

Aims of New Civil Liberties Group Told to 'Militant'

By George Lavan

PRINCETON, Oct. 15 — The aims of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee were outlined for The Militant in interviews granted here and in Lawrenceville, N. J., by the officers of the newly formed group, Prof. Paul Lehman, acting chairman, and James Imbrie, acting secretary.

The impression they made was of people seriously concerned by the current attacks on civil liberties in politics, education and the professions; determined to help mobilize public opinion, nationally and regionally, in support of traditional American liberties; and pledged to follow a non-partisan policy in rendering whatever aid they could to victims of the witch hunt, regardless of politics, race, color or creed.

Both Prof. Lehman and Mr. Imbrie, interviewed separately, stressed the point that the new group does not intend to compete with existing organizations.

SEEK TO AROUSE PUBLIC

"We felt that there was a deep need for some civil liberties organization that could move with immediacy in the situations that come up, and that would not be confined to the purely legal defense of civil liberties," explained Imbrie, who is a retired investment banker now living in Lawrenceville, a small town between Princeton and Trenton.

"Our organization should not be construed as a competitor of the American Civil Liberties Union, which for years has done a good job, as have several of the organizations of university professors in the field of academic freedom," he continued. "The need we see is to supplement their work. In this particular juncture I don't know if the country has ever seen such abridgements of constitutional rights."

A similar view was taken by Prof. Lehman, who is Stephen Colwell Professor of Applied Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary and an ordained

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Policy Guide of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

PRINCETON — The following is the text of the policy guide of the new Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

WE BELIEVE:

1. That fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution to all Americans are denied by prosecutions for teaching and advocating ideas, under the Smith Act or similar legislation.

2. That the Smith Act is unwise legislation in a democracy and that its restrictions on freedom of speech and press are unconstitutional for the reasons outlined by Justices Black and Douglas in the case of the eleven Communists.

3. That there should be a rehearing of the case by the Supreme Court seeking a reversal of the majority decision and that the Smith Act should be repealed.

4. That in view of the doubts and qualifications expressed in the majority, concurring and dissenting opinions of the Court, prosecutions and arrests under the Smith Act should be suspended.

5. That all defendants in civil liberties cases are entitled to legal counsel of their own choice. The legal profession has a responsibility to see that adequate legal counsel is made available.

6. That the constitutional guarantee against excessive bail should be afforded to every defendant.

LEFT WING FIGHTS FOR BRITISH LABOR VICTORY

The reasons why British revolutionary socialists are fighting for a Labor Party victory in the Oct. 25 election are cogently expressed in a statement by the editors of Socialist Outlook, the paper of left wing forces in the Labor Party. Their statement, printed in the October issue of the paper, follows:

The Tories are cock-a-hoop at the prospect of returning to full power once more. Big Business is rubbing its hands in anticipation of even greater profits, and the mad scramble on the Stock Exchange which followed the announcement of a general election shows clearly enough what private enterprise expects from a Tory government. Meanwhile, all their little lieutenants in the factories — from the managers down — are eagerly looking forward to the protection of a Tory government in settling accounts with militant trade unionists. Let's wipe the grin off their faces! Let's work with all our strength for the return of every Labor candidate. That is the only job for Socialists from now on until Oct. 25.

The Socialist Outlook didn't want this election. We campaigned against it and our slogan — Stay in Power but Change the Policy! — found, we think, an echo throughout the Labor move-

ment. We considered that Labor's majority — small though it was — should have been used to hold the pass against the Tories while the Party worked out a program to transform this country from capitalism to socialism.

THE MAIN ENEMY

Our differences with the leaders of the Labor movement are serious and fundamental but they do not prevent us from recognizing the Tory Party as the main enemy.

The Tories are the party of the rich and the reactionary, the employer and the landlord. We can neither change their ways nor alter their policies. Either we shall exterminate them by abolishing the system which gives them life or they will exterminate us as an organized working class.

The whole history of the Tory Party — personified in the person of the old buzzard who leads them — is a history of violence against the workers. It will surely do no harm if, during this pre-election period, we remind ourselves of some of the highlights of Tory history.

In 1911 they — and their miserable little Liberal allies — shot down the miners of Tonypandy. They beaten, persecuted and jailed thousands of trade unionists who fought them for a living

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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US Ultimatum Blocks Korea Cease-Fire

GI Casualties Rise In 'Operation Killer'

By Harry Frankel

As negotiations resume in Korea, an ultimatum issued by General Ridgeway on Oct. 15 to the Korean and Chinese negotiators makes it doubtful that a cease-fire will be reached unless he changes his attitude.

Ridgeway insists in his latest statement that the U.S. will agree to a truce line only if it is at or near the existing battle line. This stand has previously been interpreted by the Pentagon to mean that Chinese and Korean forces will

have to retreat and surrender a lot of ground in order to give the invading armies of U.S. imperialism "defensible" positions. It is the very issue which deadlocked previous negotiations.

In addition, at the very moment that he is supposedly seeking peace in Korea, Ridgeway has stepped up the pace of warfare, until at this time, the war is back to the bitter fever-pitch of the pre-negotiation style.

American casualties in Korea, which are far higher for the 15 months of this "police action" than they were in the first 15 months of World War II, are almost up to the casualty rate of last spring.

U.S. VIOLATIONS

The first action of U.S. negotiators as talks resumed illustrates the primary pre-occupation of the top brass in Korea.

They insisted that the neutral area be reduced to a tiny patch of ground, in an obvious effort to keep the talks from interfering with the stepped-up U.S. offensive.

They proposed to reduce the neutral ground to a bare 25 square miles.

The Chinese and Korean proposal

is for a neutral zone of 175 square miles. While this area would be a better safeguard for the negotiations, it would place a restraint upon U.S. forces intent upon renewed attacks, and Ridgeway opposed it for that reason.

Repeated violations of the neutral zone by American planes also show that Ridgeway is subordinating the cease-fire to the needs of the stepped-up war.

Such provocations could be avoided only if the U.S. brass hats were willing to exercise caution and restraint in their air war in order to make the cease-fire talks succeed. Apparently they are not.

APPROACH TO MOSCOW

However, concessions by the Pentagon show that whatever the final plans of U.S. imperialism as to a cease-fire, it still wants to keep the negotiations going.

Ridgeway admitted last week that U.S. air attacks were responsible for the death of one Korean child and the wounding of another in the neutral conference area. After this, U.S. negotiators indicated that they would agree to a conference area slightly larger than the exceedingly confined space which they had proposed earlier.

Finally, Moscow made public an overture from Washington through Ambassador Alan G. Kirk on Oct. 5, in which Kirk

tried a direct approach to the Soviet Union on the truce talks.

Clearly, U.S. imperialism may be compelled to warm up still further to the idea of ending the war in Korea by the new crises that are breaking all over the world. The Iran-Egypt Middle East blaze is forcing Washington to go slow. The fact that there are more fires breaking out than can be extinguished by imperialist armed forces at the present time may cause Washington to go slower in Korea too.

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS!

Whatever the end result of the cease-fire talks, there cannot possibly be a real peace in Korea until all imperialist armies are withdrawn. Even if a temporary agreement were arrived at, it could only bring an uneasy, armed interval between wars.

The Militant has repeatedly demanded: Bring the troops back home! That is what the American soldiers themselves want, and that is what the American people want. End the war once and for all by getting out of Korea!

Egyptian People Demand British Troops Get Out

Security — For Whom?



Referendum on Korea Proposed by Bartell

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Oct. 18 — Cutting

through the trivialities and personalities which the capitalist

parties raise in city elections,

Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers

candidate for President of the

City Council, on television,

radio and in forums, has raised the

demand that the GI's be brought

home from Korea at once. Bartell's

whole program, including

support for the city employees'

fight for the 40-hour week, is

evoking enthusiastic response.

On an October 12 television

program at which all five candi-

dates were present, Bartell stated

that if elected, he would take

steps for holding a referendum

of the people of New York on

immediate withdrawal of U.S.

troops from Korea; that such

referendums would then spread

throughout the country giving

the people a chance to demon-

strate their opposition to the war.

Bartell then asked Rudolph Hal-

ley, the "reform" candidate of the

Liberal Party, where he stood

on the proposition. Halley, who

had confined his campaign to

promises of gang-busting, was

promised to reveal his full support

of the Korean War.

BARTELL FOR STRIKERS

On this same program a sur-

prise was sprung on all the can-

didates when Stanley B. Krasow-

ski, president of the AFL Sanita-

tion workers, was permitted

briefly to state the case of his

union which is trying to force the

40-hour week from the city ad-

ministration by staging a slow-

down. Over 300 union militants

have been suspended to date by

the Sanitation Commissioner.

Next Week

An interview with Ramon

Martinez, delegate from Latin

America to the Third World

Congress of the Fourth Inter-

national, on the anti-imperialist

and workers' struggle in South

America.

Why American Capitalism

Cannot Live Without War, an

analysis of current economic

trends, by John G. Wright.

Revolution in the Philippines,

a report on the latest develop-

ments in the Huk-led agrarian

revolt against Washington's

puppets, by John Black.

DEMAND THAT THE LABOR LEADERS RESIGN FROM THE WAGE-FREEZING WSB! REMOVE THE LABOR WINDOW.

U.S. Backs London in Attack To Retain Sudan, Suez Area

Seizing the Egyptian city of Ismailia, 75 miles from the country's capital city of Cairo, the British imperialists on Oct. 16 turned machine guns at pointblank range upon thousands of demonstrating workers and students who had gathered in the center of Ismailia, the site of British military headquarters, to demand that these foreign occupiers get out of their country. The number of dead is not known; 100 are reported wounded.

The news of this massacre touched off mass demonstrations at Port Said, at the head of the Suez canal, and in Alexandria. In Cairo, where the Egyptian police had earlier declared a "state of emergency" and banned all demonstrations, thousands roamed the streets at night, chanting anti-British slogans and shouting "Nahas, give us arms!" Mustapha el Nahas, is the Egyptian Premier.

Premier Nahas went on the radio to express "deep regret" and to tell the aroused Egyptian people that "they had shown their sentiments sufficiently and should cease all demonstrations."

The Egyptian authorities have proclaimed a three day "state of emergency."

BRITISH RUSH TROOPS

The British General Sir George Erskine — who ordered the massacre and who had previously declared "I shall take charge myself" — then imposed martial law, a curfew, and sent British troops to patrol the streets of Ismailia.

The British who already have some 60,000 troops stationed in the Suez area, are rushing more troops, planes and battleships to the area. This application of brute force in Egypt has been backed by the Truman administration and had previously received the approval of France and Turkey.

EGYPT AND IRAN

Egypt's struggle against the British imperialists differs only in details from that of Iran. Whereas the British in Iran exploited the oil wealth of the country and kept the people impoverished in the process, in Egypt they exploited the native soil and population for the production of cotton (in the territory of Sudan). In addition, the British have maintained their stranglehold on the Suez Canal and the whole

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Notebook of an Agitator

CRIME AND POLITICS

The working people of New York City, caught in the squeeze play between rising prices and the wage freeze, with the shadow of another war in the making darkening every home, are being offered a slick package of entertainment to take their minds off their fears and troubles. The promoter of this diversionary circus is Dubinsky's Liberal Party, and the attraction they offer is the new "crime-buster," Rudolph Halley, candidate for President of City Council. You can catch him on television most any night between the wrestlers and the so-called comedians. Halley is running on a one-point program. He calls it, "the fight against crime." He and his political sponsors promise to put a stop to that sort of thing, and to that end Halley, writing appropriately in the *New Leader*, calls for "a movement of reform, a New Reformism." The first step in this all-saving crusade, of course, is to elect Halley to the office of Council President.

Unless my ears are playing me false, I've heard all that before — and so have you if you aren't deaf or recently arrived in this country. The crime-busting racket is as old and familiar as the calliope and the shell game when the carnival comes to town. It has been played so often for the special benefit of new crops of suckers, that one more exhibition, even with a brand new performer, would hardly be worth notice if it were not for a new gimmick in the act. This white-haired television boy, who boils all the great political issues of the day down to the one issue of crime; this Fearless Fosdick who is going to straighten out New York City and solve all problems by stopping the bookmakers in their tracks and pinching a few crapshooters — this preposterous phony is running for the top city office, next to mayor, with the endorsement and support of people who call themselves "socialists."

The Socialist Party has withdrawn its own candidate and formally endorsed Halley "as their contribution to the movement to end the alliance between crime and politics." That's new. And that's a crime against principle and the interests of the working people — a defamation and betrayal of the name of socialism — beside which the offenses of all the Costellos, reprehensible as they are in themselves, shrink into trifles.

The Tradition of Debs

The Socialist Party, organized 50 years ago, has come to this shameful and treacherous end under the leadership of Norman Thomas. Viewed retrospectively, in the light of world experience of the half century, the party, even in its early days, its best days, was never free from grave defects and contradictions. But all things considered, the work of the party in the time of Debs, with Debs himself in the forefront, will occupy a place in the history of America not without honor. Debs, and the party with him, never thought of political action as a means of electing some shyster to office on his mere promise to clean up the town and put a stop to minor crimes. On the contrary, Debs, in his great campaigns, used the elections as a forum to discuss the real issues, the real crimes, of capitalist exploitation. He scorned and denounced piddling "reformers" who dealt only with minor excesses of the capitalist system while supplanting the system itself.

Debs laid his axe at the root of the tree. His election campaigns were the occasion every time for intensified agitation and propaganda for the abolition of capitalism. Young workers were educated in these campaigns; they became staunch anti-capitalists, and were inspired in their work by a vision of the socialist future which Debs held out to them. What education will the youth of today acquire from the ignoble

— J. P. C.

Myra Weiss Debates Professor on Korea

By Bert Deck

CHICAGO, Oct. 11 — Over 80 students attended the debate between Myra Tanner Weiss and Abba P. Lerner at Roosevelt College last night on "Who Is the Aggressor in Korea?"

Undoubtedly most of the students were attracted to the debate by Prof. Lerner, who is a noted Keynesian economist. But as one observer put it, "Mr. Lerner brought the audience, but Mrs. Weiss took them away from him." The enthusiastic ovation at the end of Myra Tanner Weiss' presentation contrasted sharply with the polite applause received by her opponent.

"The United Nations is fighting the cause of freedom against slavery in Korea," claimed the Roosevelt professor.

"Freedom?" demanded Mrs. Weiss. "Ask the Chinese people how much freedom they enjoyed under the American puppet Chiang Kai-shek. The Koreans are being freed by the United States of their land, their homes and their very lives. All of Asia is up in arms against just this kind of freedom!"

Lerner defended imperialism's role in Asia by commenting favorably on the doubling of the

Indian population under British rule. "This shows that the British increased productivity in India," he asserted.

This remark was the straw that broke the camel's back as far as the audience was concerned. They expressed their disapproval with half suppressed groans.

The *Militant*, the *Fourth International* and many SWP pamphlets were on display and a large group of interested students purchased literature at the close of the debate.

Myra Tanner Weiss also spoke at the University of Chicago earlier this week on the same subject. This address was the first introduction of many UC students to revolutionary socialism.

CHICAGO Socialist Forum

Sunday Evening Series
The Cost of the War: Our Living Standards Go Down

Speaker: Dorothy Mack
Oct. 28, 7 P.M.
Questions and Discussion

Socialist Workers Party Hall
732 S. Wabash Ave. Ha 7-0408
Admission 35c.

WEST COAST MEETINGS

"The Outlook for America: Lessons of the Korean War"

Speaker: Myra Tanner Weiss

Seattle

Fri. Oct. 26, 8:30 P.M.

at Washington Hall

153 14th Ave.

Donation 35c.

San Francisco

Sat. Nov. 3, 8:30 P.M.

1739 Fillmore St., 4th fl.

(near Sutter)

Admission Free

Michael Bartell's Schedule

RADIO

Monday, October 22 9:15 PM WNEW "People's Choice"
Friday, October 26 " " "
Monday, October 29 " " "
Wednesday, Oct. 31 " " "
Friday, October 19 10:30 PM WCBS "The New York Story"
Friday, October 26 " " "
Friday, November 1 " " "

TELEVISION

Wednesday, Oct. 31 6:30-6:55 PM WNET "Tex and Jinx"
Monday, Nov. 5 7:30-8:00 PM WOR-TV "Press Conference"

Officers Explain Aims of New Civil Liberties Group

(Continued from page 1)

direction, to help people who need it. But please remember the committee is just starting and too much shouldn't be expected of it in the first few months."

Lehman explained that the original letter sent out to invite membership was signed by five persons — Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor emeritus at New York University; Prof. E. Franklin Frazier of the sociology department at Howard University; I. F. Stone, columnist of the *N. Y. Daily Compass*; Imbrie and himself.

Within a few weeks they had received replies from almost 200 people in 38 states, who signed a card approving the provisional policy guide and a statement: "I join you in founding the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee." All of these are regarded as fellow-initiators.

KUTCHER CASE

The public announcement of the committee's formation included examples of the types of cases in which it would take an active interest; among these, mention was made of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was purged from the Newark Vets

Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

When asked about this, Imbrie said that he had been aroused about the Kutcher case from the beginning, and had tried to get action on it from the Progressive Party at that time. (He is still chairman of the New Jersey Progressive Party.) He said that he had been pleased to receive a letter from the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee thanking the new organization for its expression of support.

Prof. Lehman said: "These are types of cases the committee had in mind. However, the committee has no connection with any of the cases cited — they are still examples for us. In Boston the *Herald and Traveler*, I am told, botched our release and made it appear that the committee was set up to handle the cases of Struik and Winner (indicted under a state 'anti-subversion' statute). Their case was an example, we have no connection with it, but if we were asked to help we would."

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The committee is composed principally of clergymen, educators

writers and other professional elements. But it "most certainly" will seek support from the trade union movement, among other places, Imbrie declared.

For the time being, it will carry on educational and informational activity. It is now preparing to publish in pamphlet form I. F. Stone's recent articles on the Struik-Winner case.

Imbrie would like to see the defenders of civil rights go over to the offensive. "I feel that we have been on the defensive for a long time, running here and there, trying to put out a little fire here and another there."

"My personal experience dictates that the American people are quite canny, and if they are really given the straight truth they'll generally come up with a sound public opinion. Unfortunately, they are apt to get their news varnished or twisted by partisanship. Like on this last outrage in Trenton (the brutal police murder of Robert Kelly). It doesn't need any propagandizing or gilding of the lily. Just give the people the straight, unvarnished facts on such a case, and they'll react in the right way."

TOTALITARIAN WEDGE

Prof. Lehman said the response to the committee's first letter was immediate and widespread from teachers, clergymen and professional people. He feels the tradition of academic freedom is still very much alive, and pointed to the "loyalty" oath fight in California as an example.

"But the college administrations are beginning to draw back," he added, "And that concerns me because it is what happened in Germany. I was in Germany the week after Hitler came to power, so that business is very fresh in my mind. I know that the attack on ideas is the entering wedge of totalitarianism in a free society. I've seen it happen, so to say."

SWP Hits Government's PERSECUTION OF DUBOIS

NEW YORK, Oct. 17 — The Socialist Workers Party today informed Dr. W.E.B. DuBois that it is unalterably opposed to the government's frameup persecution of DuBois and his associates in the

Peace Information Center. Following is the text of a letter sent to Dr. DuBois by Joseph Hansen, who ran against him in the New York U.S. Senate election last year:

As your Socialist Workers Party opponent for U.S. Senator from New York in last year's election campaign, I wish to inform you that my party, despite its political differences with you, is unalterably opposed to the government's persecution of you and your associates in the now defunct Peace Information Center of New York, and supports your right to express your opinions on world and domestic problems freely and without fear of intimidation and repression.

The government's attack on you and your associates for failure to register as "foreign agents" is a frameup, a blow against democratic liberties, and an attempt to silence everyone who is opposed to the war in preparation.

That is why we have protested

your persecution, and call upon the labor, liberal and Negro movements to rally to your support by demanding the cancellation of the indictment and the trial, now set for Nov. 1.

We have not forgotten that

during World War II, you came to the defense of the rights of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO when they were indicted and convicted under the Smith Act, although you did not agree with their program of socialist opposition to the war.

It would truly be disgraceful, after this display on your part of a principled attitude toward civil liberties and after your long service in the struggle for Negro equality, if labor, liberal and Negro leaders are permitted to use their political differences with you as a pretext to avoid defense of your civil liberties. We promise you that we will do our utmost to inform the public of the real issues in your case, and to mobilize support in your behalf.

— J. P. C.

(Continued from Page 1)

people with courage to stand up and fight against the war and the witch hunt. We don't confuse the voters. Our program is direct and honest. You call the Socialist Workers Party a "splinter" party but there are great social changes taking place throughout Asia and Europe — and this process won't end until all exploiters and oppressors are overthrown everywhere, including the U.S. and Russia. . . . We are in step with this great movement and we are trying to bring this country into step with it."

FAKE GANGBUSTERS

An example of audience response to Bartell's clear answers on the issues of the election was given at a recent forum in Long Island City. Bartell got far and away the most applause of all the speakers and his speech was punctuated by handclapping and shouts of approval. The audience broke into laughter at his dig at the Liberal Party's candidate, who had preceded him on the platform. "Halley isn't the first gangbuster to come down the pike," Bartell observed. "O'Dwyer, too, was 'crusading' prosecutor before he got into office and then took it to the lam to Mexico. And Governor Dewey started as a gangbuster. He put Luciano in prison. When he became governor, he let him out."

WITHDRAW TROOPS!

When the socialist candidate demanded that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Korea there were a few hisses from the audience of 250. Turning to the hissers, Bartell told them he was voicing the overwhelming sentiment of the American people and that he proposed a referendum on withdrawing the troops. This brought general applause.

After the meeting people crowded around the SWP candidate. One young girl said: "It's sure good to have one rebel in the crowd." A taxi driver assured Bartell of a "family-full of votes." Offers to aid in electioneering were made. Others asked for the address of the campaign headquarters.

Myra explained that the conditions that were responsible for the degeneration of the Russian CP do not exist in this country.

America is the most highly industrialized country. American workers have the know-how and machinery to see immediate benefits after gaining control of industries. Shortened work weeks will leave them time and energy to play a leading part in building world socialism."

Abner Zwillman, Political Boss

By George Breitman

Socialist Workers Candidate for New Jersey Assembly

NEWARK — As a big-time bootlegger, Abner (Longie) Zwillman learned that business and politics were closely associated. It was not enough to pay off the police

from returning to power in the party, swing their votes to the Republican candidate, Alfred Driscoll, who was elected and is now Governor. But don't all businessmen, before making donations to capitalist parties, seek a voice in the selection of candidates and assurances that their interests will be protected?

In his Collier's articles, Lester Veltie charges that "the Zwillman wing" helped elect three of Newark's five city commissioners, including the mayor, and by control of this majority dominates City Hall. (Veltie was only partly correct; the whole Newark City Commission, minority as well as majority, is friendly and obligated to Zwillman.)

MUNICIPAL POLITICS

Naturally, Zwillman's interest in municipal politics is not confined to helping his friends. One of the truck agencies secretly controlled by him sold the city of Newark over \$500,000 worth of equipment in a four-year period, although it was underbid on some contracts by other agencies. Another of his businesses leases washing machines to the city housing projects, bossed by one of Zwillman's friends. But what is unusual about that? Do any businessmen acquire political power except for the purpose of profit to themselves or their class? It is easy to understand the anger of Zwillman's competitors; it is also envy that motivates the editorial writers?

Finally, there is the matter of Zwillman's connections with a number of union bureaucrats. He began to cultivate ties with them during the depression, when, in advance of many Democratic hacks, he realized the potential power of the labor movement.

UNION CONNECTIONS TOO

He is known as a close friend of Joseph Fay, head of the AFL Operating Engineers, who is now in prison. He is intimate and advised of Harold Krieger, second biggest AFL lawyer in the state, organizer of the labor support that helped oust the Hague machine in Jersey City, and assistant corporation counsel of the Kenny administration. He was consulted by New Jersey AFL leaders when they were thinking of firing the head of the State Building Trades because he had backed Driscoll instead of the Democratic candidate for Governor. His lawyer served as campaign manager for the CIO candidate for Newark City Commission in 1949, and later was appointed city corporation counsel.

The reformers who want to replace Zwillman's friends in political office piously bemoan his influence over many union leaders, pointing out that this works an injury to the interests of the labor movement. That is undoubtedly true. But it is no more damaging than the bureaucrats' associations with and subversion to other Democratic and Republican political bosses, whose influence is equally corrupting and conservative. The reformers never object to that.

What is the aim of capitalist politics anyhow? To do good? Yes, but to do good for the ruling class in general and capitalist politicians in particular. In that sense, Zwillman's career is a success story in politics as well as business. Those who think highly of Truman or Taft or Boyle or Gabrelson ought to have a warm spot in their heart for Abner Zwillman too. He may not operate on the same big scale as they do, but he does operate along essentially the same lines.

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Promising Sign for Civil Rights Struggle

Ever since 1947, when Truman unleashed the present witch hunt by issuing his "subversive" blacklist and "loyalist" purge order, The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party have insistently advanced the proposal for united action by all labor and liberal forces to combat the witch hunt and to defend the rights of ALL its victims.

But such united action was not achieved. The labor and liberal leaders, while protesting one or another aspect of the attacks on civil liberties, refused to come to the defense of the Communist Party when it was subjected to attack. The Stalinist leaders, on the other hand, went to the length of torpedoing a promising civil liberties movement in 1949 rather than permit it to express support for the rights of both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The labor and liberal leaders on one side and the Stalinists on the other used the same argument — namely, that they disagreed with the policies of the group whose rights were being violated. This argument, we repeatedly pointed out, was false and beside the point. It is necessary to defend the rights of all persecuted groups, not because you agree with their policies, but because successful persecution of any one group emboldens the witch hunters and sets the precedents which are used to destroy the liberties of ever broader sections of the population.

The failure to achieve united action in this struggle has been a costly one. The witch hunt has grown with alarming speed during these four years, and now menaces the rights of all kinds of groups and individuals who have nothing to do with the Communist Party. If it is not stopped, it will lead inevitably to the creation of a totalitarian police state in the U.S.

More and more people are beginning to realize this. Some union leaders and

papers have already publicly stated that the rights of labor and freedom of the press are the real targets of the witch hunt. Evidence is accumulating that large sections of the workers, students, professional people and even a part of the ruling class are beginning to react against the drive to impose thought-control on the American people.

It is against this background that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been formed. (For details, see interview with its officers on Page 1.) Although this group is still in process of organization, relatively small in numbers and composed mainly of middle class and professional elements, we greet it with enthusiasm and wish it the best of good fortune in its activities.

For it starts out on the right foot. Firmly rejecting the factionalism that has characterized many of the civil liberties movements influenced by the Stalinists in the past, it pledges to aid any individual or group whose constitutional rights are being infringed. It offers to help not only the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act, but also James Kutcher, the legless Socialist Workers Party member purged from the Veterans Administration because of his political views.

The example it sets cannot help having a healthy effect on the whole civil liberties struggle. (It is worth noting that the Stalinist Daily Worker made no comment of its own when it reported the committee's position on the Kutcher case, although previously the Stalinists have discredited themselves and alienated support of their own rights by opposing aid to the legless veteran.)

The lessons of the last four years are beginning to be learned. Conditions are maturing for effective united resistance to the assaults on the Bill of Rights. Every defender of civil liberties should be on the alert to take maximum advantage of these conditions.

Asia Is Test of U.S. Strategy of 'Strength'

By M. Stein

The Korean war has been a proving ground not alone of U.S. armed might but of its entire foreign policy. The results to date are best summarized in two terms coined in the war: "Operation Killer" and "Heartbreak Ridge." While these terms have been applied only to specific campaigns in the Korean war, they are so apt that they can well be given a broader application. The first applies accurately to the whole war in Korea — to the death and destruction inflicted on the unfortunate country by the combined action of the American Army, Navy and Air Force; the second characterizes the impasse of the war, the

mired truce negotiations and the frustrating effect it must have on U.S. foreign policy.

What is this foreign policy? Its strategic goal, say administration spokesmen, is to encircle the Soviet Union, its European satellites and China with "positions of strength." Once these countries find themselves face to face with superior force every place they turn, they will presumably become meek and submissive or else — and this is pre-

sented only as a remote possibility — be annihilated in all-out war.

In pursuit of this goal, the U.S. has taken under its "protection" every regime in the world, no matter how shaky, corrupt or oppressive, so long as it remains within the capitalist orbit. In line with this strategy, the U.S. was committed to uphold the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China, the Syngman Rhee regime in Korea, more recently the Franco regime in Spain, etc.

But it was first in China and now Korea where this "position of strength" strategy received its real test. One might add that this

test has taken place under conditions most favorable for the State Department and the Pentagon. In China, Chiang disposed of an army, four to five million strong, trained and equipped under American supervision. An army of such size and power had never before been placed in the field on the Asian mainland, not even by the Japanese. In addition to getting several billion dollars in aid, Chiang received vast quantities of U.S. armament, tanks, ships and planes; a great deal of surrendered Japanese equipment; and other huge amounts of U.S. military surplus handed over at a nominal charge of one cent on the dollar.

STRUCTURE FELL APART

The scope of the aid extended to Chiang, asserted the State Department in 1949 in its White Paper on China, was of proportionately greater magnitude in relation to the budget of that Government than the United States has provided to any nation of Western Europe since the end of the war.

In addition, Washington had for a period of years the collaboration of both the Kremlin and the native Stalinists in support of Chiang. But in vain! The Chiang regime collapsed like a house of cards.

South Korea was still another "position of strength" laboriously constructed following the defeat of Japan. American money again poured unstintingly. The South Korean army, like that of Chiang, was trained and equipped by the U.S. from bases in Japan where the U.S. was the sole occupying power and could do as it pleased without consulting anybody. Yet in the first test of strength against the colonial masses in revolt this whole elaborate structure fell apart.

A RUNNING SORE

American intervention in Korea came less than a year following the decisive defeat of Chiang. The Chinese dictator's fate threw American imperialism into a panic. The fact that no amount of money or military supplies could save Chiang's rotten regime, convinced them that they could not rely on Syngman Rhee, Chiang's opposite number in Korea.

Truman moved in with the full power of the American Army, Navy and Air Force — but what has that achieved? The Korean war has not created any "position of strength" in that tortured country and never will. On the contrary, Korea has become a running sore, sapping the strength of American imperialism.

NOT ISOLATED EVENTS

The experience of China and Korea are not at all accidental or isolated events, to be resolved through some compromise or truce. Any truce arrived at in Korea could at best be only temporary, so long as the U.S. clings to the "positions of strength" strategy which runs counter to the interests and aspirations of the Asian and European masses. China and Korea have made it clear that American armed might cannot and will not subdue the colonial people whose grievances against imperialism's centuries-old oppression finally exploded into open rebellion.

China and Korea which epitomize the whole strategy of building "positions of strength" foreshadow its failure elsewhere in Asia as in Europe. The people of Asia and the entire world are more anti-American as a consequence of Korea than they ever were. Korea is to them a graphic example of the cost of American "liberation" and "protection." This is why even the Egyptian monarchy, which is trying desperately to get rid of the British "protector," is so reluctant to buy American "protection."

ROAD TO WAR

But above all Korea exposed the hypocrisy of the claim that the "positions of strength" strategy is the road to peace. It is an insult to the intelligence of the American people to repeat now after Korea, as Truman and Acheson do, that theirs is really a peace policy, and that military strength is the road to peace. On the contrary, Korea proved that this line leads to war.

The peace through military strength watchword is only a smokescreen under cover of which the fate of the country is placed at the mercy of the Brass Hats. The military caste is now ostensibly in charge of peace — its guardian angel. The men trained for war, the professional killers accustomed to the army system of autocratic command and unquestioning obedience, these people have been elevated to the position of our society's elite.

Virtually all the agencies of government are today subordinate to the military and every request of the chiefs of staff is treated as a command in Congress. Even before any formidable "positions of strength" have been built anywhere else in the world, the military has due itself into a position of supreme power within the United States itself.

In world history there has been only one other military caste devoured by such global ambitions — the generals of the Mikado. The Pentagon, too, would make the entire world its parade ground.

A DEADLY DISEASE

To the American people Korea demonstrates the cost and consequences of such "positions of strength." The story is told in the casualty lists, in inflation, in ever higher taxes. In the actual showdown in Korea the U.S. had to contend with the opposition of the native population on the one hand, and no real help from its capitalist allies in the United Nations. In Korea, American imperialism could count in the final analysis only on its own forces in its battle to stem the tide of the colonial revolution.

Powerful as U.S. capitalism is, this power is not inexhaustible. It grows weaker as it underwrites all oppressive and bankrupt regimes in the world. By extending itself over the entire globe imperialism becomes infected with the diseases afflicting the very regimes it seeks to save. In its ruthless and costly drive to build "positions of strength" American imperialism will sooner or later find its "positions of strength" dissipated not only in Asia and Europe but right here at home.

Prospects in Far East Discussed by K. Tilak

The following interview with K. Tilak, delegate of the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon to the recent Third World Congress of the Fourth International, is translated from *La Verite*, French Trotskyist paper:

Question: What is the meaning of the recent governmental crisis in Ceylon?

Answer: The Minister of Health and speaker of the Assembly resigned from the government and went over to the opposition together with five other members of the United Nationalist Party, government party. His resignation almost caused the fall of the government.

The minister, under pressure of the masses, fought for the adoption of the national language in place of English as the official language of the country. But in reality the conflict reflected the discontent of the masses with the government which has been unable to meet the unemployment problem, to solve the housing question, to stop the rise of prices.

The consequence of this break is to still further weaken the bourgeois government party and to affect its chances of regaining a majority in the next parliament which will be elected in 1952.

Question: In what manner will your party participate in the Ceylon elections?

Answer: We will fight on a socialist class program against the capitalist system and against imperialist domination with the demand for a National Constituent Assembly.

On the basis of our anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist program we will call upon the toiling masses to elect a Trotskyist majority to parliament.

If the Stalinist party agrees to join with our party on the concrete points of this program we can form a united front with it.

In the next elections we count on our party, which now has 14 seats, winning at least 30 out of a total of 95 to be elected and of becoming the strongest party in the Assembly.

Question: What would be tasks of a democratic Constituent Assembly in Ceylon?

Answer: Above all, real independence through a break with the (British) Commonwealth, the denunciation of all unequal treaties, the removal of all English military bases in Ceylon and the promulgation of a really democratic constitution in the interests of the great worker and peasant masses.

Question: What kind of state and government is the Samasamaja Party fighting for?

Answer: We are fighting for a workers' and peasants' government.

ment, a slogan for which we have fought for more than 15 years and which has had the approval of the workers and the village poor. The state should be a workers' state; that is, an instrument in the hands of the working masses who form the great majority in the nation and under the leadership of the working class against the national capitalist minority and their imperialist masters.

where the textile industry alone numbers some 225,000 workers, almost the entire working class is under the influence of the Socialist Party despite the decline of the trade union organization after the defeat of the 1950 strike which lasted three months. At present the revolutionary upsurge of the Indian masses finds its expression primarily within the framework of this party.

The Stalinist party has been very much weakened since the

This state will derive its strength from the strength of the masses organized in their committees. It should nationalize the principal means of production and place them under the control of the workers.

Question: What relationships should the Workers' and Peasants' Government enter into with the Chinese Revolution and with Vietnam?

Answer: In our manifesto-program for the elections we have proclaimed our intention of immediately establishing treaties of friendship with all the independent nations of the Far East, among them the Vietnam of Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese People's Republic. We conceive of our struggle in Ceylon as part of the struggle for the victory of the Asian revolution and for the Socialist United States of Asia. In addition, a victory on our island would have a great echo among the Indian masses and would stimulate their struggle for power.

Question: What is the present situation in India and the trends of the principal parties?

Answer: The Congress Party, led by Nehru, has now lost most of its political influence over the masses. It is attempting to substitute repressive measures by the state apparatus for its loss of popular support.

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NEHRU

war, the reasons for which are threefold.

The first was its opposition to the revolutionary struggle for independence in 1942. The second was its adventurist policy since the beginning of 1948 which was expressed by military adventures in the countryside and by terrorist acts in certain cities. The third is the Congress government's repression against the Communist Party.

Question: What is to be expected in the near future in India?

Answer: In the Indian elections, to be held in January 1952 where universal suffrage will be in effect for the first time, the struggle will all center around the conflict between the Socialist Party and the Congress Party. On the one hand, the institution of universal suffrage is

creating parliamentary illusions, but on the other hand violent struggles between the worker and peasant masses and the forces of reaction are beginning to unfold.

A great crisis is maturing in India. Its outcome will be determined primarily by the resolution of the problem of the revolutionary leadership of the Indian proletariat.

"By driving us into the American camp, the treaty will aggravate the worldwide and Far Eastern crisis, and place us in the role of war-provoker." This theme is constantly repeated throughout the magazine, which sold out five large printings within a few days, causing the Tokyo correspondent of the New Leader to complain:

"All 270 pages of the magazine display the same traits common to intellectuals everywhere in the world today — defeatism, tender sentiments toward Red China and the Soviet Union, neutralism masquerading as 'liberal' thinking, and a lack of any realistic knowledge of the nature of Communism. Nevertheless, the special issue is a best-seller and has gone through several large extra editions — a significant indication of the present intellectual climate in Japan."

The Socialists and other opponents are particularly angered by the inevitable consequences of

the "peace" to the economy and standards of living of the Japanese. Since the treaty makes Japan an advance war base for American imperialism, this can only result in Japan's becoming "the orphan of the Pacific," they point out. Without the possibility of trade with Asia, and especially with China, Japanese economy would be doomed. This probable doom is absolutely sealed by the imposition of a rearmament burden on the already failing Japanese economy.

ARTICLE BY TAN MALAKKA

Fourth International, the magazine of Marxist theory, also has in this issue a portion of a pamphlet written by the famed Indonesian revolutionist, Tan Malakka. Written in May 1948 while the author was in prison, it is directed towards the education of the young partisan cadres. Tan Malakka describes these partisans in the following words:

"The Partisan. — The partisan

is the young Indonesian, the proletarian who remains faithful to the August 17th proclamation and to complete independence and is ready to destroy all forces that oppose this proclamation and this complete independence.

The partisan does not allow himself to be influenced by the duration of the struggle. He will perform his duty with courage, perseverance and confidence, even though the struggle take the rest of his life."

Tan Malakka, one of the founders of the Indonesian Communist Party shortly after the Russian Revolution of 1917, became the greatest of Indonesian communists. In 1927, he broke with Stalinism, and his views on most questions have been identical with, or close to, the views of Trotskyism.

ON STATE CAPITALISM

An extremely interesting interview with two Ukrainian refugees from Stalinism in this issue of Fourth International gives a revealing glimpse into the internal political life, and the moods of the masses of the people of the Soviet Union. In addition, a very full analysis of the theory that the Soviet regime is "state capitalist" is made by E. German, European Marxist.

Copies of Fourth International may be obtained by writing to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., or from any local branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Single issues are 25¢, subscriptions, \$1.25 for a year.

Rising Opposition in Japan Brands Treaty as War Pact

By Thomas Raymond

From Japan last week came new evidence that the war alliance which was imposed on Japan by U.S. imperialism under the guise of a "peace treaty" is overwhelmingly opposed throughout the Far East. Widespread organized opposition to the San Francisco pact was reported among Japanese workers and intellectuals as the Japanese Diet opened debate on the ratification of the treaty and the accompanying so-called "Japanese-American Security Pact."

Leading the protest is the left wing of the Socialist Party of Japan, major party of the opposition, which, together with the National Council of Trade Unions, organized a Tokyo anti-treaty demonstration of more than 50,000 workers last August. They said they were against a peace pact that did not include the Soviet bloc, and that provided for rearmament and an alliance with

American imperialism. The 3 1/2 million strong NCTU is largely Socialist Party-controlled, although the Communist Party has influence in a small number of unions.

Democrats Demand Credit

By John F. Petrone

"I have been reading very much about this Senator named McCarthy, and I am consumed with interest about this McCarthyism. Will you tell me about it?" Maurice, the French student who had come to America on an exchange program, was speaking to his roommate John, the young liberal who all his friends expected would get an important job with the government some day.

"I'll be glad to, though it is a most unappetizing subject," said John. And he proceeded to do so at considerable length, for, to tell the truth, he enjoyed talking. When he finished, he imitated one of their teachers by loudly clearing his throat and barking, "Any questions?"

After the laugher had died down, Maurice said, "No, I don't think so. The McCarthy type is not unfamiliar in Europe. Hitler was only one of many demagogues who sought to get or keep power by promising to expose and destroy communism. What I did not realize before was that your Communist Party was so numerically small and unimportant."

"I wish," thought John uneasily, "that he wouldn't use that expression 'your Communist Party.' Somebody overhearing us might misunderstand."

"Another thing I did not realize until your explanation," continued Maurice, "was that McCarthy and McCarran are Republicans. If, as you say, there is now a public revulsion against this kind of anti-communist demagogery, then that should be of benefit to you Democrats in next year's election, should it not?"

"Yes, but I am afraid you have a misunderstanding," John replied. "You see, McCarran is not a Republican. In fact, he is a Democrat, one of the most influential in the Senate."

"Ah," said Maurice, "then he must be one of those Southern Democrats you were telling me about last week. You see, I have not forgotten your exposition about the two kinds of Democrats — liberal and Southern."

There was a pause, and then John said, "No, McCarran is not from the South, but from Nevada, which is in the West."

"But he is an individual, an exception, is he not?" Maurice was becoming a little frantic in his desire to feel that he was learning some things about American politics. "He does not command the support of the Democratic majority, does he?" he persisted.

Again there was a pause. "In all honesty," John stammered, "I must admit that he does command it on certain occasions — for example, on recognition of Franco, and on passage of the McCarran Internal Security Act, better known as the thought-control bill, enacted last year."

"I think I will go for a walk," said Maurice. "I have been studying too much, or else the room is stuffy."

"No, don't feel that way," said John. "I admit it is complicated, and not only for foreigners. But there is one thing you can be sure of — and that is that the liberal Democrats, the real liberals, are enemies of everything McCarthyism and McCarranism represent. Senators like Lehman and Douglas and Benton represent everything that is finest in America —"

"Benton? You mean the man who is asking the expulsion of McCarthy from the Senate? That reminds me I meant to ask you something about him." Maurice rummaged around the room until he found a newspaper. "It says here that Benton in a radio speech yesterday described McCarthy as a 'Joseph-come-lately' in the fight against communists and accused him of 'jumping into the act and bringing only a great talent for personal publicity.' What does this signify?"

"Why, it means that the credit for exposing and purging the communists really belongs to the Truman administration and the liberal Democrats, and that McCarthy is trying to steal this credit. After all, Truman issued his loyalty order and got the Communist Party indicted long before anybody heard of McCarthy. But instead of thanking the liberal Democrats for their initiative in opening the drive against the subversives, McCarthy tries — wait!"

But Maurice had already gone out for his walk. and scheduled a hearing in court to obtain an injunction against the gas company.

Shimerly's complaints were based on the fact that the company never got a right of way to cross his farm. "My rights as an American and a taxpayer are being affected," he insisted. He demanded that the gas company go through the proper legal procedure in order to use his property. His friends and neighbors, who would also be affected by the outcome of the "Battle of the Pipeline," backed him up. Support ranged all the way from having two of his neighbors stand watch with him — equipped with guns of their own — to expressions of sympathy by the sheriff busy trying to keep peace.

I suppose it would seem silly to a lot of people to see the spectacle of one man, aided by a few neighbors, trying to fight a big corporation. We've gotten so used to stories about large companies riding roughshod over the rights and needs of the people that it sometimes seems that nothing can stop them. But this company got stopped this time.

A three man condemnation board awarded Shimerly \$325 to be paid by the company for a right of way across his property. "All I wanted to do was to prove that they had to take the land legally, and I've done that," Shimerly said when the gas company attorneys pressed for immediate condemnation of the property. So Shimerly won his particular phase of the battle. However, the folks around Hartland aren't yet through with the company. Mrs. Fanny Fenton, enraged because trees on her farm had been dynamited without permission, threatened to take legal action against the company. She had obtained a court order restraining them from crossing her land.

The battle goes on as one by one the farmers come into conflict with the plans of this large company.

Battle of the Pipeline

By Patricia Stoll

The first victory has been scored in the "Battle of the Pipeline" which is being waged in Hartland, Michigan. To date, the landowners of Hartland and its environs are one up on the invading army of Michigan Consolidated Gas Co.

It all started when the gas company decided to build a new pipeline. They went at the business quite efficiently. They decided where to run the new line. They hired pipeline engineers and pipelayers. They assembled all the equipment and men — in fact, they took everything into consideration except what must have been to them only a small, insignificant detail.

This small, insignificant detail turned up with a shotgun, however, and delayed things for quite a while. It seems the gas company forgot what we may call the human element.

When the gas company decided to run their line through the Shimerly farm they neglected to ask permission of the owner to dig up part of his land and clutter it up with a few small items like bulldozers, pipes and various other tools — not to mention the 30 workmen required to manipulate this machinery.

When the crew showed up to commence tearing things apart they found Joseph Shimerly complete with shotgun and moral indignation. "You're not going to cross my property," he told them, the shotgun serving as a powerful exclamation mark. The work crew beat a strategic retreat and waited.

Joseph Shimerly stood near the boundary of his property and waited. He was fortified with a case of beer, potato chips and pretzels brought by a sympathetic neighbor. The crew was also fortified — with all the power and money of the Michigan Consolidated Gas Co.

The lawyers came into the picture at this time with writs and injunctions against the farmers stopping the progress of the pipelayers. Joseph Shimerly responded with a lawyer of his own

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The two student meetings in Chicago on the University of Chicago and Roosevelt campuses were quite successful. I particularly enjoyed the latter because I had the opportunity there of debating Professor Abba Lerner. The power of our Marxist analysis of the Korean war becomes much more apparent when placed side-by-side with a defender of U.S. foreign policy. After the debate one of the younger comrades said to me "I'm sure proud to be socialist."

I felt rather sorry for Professor Lerner though I guess he doesn't deserve much sympathy. It's a heck of a job to have to match abstract talk about the "fight for freedom" with concrete fact about the defense of a regime like Syngman Rhee's. In answer to a question put by one of the students Lerner reluctantly admitted that freedom was not well represented by the South Korean government — which should be recorded as the understatement of the year.

I was in St. Louis just one night, and one of the leading comrades there apologized because they couldn't provide me with a busy schedule. He thought it was an imposition on a tour speaker to have to go so far just for one meeting. But I assured him that the stops in those cities where we have only a few but tenacious forces were the most important. Chicago and other big centers have plenty of speakers for their public meetings. It is precisely in those places where our comrades are more isolated that a tour is most important.

From St. Louis I flew to Minneapolis, the last stop in the eastern part of the country. (And

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Police Brutality Fought by Clyde Turner in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 15 — Mrs. Clyde Turner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for councilman from the Fifth District in Philadelphia, analyzed the roots of police brutality at an election rally last Saturday held at campaign headquarters.

"Police brutality is a capitalist disease," Mrs. Turner declared. "Every brutal blow of a labor-hating, race-hating cop against his helpless victim lays bare the true nature of the capitalist state. Spokesmen for the ruling class would have us believe that these outrages are exceptional, frowned on by local and federal authorities, but the bitter experiences of countless numbers of victims of police brutality expose the brutal nature of capitalist rule with its cynical disregard for honesty and decency in human relations."

WALL STREET WAR

Mrs. Turner linked the growing intensity and fierceness of physical assaults and legal lynchings of Negroes to the Korean war and Wall Street's preparation for World War III. "These offenses against American Negroes are meeting more and more stubborn resistance," she affirmed. "On two occasions in the past three months, several hundred Negroes have come to the aid of victims of police brutality in the streets of Philadelphia. The life of Lt. Gilbert, court-martialed and condemned to death in Korea, was saved by the response of thousands of Negro and white workers to Mrs. Gilbert's appeal for aid."

"The NAACP leadership," Mrs. Turner asserted, "has been forced to launch a legal offensive against segregation in housing, transportation, education, and the armed forces. This leadership cannot for long escape the contradiction between the struggle for democracy and equality at home and support of Wall Street's plans for subjugation of the darker peoples in the rest of the world."

SWP PROGRAM

"Effective struggle against police brutality and for civil rights coincides with the program of the Socialist Workers Party for a workers government and a socialist America," Mrs. Turner concluded. "A society organized by the workers, under which the workers govern themselves, can put an end to the brutalities of life as we know them under capitalist rule."

S.F. Candidates Support Fight of Filipino Rebels

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 14 — "What would you do if you were elected mayor?" This question was posed at a union meeting to which Frank A. Barbara, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, recently spoke. "I'm not permitted time to tell you everything we socialists would do — but one of the first things we would do is pass a law making it illegal to scab. I would direct the police to protect striking union members from employer violence. I would order them to arrest all scabs and company hoodlums who tried to break picket lines."

Barbara reports that the faces of his audience plainly showed astonishment at this idea, so accustomed were they to having the police always against them.

Barbara and Harry Press, SWP candidate for Supervisor, spoke to five more unions during the past week: the Pressmen's Union, Furniture Workers, the Printing Specialty Workers, the Terrazzo Setters Union, and the Pile Drivers Union, Local 34, A.F. of L. This brings the total number of unions which have heard the socialist candidates to 33.

Last Sunday afternoon, Barbara and Press addressed a group of Filipino workers, at the corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets, in the center of San Francisco's Filipino district.

"We support the Hukbalahaps

in their struggle for the re-

division of the land. The land and

all industry in the Philippine Is-

lands should belong to the people.

We condemn the American capi-

talist government for using mil-

lions of dollars of taxpayers'

money, yours and mine, for guns

and ammunition to crush the

Philippine revolution."

Harry Press spoke of the need for a Fair Employment Practices Act with teeth in it. "Employers who discriminate should be severely punished, by heavy fines and jail sentences," he stated.

I still have two more meetings before I leave the Twin Cities. A public meeting in St. Paul and a meeting with the students on the campus of the University of Minnesota. After that I shall head for the west.

Growing UAW Opposition Adopts Militant Program

By Everett Kennedy

Signifying the rapid growth of

the anti-Reuther opposition in the

CIO United Automobile Workers,

the recent meeting called by

the Committee for a Democratic

UAW-CIO to elaborate a fighting

program for the union was the

largest held in recent years. The

gathering was attended by several

hundred from dozens of local

unions in the Detroit, Flint, Pon-

tiac, Saginaw, Bay City and

Lansing areas.

militant action around the follow-

ing key demands:

THREE MAIN PLANKS

For a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to expand employment and guaranteed full wage compensation for the unemployed.

For an immediate ten percent increase in the basic wage scale and the inclusion of taxes in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index to which the UAW escalator wage clause is tied.

For the full support of the Union to all workers engaged in speedup fights and an end to the use of the union constitution and other such devices by the International Union officers to force members back to work under speedup conditions.

REPORT ON PROGRESS

The program adopted by the Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO is the fruit of long discussion and arose out of the experience gained from grappling with the day to day problems of the auto workers. The steering committee of the caucus had been engaged for several months in the work of developing a statement of caucus aims and program.

A report on progress had been made to a state-wide caucus meeting some weeks ago and an intense and lively discussion took place on the various aspects of the program.

The main problems of the auto workers — speedup, unemployment and a constant lowering of their standard of living — received most attention in the report and discussion. In addition, such related questions as decentralization and the runaway shops, the inadequacy of the Reuther pension program, the Reuther 20-year contracts, labor unity, UAW-CIO internal democracy and the inadequacy of the political action program of the International Union, were raised for discussion and action.

THE ESCALATOR CLAUSE

In the preliminary caucus meeting of a few weeks ago the points which received most attention were the escalator clause and political action. In the discussion of the escalator clause at that time it became clear that resentment against the shortcomings of the Reuther-Wilson escalator clause had led considerable numbers of the best elements in the UAW into an "anti-escalator" attitude.

Ernie Mazey, of Briggs Local 212, cautioned the group not to permit its legitimate opposition to the Reuther-Wilson escalator clause to mislead it into an untenable anti-escalator position.

He pointed out that the escalator principle was not the brain-child of General Motors' C. E. Wilson but was based upon sound economic grounds and was the only effective means of combatting the inflationary assault on the workers' standard of living.

It was not the escalator principle that was defective, said Mazey, but the perverted version cooked up by Wilson and Reuther in a horse trade in which the UAW was saddled with a five-year agreement in exchange for

More and more auto workers are daily expressing their dissatisfaction with the policies and practices of the do-nothing Reutherite leadership of the International and Local unions. Every speedup fight lost, every discharge case unresolved, every new clampdown by the corporations, adds new forces to the opposition.

What is required to advance the struggle for militant unionism in the UAW to a higher stage is the uniting of the scattered ranks of the opposition throughout the country around the program of the Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO.

Vince Copeland, Lackawanna Unionist To Speak on Problem of Jim Crow

BUFFALO — Vince Copeland will speak Saturday evening, Oct. 27, 7:30 PM, at Frontier Elks Hall, 311 William St.

"Today, ten years after the CIO conquered Little Steel," says Copeland, "we are still fighting the curse of Jim Crow. This evil hits the colored worker first and foremost. But it cripples the cause of the white worker too. By keeping the working people divided with Jim Crow, the bosses push us all around that much easier."

"How can the Negro worker get equality on the job and off the job too? How can he get some of the whites to fight actively on his side? How can he force a lazy steward to represent him? How can he influence a union organizer to take his part?"

"Every one of these things can be done today," says Copeland. "They are not a program for the distant future. We will discuss the practical answers to these questions Saturday night at Frontier Elks Hall." The meeting is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

Blast Furnace department. After the workers won their point, Copeland was fired. Then 17,000 Lackawanna workers — the whole plant — went out in protest.

In the seven years he spent in the plant, he was steward, recording secretary and top grievance man of his local. He had the reputation of never letting a brother down in a grievance.

Grant Hanesworth, a young Buffalo worker, will chair the meeting. Hanesworth was very active in the Willie McGee case last spring. He spoke at several street corner meetings and one indoor meeting. He spark-plugged the highly successful motorcade which dramatized the McGee case in a last minute fight for stay of execution.

James P. Cannon

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