

THE MILITANT

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Fight Wall St. Coalition Rule: Vote Socialist!

As election time approaches, the Democrat and Republican politicians play their usual political shell game. These parties stand for one and the same program abroad as at home. Their foreign policy is virtually identical, differing only on minor details. In their domestic policy they also basically agree. This basic agreement on foreign and domestic policy is expressed in the fact that every major policy move of the U.S. Government is today decided on a "bi-partisan" basis, that is jointly by Democrats and Republicans.

SHAM BATTLE

Bound to follow the same policies on all key social issues, both these parties follow the same aim: They both are committed to preserve the monopoly-dominated capitalist system. They both work to prop up capitalism throughout the world so that the billionaire corporations may exploit the peoples of all nations.

That is why their election "battles" are nothing but a sham. They fight for votes and posts on Election Day, but join together the other 364 days of the year to rob and betray the people.

BOTH SUPPORT WAR

The immense war appropriations, which impose an intolerable burden upon the working people, upon their children and their children's children, are supported by both parties. The Republicans and Democrats in Congress cooperate to shift the burden on to the poor, and to lighten the load on the rich.

Both parties support the witch-hunt. They vie with each other in denouncing as "communists" all independent minded people who won't go along with the imperialist war program.

The Korean War, which Wall Street brought on against the wishes of the majority of Americans, is carried on by the Democratic Truman administration. Republican politicians, hypocritically trying to cash in on the sentiment against the Korean War, have made statements against that war. This is pure fakery. The war in Korea could not continue for a single day without the active support of the Republican bloc. Both parties must share responsibility for one hundred thousand American casualties, and the millions of dead, maimed, starved and homeless Korean and Chinese people.

These two parties share everything. They even share the booty. Democratic Chairman Boyle and Republican Chairman Gabrielson have both been caught with their noses in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation gravy trough.

FAKE 'REFORMERS' MAKE N.Y. VOTERS APATHETIC

NEW YORK — The outstanding development in the New York City campaign for President of the City Council is the extremely low registration. In New York voters must register before each election.

Public apathy to the candidates of the major parties, including the much publicized Rudolph Halley, former Kefauver Committee investigator, is graphically demonstrated by a registration of only 1,918,000.

This is almost a half-million less than the 1947 registration for a comparable off-year election. It is also proportionately lower than the off-year registration in 1943 of 1,751,000, when the increase in population and the fact that many voters were then in the army is taken into consideration.

Tammany Democrats and the Republicans are jubilant over the small registration, figuring that most of those registered are machine voters. Conversely, it is a staggering blow to the Liberal Party and its candidate, Halley. The garment union bureaucrats who run the Liberal Party thought they were playing clever politics first in nominating Halley, a registered Democrat, and then conducting the campaign solely on the "gang-busting" issue. All important issues dealing with the war in Korea, the high cost of living, Jim Crow, police brutality and city strike-breaking are ignored by Halley whose stock in trade is denunciation of the bookies and the politicians and pledges to "throw the rascals out."

New York workers have heard this refrain many times before — twice a generation on the average. Thomas Dewey entered local politics as a "gang-buster." O'Dwyer was a "crusading" dis-

The so-called "two-party system" is really a one-party regime. The Republican and Democratic Parties are nothing but two faces of the same party. You can listen to the bray of the Donkey, or the trumpeting of the Elephant. You will get the same pro-Wall Street policies from both.

How long can these two parties get away with their confidence-game politics? Not much longer, in our opinion. Wall Street will not be able to get the people to go on fighting its battles forever.

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The colonial peoples of Asia and Africa are fighting for their freedom. Working people throughout the world are getting more and more fed up with capitalism. The Wall Street capitalists want us to fight to preserve the system that gives profits and luxury to the few at the expense of the workingman.

We don't believe the people of this country will go along, when they learn the score. If the American capitalists want to fight the people of the whole world, they will have to fight the workers of this country, too.

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are the only candidates in this election who challenge the program of the Republican-Democratic Party with an independent socialist program. They say: Stop the war in Korea now! End the Pentagon foreign policy that seeks to prop up reactionary capitalist and colonial regimes throughout the world!

The Socialist Workers Party demands that the resources now devoted to war be used for the common good of the people: for homes, for food, for health and scientific advances, and to liberate the people of the whole world from want and fear.

VOTE AGAINST WAR

This is the program which the American people need, and behind which they will rally, as events teach the truth to the working people. This is the program that will bring down the Wall Street monster and its "bi-partisan" dictatorship.

Vote against the war! Vote for freedom of opinion! Vote with the colonial people and working people of the whole world, and against their would-be masters. Vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Democrat, GOP Chairmen Caught Peddling Influence

Hardly a day passes without new revelations of patronage, crookedness and corruption at all levels of federal government, at the expense of the public treasury and for the primary benefit of corporations to the tune of untold billions of dollars.

Favors, fees, commissions are accepted as normal by government employees and the most highly placed politicians. Mink coats, deep freezes, five percenters are so many flyspecks on the huge blot of corruption of a government and the two parties — Democrat and Republican — operated from top to bottom for the benefit of businessmen.

GRAFTING HIS JOB

It was revealed in the course of the Senate investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that William M. Boyle Jr., chairman of the Democratic National Committee, had contacted the RFC in behalf of friends and clients, and in the case of the Lithoford Corporation, collected a substantial fee for his services.

The Republicans loudly pretended shock and indignation. Truman remained bland, commenting that it was the job of the Democratic national chairman "to be kind to people."

REPUBLICANS TOO

Then it turned out that Guy G. Gabrielson, GOP national chairman, had engaged in exactly the same practices, representing a corporation in loan negotiations with the RFC — for a fee.

The RFC scandal is only one of a long list of similar and far bigger operations for private benefit. To mention only a few. The "defense appropriations" just passed by the Democrats and Republicans will give the biggest corporations equipment paid for by the government, with the total amount, which runs into staggering figures, kept secret for "security reasons."

THE BIG STEAL

Columnist Joseph Alsop disclosed on Oct. 8 that he is in possession of "fairly hair-raising results" in connection with the Federal Power Commission which has been operating in the interest of "industries it is supposed to regulate." According to Alsop the money involved in the RFC scandal is "peanuts" compared to the "giant Idaho potatoes" stolen from the public through FPC operations.

'52 Socialist Gains Seen by Dobbs

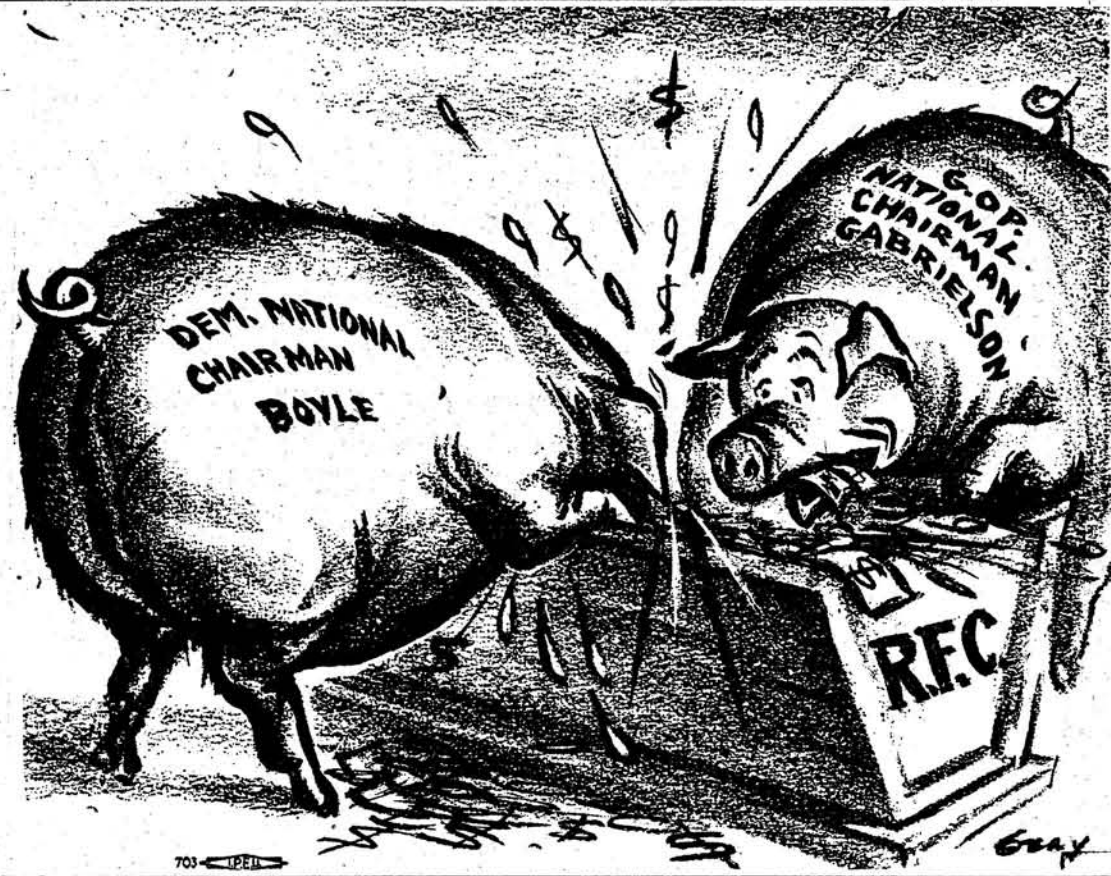
By Farrell Dobbs

Proposed SWP Presidential Candidate in 1952

A plan to create "shares in capitalism," by selling dribbles of corporation common stock to people in the middle and lower income brackets, has been advanced by Keith Funston, new president of the New York Stock Exchange.

In proportion as people participate in capitalist institutions "they need no haranguing," Funston explains to his fellow capitalists. "The more we diffuse our property, the more we insure our liberty."

What he really means is this: People will fight for something in which they have a financial interest; therefore if the working people are made small stockholders in the corporations they can be tricked into fighting for



Harvey Clark, Cicero Riot Victim, Interviewed

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND — "I never did like that picture," Harvey Clark told me as he looked up from a copy of *The Militant* bearing a likeness of him and his wife. "I was mad when that picture was snapped."

We had just come from the grand jury hearing where they had been treating me as though I were the criminal, and trying to get my wife to discourage me from wanting to live in Cicero."

As a matter of fact, the picture doesn't do the handsome couple justice, nor does it include the two strikingly beautiful children, Michele, 8, and Harvey III, 6, for whom they were seeking a decent home when they rented the Cicero apartment.

But neither the young veteran nor his 27-year-old wife were really worried about the picture. They were much more interested in the *Militant* headline: UNITED ACTION IS URGENT NEEDED IN FIGHT ON CICERO FRAME-UPS.

"Without so much public protest, we never would have got a federal grand jury to investigate," he commented, "and it's important not to let it die down if we're to get any justice."

The rest of our interview provided the basis for a thumbnail sketch of Harvey and Johnetta Clark, since the facts

For nine months they lived in a fire-trap with one room for the couple, and the children sleeping in a hallway. When the landlady moved her daughter and three children in on them, it was just too much. In desperation, Clark went to a real estate company to which a friend referred him. After missing out on another opening, he went to see the Cicero apartment. The rest of the story is public knowledge.

Asked whether his union had come to his assistance, Clark showed his disappointment as he told me: "A couple of my fellow workers went to the union officials to ask for help for me, but the issue was too hot a potato for them."

However, he spoke with appreciation about Willard Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Employees, who has come to the Clarks' assistance and won their regard. He heads the Harvey Clark Fund, established by the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, to help the family through this difficult period.

Financial aid for this courageous family, now on the firing line in the civil rights battle, may be sent to the Harvey Clark Fund, 3456 South State St., Chicago, Ill.

Grace Carlson On Women and Truth

By Grace Carlson

Proposed SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate in 1952

Warming up for the 1952 election campaign, President Truman told a gathering of women Democrats, meeting in Washington on Sept. 27, that "truth" would be their best weapon in the forthcoming campaign.

"World peace and human welfare are too precious to be made the footfalls of partisan politics," said the very partisan head of the Democratic Party. "They must not be jeopardized by men who are careless with the truth."

I, for one, want to be placed on record as being opposed to any politician treating the truth carelessly when questions of "world peace and human welfare" are concerned. But I do not believe

that women Democrats or women Republicans are more careful with the truth than their male counterparts in these capitalist parties, nor do I believe that they will be more effective in solving today's terrifying problems.

Women have shown as great a capacity as men for distorting the truth when their material welfare is concerned. I do not speak now of such a notorious liar as Sapphira, wife of Ananias, who made a pretty good thing out of trifling with the truth. Nor am I referring to Lucrezia Borgia, who was careless with the truth and various other powerful substances. Neither will I take up the case of Lizzie Borden who was as unrestrained in her handling of the truth as the ax. One can find

Pledges Support to Kutcher And All Victims of Smith Act

An extremely important development in the growing resistance to the witch hunt was the formation last week of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. As evidence

of its intention to defend all victims of persecution, regardless of political differences, the committee pledged active support to the defense of James Kutcher, legless veteran purged from the Newark Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, as well as Communist Party members indicted and convicted under the Smith Act.

This marks a new and most promising stage in the movement to organize united action by labor and liberal forces in behalf of all groups and individuals whose rights are being violated by the witch-hunters. The Militant, which has long fought for the organization of such a movement, hails the appearance of this committee as an example to be imitated by all labor and liberal groups interested in preserving the Bill of Rights for all.

The committee explained that it "does not aim to compete with existing civil liberties organizations, but hopes to be able to move with dispatch in situations where these organizations are unable or unwilling to act."

As "examples of types of cases in which it would take an active interest," the committee mentioned "the arrests under the Smith Act, as in the Communist cases; denials of passports and the right to travel, as in the case of Prof. John K. Fairbank; loyalty discharges, as in the case of the Trotskyist legless veteran, James Kutcher; and state sedition law prosecutions, as in the recent indictments of Prof. Dirk Struik, of M.I.T., and Harry E. Winner, Massachusetts businessman."

The committee promises to follow a strictly non-partisan policy and to defend accused or persecuted persons in civil liberties cases irrespective of politics, race, color or creed.

NEW LABOR TRENDS

While this new committee appears for the present to be composed primarily of professional elements, there are other indications inside the unions that sentiment for labor action against the witch-hunt is gaining steadily in strength.

A typical example of the new trends inside unions led by relatively conservative forces was the warning in the Sept. 23 *International Oil Worker* that continued attacks on freedom of the press may lead to the suppression of union newspapers "by Uncle Sam."

The paper of the CIO Oil Workers International Union referred to the indictment in California of two editors of the *Stalinist Daily People's World*, Al Richmond and Philip M. Connelly, who were "arrested and imprisoned because of what they printed." It said that "when we arrest characters like Connelly and Richmond, we are acting like cowards. We are muzzling people because we are afraid of what they say. We should not be afraid of them. Our theories of government are better and will stand up better in the test, so we should let Connelly and Richmond publish their baloney as long as they like."

"We won't win anything by muzzling the people we disagree with. We will only wind up being muzzled ourselves. . . . If, in cowardly fashion, we muzzle one newspaper we will soon muzzle another and another and first thing you know we will be afraid to say anything out loud. They had a situation in Germany like that a few years ago. Remember?"

Redbaiting is no longer an all-powerful weapon inside the labor movement.

(Continued on page 2)

'Catholic Worker' Backs Legless Vet

The *Catholic Worker* has urged all its readers to aid in the defense of James Kutcher, legless veteran purged from the VA, "no matter how much they are against Kutcher's social philosophy."

In its September issue the paper wrote: "The *Catholic Worker* must join with the many trade unionists and men of diverse political views (many of them opposed to Kutcher) in decrying the injustice which he suffers. His case is perhaps the most significant and terrifying of all the 'loyalty' discharges. There can be no question of a clear and present danger from Trotskyite groups in the United States. The only ground on which he could have been fired is for the mere holding of unorthodox political views."

Readers of the paper have already donated \$10 to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York, which is raising funds for Kutcher's appeal.

Egypt Follows Iran: British Told to Get Out

Developments in Egypt, following hot on the heels of the British retreat from Iran, show that the Near East is boiling with revolt against continued imperialist domination.

The Egyptian government, acting under popular pressure, has denounced two treaties with Britain which it says it signed under "duress." One of them, signed in 1899, gives Britain control over the Egyptian Sudan, and the other, signed in 1936, holds the Suez Canal Zone under British military occupation.

DEMONSTRATIONS HELD

These treaty abrogations, demanded by the whole Egyptian population, have been speeded by the powerlessness of British imperialism to cope with a similar situation in Iran, where the nationalist movement recently succeeded in expelling the British oil interests. Big demonstrations of Egyptians have hailed the government action with rejoicing.

Not only British, but French imperialism as well is feeling the blows of popular nationalism in the Near and Middle East. The North African territories of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria have witnessed a great growth of nationalist sentiment which threatens the position of the French imperialists.

A DIFFICULT DECISION

The British, together with the French and American imperialists, face an extremely difficult decision. If they try to resist the nationalist wave, they may face a full scale war against colonial uprisings in the Near East. This would cripple their efforts to assemble an alliance against the Soviet bloc of nations. If, on the other hand, they continue to retreat as the British did in Iran, they face the loss of a privileged military position, and the loss of colonial areas essential to their imperialist economy.

Thus the imperialists appear to face a growing Near East crisis comparable to the Far Eastern crisis that exploded with the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949.

Progressive Party Still Endorses Boss Politicians

By Albert Parker

The Progressive Party has less members and mass support than ever before. But it remains as unprincipled and opportunist as it was at the beginning, and just as much of an obstacle to the formation of an independent Labor Party genuinely fighting the capitalist parties.

The bankruptcy of Progressive policy in 1951 can be illustrated by any of the local campaigns in which it is participating. A typical example is Essex County (Newark), N. J.

Last spring the Progressive Party filed petitions for a full slate of candidates for the New Jersey Legislature — one for the Senate, 12 for the Assembly. All were women, and the slate was supposed to represent the "independent" and "peace-loving" character of the party. All qualified for the ballot.

Now, however, the Progressive Party has withdrawn five of its 12 Assembly candidates. The reason given by the Oct. 3 Daily Worker is "to promote united support of two Negro leaders and three labor candidates nominated by Republicans and Democrats in the state's key county." This,

the Worker claims, sets the keynote of the Progressive campaign as "Negro-labor-progressive unity."

HUGE HOAX

It would be hard to contrive a bigger hoax, or a more spurious imitation of "Negro-labor-progressive unity."

In the first place, it is a lie to say that the Democratic Party slate contains three or any other number of "labor candidates."

Democratic County Chairman William J. Egan, lawyer for Joseph Fay and other reactionary and racketeering union officials, decided to strengthen the appeal of his slate by giving it some "labor" window-dressing. So he chose two AFL and one CIO official whose loyalty to the Democratic machine is unshakable.

The labor movement had nothing to say about their selection and it has no control over their activities in politics. Consequently, they are not "labor candidates," any more than any other member of the Democratic machine's slate, although naturally Boss Egan is delighted to have them described as such.

And in the second place, it is a

lie to talk about the two Negro candidates for the Assembly as if they were representatives of the Negro community.

It is a tradition in Essex County capitalist politics for each of the old parties to nominate a Negro for the Assembly, to add what the politicians call "a little color" to the slate. This is a bid to the Negro vote and is supposed to prove that the capitalist parties are against Jim Crow.

LEADERS OF WHAT?

Actually, no one is consulted about their selection except a few Negro ward-healers within the respective capitalist parties. The candidates chosen in this way are invariably "safe and sane" party men, and in no way represent the Negro people or their desire to fight against the evils of discrimination, segregation and police brutality. In this sense, they are not "Negro leaders" of anything but the Democratic and Republican machines.

This kind of "Negro-labor-progressive unity" is perfectly acceptable to the capitalist politicians because it offers no threat to the monopoly of the two-party system. And it is the direct opposite of the policy followed by the Socialist Workers Party.

SWP POLICY

In addition to running its own candidates, the SWP appeals to the labor movement to break with the old parties, form a Labor Party and run its own candidates for office. Where the labor movement is not yet ready to take such a step, the SWP advocates that the unions get together and run their own candidates in opposition to those of the old parties.

The SWP supports such candidates, provided they are free of capitalist political ties. Similarly, the SWP endorses the election of Negro candidates who represent the wishes of the Negro community and are independent of the capitalist machines, because the Negro people are entitled to representation in office.

The Socialist Workers Party policy contributes to the development of independent labor and Negro political action. It helps to educate the workers along class lines. It prepares the way for a Labor Party by teaching the masses that their political interests cannot be promoted inside the parties of their Big Business enemies.

NOT INDEPENDENT

The Progressive Party policy, on the other hand, confuses and disorients the workers by supporting old party candidates, and even glorifying them. Neither its program nor its activities are entitled to be called "independent." Its aim is not to defeat the old parties, but to pressure them into supporting the Stalinist policy of a deal in which Washington and Moscow will agree to "coexist peacefully," divide up the world and maintain existing conditions inside both "spheres of influence."

In addition there are definite

Proposes McCarthy Expulsion



In Washington, Sen. William Benton (D, Conn.) looks over 70 pages of testimony he presented to a Senate subcommittee in support of his resolution to expel Joseph R. McCarthy from the Senate. Guy Gillette (standing) is committee chairman. Growing mass resentment against the witch-hunt has emboldened some Senators to attack McCarthy's methods.

STUDENTS SHOW STRONG DISLIKE OF WITCH HUNT

Prof. John King Fairbank of the Harvard history department was roundly cheered by a crowd of 350 at his opening class of the semester on Sept. 26. This happened one day after a McCarthyite stooge had accused him of being a member of a "pro-Communist group" at a State Department conference in 1949, and about three weeks after the Army had denied him entry into Japan where he was scheduled to teach at a university for one year.

A similar response was made by students at the New School for Social Research in New York on Sept. 25 when Prof. Owen Lattimore was introduced as a guest lecturer in a series on "Asian problems" by Edward C. Carter, former secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Lattimore is one of the chief targets of McCarthy and McCarthyism.

These are signs that among growing numbers of students the unsupported charge of "communism" no longer carries weight, at least not in an inviolable sense.

Another sign of the same trend was an editorial in the Sept. 24 issue of Yale News, student daily. Yale Law Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, distinguished defender of civil liberties and member of the Kitcher Civil Rights Committee, is now a counsel defending the rights of the 17 Stalinist leaders facing trial under the Smith Act. The Yale News editorial agrees with Emerson's criticism of the many lawyers who refused to have anything to do with this case, and adds:

"In addition there are definite

constitutional questions involved in this case; in our minds the possibility that the Smith Act menaces individual freedom seems gradually to shade into a probability.

"We salute Professor Emerson both for his sense of ethics and his sense of freedom."

At the University of Chicago, the dean of students, Robert M. Strozier, removed Alan D. Kimmel as editor of the weekly university paper, the Chicago Maroon, because he had sponsored and attended the Stalinist World Youth Festival in East Berlin last August.

When this happened, the staff of the Maroon announced that an all-campus meeting would be called to protest the editor's dismissal. They correctly interpreted the purge as an attack on the rights of free speech and free association.

The recent fourth annual convention of the National Student Association, held in Minneapolis, voted 220 to 48 to denounce McCarthyism for causing "a contraction of freedom on the American college campus." The Association is a federation of 300 student governments representing 680,000 American students.

Grace Carlson On Women and Truth

(Continued from Page 1)

countless examples of high-placed women prevaricators in this century — in this country.

In the very gathering which Truman addressed, there were scores of such fancy hypocrites and dissemblers. Diogenes would have burned out his lamp in a fruitless search for one truly honest woman Democratic Party leader! Of course, I am not dealing with such trifling dishonesties as accepting blond mink coats, deep freezers, etc. I am talking about the infinitely more important fact that every single leading woman Democrat — and leading woman Republican — propagates the "great lie" that United States imperialism is interested in "world peace" and in improving the living standards of the world's peoples.

Capitalist women politicians are more useful than men to promote imperialist war under the guise of a peace offensive. It has become a traditional, seldom-challenged political truism that all women are unalterably opposed to war. So, if some women say that this certain war is absolutely necessary in order to safeguard the American home from the so-called terrors of so-called Stalinist communism, they are apt to be listened to with greater interest than the run-of-the-mill male capitalist politician.

Certainly, women do not — in the words of the old song — "raise their boys to be soldiers." (It is interesting to consider that this song was written by a man, who probably wiped away his tears each time he picked up the big royalty checks that were forthcoming.) However, women who promote the imperialist war program are required to raise generation after generation of boys to be soldiers!

New Group to Defend Civil Rights of All

(Continued from page 1)

movement. Walter Reuther used it effectively in consolidating his control over the United Auto Workers, but the recent rise of strong opposition sentiment inside the union shows that it is now not enough to curb discontent generated by inflation, speedup and layoffs in the auto industry.

The leaders of the IUE-CIO are also being taught that redbaiting is not enough to win the allegiance of a growing number of electrical workers. First the Schenectady General Electric workers voted 11,542 to 4,852 not to leave the UE for the IUE. Since then, Westinghouse Meter salaried employees in Newark have voted 219 to 180 to leave the IUE and return to the UE, and Westinghouse Electric workers in Baltimore, by 883 to 230, voted not to leave the UE.

Previously, Frank Rosenblum, national CIO vice-president, had received sympathetic attention in many labor papers for his speech at the recent New York CIO convention, in which he warned that the witch hunt is "a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community."

Other signs of the new trends are demonstrations of opposition among students (see article on Page 2), the recommendation of Life magazine that the Republicans should repudiate McCarthyism, and the increasing self-confidence of Senators like Benton, Fulbright and Lehman when they condemn McCarthy's methods.

COMMITTEE COMPOSITION

More than 150 people from 39 states formed the New Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Its acting chairman is Prof. Paul Lehman of Princeton Theological Seminary. Its acting secretary is James Imbrie, retired investment banker and chairman of the New Jersey Progressive Party.

Among the members of the committee are I. F. Stone, Malcolm Cowley, Dr. Katherine Dodd, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Dr. I. M. Kolthoff, Dr. Mary Church Terrell, Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg and Rev. Walter B. Spaulding.

The Stalinists, who have in the past wrecked a number of civil rights movements rather than permit them to express support for victimized members of the Socialist Workers Party, printed a story about the committee and its aims without any comment on its reference to the Kitcher case.

Abner Zwillman, Big Businessman

By George Breitman

Socialist Workers Candidate for New Jersey Assembly

NEWARK — Much ink and wind have been spilled this year about Abner (Longie) Zwillman, who was virtually unknown to the general public outside of northern

New Jersey until the Kefauver hearings. Now he is the subject of a two-part serial in Collier's ("The Man to See in New Jersey" by Lester Velie), long sections in the Kefauver committee reports, innumerable newspaper articles, editorials and speeches. In fact, "Zwillmanism" threatens to replace "Hagueism" as the bloody shirt in New Jersey politics.

None of this material, however, is free of hypocritical indignation designed to promote the interests of various factions in the capitalist parties, or of a sensationalism intended to boost the circulation of magazines and newspapers. None of it, moreover, makes any attempt to probe the social significance of a career that is in many ways a 20th century version of the Horatio Alger "success story," or the full implications of Zwillman's political activities. That is why still another treatment of the Zwillman story is justified.

LEARNED JUNGLE LAW

A millionaire today, Abner Zwillman was born in 1904 in Newark's Third Ward, a poverty-stricken slum ghetto mainly Jewish in composition then and mainly Negro now. He had to leave school at the age of 13 to support his family when his father died. One of his first jobs was as a vegetable cart peddler. He soon learned that life was neither easy nor pretty.

At that time there was a flourishing socialist movement in the Third Ward, but it did not attract young Zwillman. What he had learned from his environment was not the need for the solidarity of the working people but the jungle law of might is right and the money standard for success that was held up by the powers-that-be.

Prohibition was a godsend for tough and daring young men like Zwillman. It was also their high school and university. It not only taught them where easy money lay, but lessons on the nature of the state and law-enforcement agencies. The state, he learned, is not an impartial agency meting out equal justice and punishment to all, but an instrument of the rich and powerful that can be and is flexibly wielded in their interests and against the interests of the majority of the people, "the suckers." Zwillman absorbed these invaluable lessons and was able to use them with great effect in later years.

He began as a strong-arm man, and was arrested five times on assault and battery charges; he was convicted once, and sent to jail for six months, for atrocious assault and battery on a numbers runner. Besides brute strength, he displayed resourcefulness and a talent for organizing, and soon began to move up the ladder of the Reinhold Syndicate bootlegging hierarchy. This syndicate bought liquor in Canada and Europe and then brought it into the U.S. It was a big business, with more than 30 vessels bringing in an estimated 40% of all the illicit alcohol consumed in this

country during prohibition, and receipts of 50 to 60 million dollars between 1926 and 1933.

Zwillman was put in charge of the landing operations and of making sure that the liquor reached the customers. Inside of a decade, he held a 40 or 50% interest in the syndicate. In addition, it was claimed that he got a cut out of the numbers racket, made money by supplying gunmen to protect beer trucks, and became a partner in the lucrative Waxey Gordon beer syndicate, which ran 10 breweries and shipped beer by freight car all the way to California.

Then came repeal of prohibition. For some of the bootleg kings this meant catastrophe; for others like Zwillman it was a blessing because it enabled them to move out of a dangerous enterprise, expand their horizons and enter new profitable fields. They had capital to invest, and they invested it, and their capital expanded.

This fact seems to incense some moralizing editorial writers and reformers; they profess to see a "taint" on such money and express the wish for legislative action to keep "ill-gotten gains" from competing with "honest business"; the Colliers' article speaks disapprovingly of Zwillman's "use of the secret wealth acquired in the rackets to invade legitimate business."

THE ROBBER BARONS

We are not impressed by the distinction they are trying to make. Under capitalism nobody gets rich by walking to work and saving up his carfare. All big fortunes, and the capitalist system itself, had their origin in violence, blood, destruction, expropriation and wholesale defiance of the laws, moral and otherwise.

The chapter on "primitive accumulation" in Marx's Capital describes this process on a world scale in "the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." Gustavus Meyers' History of the Great American Fortunes, and Matthew Josephson's The Robber Barons, provide details showing that our own Rockefellers, Morgans and Goulds were not exactly overscrupulous in their accumulation of capital.

In fact, their crimes against humanity make those attributed to Zwillman dwindle into the insignificance of petty misdemeanors by comparison. What he did in the days of prohibition was to imitate the big capitalists, their methods and their ethics — but on a smaller scale; what he did after prohibition was to use his capital the way they use theirs — "legitimately," that is, to get richer from the sweat of other people's toil.

Is it fair for the press to hold the capitalists up as the highest model for the American youth, and to treat Zwillman with scorn and contempt because he aspired to be one of them?

(Next week: Zwillman: Politician)

MIDWEST RALLIES HEAR TALKS ON SOCIALISM BY MYRA WEISS

CHICAGO, October 7 — A capacity audience braved a twelve-hour Chicago downpour and filled the Socialist Workers Hall to hear Myra Tanner Weiss last night.

A large group of worker and student contacts listened attentively to Mrs. Weiss' exposition of the socialist anti-war program.

THE GREAT ALTERNATIVE

The speaker developed the great alternative of the socialist revolution in America to the destructive blind-alley perspective which the Wall Street money-men plan for the workers and youth. "We will have a government which is not separated from, standing above and opposed to the people; but the people themselves will be the government — a workers and farmers government," she said.

Arne Swabeck followed Comrade Weiss with some remarks concerning the SWP plans for the 1952 elections. When he mentioned that the proposed presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs was in the house the audience burst forth with applause.

By Fred Perry

FLINT, Oct. 3 — Myra Tanner Weiss spoke here last night at Pioneer Hall to an interested audience of Flint workers and students. Her speech, "The Outlook for America: Lessons of the Korean War" was well received as indicated by the applause and by the questions and discussion which followed.

Comrade Weiss pointed out in her speech that the Korean War is an imperialist adventure on the part of the American ruling class with the aim of halting the revolution which is sweeping all of Asia and of reopening that part of the world once again to profitable investment and capitalist exploitation.

She refuted the current extensive propaganda that the war in Korea is a war for democracy by pointing out the shameful role of the American government in bolstering the rule of the Japanese overlords of Korea in

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 8 — Myra Tanner Weiss addressed a full hall of workers and youth in Milwaukee on Sunday, Oct. 7, at the redecorated and modernized headquarters of the SWP in Milwaukee at 917 N. Third St.

Barbaric world conquest, the imperialist alternative to socialism, does not sit well with the world's peoples nor with the American workers, she said, interpreting recent election results for the SWP across the nation as a handsome indication that American workers are turning toward socialism in revolt against the war economy.

Myra Weiss's fiery speech set the stage for an enthusiastic response to the Party's request for putting the organization in shape for the critical national elections of 1952.

The Milwaukee fund assignment was oversubscribed when comrade J. Boulton's demonstration lecture on "Inflationary Pressures in the Market Economy and Their Influence on the SWP" brought the Party's national and local financial problem before the audience. The meeting was the most productive one for the branch in 1951 and opened up further prospects of membership gains.

MYRA WEISS Tour Schedule

Salt Lake City
Thurs., Oct. 18 to Sun., Oct. 21
Seattle
Tues., Oct. 23 to Mon., Oct. 29
San Francisco
Wed., Oct. 31 to Sat., Nov. 3
Los Angeles
Wed., Nov. 7

SEATTLE

Public Meeting

Myra Tanner Weiss

on

Lessons of the

Korean War

Fri., Oct. 26 8 PM

at Washington Hall

153 14th Avenue

Donation 35c

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on

The Chinese Revolution

Speaker:

Doris Jones

Fri. Night, Oct. 19 8:30 PM

at 423 Springfield Avenue

'52 Socialist Gains Seen by Dobbs

(Continued from Page 1)

These battles quickly lead the workers into direct conflict with the government, teaching them new political lessons about the need for independent working class political action.

There are no signs that these events will lead to a labor party development in 1952. Yet there is good reason to expect that many workers will welcome a chance to vote an anti-capitalist ticket.

Similar sentiments are present in other segments of the population. Take for one example, the chemical engineers, who are being converted into robots under the mass production system of the giant corporations.

They usually draw monotonous assignments, even in research work. Their pay has been largely standardized according to length of service. Most corporations won't grant a chemical engineer an employment interview unless he authorizes them to notify his present employer that he is seeking a new job. That makes it pretty tough to shop around for higher pay.

They are subjected to vicious "loyalty" investigations. FBI snipers harass not only the engineers and their families, but also their parents and their grand parents. Neither on the job, nor in their private lives, can they call their souls their own.

No wonder some of these skilled technicians are coming to doubt that the capitalist world is the best of all possible worlds.

Leading capitalist thinkers realize that people who thus become dissatisfied with capitalism will in time be impelled toward socialism. They know that the rise of a socialist mass movement in this country would spell the doom of war-breeding capitalism.

To ward off this threat to their corrupt system of privilege for the few at the expense of the many, the capitalists are raising a hue and cry to "stop socialism." Contrary to their aims, one important effect of this propaganda will be to call attention to socialism. Some people will have a hunch that there is something good about it if the bankers and industrialists are against it. They will become curious to find out what socialism really is.

These circumstances — a developing anti-capitalist popular sentiment, and a capitalist propaganda campaign against socialism — will help to create favorable conditions for the coming presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

If we think clearly, speak plainly, and fight aggressively for our right to be heard, we can make 1952 a banner year in the fight for socialism.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Philadelphia Literature Agent Betty Shelton writes in "some very good results on our Militant sales."

She reports continued sales of Militants at election street meetings for Clyde Turner, Philadelphia candidate for councilman. At a Sept. 21 meeting an encouraging sale was made in a previously hostile neighborhood. A week later, Betty writes, "Two cars went out, one with sound equipment and the other with literature. We made speeches and sold Militants at three street meetings."

Betty writes that Alma and Jan have had some very good experiences. "They have gone all out on the 'knock on every door' campaign. Going door to door they have established a small route for the sale of Militants and have also made some good friends for the Socialist Workers Party. Sept. 30, Alma and Jan went out, and working together sold 12 Militants and several pamphlets." Eventually, Betty says, they expect to sell subscriptions to many of these buyers of single copies.

Ken Saunders, Boston Literature Agent, writes that Com-

rade Patch "is accomplishing fine results on her weekly route, once again, and we have just recently received a standing order from a reader to reserve a copy of both The Militant and Fourth International for him which he picks up at the Center each week."

Jack Gaylor reports for Detroit's literature committee. Sales continue to be very good, he writes. "We sold 19 Militants at a local union meeting this weekend."

Minneapolis Literature Agent Pauline Swanson is ill. We know that Minneapolis Militant readers are sorry to hear this and join us in our best wishes to Pauline for a speedy recovery.

M. P. of Holland, who is now recovering from a recent illness, has been following The Militant very carefully. He writes to congratulate us on the "lots of new readers made by your excellent sub drive, recently held."

R. G. of Greenbush, N. Y., sends in a contribution with his order for several back issues of The Militant, and Fourth International, Marxist theoretical magazine. He explains that the newsstand where he ordinarily gets his copies was sold out. Many thanks to this reader for his donation which will help to meet our printing costs.

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Vol. XV - No. 42

Monday, October 15, 1951

The China Policy Dispute

The hue and cry over past China policy, emanating from the witch-hunt hearings of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee under Sen. McCarran, is being widely represented in the capitalist press as a "historical dispute."

It is by no means so innocent a pastime. Under the cover of reviewing the past, we have here a deliberate campaign to silence every voice of criticism against all-out support to Chiang Kai-shek and the China Lobby-Gen. MacArthur line of trying to reimpose by force of arms the rule of the Kuomintang clique over the Chinese people.

Those who at any time were in the least dubious or critical of the Chiang regime are now being made to shut up or crawl. Among those who are doing the crawling is Henry Wallace, not so long ago the Daily Worker's "peace crusader No. 1" in this country. Wallace has rushed to produce documentary evidence that in 1944 he was 100 percent not for the Chinese Communists but for Chiang Kai-shek and thus not responsible for Chiang's subsequent downfall.

The American people are now told that Chiang fell because he did not get "adequate" U.S. aid, because of "pro-communist" conspirators in the State Department, because of mistaken appraisals of the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers" and so on. Every reason is adduced but the true one, namely, that Chiang's regime proved so bankrupt and corrupt that the Chinese people booted it out.

The State Department paper on China issued in 1949 flatly states that "the reasons for the failures of the Chinese Nationalist government... do not stem from any inadequacy of American aid. Our military observers on the spot have reported that the Nationalist armies did not lose a single battle during the crucial

year of 1948 through lack of arms and ammunition."

Why then did the Kuomintang fall? Because, admitted the State Department in 1949: "Its leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis confronting them, its troops had lost the will to fight, and its Government had lost popular support." The only possible hope for such a regime lay in outside intervention.

This, too, was recognized only two years ago by Washington. "The only alternative open to the United States was full-scale intervention in behalf of a Government which had lost the confidence of its own troops and its own people." The State Department then went on to explain that it rejected "intervention of such a scope and magnitude" because it "would have been resented by the mass of the Chinese people... and would have been condemned by the American people."

What has changed since 1949? Not the situation in China where the Chinese people support the Mao Tse-tung regime, and resent Washington's course. Not the position of Chiang who could not survive on Formosa for a month without American naval protection and further huge financial and military aid from Washington.

The significant change has been in the adjustment of the State Department's China policy to conform more and more closely with that of the notorious China Lobby and the "Fight Asia" gang led by MacArthur.

Only the bitterest enemies of both the American and Chinese peoples could advocate continued support to Chiang, and the waging of war on China in his behalf. Not another cent, not another gun should be permitted to go to Chiang. A foreign policy that would really serve the interests of the American people would begin by extending full recognition to the existing Peiping regime.

"Experimental" Bloodbath in Korea

Fighting has not only continued in Korea, it has reached in recent weeks greater intensity than at any time since last winter. American casualties have increased sharply, with the last reports of 2,200 a week or almost double the previously acknowledged casualty rate. Heavily censored dispatches from Tokyo hint that the actual casualties are much larger, being suppressed for obvious reasons.

As matters stand the 15 months of Korean fighting have cost in casualties more than did the 15 months of World War II. The number of dead is twice as high.

The initiative for the resumed hostilities has come entirely from the American side. Why? The weekly U.S. News of Oct. 5 suggests that what is going on falls into the category "of an experimental war, one being fought for the purpose of testing men, weapons, materials and methods, on a continuing basis."

Hitler and Mussolini put Spain to such use prior to World War II. The power-drunk militarists of the Pentagon are not at all beyond putting Korea to the same use. Is that what is going on? Is that why the truce talks have been stalled? The American people have no way of knowing. They are only being told what the military choose to tell them.

Truman's "police action" — presumably turning into "experimental war" — has not gained any popularity in Europe or here at home. It is least popular in Korea, where Southern Koreans, as the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* reports, would throw out the Syngman Rhee regime, if free elections were held.

The American people could put a quick end to the bloody business in Korea by demanding that the entire issue of war and peace be put to a national referendum, and by insisting on the immediate return home of all the armed forces now being "experimented with" in Korea!

The British Elections

The British elections, which take place on October 25, are important for the British working class, and for workers everywhere. If the Tories win, it would be a setback for the working-class fight against imperialist war and capitalist wage slavery. That is why we give absolutely unreserved support to a Labor Party victory in the coming elections.

The left-wing of the Labor Party led by Aneurin Bevan, is growing because of the discontent among the masses. The people are angry at the Attlee policies, which are dictated to the British government by American imperialism. Bevan is still a minority leader in the British Labor Party, but he has thrown the is-

ssues into the campaign which interest the masses of Britain; rearmament or progress towards socialism, for or against American imperialist policy.

The U. S. capitalist-controlled press, taking note of the Bevan left-wing offensive within the Labor Party, chortles that the Labor Party is sure to lose the election, because of internal strife.

This is not an accurate judgment. The Labor Party in Britain has undoubtedly been strengthened by the strong showing of the Bevan wing at the recent Labor Party conference.

The campaign workers of the party, the doorbell pushers and leaflet distributors, who are in closest touch with the masses of working people in Britain, realize this, and that is why they gave Bevan and his supporters top votes at the conference. Now that they have a program which they can bring to the leftward-moving workers with confidence and hope, they will work all the harder in the election campaign.

The British workers in their overwhelming majority will support a Labor Party victory at the polls. They will do this, not because Clement Attlee provides them with a solution to their problems, but because they see the Labor Party moving leftward. They will support Attlee against Churchill, not in order to approve of Attlee's partnership with American imperialism, but as a first step towards tearing the Labor Party loose from that partnership.

3 Imperialist Milestones on Road to War

By Michel Pablo

San Francisco, Washington, Ottawa — three new milestones on the road to the imperialists' war.

While speeding up its own rearmament, Washington is simultaneously engaged in organizing the broadest possible imperialist coalition under its auspices, in securely harnessing the secondary imperialist powers to its chariot and in stepping up their war effort to the maximum.

Naturally this doesn't occur without frictions and hesitations on the part of some of its partners who are confronted with growing difficulties in their own rearmament program and with the resistance of the masses which results from it.

On the other hand, the perspective of a re-established, rehabilitated and rearmament Japan and Germany is far from enchanting to their immediate competitors: England and France. However, America's pressure is unrelenting and in the end, despite certain detours, is successful in overcoming all resistance.

In San Francisco, the United States obtained the treaty it wanted with Japan and its maintenance as an advanced military base of Yankee imperialism in the immediate vicinity of the Asian continent.

In Washington, it was decided in principle to resurrect a German army, formally incorporated into a "European army" (to satisfy the French), as well as to conclude an early separate peace treaty with Western Germany.

Finally in Ottawa the United States obtained the inclusion into the Atlantic Pact of Greece and Turkey — the two satellites whose war effort has been warmly applauded by the American rulers; basing themselves on a report by Eisenhower, they severely criticized the inadequacy in the rearmament of western Europe, especially of France and England; refused all supplementary economic aid unless this rearmament makes important headway, on the basis of sacrifices made by these countries, themselves, between now and January 1952.

WASHINGTON'S LINE

What is important to keep in mind — for an understanding of the fundamental orientation of imperialism — in considering all these international conferences, is not their secondary aspects and the inevitable vestiges of this or that inter-imperialist friction and the difficulties which persist in the ranks of the coalition led by Washington, but rather Washington's constant and systematic realization of its war plan and its absolutely firm line of conduct on this score.

Confronted with this constantly increasing danger, the Kremlin is replying by a series of measures which are aimed essentially at postponing the polarization of the other imperialist powers around Washington, at maintaining and buttressing their hesitations and reluctance, in exploiting all signs of resistance to Washington on their part, in preventing their actual rearmament as long as possible.

In this sense, the Kremlin's attitude is diametrically opposed to that of the United States which aims at gathering the greatest possible imperialist concentration around itself, so as to cushion the initial shock of a clash with the USSR and naturally to sustain the first losses.

These considerations clarify the meaning of the whole recent policy of the Kremlin, of the Korean truce proposed by Malik and of the recent proposals by

Grotewohl for the unification of Germany.

The question arises as to the meaning of the sudden and unexpected last minute decision of the Kremlin to participate in the San Francisco conference and even more of Grotewohl's acquiescence in face of the drum-fire methods of the conference debates which followed the time schedule and procedure which Washington had fixed in advance.

It seems to us that this attitude follows on the heels of that taken in Korea and is aimed at exploiting every possibility no matter how small of isolating Washington, and this in a dual sense: by providing on the one hand, leadership to the other imperialist bourgeoisies, including Japan, and on the other hand, to the masses, especially the Asian masses.

The Kremlin is losing no occasion to assume the guise of the champion of peace and the principal opponent of the aggressive, bellicose and bitter-end policy of Washington.

Its attitude on Korea and its participation in the San Francisco conference were directed mainly at postponing the rearmament of Japan.

PROPOSAL ON GERMANY

Grotewohl's proposals are aimed at postponing the rearmament of Germany. They constitute the most far-reaching offer made up to now by Kremlin diplomacy on the question of German unification, precisely because Washington is on the threshold of rearmament of the Bonn regime and of integrating it into its war plans.

Throwing overboard all the conditions laid down by the Prague Conference as late as last winter for the unification of Germany, Grotewohl declared himself ready to achieve this unification following free elections in Germany as a whole.

Regardless of the concrete effects this proposal, if accepted, could have for Grotewohl and the Kremlin, its actual form was calculated to arouse the most favorable reaction among the German masses, among even a section of the German bourgeoisie and even among some circles of the European bourgeoisie, the English and French in particular. The unification of Germany on the basis of free elections appears to be a deliberate sacrifice of the Grotewohl government and of the eastern German regime as a whole. But, a unified Germany would, for a certain period, fall in the category of a regime resembling that of disarmed Austria under the control of the four powers, or of a disarmed regime from which all the occupation troops, including the American, have been evacuated.

On the other hand, the incorporation of 18 million Germans from eastern Germany who have experienced not only the police and bureaucratic features of Soviet control, but who have at the same time undergone an invaluable experience in new forms of property and production, would act as a powerful social ferment against the German bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The benefits which the Kremlin can derive from the Grotewohl proposals in their present form are obvious, even if they are applied in their totality and without any other last minute conditions. But precisely for this reason, neither Washington nor its puppet Bonn regime is inclined to accept this proposal.

The British paper, *The Observer*, writes on this point (Sept. 23) that it is preferable that the Germans remain patient for a little longer and accept the provisional division of Germany

until it can recover not only its unity but even its pre-war frontiers some time in 1953. According to this authoritative organ of the British bourgeoisie the military strength of the "Atlantic" coalition will have attained such a point at that time that it will confront the Kremlin with the dilemma: withdraw from Germany and from all the Eastern European buffer zone back into the boundaries of the USSR or resign itself to complete defeat.

It is a camouflaged way of saying that the Germans should wait until war re-establishes the unity and integrity of Germany, naturally a unification of ruins and cemeteries.

There is only one just program for Germany: The unity of Germany should be decided by the peoples themselves who should freely decide their own fate without any constraint whatever.

This means that all occupation troops should be evacuated from Germany before the problem of unification is submitted to the people. On the other hand, it is the duty of the workers' parties to initiate a joint campaign for the formation of a workers' government which will safeguard the real independence of a unified Germany from imperialism and from Soviet control and extend the progressive reforms achieved in eastern Germany to all of Germany.

(Translated from La Verite, French Trotskyist paper.)

Iranian Demonstration



Premier Mohammed Mossadegh addresses a mass demonstration outside Parliament building in Teheran, answering shouts of "Death to the British!" Now Mossadegh is in the U.S. to answer before the UN the British complaints about the Iranian people's audacity in deciding that they had a right to run their country and its resources as they see fit.

Generals Long Planned Truman's News Blackout

By Tom Conlan

It did not take long before the American people received a demonstration in life of the reactionary meaning of Truman's news blackout. What is not so widely known is that behind this censorship is the arrogant military caste that has sought to impose it at least since 1947.

Truman's signature had not yet dried on his Executive order 10290 when the Office of Price Stabilization imposed its now scandalous instruction to suppress all information that may "cause embarrassment" to this agency.

Thanks to an alert reporter the text of this OPS ban became public property. The OPS not only prohibited any release of "embarrassing" information but also imposed rigid restrictions upon the use and inspection of files even by OPS employees. No military censor could have improved on this.

When a delegation of reporters questioned Richard Cook, who is OPS Assistant Director, he disclaimed having signed the bulletin, although it bears his printed signature, and on top of that tried to disclaim any connection between the bulletin and Truman's censorship order. "This staff bulletin, according to Mr. Cook, merely emphasized the wording in the OPS manual which deals with confidential information," reported on Sept. 27 the Washington correspondent of the Fairchild News Service.

OPS "EMBARRASSED"

The same correspondent confirms that "this policy, previously not made public, has been in existence for some time." In other words, there has been an "unofficial" censorship all the while and, ironically enough, the public was not permitted to learn about it — until Truman decided to make it official!

A deliberate attempt is being made to minimize the importance and meaning of the OPS bulletin, and to wave it aside as a crude blunder by some underling to whom authority had been delegat-

ed. For example, Assistant Price Stabilizer E. F. Phelps Jr. insisted that he had not seen the bulletin before and that the language used in it was "ill-chosen and unfortunate and the statement itself as worded, is embarrassing to the Agency."

The OPS bulletin, its wording and all that it involves, is in spirit and letter a repetition of a previous attempt made in 1947 to impose a similar news blackout. The agency then involved was the Veterans Administration. This attempt was exposed at the time by N. S. Finney, then the Washington correspondent of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, who was awarded a Pulitzer prize in journalism for this work.

In the Sept. 21, 1951 issue of Star and Tribune Finney wrote an editorial pointing out that "the system Mr. Truman has announced he will impose is military in origin... Plans to institute the system were discovered in the Veterans Administration in 1947..."

MILITARY CENSORSHIP

"The VA's definition of confidential information," continues Finney, "is worth repeating now because it recalls the spirit in which these regulations were then approached. Confidential information was described as unauthorized disclosure of which, although not endangering the national security, would be prejudicial to the interests or prestige of the nation, any governmental activity, or an individual; or would cause administrative embarrassment or difficulty." The connection be-

tween the 1947 VA censors and their 1951 OPS counterparts is direct and unmistakable.

In 1947 a Congressional investigation followed and "the entire official version of the plan was exposed. It thereafter became dormant..." until Truman revived it again four years later.

BRASS HAT ORIGIN

The type of censorship imposed by the OPS, as previously by the VA, is implicit in Truman's executive order. It is military through and through not only in origin but in practice. Protection of prestige, suppression of news to avoid "embarrassments" and "difficulties" is dearest of all to the military mind. Apart from Finney this military side of Truman's news blackout has not been raised at all, and even Finney gingerly skirts around it.

The protests against Truman's dictatorial suppression of the freedom of the press are beginning to mount. A gathering of 250 editors has opposed it. The National Association of Radio News Directors has called upon Congress "to nullify Truman's order." A group of 40 news executives meeting at an all-day forum on the freedom of the press at Northwestern University has called on the American people to "demand of their public officials the right of free access to the facts about their government."

Even the pro-administration N. Y. Times published on Oct. 3 an article by James Reston charging that the administration "tinkers with the news" and "is now more security minded than anybody except the Russians."

NOW OUT

September-October Issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Marxist Semi-Monthly Magazine

Contents

AGAINST THE JAPANESE "PEACE" TREATY

The full text of a speech by Colvin R. de Silva, Ceylon revolutionary socialist leader, delivered in the Ceylonese Parliament during the debate on the Japan "peace" treaty draft.

TAN MALAKKA

A portion of a pamphlet by Tan Malakka on the struggle of the Indonesian partisans for independence. This article by the famed Indonesian revolutionist and socialist is printed together with a brief biographical sketch of Tan Malakka written by Maurice Fernandez.

— also —

THE THEORY OF "STATE CAPITALISM" INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION CRACKS IN THE WAR ECONOMY

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STEEL STRIKERS WIN TALKS; YOUNGSTOWN STRIKES GROW

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 9 — Continued strikes by Youngstown steelworkers against inadequate pay rates for tonnage workers have resulted in negotiations this week between the CIO United Steelworkers of America and company officials. The Union negotiating committee is headed by district directors from the Chicago and Youngstown districts.

A whole series of strikes in the Youngstown area, in steel and other industries, has strengthened the hand of the Union negotiating committee.

A strike of 1100 members of the CIO United Rubber Workers at Republic Rubber Co. over wages and in protest against armed company guards inside the plant on Monday, was followed by a walkout of United Steelworkers at Truscon Steel. The Natural Gas Workers Union (Ind.) struck on Wednesday,

closing down the local East Ohio Gas Co., and another United Steelworkers strike closed Trimedge, Inc., on Friday. Sheet and Tube plants were still partly closed at the beginning of this week, Republic Rubber still completely shut down, and Trimedge, Inc., where the strike is ended, is threatened by new disputes as the company attempts to fire 30 workers who led the past strike.

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Students Show the Way

By Jean Blake

There is no possibility of "equal" schooling so long as it is "separate." As long as there are different schools for colored and white, Negroes get inferior facilities. Anyone who has been in the South knows this is true. But even in the North, where segregated schools are as a rule not provided for by law, but by "gentlemen's agreements" among white administrators, the schools maintained as "Negro schools" get the least repairs, the oldest equipment and the most overcrowding.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has conducted a number of important court fights against segregation, first in the colleges, and now at the level where it affects the majority of Negroes, in the elementary and high schools. These fights on the legal front are useful and necessary, but very slow — too slow to do much good for the present generation of school youth. Last month a new element entered the fight against second-class schools for colored youth — the students themselves. And that opens a new stage in the struggle.

In St. Louis, Missouri, a thousand students left their classes in two of the Negro high schools on Sept. 17. They marched down to the Board of Education chanting loud enough for the whole city to hear the echoes — "We want better schools." Downtown traffic was snarled. The chief of police began looking for somebody to arrest. And the Citizens Committee to Protest Overcrowding in Negro Schools, which has been trying for nine years to get decent educational facilities, was finally promised by the frightened representatives of the Board of Education that something would be done to relieve the situation within 30 days.

The student action electrified the whole community. Now their parents are demanding not just some makeshift arrangement for transferring white students in nearby elementary schools to make room for colored high school students, but equal facilities to those in the white schools. The NAACP branch in St. Louis has decided to open legal action now to end the segregation that

permits classrooms in the white schools to remain partly unoccupied while 4,500 Negro high school students are housed in buildings with a 2,800 capacity, classes meeting in hallways.

Adding to the School Board's troubles, parents of the white children scheduled to be transferred from nearby elementary schools to make room for the Negro students are protesting the proposal of the board which would make their children travel long distances to school. And the Negro citizens' committee is backing up their protest.

The colored students have won the complete support of every Negro leader with a spark of self-respect. Attorney Frank S. Bledsoe, a local Negro magistrate, issued an open letter to them which should be published in every newspaper in the country. Assuring the students of the support of the community, he urged them not to let the Board of Education "nor the police intimidate you."

"You are going to be called radicals," he warned them, "but always remember that no Negro, in these modern times, is worth his salt, unless he has earned the right to be called a radical."

"Your teachers have begged for relief for a generation, but they have no respect for the modest requests of your teachers. They will respect mass action."

"Don't ever believe anyone who tells you that white and Negro children cannot attend the same school in St. Louis. Nothing prevents it except the will of the School Board. They have erected an iron curtain between the children of St. Louis, and that iron curtain must go."

"I am sure that fair minded people, white and black, will join you. I urge your mothers and fathers to join you. Permanently organize and hold yourselves together. The School Board may urge your teachers to punish your student leaders. They cannot punish all of you. Stick together in large numbers."

St. Louis Negro students and parents are showing the way to break down the iron curtain of Jim Crow between Negroes and whites. The rest of the country should follow.

A Complicated Situation

By John F. Petrone

Once upon a time there was a young man named John. He was a likeable fellow, a man of good will, desirous of helping to improve conditions. He was still in college, but already interested in social and political questions. He was a great admirer of Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., believed in "the vital center," belonged to an affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, deplored McCarthyism and denounced communism, thought that Harry Truman had his faults but had done a good job in foreign policy, regarded Walter Reuther as the outstanding labor leader, circulated petitions against filibustering in the Senate and secretly hoped that his career would not be hampered by his advanced views. In short, he was a good liberal.

Well, under an exchange program between his university and one in France, he came into contact with a Parisian student named Maurice, who, after they had become friends, implored John to explain American politics to him. Lack of space compels us to skip several hours of the conversation, and to take it up toward the end.

"I hope you understand the difficulty now," said John. "The Republicans, representing the special interests, are defeated regularly in each election for the Presidency and Congress, and yet they succeed in circumventing the wishes of the majority by their unholy alliance with the Southern Democrats and in preventing the passage of necessary social legislation."

"This is truly difficult to comprehend," said Maurice. "I thought you said that the Republicans are advocates of civil rights legislation, and that they appeal for votes as the party of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. That is correct? Then how is it possible for them to turn about and ally themselves with the Southern Democrats who stand for precisely the opposite program?"

"That's just the point!" cried John indignantly. "They have neither morals nor principles, those Republicans. They resort to any means in order to attain their objectives. That is why it is necessary for them to be defeated in next year's election — so that the infamous Dixiecrat alliance shall not prevail."

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

This week I had an exceptionally tight schedule. In five consecutive days I spoke in five different cities in four states. I don't know how I ever managed to remember the right hotel room number. But as I get further west, where the population begins to thin out, I'll do more traveling and less talking and at least my vocal cords may get a rest.

In the auto-producing centers of Detroit and Flint I found that the workers are not only harassed by inflation but also by unemployment due to reconversion. Suddenly these thousands of workers are compelled to live on \$25 or \$30 a week. Enforced unemployment amounts to a sharp reduction in annual take-home pay. Wage agreements with these profiteering capitalists should only be made on the basis of an annual income, unless someone can invent a way for people to eat only part of the year.

Unfortunately I had only one night in Toledo and was unable to visit at any length with several of our women comrades who have given a great deal of thought and study to the problems of the working-class housewife. These comrades, during the second world war, led some militant price struggles with housewives doing the fighting; and as the housewife begins to react to the mounting prices today, their wartime experience would be of great value.

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PRO-CHIANG CHINA LINE
HIT BY SWP CANDIDATES

By E. Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 8 — Frank A. Barbaria and Harry Press, Socialist Workers Party candidates for the office of Mayor and Board of Supervisors, yesterday rolled their campaign into the heart of San Francisco's populous Chinatown. Speaking in Portsmouth Square, the SWP candidates quickly gained attention with their bold defense of the Chinese Revolution.

Statements of the rich Chinese merchants associations that the Chinese in America support Chiang Kai-shek were not borne out by the response shown the SWP spokesmen. As Barbaria ripped Chiang's program for China to pieces, exposed him as a corrupt tool of American imperialism's design to gain control of China's rich material resources and markets, and attacked Wall Street's war against Korea and China, he was interrupted by spontaneous applause.

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Barbaria spoke directly to the mothers in the audience, asking them if it were not true that their sacrifices to rear their children were not largely for the purpose of furnishing soldiers for the capitalist armies, now operating against China, and victims for future atomic warfare. He emphasized the role of women in the Chinese Revolution, pointing out how the women had cast off their traditional role to stay at home and work like an ox, to be seldom seen and never heard.

How the women came into the market place where they found out how many they were and how united in their will to struggle against their oppression. They formed women's associations and played a tremendous role in driving out Chiang Kai-shek.

Barbaria scored the idea that "war will always be," pointing out that the only thing that will always be is change itself, that everything changes. "Once cannibalism existed. And undoubtedly the cannibal chiefs declared that cannibalism was the best of all possible systems and would always be. They were wrong. The American slaveholders said that slavery was ordained by God and would always exist. But the rising capitalist class, supported by the people, overthrew the slave system. Now the capitalists maintain that capitalism, with its depressions and wars, is permanent. Not so. We live in the

twilight of capitalism, and we are on the threshold of a new system, socialism."

Harry Press, supervisory candidate, brought forward the idea of two Americas: the America of the rich capitalists, and the America of the poor workers. He emphasized the fact that the war against China is not supported by "our America" but by the "bosses' America." "The wealth of Manchuria was the real aim of the imperialist MacArthur when he drove for the Yalu River, and it is still one of the main aims of the Korean War. Our America has no stake in this war," he concluded.

When one man in the audience exclaimed that the FBI "should stop you socialists," he was answered by other listeners who supported the right to speak. "The politicians in Washington say anything they want to — let these people speak, too." There were no further interruptions.

On the same afternoon, a successful meeting was held in Jefferson Park, historical scene of many meetings and political discussions.

Gratifying results are being recorded also in the campaign to speak to union audiences. So far Barbaria and Press have spoken to 23 trade unions. During the past week, they spoke to the AFL Painters Union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Plasterers Union, and Paternmakers. The SWP candidates have been well received at all times.

Reports are that union members, at first resigned to hearing "just another political speech," perk up immediately when they hear the phrase "socialist anti-war candidate." The younger unionists especially listen intently and are usually those who ask questions. In one union where Harry Press was asked why he didn't deal more with local issues, he replied that this was a good time to take up one important local issue, the question of bomb shelters. "They are debating," he said, "about how thick the walls should be. I say that the best bomb shelter is Socialism, putting an end to all wars."

BRIGGS NU-SLATE GROUP
SETS BACK REUTHERITES

For the first time in almost four years the Reutherite leadership of Briggs Local 212, (UAW-CIO), headed by president Ken Morris failed to win majority membership support for its policies. Since 1948, when Morris was elected president, his administration had never been defeated on the floor of a membership meeting or meeting of the General Council.

The administration was soundly trounced at a membership meeting attended by more than 500 Briggs workers, called to elect Standing Committees, when they opposed a motion to mail copies of the revised by-laws to all members. After thus expressing their growing resentment to the high-handed rule of the Morris machine, the Briggs workers further shook things up by electing a number of opposition candidates to the various Standing Committees.

As the third largest local in the International, Local 212 has traditionally carried great weight in the struggles of the auto workers. It pioneered the flying squadrons in the great days of 1937 under the leadership of the then militant Emil Mazey and later played a leading role in the fight against the no-strike pledge during World War II. It was a big factor in the elevation to leadership in the International Union of Emil Mazey and the triumph of Walter Reuther in the aftermath of the GM strike.

It is fitting that the active militants of Local 212 should again play a leading role in the developing fight for a militant and democratic UAW.

IMPRESSIVE SHOWING

The opposition candidates ran on the recently organized Nu-Slate ticket which came within 20 to 30 votes of making a clean sweep of all contested posts. This is particularly significant since a third opposition ticket was in the field and polled approximately 90 votes. Judged by the total opposition vote the administration was in a definite minority.

The Nu-Slate forces, headed by Joe Williams, Ray Emmons and Stanley Vasko, is largely made up of former administration supporters who became fed-up with the machine rule of the administration and its increasing failure to solve the many problems of the Briggs workers.

The leadership of the group has so far demonstrated considerable resourcefulness in meeting the problems which have confronted them and have kept their ears closely attuned to the sentiments of the rank and file workers in the shop. There is no doubt that once the group succeeds in hammering out a program adequate to meet the needs of the auto workers and joins in the struggle for a militant policy in the In-



HARRY PRESS

Jobless Problem
Ducked at Flint
UAW Conference

FLINT, Oct. 26 — Within the next few days 25 percent of the General Motors workers in Flint will be unemployed. The cutbacks have been felt by all five GM plants. No relief is in sight for those laid off for at least a year, even though General Motors has eight new plants under construction in or near the city.

The corporation and the press attribute the layoffs to shortages of steel, copper and other materials. There is ample reason to believe that a contributing factor is the slowdown of sales of new cars.

The acute discontent that widespread unemployment quickly brings in auto, impelled the UAW-CIO leadership to arrange a special meeting for Walter Reuther, UAW president, to discuss the layoffs.

With close to ten thousand workers unemployed out of fifty thousand in the area, a tiny group of approximately 400 turned out for Reuther's well advertised meeting.

After a two-hour talk, workers left the meeting without hearing a single concrete proposal for action. While Reuther had words of praise for the General Motors Corporation, he had nothing but condemnation for Ford Local 600 and officers of Buick Local 599, who proposed that unemployed auto workers continue to draw full pay during the layoff period.

Burt Moore, president of the Buick local, summarizing from Reuther's speech, concluded that, "brother Reuther gave a very good speech, for which he is greatly noted. However, he was unable to pull any rabbits out of the hat, and we are still in the dark as much as ever as to how we can immediately cope with the unemployment situation."

Moore announced he plans to call departmental meetings in Buick leading up to a mass meeting. It is his plan to inform the workers how to get in touch with their Senators. The inadequacies of Moore's program should be obvious to every worker who knows that auto workers will get no satisfaction from a Congress which is controlled by Wall Street.

However, the local union's leaders are trying to grapple with the problem which is more than can be said for Walter Reuther.

Michael Bartell
To Appear on TV

Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers candidate for President of the New York City Council, will appear on television together with other candidates for the office on Monday night, Oct. 15, from 7 to 7:30 P.M. The program, which will be given over Station WOR-TV (channel 9) is sponsored by the Citizens Budget Commission.

Wright Strike Solid, Pickets Firm
As Corporation Stalls Negotiations

WOODRIDGE, N. J., Oct. 7 — The strike at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation goes into its third week with the plant still closed down solid. The huge factories are as silent as the tomb. The office workers belonging to Local 300-CIO refused to cross the picket lines in the first week of the strike. The Construction Workers, AFL, have likewise expressed their solidarity in this fashion.

Federal mediators are trying to bring about a settlement between the company and the union. But the company has not budged from its original offer of six cents. The union, UAW-CIO Local 669, is demanding 15 cents per hour and fringe benefits.

Cicero Victim
Hits Conspiracy
At NAACP Rally

CLEVELAND, Oct. 7 — If there was any "conspiracy" in Cicero, said Harvey E. Clark, Jr., to a mass meeting here today, "it was on the other side."

The courageous victim of the anti-Negro mob action in Cicero, last July, was replying to the brazen action of the Cook County grand jury in indicting his attorney, George Leighton, and the former owners and real estate brokers who rented an apartment to the Clarks in the lily-white Chicago suburb.

The speaker then proceeded to cite evidence that the police were responsible for the mob action that completely destroyed the apartment house, leaving the Negro family and 19 white families who had occupied the building, homeless.

The first time he tried to move into his newly-rented apartment, Clark said, only the police attempted to stop him. An officer with drawn revolver chased him and his family out of the building. When the chief of police arrived, he proceeded to insult, threaten, manhandle and kick Clark, telling him: "I'll bust your damn head if you don't move on!"

That was when the 29-year-old Chicago bus driver first went for help to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and was referred to Attorney Leighton. They went to Federal Judge John Barnes and secured an injunction restraining Cicero police and other officials from interfering with the Clarks' occupation of their apartment, and ordering police protection for the family.

When the Clarks decided to make another attempt to move into the building, on July 10, only four people knew the exact time they were going to be there at 11 A.M. — Clark, Leighton, the Cicero chief of police and the Cook County sheriff. The police were notified by attorney Leighton so they could provide the protection the court had ordered. But when the Clarks arrived two hours after calling the officers of the law, they found a crowd of four to five hundred people waiting for them.

A cigarette thrown into their car started a small fire. A cop went into the car, put out the flame, rolled up the windows, then proceeded to search the car for weapons. Mobsters cut up the tires and scratched the car, but the policemen turned their heads.

None of the crowd was armed with guns, Clark said, but they

carried professionally-made slingshots capable of shooting inch-round steel balls. Trucks were used to bring them rocks to hurl through the windows.

When one degenerate mobster spat on Clark, and the victim looked at the closest policeman, indicating that he wasn't going to be able to take much more, the cop merely grinned and turned away.

Even when the National Guardsmen were finally called out, Clark said, they did nothing until a few of them had their teeth knocked out. Then they proceeded to use tear gas and bayonets.

The one thing that restored his faith in humanity following the violence in Cicero, the speaker told his Cleveland audience, was the broad protest that welled up throughout the country. Letters began pouring in — some two thousand of them — from every state in the nation, from Hawaii, Nicaragua, Jerusalem, China.

But the all-white Cook County grand jury did not include any conscience-stricken persons. In fact, the inquiry, which officially was supposed to investigate the violence, was actually an attempt to frame and intimidate the victims. Clark was asked such questions as: "Did the NAACP pay you to move out there?" "Have you received anything lately from the NAACP?" "If you come from the South, where you had less rights, why are you so determined to move to Cicero?"

To the last question, Clark replied that he came to Chicago to get away from Southern Jim Crow conditions, and "because I respected the state of Abraham Lincoln."

The outcome of the hearings — the indictment of Clark's attorney and others for "conspiracy to depricate" the value of the property — aimed to create confusion, Clark said. Despite the fact that a federal grand jury has been sworn in to investigate the whole matter, securing justice will be a long and costly process. The NAACP has set up two funds, a Harvey Clark Fund, to aid the family financially, and a Cicero Defense Fund for legal expenses.

"I still intend to go back to Cicero," the quiet-mannered young man concluded firmly.

California CIO Union Fights
Anti-Labor Open Shop Town

By M. Stein

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 7 — In a blow against the right to picket, the Superior Court, on Oct. 2, banned all picketing by the CIO United Auto Workers at the Meyer & Welch shop in Vernon, Los Angeles County, as a result of "mob violence" there Sept. 20, in which non-strikers were beaten, automobiles damaged and scores of shop windows were broken.

The following are the events that led to the Court decision:

1. The CIO had signed up a majority of the workers in an organizing drive, and in spite of all the pressure put upon the workers by the company, managed to win an NLRB election. The company high-handedly refused to negotiate, giving their personnel manager a one month vacation, and leaving the union to cool its heels until he came back. When he did return, they still refused to negotiate.

2. The union thus had only one alternative, to call a strike. As the strike progressed, the company was granted an injunction, which restricted the union to only a token picket line, through which scabs were able to pass. The injunction gave to the company the means to bring pressure against the workers on strike, and had all the features of a lockout.

3. Finally, on Sept. 20, in defense of their rights, between 300 and 500 workers picketed the shop. In trying to enter the plant, the scabs started a fight with the pickets. There were some broken noses and bashed faces. Work did not progress that day at the plant.

The city authorities and employers of Vernon were in a turmoil. The Los Angeles daily papers carried scare headlines. This state of hysteria has an interesting background.

A few years ago, the CIO Political Action Committee tried to run labor candidates in the 6th class unincorporated towns. They discovered that Vernon was one of the cities in which it was very difficult to run any labor candidates. Anyone running as a labor candidate would find it comparable to filing his release notice from his job. Most of the workers residing there live in homes owned by the companies and practically all of them work in Vernon factories.

One of the main attractions for bringing business to the town was the boast that Vernon was an open shop town and would remain an open shop town. A victory by the CIO would thus signify the opening wedge in changing this to a union town.

A PHONEY PROPOSAL

When Superior Court Judge Frank G. Swain handed down the decision prohibiting picketing he said: "Counsel for the unions has stressed the evils of government by injunction. There is merit in what he said, but I say that labor should have an effective means of redressing its grievances and that, when collective bargaining fails, it should have some remedy, such as compulsory arbitration. I do not know whether the day will ever come when they will, but the suggestion I have made could lead to industrial peace."

This whole affair falls into a general pattern of crippling the action of the workers in a period when the rising cost of living is jumping way ahead of the meager wage gains.

The workers have shown that they are not going to take these blows lying down. As prices keep spiraling, militant struggle is slowly but surely, coming to the fore.