congress from the 19th District in California. Local slates in other states are now under advisement; the New Jersey SWP will make an announcement next week on Congressional campaigns in the Newark area.

Pennsylvania, Michigan and New Jersey — the first three states in which the SWP qualified for the ballot in 1948 and seems sure to qualify this year — have a population of over 21,000,000 or one-seventh of the national total.

By Cy Thomas

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—Spokesmen for the profit-bloated steel corporations have consumed an entire week in hearings before the Wage Stabilization Board on the steel contract dispute saying "NO" to every single demand of the CIO United Steelworkers Union.

There would be no wage increase without a price increase, they said, repeating the same refrain over and over again like a broken record.

They were unalterably opposed to a productivity wage increase, they said, because it was "inflationary." They denied the right of the workers to share the benefits of increased productivity in the form of higher wages but reserved such benefits for the stockholders and company executives — which, presumably, wasn't "inflationary."

The demand for the union shop,

they said, was contrary to the most sacred traditions of the "free enterprise system" and they would refuse to recognize any decision by the WSB granting the union shop demand.

They were opposed, they said, to the union seniority demands and would resist any attempt to encroach on the "prerogative" of management to use the merit system. Owen Fairweather, attorney for the steel moguls, contended "the national interest would be 'poorly served' if the union won its seniority demands."

They reserved for themselves the sole right to determine incentive plans, job allocation, number and composition of jobs to be filled, etc., etc., and insisted that anything short of absolute company authority in such matters was "socialistic." And so on down the line.

In addition to company executives, lawyers and economists the steel tycoons corralled a bevy

of college professors to bolster their case. One of these jokers swore that if the North-South wage differential were eliminated the South would be converted into a barren desert wasteland. When asked if steel produced under a lower wage scale in the South was sold at a lower price than steel produced in the North the learned professor blushing answered that it wasn't.

To hear the steel spokesmen testify one could only gather that the question of profits was the last thing they were concerned about. They were worried about "inflation" they said, and wanted things left as they are "even though shareholders are punished thereby," as Joseph L. Block, well-heeled executive vice president of Inland Steel put it.

Or they were concerned about the "national interest," or frightened at the prospect of "creeping socialism," or alarmed about the "tradition of free enter-

prise," or they shed crocodile tears about "the public," but never, never, never, did the idea of self-gain, personal interest or material advantage ever enter their heads. All of which might have been convincing if it weren't for the dollar sign on their halos. In truth, there never has been a more rapacious gang of profit-greedy labor exploiters in the history of this country.

The climax of the whole farce came when Bradford B. Smith, economist for the United States Steel Corporation, asserted that the union demand for a guaranteed form of unemployment insurance that would destroy the incentive to work. Smith proposed, "that it would be preferable for steel workers to save \$15 a week from their own pay checks to tide themselves over periods of unemployment."

This, he said, was the "one non-socialistic thoroughly Amer-

ican way" for steel workers to "minimize unemployment hardships." The steel workers, Smith asserted, were the "economic royalists" of the American labor movement and should put aside their surplus for hard times. This was more than even union president Philip Murray could take.

"This piece of paper that your industry has presented here," said Murray angrily, "is the most reprehensible, filthy, lying, deceiving presentation that has ever been presented to a Government agency in my lifetime." And that, in a nutshell, characterizes the entire case presented to the WSB by the corporations.

The WSB hearings will conclude on Saturday. The original union deadline for a decision was set for Feb. 24. But Murray has called a wage policy committee meeting for next Thursday at Pittsburgh to decide on an extension to allow the board "reasonable time" to study the case.

L.A. PROTEST RALLY URGED TO BACK MILITANT PROGRAM TO END TERRORISM

LOS ANGELES — The following greetings and appeal for militant action against terrorism were addressed to the Feb. 21 united protest rally at the Shrine Auditorium by Myra Tanner Weiss, Los Angeles chairman of the Socialist Workers Party:

As chairman of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party I extend this greeting of solidarity and commendation to the protest rally at the Shrine Auditorium on Feb. 21. The terror that rules Florida and is spreading throughout the South and into the Northern states can be defeated only by nation-wide united action of labor and all victimized minorities. This united front protest demonstration sponsored by the NAACP and co-sponsored by the CIO, AFL and other labor, fraternal, religious and minority organizations, points the way.

The complete failure of the government, federal as well as local, to apprehend and prosecute any of the murderers and bombers is the greatest encouragement the fascist criminals need to continue their outrages. The responsibility for the destruction of this rule of terror, therefore, lies with

us. This protest rally is the beginning. We must solemnly resolve that we shall not rest until the victims of this terror have been avenged and freedom from fear has been won for all labor and all minorities.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

The Socialist Workers Party proposes the following program of action to further these ends:

1. Full support to the call of the NAACP for a national work stoppage in protest against the Florida terror. The power of the labor movement must be used to warn the ruling class of this country that the workers will not tolerate these outrages.

2. Defense guards fully supported by the labor movement should be formed wherever these terrorists appear.

3. A mass march on Washington should be called to bring the attention of the whole nation to our united demand for an end to the fascist terror and to assure immediate federal action.

C. P. TRIALS

The Florida terror is only one vicious part of the alarming assault on civil rights of the American people. A nation-wide

witchhunt has permeated every field of life in this country. The current trials of Communist Party leaders is one of the most menacing aspects of this witchhunt. Disagreement with the Communist Party is not the issue. We, for example, are the foremost revolutionary opponents of the Communist Party's program and deeds. This cannot in any way alter the fact that the "legal" persecution of this party is an attack on the civil rights of all. The glaring truth stands out. The Communist Party is being attacked by the federal government for its views while this same government doesn't lift a finger against the terrorist acts of the Florida fascists.

And here in Los Angeles 15 "communists" are on trial for their opinions while "officers of the law" brutally assault, strip and beat innocent people in the city jails. (See article on Tony Rios.)

REIGN OF TERROR

This whole reign of terror against the labor movement and persecuted minorities is a part of the program of Wall Street to dominate the world through a

(Continued on page 3)

Steel Barons Oppose ALL Union Demands

Election Plans Mapped by SWP Convention in N.Y.

By L. Scott

NEW YORK — The convention of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, held here on Feb. 3, voted to throw all the energies of the organization into the SWP's presidential election campaign this year and to nominate, in cooperation with other locals in the state, a candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York state.

In reviewing the activity of the city local during the past year, City Organizer Michael Bartell, who was the party's candidate for President of City Council last fall, indicated the favorable conditions that made possible an especially fruitful electoral activity in the coming elections:

"The results of our political activity of the past year — the very favorable response to our city election campaign, our successful literature sales, the increasing attendance at our lectures, the steady recruitment of youth to our party — all these indicate that the workers are discontented with their present conditions and are ready to listen to socialist ideas.

"This presents us with an ex-

cellent opportunity to intervene in the struggle for the minds of the most advanced workers and youth."

REPORT BY CANNON

A stirring report for the SWP National Committee by James P. Cannon, National Secretary, illuminated the practical work of the local in the light of the basic national and international tasks of the revolutionary socialist movement in this period of world capitalist war preparations led by U.S. imperialism. The text of this report was published in full in the Militant of Feb. 11.

The convention was attended by 32 delegates and 10 alternate delegates. Of the total, 24 were members of various trade unions, indicating the working-class composition of the gathering. A good-sized audience of visitors followed the proceedings with keen interest. The convention heard the city organizer and heads of various departments describe the steady pick-up in all phases of the local's work.

CONVENTION HIGHLIGHTS

One of the highlights was the spirited report of Ethel Wood, organizer of the International

Socialist Youth. She told of a successful year of thriving activity and steady growth and, especially, of greater interest in the party's ideas and program by high school youth.

Educational director Harry Gold reported an increased demand from the membership for educational activities. "This was a rich year in educational work," he reported, "that has raised the theoretical and political level of the entire party."

The Marxist Labor School run by the local, he said, surpassed all expectations. The classes on Karl Marx's Capital, which began with some 40 students, continue to this day with 30 in regular attendance. He also described the exceptionally well attended lecture series by George Clarke on "The World Crisis" and Harry Frankel's lecture course on "The First American Revolution." The youth class in the fundamentals of Marxism attracted splendid support.

MILITANT SALES

The report on literature distribution showed that the local sold 11,741 copies of the Militant in street sales, while total sales hit 18,556 for the year. This was an increase of about 50 per cent over the year before. At the same time, the unduly low number of subscriptions to the Militant in this area was stressed as one of the serious problems that must be tackled at once.

It was emphasized in the convention discussions that the local must continue to integrate itself in the mass movements of the workers and racial minorities by active participation in trade unions, Negro organizations, PTA's, tenants' leagues and a variety of community organizations.

Mutual Aid Holds 32d Annual Affair

NEW YORK, Feb. 16 — The League for Mutual Aid is celebrating its 32nd year of service with a dinner tonight at the Hotel Martineau.

This unique loan organization was organized in 1920 for "the purpose of bringing together men and women in the liberal, labor and progressive movements for mutual helplessness. . . . With no dogma or prejudice to limit us, our one purpose has been to stand by the man or woman who has in some way contributed to social progress and who suddenly needs a loan, a job or guidance," says the League's appeal.

A trade unionist, conscientious objector or a Negro needing a loan to tide him over an emergency finds a sympathetic ear and prompt help from the League. Through the years, many workers have come to know the Executive Secretary, Miss Adelaide Schukind, who is indeed a friend in need.

No interest is charged on loans. The stories of people helped by the League tell of workers who become ill, lose their jobs, or are laid off and have to bridge a gap until employment is found; Negroes who are victims of racial discrimination, workers on strike, foreigners who are stranded, and many, many more.

The League is appealing for new members, as the organization is non-profit (contributions and dues are deductible from taxable income). Readers of the Militant are urged to join by sending \$5 to the League for Mutual Aid, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Campaign for Socialism Sell 'The Militant'

NOW ON SALE

January-February Issue of

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Marxist Magazine

The Bomb-Murder of Harry T. Moore

By George Breitman

What the Steel Convention Revealed

By Harry Frankel

The Tragedy of Harold R. Isaacs

By George Clarke

Lenin Before October

By Leon Trotsky

25 cents

Order from

Fourth International

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

NEGROES BOMBED, JAILED FOR FIGHTING JIM CROW

(Continued from Page 1)

crimes; such things rarely happen.)

Another feature of the Cairo case, according to Len Schroeter, NAACP legal staff member writing in the Feb. 9 Nation, is that "unlike recent outbreaks in Florida, these tactics (of violence in Cairo) were used after local, state and national authorities had been warned to take precautions against them. Little can be expected of bigoted officials who refuse to prevent law-breaking they know is being planned. The federal government has displayed an utter disregard for the rights of Negroes in case after case of violations presented to the Department of Justice and the FBI. But more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson."

Maybe so — but only if you have illusions about Stevenson, who is now being promoted by his fellow-liberals not only as a presidential candidate but also as a great enemy of Jim Crow and lynch-terror. Actually, he is nothing of the kind. He showed that by the dilatory methods he used in the Cairo anti-Negro riot last summer, when he failed to send in national guardsmen for almost two days of violence, until AFTER the mob had achieved its purpose of wrecking the building Negro veteran Harvey Clark was trying to move into.

HIS TRUE COLORS

And Stevenson showed his true colors again in the Cairo case. Three days before the first violence broke out, NAACP administrator Roy Wilkins warned what was coming and wired Stevenson to take steps to prevent it.

"The Governor did not reply," writes Schroeter, "but he sent Russell Babcock, director of the Illinois Commission on Human Rights, to Cairo to look over the situation. Babcock reported that there was nothing to worry about."

And the N. Y. Post, printing a series of friendly articles about Stevenson, reported on Feb. 7 that he sent another aide to Cairo to work out a "compromise" with the Cairo district superintendent of schools, a supporter of the Jim Crow system. The "compromise" consisted of an agreement "to approve the admittance of some Negro students, and to reject others on technical grounds of residence." Some liberal — this Stevenson! He might even agree to a compromise whereby only half of the eight arrested NAACP officials would be sent to prison for asking the state to uphold its own laws.

But aside from his illusions about what "might have been looked for" from Stevenson, Schroeter's article shows that there is a growing awareness in NAACP circles of the new dangers facing the Negro people. In fact, his conclusions closely parallel some of those drawn by The Militant and by the article on the Moore case printed in the current issue of the Marxist magazine, Fourth International. Schroeter's conclusions are well worth quoting and thinking about:

SCHROETER'S CONCLUSIONS

"The Cairo disorders point up what the killing of Harry Moore

and the wave of bombings in Florida, Texas, Georgia, Alabama and North and South Carolina make clear. In Walter White's words, 'The bomb has replaced the lyncher's rope.' We have entered a new phase in the struggle for Negro rights. Until now the emphasis has been on passing laws that destroy the legal basis for Jim Crow. Those victories have been won." (Schroeter must be referring here to the Illinois law against Jim Crow schools, because no victories have been won in connection with federal laws against Jim Crow.)

"Now they must be translated into social reality. No one recognizes this new phase more clearly than the people who are beneficiaries of white supremacy. Seeing that they can no longer preserve their social and economic power legally, they resort to extra-legal acts. Their weapons are the bomb and the fiery cross. Their spokesmen are not a lunatic fringe but the Governors and Senators of Southern states and the sheriffs, mayors, and police chiefs of Jim Crow communities. They condone, encourage, and plan violence as an instrument of policy. Their allies are those who, in dread of being smeared or in hope of political advancement, play along with fascist terrorists.

"The response of all minorities and of all Americans who cherish freedom must be to recognize the enemy and to fight him as vigorously in Illinois as in Florida, through mass organizations and political action designed to elect public officials who take the Fourteenth Amendment seriously."

SPELLED OUT

That is absolutely correct. All that is needed is to spell it out a little further. Mass organizations are the answer, but such organizations must engage in mass actions if they are to be effective. Political action — yes, but independent political action by the mass organizations, against the Trumans who do nothing nationally about Jim Crow terrorism and against the Stevensons, who do nothing or "compromise" with Jim Crow officials locally, and against all the other liberal defenders of the capitalist system that breeds anti-labor and anti-Negro violence like cats breed kittens.

"In selecting the places for our own candidates, however, we must avoid policies that will throw us in opposition to the people we are trying to win for our national program. A flexible policy which puts forward our own candidates in some areas and enables Progressives to work side by side

with non-Progressives in other areas around a labor, Negro, or peace candidate who has chosen another electoral vehicle will increase the possibility of electing people's Congressmen."

Concretely, that means running a few Progressive candidates and in most cases supporting the capitalist candidates who are endorsed by the unions (that is what the PP today means by "labor candidates"), Negroes running on capitalist tickets, and capitalist politicians who give a little lip-service to the idea of a "Five Power Pact." It also means that the Progressive Party members will enter the primaries of the capitalist parties in order to win the nomination for such candidates.

On presidential policy, Secretary C. B. Baldwin told the National Committee about the need to get a place on the ballot, and then quickly added: "In recommending this action, I want to make it perfectly clear that we are not closing the door to an independent peace candidate. On the contrary, we are taking the essential steps to keep an independent candidacy alive as a practical political possibility in 1952.

ILLUSIONS DIE

The illusions died one by one. Labor support, instead of growing, has been dwindling steadily, even among the unions expelled by the CIO who favored the Progressive ticket in 1948. The banner-bearers, like Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor and O. John Rogge and Lee Pressman, the "magic" names that were going to make the Progressive Party get rich quick, wiped their feet on the banner and went back to the Democratic Party, hurling denunciations over their shoulders. Members walked out by the tens of thousands. Figures are not available, but membership must be only a small percentage of what it was four years ago. The drop in morale has been even more sharp.

These setbacks would not be quite so disheartening if the party had a genuinely independent perspective. But that is what is lacking most of all. A report on Congressional election policy, adopted by the party's National Committee meeting in New York on Jan. 19-20, makes a great many general references to "independent political action." But when the report becomes specific, it is evident that the word "independent" has an entirely different meaning for the leaders today than it had for the members four years ago.

"The political forms that this independent political action takes vary from place to place," says the report. ". . . No matter what precise electoral forms the independent political action takes, we should associate ourselves with it."

'FLEXIBLE' POLICY

"In selecting the places for our own candidates, however, we must avoid policies that will throw us in opposition to the people we are trying to win for our national program. A flexible policy which puts forward our own candidates in some areas and enables Progressives to work side by side

Anti-Imperialists Demonstrate in Tunisia



Tunisian opponents of French imperialism cheer and jeer (top) as they try to cross police line during political rally of nationalist movement at Sousse. This is 100 miles south of Tunis, where French troops battled demonstrators. Below, French police are shown searching nationalists in the seaport city of Tunis.

The Progressive Party -- Strangest '52 Spectacle

The Progressive Party's 1952 election campaign promises to be one of the strangest spectacles in American political history. There probably never has been such a reluctant, foot-dragging attitude toward a national campaign by any party for many decades.

The leaders of the party have to whip up some spirit among the ranks for the difficult task of getting on the ballot in states where the requirements for independent parties are onerous. But while they go through the motions of making "inspirational" speeches and reports, it is all too evident that they themselves have little confidence in their policy and not much appetite for carrying it out. At any rate, they sound so apologetic that it is hard to remember that they consider themselves "crusaders."

It is difficult to judge what the remaining members of the Progressive Party think about the 1952 campaign. Four years ago, when the party was founded, their spirits were high, they felt they were going to accomplish great things — deal a death blow to the monopoly of the two-party system, lead a great crusade for peace, attract the support of millions of workers, Negroes and students, elect a bloc of Congressmen.

ILLUSIONS DIE

The illusions died one by one. Labor support, instead of growing, has been dwindling steadily, even among the unions expelled by the CIO who favored the Progressive ticket in 1948. The banner-bearers, like Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor and O. John Rogge and Lee Pressman, the "magic" names that were going to make the Progressive Party get rich quick, wiped their feet on the banner and went back to the Democratic Party, hurling denunciations over their shoulders. Members walked out by the tens of thousands. Figures are not available, but membership must be only a small percentage of what it was four years ago. The drop in morale has been even more sharp.

These setbacks would not be quite so disheartening if the party had a genuinely independent perspective. But that is what is lacking most of all. A report on Congressional election policy, adopted by the party's National Committee meeting in New York on Jan. 19-20, makes a great many general references to "independent political action." But when the report becomes specific, it is evident that the word "independent" has an entirely different meaning for the leaders today than it had for the members four years ago.

"The political forms that this independent political action takes vary from place to place," says the report. ". . . No matter what precise electoral forms the independent political action takes, we should associate ourselves with it."

'FLEXIBLE' POLICY

"In selecting the places for our own candidates, however, we must avoid policies that will throw us in opposition to the people we are trying to win for our national program. A flexible policy which puts forward our own candidates in some areas and enables Progressives to work side by side

with non-Progressives in other areas around a labor, Negro, or peace candidate who has chosen another electoral vehicle will increase the possibility of electing people's Congressmen."

Concretely, that means running a few Progressive candidates and in most cases supporting the capitalist candidates who are endorsed by the unions (that is what the PP today means by "labor candidates"), Negroes running on capitalist tickets, and capitalist politicians who give a little lip-service to the idea of a "Five Power Pact." It also means that the Progressive Party members will enter the primaries of the capitalist parties in order to win the nomination for such candidates.

On presidential policy, Secretary C. B. Baldwin told the National Committee about the need to get a place on the ballot, and then quickly added: "In recommending this action, I want to make it perfectly clear that we are not closing the door to an independent peace candidate. On the contrary, we are taking the essential steps to keep an independent candidacy alive as a practical political possibility in 1952.

PUZZLING QUESTIONS

The question that must be puzzling the members of the party is: "If we can get Congressional and presidential candidates worth supporting in this way, by working inside the capitalist parties, then what do we need the Progressive Party for? And why did we go to so much trouble and sacrifice in creating it in the first place?"

A good question, one that will keep recurring and that the Progressive Party leaders and the Stalinists who support them will find it increasingly tough to answer to the satisfaction of the members.

U.S. FEARS DISCUSSION ON ITS CHINA POLICY

(Continued from page 1)

arms and prepared it for a re-invasion of China proper.

The truth is that American imperialism wants no peace with the present government of China and all other forces in Asia which in any way, and however inadequately, represent the aspirations of the colonial people for national independence and freedom from Western imperialist capitalism.

That's why the latest trend of the true negotiations is so embarrassing for Washington. It serves to put American imperialism on the spot and expose its true aims. Thus, Joseph C. Harsch, the Christian Science Monitor's special correspondent in Washington, admitted that "On Feb. 6 (when the Chinese-North Korean conference proposal was made) American diplomacy stood face to face with the condition which it has dreaded for some two years."

POLITICAL QUESTION

The "political question" which has been hanging black over the Korean camp ever since the truce talks began," says Harsch, is: "Does American diplomacy wish, and if it wished would it dare, to go to a conference table with representatives of Communist China in an effort to explore the possibilities of finding a long-term peace between the two countries?"

"Why doesn't Washington even dare to hold such a conference? Not merely because this would imply 'a degree of recognition of the Communist regime in Peking,' says Harsch, but — 'much more disturbing' — it would 'imply a willingness in Washington to contemplate the possibility of the continued existence of a Communist regime in Peking for a long period in the future. . . . It would almost be accurate to say that American

policy is committed today to the eventual overthrow of that regime."

It would be absolutely accurate to say so. And that is at the bottom of U.S. intervention in Korea and all the other U.S. moves to back capitalist reaction and imperialist domination in Asia. American imperialism is determined to smash the Chinese revolution which has given so great an impetus to the revolutionary anti-imperialist upsurge everywhere in Asia, including Indo-China, Malaya, Burma, and the Philippines, as well as Korea.

REVEALING ADMISION

Is U.S. intervention in Asia designed to protect the Asian people from external aggression, as claimed? An editorial in the Jan. 20 Christian Science Monitor contains a revealing admission on this score:

"The victory of communism in China began not with external aggression but with civil war. The struggle in Indo-China began long before the Chinese Reds came to power; it started as a native rebellion which for several years was only partly under the control of Communists. . . . The North Korean invasion was able to borrow a little of the emotional coloring of civil war, since it was at least a matter of Koreans fighting Koreans. Again, the large-scale intervention of the Chinese Reds after General MacArthur's advance to the Yalu was susceptible of being interpreted by millions of Asians as an act of self-defense. Hence the half-hearted support given by many Asian peoples to the UN effort. . . ."

Support — even half-hearted? The Asian people are fiercely resisting by every means at their command, with arms in hand, every encroachment of U.S. imperialism and are fighting to drive out its UN allies, British, French and Dutch imperialism.

Letter from India On Nehru's Policy

(The following excerpts are from a letter recently received by an Indian student in this country from his father, a doctor in India. — Ed.)

Nehru's government has not proved what was expected. At present the conditions here are extremely miserable for anybody and everybody. There is no limit to Congress corruption, maladministration, favoritism, nepotism, blackmarketing. There is hardly anybody who has not been affected by it, probably including Nehru himself. None of the problems has been solved. People have no food, no shelter, no clothes, no security, no work, no hope, and evidently no future.

It is really a wonder that the people are carrying on and putting up with so much, even from a Nehru. But still his personal popularity is tremendous. Government is run by party "yes" men, who have neither the equipment nor the integrity to carry on. Right from the minister down to the chaprasi, selfishness, money grabbing and graft is rampant and nobody seems to care. There has been a sort of revolt in the Congress rank and file, but the storm is not for any honesty, integrity, efficiency or service, oh no — it is only for personal power, for more "fishes and loaves."

The picture is more than gloomy. The Yanks take it for granted that all Asians including ourselves should dance to their tune, irrespective of our own interests. It is possible that they may withhold American aid in shape of food grains, etc. The Korean war has at least taught them that superiority in arms production does not necessarily mean winning war. Justice Douglas came with the ostensible purpose of scaling the Himalayas, but his observations were essentially sound.

Personally I feel the American is more vociferous — and needlessly so — about the war hysteria. Stalin does not need to fight. His work is being done by hunger, poverty, subhuman standard of living, illiteracy and want in the whole of Asia. The American in his smug superiority still feels that the Asian is to be exploited, is inferior and must be lorded over. No, son, the war will not be from the Russian side.

They believe in conserving their energies and making others fight for them.

That is why Nehru has adopted the policy of so-called neutrality. It may not be to the liking of the Yanks, but it is inherently sound as it takes into consideration India's position first. So far Nehru has been correct in his international dealings, though he may have annoyed interested groups. And in their senseless irritation, the Americans lose the true perspective. That is why they favour Pakistan, instigate it, help it, back it, and promise it Kashmir. The Americans know that we lack food, we are deficient in ability to produce and we have no money either. Taking advantage of it they want to browbeat us into everything. We cannot afford to take sides and commit suicide like China.

It is possible some of our so-called Indian leaders like K. M. Munshi, D. Mishra, and too many others like to please the Americans, get their help and do what they are told, but that will be selling our country. The partition was a very grave mistake. It has perpetually placed us in a helpless position as we shall always be depending for our food on others. Cotton, jute, will be unavailable so that for our very essentials of life, food, clothing, we are helpless. How can a nation thrive or even carry on without the very essentials of living? That is what the Britisher wanted. America is simply carrying that very policy.

One likes the American ideas of life and liberty, personal freedom, and democratic principles of government, but they are only principles applicable to the so-called Western nations. In practice they become artificially inflated dollars, exploitation of so-called inferior races and bombastic bellicose proclamations of producing fantastic weapons of destruction.

There is not much work nowadays. People have no food to eat, what can they spend on health? The problem nowadays is FOOD, CLOTHES and SHELTER. It is cheaper to die than to carry on. This is our Bharat — noted for flowing with milk and honey.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seattle reports an excellent sale of the Jan. 23 issue of The Militant. Clara K. writes, "Our sales have picked up in the last three weeks in connection with our election campaign and civil rights fight against the loyalty oath in Washington. I know you'll be glad to hear that in the past six days we have sold 175 copies of the Jan. 23 issue of The Militant. About 125 were sold on Jackson St., the heart of Seattle's Negro neighborhood."

"This issue really sold itself! We handed out our printed announcements of Daniel Roberts' write-in candidacy for mayor at the same time, and many interesting discussions developed between our Militant salesmen and Negro and white passers-by. You sent us 50 more papers than we had ordered, but we're not complaining. We just went out and sold them."

"High scores last week on sales was Clara S. with 26 papers sold in 45 minutes on Jackson St. We are also selling regularly at union meetings and at meetings of other organizations. We are hitting street corners systematically and are on the alert for new, rewarding places at which to sell our paper."

Chicago has had some good Militant sales in the past period, reports Literature Agent Beri Deck. "Ines and Marj sold 27 at a UAW union meeting. Helen has been keeping up her regular street corner sales near her home. Last week she sold 15, and this week she and I sold 35. Snow has been selling an average of 15 a week to some steel workers and a few friends. And Farrell and Marj came through with the first renewals in February."

Literature Agent Helen S. reports that Minneapolis is making good use of each week's bundle. "Militant sales are 100%!" she writes. "Our entire bundle is sold out every week. Of course a little time and energy is put into it. Of the 100 copies last week, a large number were sold to new friends who came to the Clarke meeting. One of these sales has already resulted in a new subscription."

Bea Allen reports that Detroit is continuing their renewal work and also sales at meetings. She writes, "Pete and Jimmy sold eight Militants and six copies of the Negro Struggle pamphlet at a union meeting, and 12 Militants were sold at a meeting of the Skilled Workers held here in Detroit. We find that the renewal work is a good way to introduce new people to our ideas and always take other literature along. Frieda sold three copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' as she did some renewal work; and Ernie K. sold four copies of 'The Road to Peace.' We also sold one World Congress issue of the Fourth International."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St., Open Tues., 5:30-8 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 625 Main Street, 2nd fl., Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3 989.

CHICAGO — 724 S. Wabash Ave., Open daily except Sunday, 12-6 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0103.

CLEVELAND — 10206 Superior Ave., Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT 7-6297.

FLINT — SWP, 1207 Oak Street, Phone 2349.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St., Phone ANtelius 9-4953.

MILWAUKEE — 517 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl., Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.

MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St., Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.

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

NEWARK — 423 Springfield Avenue, NEW YORK CITY — 116 University Place, Phone: AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — De Luxa Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loxa Pl., Meet. every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1019.

PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl., Open every Fri. evening, Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

ST. LOUIS — For information, Phone MO 7154.

WT. FAULT — Phone State headquarters, Main 7781.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1738 Fillmore St., 4th fl., Open daily except Sunday, 12-1:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201, Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 922.

SPRINGFIELD — 24 E. Federal St.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7408
 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
 Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
 \$2 for 6 months. Single Copies (5 or more copies): 3¢ each in U.S.;
 4¢ each in foreign countries.
 Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-
 itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
 Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
 at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
 Vol. XVI - No. 7 Monday, February 18, 1952

"A War Without Reason"

Mrs. Dorris Davis, widow of the jet-fighter ace Maj. George A. Davis Jr. who was shot down in Korea on Feb. 10, wanted a live husband, not a dead hero. She has spoken the sentiments of millions of wives and mothers in this country when she bitterly attacked the war that has made her a widow. And she spoke, she said, not for herself alone, but for her husband, too, who didn't want to be a hero in a war in which he had no faith.

He never volunteered for Korean duty in the first place, said Mrs. Davis, and he lost his life in "a war without reason." She accused the Air Force high command of lying when it issued a propaganda statement to the effect that Major Davis didn't want to come home before last Christmas when he was entitled to.

Mrs. Davis' words are dynamite and the Washington politicians and militarists know it. They and the capitalist press are trying to put into her words all kinds of meanings but the clear and simple meaning she intended. She has said that her husband died in a war "without reason" — that is, a war that has no good purpose that she can understand. That is why she is so bitter.

Some of the capitalist papers admit that Mrs. Davis is actually expressing a widespread and growing sentiment of hostility to the war. These papers, however, point to Mrs. Davis as evidence that the American people still don't "understand" what the Korean war is all about. It has not been "explained enough," they claim.

But Truman himself has made eleven official statements and speeches on the Korean war aims and scores of unofficial ones, broadcast over every radio station and headlined in every newspaper. Millions of words pour out in print and over the air every hour of the day and night "explaining" why the people should sacrifice and die in the Korean war. If the people don't "understand" what this war's about by now, it's not because there haven't been sufficient "explanations," but because these "explanations" are so patently false.

What disturbs the war leaders is that the people understand this war too well. Like Mrs. Davis, they have heard again and again and again that the U.S. is fighting in Korea against "aggression." But they still say this is a "war without reason." And by that they mean a war in which they do not believe, a war without any just cause worth fighting and dying for.

The people are suspicious of the purposes of the war. They are not convinced of the argument that this is a war against "aggression." They feel something is being kept from them — some less worthy aim about which they are not being told. And their suspicions are well-founded. The war propagandists dare not tell the real aim of the war — that it is part of the drive of U.S. capitalism to dominate the world and destroy the anti-imperialist revolutions in Asia.

If people like Mrs. Davis do not understand precisely these aims, they nevertheless sense there is something shameful about the war. That is why the sentiment is growing to end the war by withdrawing the U.S. troops from Korea.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS HIT POLICE BRUTALITY IN L.A.

By Fred Austin

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 11 — The Community Service Organization, a predominantly Mexican-American organization active in the defense of minority rights, mapped plans this week for a broad committee of labor and minority group leaders to protest the unwarranted arrest and brutal treatment of Tony Rios, CSO chairman, and CSO members Alfredo Ulloa and Alvaro Rodriguez.

In the early hours of Sunday, Jan. 27, Rios and Ulloa, leaving a cafe frequented by CSO members, saw two men roughing up a third in a parking lot. The cafe manager had previously refused to serve drinks to these two men because they seemed drunk and disorderly. Rios called back into the cafe for someone to phone the police.

As a general rule, citizens in this part of town are none too eager to call the cops and there was some protest to Rios' request. He insisted, however, and the police were called. When they arrived it was disclosed that the two disorderly men were actually plainclothes police. They seized Rios, Ulloa and Rodriguez, all three of whom told the newly arrived policemen that the plainclothes cops were the culprits, and took them to the police station where they were stripped and beaten by the same drunk plainclothes men.

A telephone call to the station from City Councilman Ed Royball, who had been notified of the incident by friends in the cafe, saved the three innocent men

Bolsheviki and World Peace
 by Leon Trotsky
 238 pp. \$2.50
 Very Rare
 Limited number available now
 order from
Pioneer Publishers
 116 University Place
 New York 3, N. Y.

Point 4 Aim: Colonial Exploitation

By John G. Wright

On Jan. 20, 1949 in his inaugural address Truman enunciated the celebrated "Point Four." Next only to the Marshall Plan (ECA), this "bold new program" received

of \$500 million, under the direction of "a special agency" to be set up for this purpose. This windy report was then shunted over to the IDAB (International Development Advisory Board, Chairman Nelson Rockefeller — since resigned). This Rockefeller board labored and produced a 120-page report, "Partners in Progress," likewise recommending a 500 million dollar appropriation, to be administered by "a single agency," headed "by an executive of cabinet rank." This was in March 1950. More wind.

But this "Partners in Progress" report contained more than demagoguery. It pin-pointed the nub of the whole "philanthropic" scheme: The IDAB-Rockefeller brain-trust entrusted the aforementioned "single agency" with the investment of \$41½ billion from "other private and public sources." In plain language the whole aim of Point Four was and is to promote the export of U.S. capital.

WINDY REPORT

Twenty months after Truman's proclamation of Point Four, he, by an Executive Order, appropriated \$341½ million for "overseas technical assistance under State Department administration." Then ex-Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray drafted a 131-page report "recommending" an "extensive overseas economic program," entailing expenditures

of \$500 million, under the direction of "a special agency" to be set up for this purpose.

Truman, as a matter of fact, made this explicit in his 1949 inaugural address. For amid the "philanthropic" blather, he included his pledge to Big Business that his administration would intensively promote the investment of private capital abroad.

This pledge has been constantly reiterated. Thus in his recent

Egyptians Slain



Killed fighting against the British imperialist forces in Egypt, the bodies of 41 Ismailia auxiliary police lie at the rear of police barracks as British soldier stands guard.

Roosevelt Day Dinner speech, Sec. of State Acheson affirmed that it would be "principally . . . private capital" that would "develop economy in the backward areas."

CAPITAL INVESTMENTS

The Truman administration hasn't done badly in promoting the export of private U.S. capital. Total private investments abroad which were \$8.5 billion in 1939 had increased to \$21 billion by 1950, a jump of 150%.

The flow of trade under imperialism, as Lenin pointed out long ago, is directly dependent on the outflow of capital investments. The Point Four areas, are key areas in both these respects for U.S. finance capital. Roughly three-fourths of all American imports originate from countries to be "benefited" by Point Four. Equally as important, they are also key areas for the production of strategic raw materials.

George A. Sloan, chairman of the U.S. Council of the Interna-

tional Chamber of Commerce, central body for the public operation of U.S. financiers, emphasized recently that "the U.S. imports 97% of its manganese, 100% of its tin ore, 73% of its tungsten, 40% of its vanadium, 47% of its bauxite and high percentages of about 90 other indispensable metals and minerals."

Since 1949, there has been a tremendous leap in U.S. private investments in oil in the Middle East, in iron and copper and the other non-ferrous mines in Morocco, Tunisia and other parts of North Africa. The exact amount is not known, but the profits, let alone the investments, run into billions. However, the insatiable profiteers want more, much more. Especially because in the first nine months of 1951, private capital exports from the U.S. suddenly declined by one-half as compared to the same period in 1950.

The colonial and semi-colonial people refuse any longer to starve to death while working like pack animals on the basis of colonial economy, that is, as suppliers of raw materials, as lush fields for investments, as source of super-profits, resulting from super-exploitation. They no longer want any part of this. One additional reason for their revolt is provided by a special World Economic Report of the United Nations for 1948-50. According to this UN study, production in Point Four areas has in this period suffered a sharp decline while production in "industrialized nations" has

greatly increased (primarily for arms production, of course).

The American financiers, backed by the State Department and the Pentagon, are resolved to push the "under-developed" people back into colonial enslavement. But the way they put it publicly used to read like this:

"It has been well said that we are living in an Age of Revolution. That should not dismay us, who were born of revolution. The cause of progress and self-government has always been the cause of the United States. It is the cause of the under-developed peoples. . ." (Page 15 of the Nelson Rockefeller 1950 report.)

The great colonial revolution is today stripping the mask of humanitarianism from these hypocrites, the worst enemies of progress, of the colonial people, of the American people, and of all mankind.

L.A. Protest Rally Urged to Support Militant Program

(Continued from page 1)

Third World War. American economic pressure and military forces are brought into use to crush the aspirations for a new and free life of the revolutionary peoples in China, Korea, Egypt, Iran, Tunisia, etc.

"Operation Killer" in Korea is the background of "Operation Terror" in Florida. Both "operations" are opposed to the interests of the American people and both "operations" serve the interests of the tiny clique of monopoly capitalists who rule in Washington.

The labor movement cannot really win the democratic rights of the American people nor give voice to our aspirations for peace, our desire for a foreign policy which will aid the colonial masses to find independence and freedom without breaking from the capitalist parties and building a party of labor. Such an independent political force can win the support of all the oppressed minorities, farmers, and lower middle-class and end the period of reaction in which we live.

SWP MEETING

We invite you to attend a meeting this coming Saturday, Feb. 23, 8 P.M., at 1702 East 4th St. to hear George Clarke who has just returned from a year in Europe. He will speak on "The Coming International Showdown." A full analysis of the world crisis of capitalism is a necessary prelude to ending capitalist wars and terror at home and abroad.

HIT THE BALL
 Sell 'The Militant!'
 for Socialism

Sternberg's Study of Capitalist Decline

By Thomas Raymond

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM
 ON TRIAL by Fritz Sternberg.
 John Day, 1952, 603 pp., \$6.50.

This new work is a book of great importance for Marxists. Its value lies not so much in its attempts at "new contributions" as in the all-sided support it gives to the fundamental conclusions of Marxism.

CONFIRMS MARX

For Sternberg has arrayed a veritable army — six hundred pages packed solid — of statistics in demonstration of the nature and course of capitalist breakdown since 1914. All of the fundamental predictions of Marx in Capital are borne out beyond possible cavil in the figures presented in this book. The concentration of wealth, the proletarianization of the population, the deepening of capitalist crises, the relative decline of capitalism to the point of stagnation, and finally, the absolute breakdown of the system are irrefutable facts and not merely predictions or approximations.

Of course, nothing is proved by Sternberg in this book that was not known and proved before. But Sternberg has assembled so much factual material in comprehensive form as to make

the picture of capitalist decline clearer than ever, and has thus furnished an excellent handbook of the trends of capitalist economy that ought to be part of the library of every serious student. Indeed, this book ought to be studied by all who are in any way interested in the history of the past hundred years, for there is more real history in the statistical tables of Sternberg's book than there is in any number of "histories" which devote themselves to the doings of parliaments, ministers and armies.

CAMPARES TWO SYSTEMS

Sternberg shows factually and in detail how and why capitalist decline began, in Europe in 1914, and in the U.S. in 1929. Particularly striking is his comparison between the development of the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. For example, he shows that, even in 1932, when the effects of the world capitalist depression were the most devastating, the Soviet Union had advanced to the point where it was second in production only to the U.S. Later, with the arms revival in Germany under Hitler, the USSR lost this spot temporarily, being pushed back to third, but, after the second world war, regained it.

All of the factors leading to the present deep-going crisis of

British imperialism are traced back to 1914 and beyond, in a section of the book dealing with this topic. Particularly excellent is the demonstration of the new situation of world capitalism after the first world war, and the causes which made decline and catastrophe inevitable.

While Sternberg's service in collecting and presenting this material is great, many of his comments and certain of his conclusions do not live up to the generally meritorious character of the work as a whole. For example, Sternberg makes much of the fact that the decline and crisis of capitalism did not come so rapidly, nor in precisely the form, indicated by Marx and Engels in some of their writings. He often makes it appear that Marxism itself is in question, where there is nothing more involved than the details and tempo of a process which could be predicted by Marx only in general outline.

When Sternberg deals with the movement of real wages in Europe in the second half of the 19th century (temporarily upward), or with the process of concentration in agriculture (temporarily delayed), or with the development of a social crisis prior to the first world war (also temporarily delayed), he makes these appear as refutations of

Marxism. The fact is that Marx never pretended to predict the exact form or tempo which the process of capitalist decline would take, but only the process itself.

QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM

Sternberg's work is similarly marred by social-democratic criticisms of Lenin and Bolshevism. His sections on the Soviet Union are undoubtedly the poorest of the book. However, Sternberg has the saving grace of planting his feet firmly upon economic realities, so that, even though his thinking on the Soviet Union is generally social-democratic in outlook, he sees many things that cannot be seen by the average social-democrat who closes his eyes to fundamentals. For example, Sternberg's treatment of the question of "Soviet imperialism" is so close to the mark that it should be quoted:

"... When people use the term 'imperialism' in relation to Soviet Russia, they are apt to overlook the fact that there are fundamental differences between present-day Russian expansion and the capitalist imperialist expansion of the past. . . . Russian imperialism pursues a totally different economic policy. . . ."

As a case in point to illustrate the difference: in all the history of capitalist imperialism, there

is not a single example of a capitalist metropolitan power introducing a radical agrarian reform in any of the countries of its empire. On the contrary, generally speaking, the imperialist powers sought allies precisely among the feudal landowning classes. . . .

"On the other hand, there is no example either in Russian expansion in Europe or in Asia, where the Russians have not carried out a radical agrarian reform. . . ."

"In this respect the Russian Soviet State, born of the November Revolution, which was the greatest agrarian revolution of all time, has remained more loyal to the forces which gave it being than in any other respect. Thus here we find that the social significance of Russian expansion is diametrically opposed to the social significance of all previous capitalist imperialist expansion. . . ."

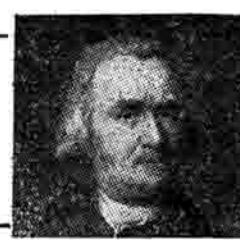
All in all, the Sternberg book is well worth studying, for its revealing picture of the decline of capitalism, and well worth owning, as a handbook of changes in economic structure of the world during the past hundred years.

(A fuller review of this book will appear in a coming number of Fourth International.)

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 15

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION

By Harry Frankel



Was the American Revolution "democratic"? The English historian, Lecky, wrote: "The American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede." This view is generally endorsed by American historians.

It will be recalled that when the British made their first military move, the expedition to Concord and Lexington, they precipitated the great crisis. One of the remarkable events of history, such as can only take place in a revolution, happened. Within a few days, the British Army was surrounded in Boston, besieged by about 20,000 armed workers and farmers. These men came out voluntarily, not in obedience to a draft law, but in defiance of all existing laws, prepared to risk their lives, each by his own decision. This popular mobilization was all the more impressive when it is considered that the besieging force was about equal in size to the entire population of the city of Boston. Further, this was an event that was to be repeated many times throughout the colonies for the duration of the war.

These facts would seem to refute the contention that the revolution was a minority movement. However, the historians would be quick to reply that most Americans did not favor independence even after the war had begun. They would quote from Thomas Jefferson himself, who said he would "rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation." They would cite the statements of Tories who in 1775 declared that "to hint that the Congress had any thoughts of independence would endanger a man's life." They could even show that Sam Adams himself, although he certainly favored a full revolution against British rule, dared not speak openly of it as late as the beginning of 1776. Finally, the historians could cite the fact that Sam Adams and the radicals in Congress failed

to defeat a resolution calling upon Congress to publicly deny rumors that it had any intention of declaring independence. This was nine months after the war began.

The historians could even go on to make the further startling claim that, of the thousands in the great popular army that besieged Boston in 1775, only a minority favored independence. This was probably true. Had the issue been put to a vote in the encampments around Boston, independence very likely would have been defeated.

A Peculiarity of Revolutions

Thus we have arrived at a peculiar contradiction. We have found that men who would fight and risk their lives for the Revolution would not necessarily have voted for it! This peculiarity lies at the center of every unfolding revolution. This contradiction between the actions and the consciousness of the great mass of the people stems from the fact that the dead hand of the past lies heavily on the brow of the living. The oppressed peoples who enter into a revolution do so because they are goaded into it by conditions which they feel they can tolerate no longer. But the old myths, traditions and political forms still hold them prisoners. They succeed in shaking these off only as the social upheaval runs its course. It is precisely this process of re-education of society, of reconstruction of all social forms, that constitutes the heart of the revolution.

Thus, in the early days of any revolution, we see this great disparity between the historic tasks and program of the revolution, and the relatively small number of people who understand these tasks and support this program. For example, the great French Revolution of 1789 had the job of destroying the ancient and reactionary French monarchy. Yet only a small percentage of those who entered the revolution did so with the conscious purpose and intention of toppling the King from his throne. The centuries-old traditions of monarchy made it unthinkable

to most people that there could ever be any such thing as a government without a king. Despite this, all the actions of the revolutionary people tended towards the destruction of the monarchy, whether they realized it or not. Later, as the revolution took its course and thinking was rapidly altered by the lessons of the struggle, republicans by the million were created in France.

Similarly in Russia in 1917, when the masses overthrew the old regime and replaced it with the communist government of Lenin and Trotsky. Many millions of peasants had come to support the Bolshevik program because they saw in it the only hope of "peace, bread and land." They defended the Bolsheviks, fought for the Bolsheviks, and supported the Bolshevik slogans, but when elections took place, large numbers of them continued to vote for the traditional peasant parties.

These considerations put us in a better position to judge the sentiments of the mass of the people of this country during the American Revolution. In 1776, the consciousness of the mass lagged far behind its deeds. No one spoke of independence. Yet, beneath the surface, this was the real aim of the revolution. It was the end towards which the colonial masses were unconsciously directing their efforts.

As the process unfolded, that which had been a powerful under-the-surface current became a conscious movement. Sam Adams' program became the program of the mass. He was able to proceed beyond limited or "transitional" demands and to unfurl his banner.

Tom Paine and "Common Sense"

The turning point in this process was marked by the publication of Common Sense by Thomas Paine on Jan. 10, 1776. The amazing success of this forceful tract can be explained only by the fact that Paine expressed that which hundreds of thousands had felt but had never dared to formulate consciously. So well did he give conscious expression to the feelings of the people that his pamphlet was probably read by a larger percentage of the American population than any product of the pen before or since.

After Common Sense, the people moved rapidly towards the full radical program. An historian writes: "In the final analysis, the question of independence was decided, not in the Continental Congress but in the states where the issue was threshed out in popular assemblies and meetings. Both conservatives and radicals in Congress ap-

pealed to the people outside to voice their wishes; and the people's answer had much to do with the final decision. . . . Congress, indeed, was in danger of finding itself left in the wake of public opinion in some states."

"The People Are Ahead of You!"

Sam Adams, at Congress in Philadelphia, heard from his old friend and supporter in Massachusetts, Joseph Hawley, in April of 1776: "The People are now ahead of you, and the only way to prevent discord and dissension is to strike while the iron is hot. The People's blood is too hot to admit of delays — All will be in confusion if independence is not declared immediately." Hawley went on to warn that, if Congress did not act, "a Great Mob" of citizens and soldiers would descend upon Philadelphia to purge Congress and set up a "dictator."

Sam Adams, perhaps a little astonished to find the people so suddenly "ahead" of him, was soon in action spurring the radical faction in Congress, denouncing opponents of independence as "puling pusillanimous cowards," and setting in motion the trend in Congress that resulted in the passage of a resolution for independence on July 4, 1776.

This sketch of the course of events shows how foolish it is to try to analyze mass sentiment in a revolutionary period in purely static quantitative terms. Mass sentiment is not a quantity, but a process, and a contradictory process at that. This is the lesson of the peculiar situation of Sam Adams, who was for years unable to put forward his full program because of the immaturity of popular feeling, suddenly finding: "The People are now ahead of you."

With this understanding, we can realize that all genuine popular revolutions are the most democratic events in history; the times when the people give vent to the accumulated feelings of centuries. Only fools will demand that the whole populace attain complete maturity and comprehension at the very opening of the revolt. For this, a process of education and experience is required.

The "energetic minority" of which Lecky and others speak so disparagingly are those who attain an understanding of the necessary program of the revolution sooner than the mass. This was the radical wing led by Sam Adams. It should be honored for its far-sightedness and courage.

(Next Week: Civil War)

Jim Crow in the Unions

By Jean Blake

For the next few weeks we'd like to discuss the problem of fighting Jim Crow in the unions. This is a touchy subject for labor bureaucrats who see red when they get any kind of criticism, but it is a vital issue to any union militant who appreciates the importance of building a strong, united labor movement, independent of government and boss control, to fight for the interests of working people.

We invite our readers to take part in this discussion since The Militant is one of the few places where they can call a spade a spade.

To open the subject, we'd like to quote in full an editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Call and Post on Feb. 2:

"A couple of decades ago, more or less, the founders of what later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations declared themselves openly and loudly as opposed to any discrimination in labor based on race.

"Last Tuesday morning William Donovan, kingfish of the Cleveland area steel workers, smirkingly told a dozen Negro foundry and mill employees that 'I am going to take my double-barreled shotgun and clean out these committees who fight against discrimination.'

"Between these two extremes lies a long, long chain of events. It is a chain which tells, patiently and item by item, like the beads of a rosary, the saga of vast sections of the CIO, which have changed from the leadership of militant champions of equal rights for all people who work to being led by sleek, Cadillac-mounted, drunk-threeparters-of-the-time Labor Barons who must have exploitation as their stock in trade if they are to maintain their ill-begotten regimes.

"It tells more; it tells as clearly as the nose on the forward part of your face how the Congress of Industrial Organizations first began with a program of full equality to offer to the Negro. Then it passed through a period in which it battled to maintain this high objective. Then came the spell during which it made compromises with Labor's enemies and 'soft-pedaled' the Negro issue, and finally arrived at the stage where the Donovans took over.

"In this new stage — which could well be the CIO's FINAL stage unless it gets reasonably

wise to itself — the movement is characterized by a loud name-calling every time someone mentions the organization's neglect of its huge Negro membership. Anyone who notices this alarming tendency, and a blind man couldn't miss seeing it — is automatically 'red' in the CIO books.

"The new trend reaches its highest point in Local 1157 of the United Steelworkers in Cleveland. For years the Urban League, the NAACP and the Call and Post have received complaints that the Negro membership of the huge Republic Steel local, sometimes 70 percent of the total membership, has been denied any effective voice in union affairs. They get none of the top jobs; when one man finally did get into a responsible position, others of the entrenched bureaucracy soon jockeyed him out of it by the simple mechanism of a forged check and a stool-pigeon frame-up. Unfortunately for the local's heads, but possibly quite fortunately for Labor as a whole, the deal backfired and the frameup brought the union heads to court to defend themselves in some \$200,000 worth of lawsuits.

"It was this situation which touched off the Talmadge-style outburst of Donovan Tuesday morning. To make a thinly veiled incitement to violence among a group of men who handled boiling steel and hunks of metal weighing thousands of pounds is pretty close to a criminal action. Donovan's statement should point out sharply to the CIO's top leadership: can it afford the stigma and the setback that the policies of Donovan and Local 1157 are giving it? Can it afford to continue to lose plant elections to its union competitors because other workers refuse flatly to come under the influence of men and locals like Cleveland's? Or would it rather have a thorough house-cleaning in District 28 — Donovan's and 1157's district — NOW, before organized labor as a whole has to pay a terrific price for the hatred and greed of a handful of slimy chislers?"

That's the problem as the Cleveland Call and Post, an outstanding Negro weekly, sees it.

What is the answer? What can Negro and white workers in the unions do about it? Is anything being done to improve the situation of the Negro worker in the labor movement? We'll continue this discussion next week.

Miracle in Milan

By Joan Farr

The Italian movie, *Miracle in Milan*, is a sympathetic and altogether delightful film on the plight of the very poor, the people for whom there is just no room in the world. It is also a portrayal of a type of human being who intrigues us all — the character who makes the best of the most adverse conditions, and seems able to transform his surroundings by sheer force of good will. The unfolding of the destinies of the hero, Toto, and the band of vagrants whom he takes under his wing is hilariously funny. At the same time, the American moviegoer realizes with a delightful shock that here again is a foreign film which doesn't depend on taking the audience out of the real world. The art lies in showing him the old, familiar world from the point of view of a particular segment of humanity — in this case, the forgotten, resigned poor.

The hero's character emerges from the very start of the movie, when he is found by a daffy old lady in her cabbage field. After a few years of a sort of fairy-tale life with her, she dies, and the manly little boy of eight or nine, follows as the lone mourner behind her horse-drawn hearse. With great economy of reelege, by having even the most minor gestures strictly in character, the film shows Toto emerging as a young man from an orphan asylum. He is simply bursting with good will, and when he is invited to spend the night in a tramp's packing box, he is genuinely grateful to his host. Here, Toto's angle on life is enlarged to include his fellow-tramps, who, while not at all happy with their dismal dump-camp, are nevertheless resigned. This, the movie depicts in one particularly effective scene: They all emerge from their shacks jumping up and down in the cold. They shake

hands, still jiggling. Suddenly, they all run like mad across the lot to a spot where the sun's beams are streaking down between the clouds. Here, they all jump in a bunch together, congratulating themselves on their luck. Toto bounces with the rest, pleased as can be with these good people. When a storm comes and tears their hovels to pieces, he organizes them to build strong, weatherproof shacks.

Soon, there is trouble in the happy community: The lot is sold to a banker dressed in an exaggerated fur-collared banker's coat, who arrives with his retinue. Toto is delighted when the banker, with Chaplinesque double talk, points out his common humanity. "We all have five fingers, have we not?" No sooner has the film poked fun at the banker than it introduces the sinister threat which he represents. The tramps, led by Toto, go to his cathedral-like office, to ask him to call off the police who have come to evict them. They are served tea, the banker is genial and amiable — but while they are talking to him, he has given word for the whole shanty-town to be cleared away.

Through the fight that follows, Toto realizes that his friends are defeated, and he stops trying to keep them from fighting back. In the end, when his fostermother appears from heaven, and helps him to fly the whole colony up to paradise, the movie becomes an outright comedy, without the slightest religious cast.

To this reviewer the controversy as to what is meant by the ending is unimportant. Here is a social message, gently, almost lazily included, yet so powerful that it stands out like a skyscraper on a barren lot: As long as there are capitalists, there is no room on earth for the poor and downtrodden.

ROBERTS BLASTS "LOYALTY" OATH ON RADIO INTERVIEW IN SEATTLE

SEATTLE, Feb. 10 — "The basic issue in the Seattle election campaign is the war," Daniel Roberts, SWP candidate for mayor said in a radio interview over Station KXA. "The rulers of America are taking the country down the road to war. They have no other answer to the crisis of American capitalism. Their program includes slashing the living standards of the American people; intensified racial persecution, and the elimination of our traditional civil liberties. Our party opposes this program of Big Business. We counterpose the working class struggle for socialism."

The interview was conducted by Norm Bobrow, a popular disk jockey, who interviewed all candi-

dates in the city elections. Bobrow, explaining to the radio audience that Roberts was a "write-in" candidate because he had refused to sign the loyalty oath provision for candidates for public office, called on Roberts to explain his stand on the oath.

"The loyalty oath violates freedom of speech and freedom of elections," Roberts said. "In addition, it is part of a vast network of thought-control measures imposed on the American people by the Big Business rulers of the country, who will not tolerate criticism of their war plans. Oaths, loyalty purges, deportations, witch-hunt, lynch-law — all must be resisted if our traditional liberties are to be preserved. We don't want a police state in America."

Bobrow has daily called attention in his broadcast to the fact that Roberts is running as a write-in candidate. Another news-caster, Carroll Carter, has commented briefly on Roberts' write-in campaign, and stories have appeared in the daily press.

A DIFFERENT STAND

A completely different stand has been taken by the League of Women Voters, whose president refused to include Daniel Roberts in the mass rally for candidates conducted under its auspices. The LWV president ruled that she would not recognize Roberts as a candidate since his name had not been certified for the ballot by the election officials. She refused to change her ruling even after Roberts explained that he had

been excluded from the ballot because of his unsuccessful challenge in the courts to the loyalty oath.

Roberts appeared at the candidates' forum nevertheless and took the floor in the question period. He demanded his right to present his candidacy to the audience, and spoke against the loyalty oath to the 300 people present. He was ruled out of order by the chairman, and was threatened with arrest by a plainclothes policeman. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported the incident in its coverage of the League of Women Voters forum.

"I will protest to the members of the League of Women Voters against the president's unfair ruling," Daniel Roberts said. "The League claims to stand for free speech and free elections, but the ruling of the Seattle president of the organization gives support to those who are curbing democratic rights. The election laws are being rigged more and more against the working class parties, whether by means of loyalty oath provisions or by exorbitant requirements in order to win a place on the ballot.

"This condition makes resort to 'sticker' or write-in candidacies increasingly necessary. If the League of Women Voters genuinely intends to defend democratic procedures then it must give representation to all candidates in its forums. In that way it would help partially to nullify the restrictions placed by legislators, judges and election officials on the freedom of elections."

Steel Barons Sit In



Looking defiant, Pres. Benjamin Fairless (left) of U.S. Steel Corp. sits in tight-lipped silence at Wage Stabilization Board panel hearings on CIO United Steelworkers' demands for pay increases and guaranteed annual wage. U.S. Steel board chairman Irving S. Olds (right) apparently can't face the issue.

AKRON SWP DENOUNCES BIG REALTY INTERESTS

By L. Cooper

AKRON, Feb. 4 — To a hushed audience of close to 100 in the City Council chambers, Kay Kean, spokesman for the Akron Socialist Workers Party, today denounced

the big real estate interests "who come here to sabotage a sensible civic plan that would take 400 families out of rat traps." The occasion was a public hearing to discuss City Housing Director Lauer's proposal that 400 new low-cost units be built by the city.

Supporting Lauer's proposals as a "timid beginning in eradicating sub-standard living conditions of 11,600 families," the SWP spokesman pointed out that the big real estate interests are building homes selling for \$15,000 and more.

"Where shall the workers get the money to buy these fancy priced homes?" she continued. "3500 of these families earn \$2500 a year or less. All suffer under the high cost of living and the terrible tax burden of the bi-partisan war drive. The Socialist Workers Party says that the same interests that oppose low-cost city housing would tomorrow oppose low-cost city hospital clinics."

TWO CRITICISMS

Miss Kean then offered two criticisms of the Director's plan.

Regional Parley Of Negro Council In San Francisco

By Walter Cremer

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 1 — The proposal for a nationwide work stoppage in protest against the murders of Harry and Harriet Moore by race terrorists in Florida was unanimously supported at the first regional conference for the Western District of the National Negro Labor Council which met here in San Francisco Jan. 26 and 27. Speakers stressed the need for mass action to obtain and protect the economic, political and social rights of the Negro people. Any effective struggle for Negro equality must be a mass struggle. We can not rely on federal, state or local authorities.

The Sunday session was the largest with 100 delegates and observers present. An atmosphere of seriousness pervaded the session. Last year saw a rise in racial terrorism and if 1952 is not to continue in the same direction, the Negro and white workers must unite in action to halt this growth.

The three main points discussed and acted upon at the Conference were:

1. A California quota of 400,000 signatures for the National FEPC petition drive of 1,000,000.
2. The conference condemned the proposed legislation of State Senator Jack Tenney and The America Plus, Inc., which proposes an amendment to the California State constitution which would bring all the Jim Crow laws of the deep South and cause discrimination in unions, jobs, public places and in housing.
3. Considerable time was spent on the question of how to fight for 100,000 new jobs in industries barred to Negroes at the present time.

It was stressed by many speakers that it is only by militant joint action by the Negro church, community and fraternal organizations with the trade unions that these industries will be opened up for Negroes.

"We object to borrowing the money from the banks and paying interest. The most effective way to raise money for such civic projects is by a city tax on corporate profits."

"Secondly," she stated, "we object to the segregation policies in Mr. Lauer's plan." (According to the Director's plan, 100 new apartments would be added to the all-Negro project at Elizabeth Park and 300 others in all-white projects.) "A needy Negro family might prefer living elsewhere than Elizabeth Park," Miss Kean continued. "The SWP wants to know, what forces are maintaining segregation in city projects? Does Mr. Lauer claim that working people can't live in the same project together? Everyone knows of neighborhoods in Akron where Negro and white live in harmony."

Although real estate interests were out in full force, the SWP gained the spotlight in the various radio newscasts following the hearing as well as in the write-up in the local capitalist sheet, the *Beacon Journal*. Avoiding any mention of the SWP's pointed attack on Lauer's segregation policies and proposal, the *Beacon Journal* referred to the Socialist Workers Party proposal to "tax the rich." (Kay Kean and a supporter from the floor had clearly called it a "corporation tax.")

\$70 — LOW COST?

Some of the labor spokesmen at the hearing raked the real estate spokesmen over the coals. When one of the latter announced with great fanfare that he was building low-cost housing, Mr. Worcester of the Carpenters Union asked him what the price of these few apartments would be. "\$70," he said, to the accompaniment of laughter from the low-cost housing forces. In the Elizabeth Park project the average rental is between \$37 and \$38.

Buffalo News Redbaiting Union Editor

BUFFALO — The Westinghouse Electric Corporation which last September in an attempt to wreck the union, forced the workers of its Cheektowaga plant to strike for 15 weeks, is now seeking with the help of the Buffalo Evening News to snatch from the workers the victory they won on the picket line.

Evidence of this is a company-inspired article in the Jan. 19 issue of the *Buffalo Evening News* under the by-line of its red-baiting smear artist, Fred Turner. The union, Local 1581, IUE-CIO, has been engaged in a struggle with the company over the employment of some 30 to 40 scabs whom the company retained on the job while some union members are still waiting to be recalled in accordance with their seniority status.

The union's newspaper, *Union Member*, has been carrying on a vigorous campaign against the company and has devoted considerable space in the paper to the scab issue. In an effort to discredit the union newspaper and its militant stand against the company, scab provocation the News opened a violent red-baiting attack on the editor of the union paper, Ted Baines. Because of his record as a union militant and because of the splendid work he

SWP Sues Gov. Stevenson Over New Election Law

CHICAGO, Feb. 11 — The Socialist Workers Party filed suit in federal court today against Gov. Adlai Stevenson and other executive officers and law-enforcing officials throughout the state. The purpose of the suit is to declare Illinois House Bill 1030, a law affecting soliciting of signatures on election petitions, unconstitutional and to obtain injunctions against the state officials from carrying out its enforcement provisions.

HB 1030 makes it illegal for party workers of minority parties to solicit signatures on petitions in state-wide elections outside of their own counties of residence. Further, a criminal penalty up to and including six months imprisonment and a fine of \$1,000 is stipulated.

The law was passed by both houses in the 1951 session and signed by Gov. Stevenson on July 28, 1951.

Suit was filed in the name of the Socialist Workers Party; Farrell Dobbs, its nominee for President; Grace Carlson, nominee for Vice President; Arne Swabeck, candidate for Governor; Marjorie Ball, candidate for

Secretary of State; Marvel Dobbs; and Irving Beinin, SWP state chairman.

Their attorney is M. J. Myer, noted civil liberties lawyer. "This law definitely violates the 14th Amendment," Myer said on filing the complaint.

DEFENDANTS NAMED

Defendants named in the suit include Gov. Stevenson, Attorney General Elliot, Secretary of State Barrett, State Treasurer Stratton, Auditor of Public Accounts Cooper, Director of the Department of Public Safety, the State Attorneys in ten counties, including Cook County, and the police chiefs of ten cities, including Chicago.

SWP state chairman Beinin strongly denounced the undemocratic law and held that "this fight for democratic rights concerns all the people in the state."

"There are other harsh and restrictive regulations affecting election petitions which preclude free and unhampered elections in the state of Illinois," he said.

"But this is the only law of its kind which carries criminal penalties! This law is not only designed to place further arbitrary barriers in the way of a free election by making it extremely difficult for minority parties to get on the ballot. It also aims to inspire fear among supporters of minority parties and threatens police punishment against those who do not yield to its undemocratic provisions."

POLICE STATE MEASURE

"The labor movement, Negro organizations, liberals and all men and women of good will have a stake in getting rid of this

new departure in police state measures.

"Liberal Governor Stevenson showed his true colors by signing the bill to make it law. Elected to office by people who believed he would safeguard their democratic rights, he shamefully gave his name and assistance to the passage of HB 1030."



IRVING BEININ

"The national election of 1952 is the most important the country has had in many years. The greatest freedom for political parties to put forth their candidates and express their points of view is necessary. It is imperative that the people should have the fullest understanding of the issues at stake. This bipartisan conspiracy of Republicans and Democrats to keep their political opponents off the ballot makes impossible such an election."

Briggs Local 212 Gains Victory in Speedup Fight

DETROIT — The fight of the Briggs workers against company speedup which has taken the form of increasing the work load by reducing manpower on the lines has resulted in a setback for the corporation.

After numerous work stoppages had failed to halt the speedup drive Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO, took a strike vote of its membership, as reported in The Militant of Feb. 4. 89% of the 10,000 workers who participated in the strike ballot voted 'yes' despite layoffs, short work weeks and threats by the company.

Walter O. Briggs Jr., head of the company, had sent out a lying letter on the eve of the strike vote containing a thinly veiled threat of starvation if the workers did not reject the strike proposal. This boomeranged against the company and only succeeded in rallying the Briggs workers solidly behind their union. When all of their threats and intimidation failed the company yielded on the disputed issue but is still pressing its campaign

to cut costs by cutting manpower.

Because of the militant stand taken by the workers the men discharged were reinstated. The membership got a practical demonstration of how to conduct a winning fight on shop grievances. A progressive precedent was restored, after many years of Reutherite compromise and retreat, and the company was given to understand that it can't ride roughshod over the workers with impunity. Under the usual Reutherite policy on speedups, twelve jobs would have been lost together with widespread loss of confidence in the union.

**For a Socialist
Future
Join the
Militant Sales Drive**

NEW YORK

The Real Situation in Israel

An Eyewitness Report

by LEWIS SCOTT

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 27

8:30 P. M.

Militant Hall

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

CLARKE TOUR SCHEDULE

San Francisco-Oakland	Feb. 13-17
Los Angeles	Feb. 19-24
St. Louis	Feb. 27
Cleveland	Feb. 29-Mar. 1
Youngstown	Mar. 2-3
Akron	Mar. 4-5
Pittsburgh	Mar. 6-7
Philadelphia	Mar. 8-9
Boston	Mar. 14-16
Newark	Mar. 21