

U. S. REARMS EUROPE

- See Page 2 -

THE MILITANT

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Stop Imperialist Warmakers
By Fighting for Socialism!Text of Manifesto Issued
By Third World Congress
Of the Fourth International

A third of a century after the end of World War I, and less than a decade after World War II, imperialist war again casts its ominous shadow over the world. Rearmament dominates social activity in every country. The failure of international conferences to come to any agreement heralds a settlement on the battlefields. "Localized" wars which flare up again and again in many parts of the world are so many fires building up to a general conflagration; a foreshadowing of the horrors and barbarism of the future.

The fundamental cause of the drive toward World War III is not the struggle between two "power blocs" for world domination, or the "hunger for profits" of a handful of munition-makers, but the internal and implacable logic of the capitalist system. From the viewpoint of the general interests of humanity, this war drive seems like an attack of collective madness. Statesmen, generals, scientists, all are profoundly convinced that human civilization runs the risk of perishing in this conflict, that tens of millions of human lives will be lost, and that entire cities and countries will be wiped out. If they, nevertheless, contribute personally to the preparations for this war, it is because the war does not depend on their understanding or will. It is capitalist society as a whole with its immense productive system which drags human-

ity into this cataclysm. Without the abolition of this society, the outbreak of the war is inevitable. Capitalism cannot survive, that is, continue to provide the ruling class with "reasonable" profits, without constantly extending its base. For two centuries this expansion was realized at the expense of the "backward" people of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America. Our whole planet was divided between the great imperialist powers. From the moment this division of the world ended, capitalism could no longer expand without destroying itself.

After two global wars waged for a redivision of the world, the balance of power has been radically upset. All the former major powers have themselves become the object of American imperialist expansion and centralization. This new situation, far from solving the basic contradiction of contemporary capitalism, has still further aggravated it. The tremendous production machine of Yankee imperialism is being choked within what still remains of the capitalist world market. It needs the whole world as a market to stabilize its economic system. But this world is no longer open to it.

Dwindling World Market

The international capitalist market has dwindled by 800 million customers as a result of the October socialist revolution, the collapse of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the revolutionary movements in the colonies and the great Chinese revolution. The first stage of post-war economic reconstruction was hardly finished, before American imperialism, no longer able to extend its economic sphere, was threatened by a deep crisis. Its only way out was to create an artificial market through rearmament, in order by means of these arms to make possible the conquest of real new markets.

Like its predecessors who aspired to world domination—the German-Japanese imperialist bloc—Yankee imperialism came on the scene too late to be able to achieve its "historic mission." At the very moment when it launches its preparations for the next world war, new revolutionary movements are breaking out all along the periphery of the Asian continent from the Far to the Near East. The colonial peoples no longer permit themselves to be treated like mere chattels of the imperialist powers. The wars waged against them by their masters, and the factories which their masters were compelled to build on colonial soil, have made them conscious of their own power.

Permanent Social Crisis

The permanent social crisis provoked in these countries by the disappearance of the bases of their economic equilibrium, makes the power of their capitalist classes extremely unstable. They are compelled to live on the good graces of their American uncle, who at the same time serves as super-policeman over their workers. Without the constant support it has received from Yankee imperialism since the end of World War II, the capitalist regime would long ago have disappeared in all of Europe and Asia.

Those minor powers (Germany, Japan, Italy) who completely lack private preserves and whose reconstruction is due to the economic and strategic needs of American imperialism, support Washington most resolutely and with the least reservation. For

The imperialists, to be sure, (Continued on Page 3)

British Labor Left-Wing
Gets Top Vote in Parley

Aneurin Bevan's left-wing in the British Labor Party won a smashing victory at the party conference at Scarborough, England last week. The Bevan wing won four of the seven political seats on the party top executive, with Bevan and two of his sup-

porters topping the poll by huge leads. Bevan resigned from the Labor cabinet last April, charging that the Attlee ministry was sacrificing socialism to the rearmament drive, and tailing behind the reactionary foreign policy of Amer-

ican imperialism, which, Bevan says, is leading to war.

The four seats won by Bevan represent only a small fraction of the 28-person Labor Party executive, and do not represent any increase in Bevan supporters on the top committee. But, in this first test of the Bevan wing before the ranks of the Labor Party's campaign workers, the backbone of the Labor Party in election campaigns, the voting shows overwhelming support for the leftward trend represented by Bevan.

While left-wingers received the top votes of the local Labor Party bodies at the conference, two war supporters in the Attlee ministry were dropped from the executive by the vote of the rank and file. Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Defense, and John Strachey, War Secretary, both of whom have been in the forefront of the war drive in Britain, were defeated.

Bevan, addressing the Congress after his victory, blamed Stalinism in Russia, or as he put it, "the tyranny of dictatorship," upon the "behavior of Churchill and the Tories" in their intervention and blockade of the Russian Revolution after World War I. "I don't want China, Indonesia, the Middle East, driven into the same form of dictatorship," he said.

5814 VOTES FOR L. TRAINOR
IN BOSTON SCHOOL ELECTIONS

By Patrick O'Brien

BOSTON, October 1 — Lawrence P. Trainor, Socialist Workers candidate for Boston School Committee, received 5,814 votes in last Tuesday's primary

election, according to official returns of the Election Board. Trainor campaigned on a strictly anti-war platform and was the sole representative of labor on the ballot. His vote was over 20% higher than he got in 1947.

This was the biggest and most vigorous campaign conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in this city. Enthusiasm mounted day by day as more thousands of leaflets were distributed into the homes of workers. All told, 30,000 of these anti-war leaflets were circulated.

In addition, a sound truck roved

the working class districts calling on the workers to vote for Trainor as a protest against the coming war, its preparations and the higher taxes that must go with it. No hostility was encountered.

There were 107 candidates running for various offices in this primary. The city was flooded with propaganda through literature, radio, television and sound-trucks. Despite the confusion, the Socialist Workers message was so outstanding it did not get lost in the shuffle. There is no doubt that this campaign has established the SWP as the socialist movement in this city.

World Congress of the Fourth International

An Editorial

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International, whose manifesto appears in this issue of The Militant, represents an important milestone in the history of the world working class movement, a heartening achievement in the struggle for the socialist reorganization of human society.

The very fact that revolutionary leaders from all continents could convene to discuss a program of irreconcilable struggle against capitalism, against its barbarous imperialist rule and wars and to seek the means of re-establishing the independence of the workers' movement from the treacherous, conservative Moscow bureaucracy is in itself an event of great significance.

What gave exceptional importance to this Congress of the Fourth International was that it met at a decisive turning point of the social struggles of our time. The Congress was dominated by this indisputable fact: that we live in the epoch of the great showdown; that outlived capitalist society is now being shaken by revolutionary convulsions, comparable historically but vaster in scale only to the social earthquakes which brought down the age-old tyranny of absolute monarchs, feudal lords and the Catholic Church at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

The forces of revolution and of progress are on the march today. Their sweep and power is irresistible. This was the keynote of the Congress. Despite the billions of Wall Street dollars poured into it, Old Europe remains a seething cauldron of revolution; its capitalist rulers, defeated and demoralized, despair of re-es-

tablishing what they call stability — the stability of grinding poverty and exploitation. Its revolutionary proletarians are unbending in their determination to bring into being a communist society. In Asia, the tides of revolution are mounting from country to country to end forever the colonial rule of the white imperialist masters. The movement of national and social liberation is spreading to the Arab world and to Africa, to the once unshaken preserves of the international cartels and banks that once guaranteed a luxurious life to a handful of parasites in the capitals of Europe.

It is to break up this indomitable trend toward social emancipation, to safeguard their wealth and profits, that the capitalist rulers are now plotting their greatest crime against humanity: total war. The Congress of the Fourth International branded the war as counter-revolutionary in every respect.

In declaring its unalterable opposition to this counter-revolutionary conspiracy and its unqualified support of the peoples of the world in their struggle against it, the Congress pointed out this war, if the imperialists dare unleash it, will be their nemesis. From the outset it will call forth armed resistance from the workers of Europe and the peoples of Asia who will seize the occasion to overthrow their own rulers and to establish governments of the working peoples. The great social problems of modern civilization stand on the verge of solution, and not all of the destruction and barbarism of capitalism in its last moments of agony can any longer prevent this solution.

The Congress was neither frightened nor confused by the fact that large sections of the revolutionary

Workers Hit
By New Boost
In Tax RatesLow Income Groups Walloped by Congress;
Corporations, the Rich Get Tax Loopholes

By Harry Frankel

Income taxes on workers will be at least 11 percent higher next year, and sales taxes will cost consumers an estimated \$1 1/4 billion. These new gouges are provided in tax bills passed by both houses of the Big Business-controlled Congress.

Tax increases are taking an ever-greater slice out of the spending budget of working-class families. Government wage policy restricts pay raises to the rises in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index, which does not include taxes. This means that workers are expected to suffer the new taxes without demanding pay raises, even though the tax hikes don't leave them enough to live on.

The House bill aims at producing more than \$7 billion more this year than last year. The Senate, which passed its tax bill last week, reduces the tax hike to about \$5 1/2 billion. However, all Senate reductions are aimed at lightening the already small tax load carried by the upper income brackets.

The Senate bill leaves the big tax increase on workers' incomes substantially the same as that proposed in the House bill. Where the House called for an increase in income taxes of 12 1/2 percent, the Senate asks for 11 percent more than last year. Thus the big additional income tax which workers have to pay is about the same in both bills.

The Senate, however, went to work on the taxes on higher income brackets with a pruning knife. Although net corporate profits are higher than ever before, the Senate approved 22 amendments designed to "relieve hardships" among corporations. Corporation lobbying groups and corporation lawyers wrote most of these amendments, which reduce tax rates, and open up many loopholes in the tax laws.

The House bill had proposed higher corporation levies in the form of a small increase in the tax rates on excess profits. Excess profits taxes are supposed to "take the profit out of war." Corporations have been piling up multi-billion profits since the start of the Korean war. However, even the small tax increases proposed by the House were pruned out of the bill when it went to the Senate.

While the House bill has been altered in the Senate version to the benefit of the corporations and upper-income brackets, the

Senate was careful to retain every tax on working-class incomes that had been passed by the House. New excise (sales) taxes on whiskey, beer, wine, autos, trucks, auto parts, gasoline, and many household appliances will be taxed from five and ten percent more than at present.

Sales taxes, such as those approved in both House and Senate bills, are the pet project of the National Association of Manufacturers, which formed a grouping of business organizations recently to push them. The bosses feel that sales taxes, which take a big gouge out of the incomes of the working people and very little, proportionally, from wealthy corporate interests, are best suited to their purpose, which is to make the poor pay for the rich man's wars.

The House and Senate approved excise taxes, pile a bigger load on the already overburdened workingman. At present, sales taxes of the federal, state and local governments take 12 percent of the incomes of families earn-

ing less than \$1000 a year, and 10 percent of the incomes of families getting from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year. However, and this shows how discriminatory sales taxes are, families in the income brackets starting at \$7,500 and up, pay only an average of 4 percent of their incomes in the same taxes. The higher the income, the smaller the percent. It is no wonder that the corporations are pushing sales taxes.

As the Senate tax bill came to a vote last week, taken opposition by a bloc of so-called "liberal" Senators collapsed completely. Truman supporters led by Senators Lehman (D, N.Y.) and Humphrey (D, Minn.) put up a for-the-record show of opposition to the corporations in the Senate debate.

The Administration did not put up any kind of a serious fight. This is made clear by the fact that in the final vote, only five Democratic Senators out of the whole Senate majority party voted against the measure.

FEDERAL GRAND JURY
TO INVESTIGATE CICERO

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath announced on Sept. 27 that he would ask a federal grand jury to investigate the riot that took place in Cicero, Ill., last July when a mob wrecked the building where Harvey E. Clark Jr., Negro bus driver, had rented an apartment.

McGrath said the grand jury would determine "whether the rights of any individual had been violated." Exactly what this means remains to be seen; in most cases federal civil rights laws have been construed by the government and the courts to have very narrow jurisdiction, and nobody has been seriously punished under these laws during the 20th century.

Also left unclear from McGrath's statement was the ques-

tion of what the federal grand jury would do about the framings and indictments handed down by a Cook County grand jury last month. That jury refused to take any action against 117 known rioters and their racist instigators, and issued indictments against Clark's lawyer and four other people, three of whom had been guilty of nothing but aiding Clark to rent the apartment.

"These indictments, alleging 'conspiracy' to incite a riot and injure property, were so outrageous that scores of organizations protested and appealed to Washington for a federal grand jury investigation of the riot and of the Cook County grand jury action.

It also remains to be seen what good the promised federal investigation will do. When the riot took place, the Socialist Workers Party called for mass action and pressure to protect Clark's right to live in his apartment and to secure adequate punishment of the racists. But conservative labor, Negro and liberal leaders preferred to put their trust in a Cook County grand jury "investigation."

The worthlessness of such a policy has already been demonstrated by the Cook County grand jury itself, which, as Ralph Helstein of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers put it, not only condoned but "even compounded the offense of the vandals and bigots."

What reason is there to believe that a federal grand jury will act differently? And even if it does not act as flagrantly as the Cook County jury, what reason is there to believe that it will insure justice to Clark and the victims of the Cook County jury?

A COSTLY POLICY

Reliance on the courts and government officials has already proved costly. Instead of making headway since July, the NAACP and other defenders of Clark have been thrown back on the defensive and forced to devote (Continued on page 2)

Iranian People Victors In Fight to Eject British

By John G. Wright
The first stage of the struggle over Iran's nationalization of the British oil monopoly ended in an important victory for the Iranian people when the Attlee government agreed peacefully to evacuate the remaining British employees from the Abadan refinery. This victory in Iran is bound to have repercussions elsewhere in the Near East, especially in Egypt and Iraq, and to impart momentum to the anti-imperialist struggle that has been unfolding in that entire area.

The declaration of Churchill on Oct. 2 and of the capitalist press in this country suffice to show how staggering a blow has been suffered by British and world imperialism.

Churchill, in his opening speech for the coming general elections in Britain, lamented the loss of the Abadan refinery as an irreparable blow. It undoubtedly

opens another chapter in what one American newspaper correspondent refers to as "the decline and fall of the British empire."

In this country the authoritative N. Y. Times on Oct. 3 editorially bewailed the evacuation of Abadan as a "triumph of fanatical nationalism" and a "most unfortunate" outcome. "This is one of the most humiliating setbacks a British government has received since the days of Neville Chamberlain," say the Times editors.

But they are quick to recognize that the sufferers are not the British imperialists alone. There has been a "loss of Western prestige in the Near East," and worst yet, "a blow to the whole system of foreign investments in backward countries," they add.

to Iran. Despite all the past and recent disclaimers from Washington, this "act tough" policy was backed all the way down the line by the Truman Administration. Suffice it to recall that only a few weeks ago the plea by Iranian Premier Mossadegh that Washington intervene with London to resume the oil negotiations was turned down flatly on Truman's orders.

MASSES SHOW POWER
Why then did the Attlee regime shy back at the last moment? Because they had completely misunderstood and underestimated the power and sweep of the popular movement in Iran. Nor did they have the slightest conception of how much sympathy and support this mass resistance to British imperialism was receiving among the peoples throughout the Near East and elsewhere in the colonial world.

All the show of force, all the maneuvers and tricks of traditional colonial policy were shattered against the power of this mass movement.

NO EMPTY THREAT
It became clear that instead of undermining the Mossadegh regime, the British by their policy succeeded only in strengthening it. Instead of diminishing, the mass resistance to British rule became all the more widespread, determined and unyielding. A recourse to force under these circumstances would have confronted the Attlee regime not only with the prospect of turning Iran into another Korea, but of setting the entire Near East ablaze with a jihad or "holy war"—which was no empty threat of Tehran but the unavoidable consequence of the use of imperialist force in Iran.

REVERSAL OF POLICY
When it came to a showdown in Iran the Attlee regime retreated from its previous policy of arrogance, threats and intimidation. How explain this sudden reversal? The Times tries to dismiss the entire previous course as a "bluff," and a "ruff" one at that. Churchill, for his part, has denounced it as a breach of "solemn understandings." Churchill's comments are closer to the truth than those of the Times editors.

BACKED BY TRUMAN
It was the pressure of the British imperialists with Churchill at the head that had dictated the entire previous course of the Attlee regime in relation



Wanted in New York on charge of felonious assault on an International Ladies Garment Workers Union organizer, Martin Fink (above, right) is booked by a detective after being picked up in Boston. Fink was indicted in 1947 on charge of attacking ILGWU organizer William Ross. The cops still have not solved the murder of ILGWU organizer William Lurye.

U.S. Dictates Arms Plan To Satellites in Europe

By Thomas Raymond
The Marshall Plan is dead. Its place has been taken by a purely military rearmament program. This is the meaning of Congressional actions last week setting up a new department for Europe, called the Mutual Security Agency, and appropriating some \$7½ billion to finance it.

It is now clear, as a result of these events, that the pretended object of the Marshall Plan, the economic recovery of Europe and the welfare of the European common man, was nothing but a sham from the beginning. The real object of the Marshall Plan was to reinforce the capitalist class, the bosses and corporations of Western Europe, so that war preparations could be carried on at the expense of the working people of Europe and this country.

rent is strictly controlled but is seldom able to heat, due to the high price of fuel;... must defer marriage sometimes for years because of the scarcity of suitable dwellings;... owns one pair of overalls and one suit and... must constantly choose between food or clothing for his family because he can't afford both."

It is this European worker that is being called upon to make sacrifices now, in order to arm the capitalist class of Europe so that it can defend capitalism!

The U. S. imperialists, in the recent Ottawa conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, demanded that the European nations step up the pace of rearmament. But with European economy already in a serious crisis and the European working class suffering a declining living standard, this pressure by the U. S. bosses is throwing Europe into still further crises.

BRITAIN IN TROUBLE
For example, Britain is being pushed towards arms production. But British capitalism is already in a very bad spot. It is suffering from a serious trade deficit, which is caused by the higher prices that it has to pay for U. S. materials, by its loss of Iranian oil, and by some other factors. U. S. News and World Report, Sept. 21, merely reports the truth when it points out: "To cover the present trade deficit, Britain would have to return to making export goods instead of extra munitions."

THE UNHAPPY TRUTH
Meanwhile, the working people of Europe are worse off than ever before. Even Marshall Plan statistics admit that living standards have not been restored to 1938 depression levels. In the Senate discussions over the new European arms program, Senator Benton, an administration stalwart, had this confession to make about the Marshall Plan years:

"Mr. President, the unhappy truth about Europe in recent years is that the rich have been getting richer while the masses of the people are no better off than before the war, and in many cases, are worse off."

The European worker, admits Dan Goldy, Marshall Plan official, "lives largely on bread because its price is controlled;... lives in substandard quarters which he can afford because its

price is strictly controlled but is seldom able to heat, due to the high price of fuel;... must defer marriage sometimes for years because of the scarcity of suitable dwellings;... owns one pair of overalls and one suit and... must constantly choose between food or clothing for his family because he can't afford both."

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Police End "Probe" of Unsolved Adamic Case

By George Breitman
An Associated Press dispatch quoted Hunterdon County Prosecutor Herbert T. Heisel as saying in Flemington, N. J., on Sept. 23 that he had held a conference with the state police on the case of Louis Adamic, author found shot to death on Sept. 4, and that he would issue a report on this conference during the following week.

This announcement raised the possibility that the authorities were reconsidering their hastily-reached finding that Adamic had committed suicide, or at any rate that they would attempt to square this finding with the many mysterious aspects of the case that pointed in the direction of murder. (See Militant, Sept. 17.)

But the only statement that

came from Heisel's office during the following week was a 38-word press release, dated Sept. 27, which read:

"Hunterdon County Prosecutor Herbert T. Heisel announced today that on the basis of reports from the investigating officers and laboratories there is no reason to change the previous tentative conclusion that the death of Louis Adamic was suicide."

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS
This was interpreted to mean that the New Jersey authorities have closed the case. If they had been thinking of trying to explain the many unanswered questions that have arisen, they must have changed their minds. But the questions still remain:

Why were there no fingerprints on the rifle lying on Adamic's knees in the burning room where his body was found? (It has been suggested that the heat from the fire destroyed those fingerprints; but why then were there no fingerprints on the handle of the axe used to pry open oil cans to set the fire? The axe was not in a building set afire.)

Why didn't Adamic leave a note explaining a suicide none of his best friends had expected? Why should he have wanted to burn down his home and property? If he did want that, how did it happen that the fire had made so little progress when he was found six to eight hours after his death? Who made the phone calls to the undertaker, trying to make it appear that the Yugoslav consulate wanted his body cremated? Who threatened Adamic on three different occasions, and who sent the thugs who brutally assaulted him in California?

The authorities' failure to try to explain these matters means there is no reason "to change the previous tentative conclusion" that they have by no means solved the mystery.

of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, which was ordered in Moscow and executed in Mexico but which was organized in the United States, according to the testimony given by the Stalinist renegade Louis Budenz, when he finally identified his boss in the murder conspiracy as Dr. Gregory Rabinowitch.

This attitude of indifference to the fate of radicals extends to the FBI too. An FBI agent was sent to Adamic's home the day his body was discovered, and then withdrawn the next day. Heisel was quoted at the time as having been informed by the FBI that it "had no interest in the circumstances surrounded his death."

That was at the very beginning of the so-called investigation, when not even the local police were ready to categorically exclude the possibility that Adamic might have been murdered by his political opponents—either by the Yugoslav fascists who emigrated to this country after Tito came to power, or by the Kremlin's GPU apparatus.

The FBI's lack of interest may have communicated itself to the local authorities and set the tone for their attitude. After all, it is much easier to return a suicide verdict, neglect to explain all of the mystifying details and declare the case "solved" than it is to make a serious investigation.

Auto Workers Hear Myra Weiss At Detroit Meeting

DETROIT, Sept. 30. — Intense discussion by an interested audience followed the inspiring address here today of Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party National Committeewoman.

Mrs. Weiss pointed to the horrible living conditions of Korean and Far East peoples as the cause of their opposition to American puppet regimes. "United States capitalism has become the most hated force in the whole world," said the speaker.

THE REAL PICTURE
Referring to conditions in the United States, the speaker asserted, "46,000,000 in profits for American manufacturers—twice what they earned a few years ago—while living standards decline, this is the real picture."

Mrs. Weiss pointed to the opposition of youth to another war, their frustration in the face of a world which offers them only death.

"The world must be reorganized," the speaker concluded. "To attain a universe of peace and security, of human dignity, of genuine freedom from fear of mass murder and depression, of real equality for all mankind, the world must be rebuilt on socialist foundations."

CALLS FOR STRUGGLE
The discussion period lasted fully an hour. In summing up the remarks from the floor, the speaker called for organization of like-minded people in a political party. "The only party having the interests of the workers at heart is the Socialist Workers Party. Join with us and help us reach millions of American workers with our program. Only in political struggle can opposition to capitalism be crystallized into a huge movement and an end to insecurity and war."

MYRA WEISS Tour Schedule

Monday	Oct. 8	Chicago
Tuesday	9	"
Wednesday	10	Chicago
Thursday	11	St. Louis
Friday	12	Twin Cities
Saturday	13	"
Sunday	14	"
Monday	15	"
Tuesday	16	"
Wednesday	17	"
Thursday	18	Salt Lake City
Friday	19	"
Saturday	20	"
Sunday	21	"
Monday	22	Seattle
Tuesday	23	"
Wednesday	24	"
Thursday	25	"
Friday	26	"
Saturday	27	"
Sunday	28	"
Monday	29	"
Tuesday	30	San Francisco
Wednesday	31	"
Thursday	Nov. 1	"
Friday	2	"
Saturday	3	"

Weiss Gives Socialist Views In Radio Interview at Akron

By L. Cooper
The Myra Tanner Weiss meeting in Akron was the most successful public meeting of the SWP held here in the last few years. Besides readers of the Militant, there were present people who had seen our press releases or heard about the meeting via "club news" announcements on the air.

The "Ohio Informer", a newspaper published in the interests of the Negro people in town, carried Myra's picture, and a news story. A group of students were present from the University of Akron campus, where we had distributed 200 circulars. The pasting of our circulars on telephone poles was handsomely rewarded by the fact that a number remained up for days.

Mrs. Weiss was in excellent oratorical form. She explained to her audience the deep social revolutionary and independent spirit that permeates the overwhelming majority of the people of Korea and the new China. She showed how isolated Syngman Rhee was from his people. How Truman and McArthur found the most heroic and revolutionary stubbornness in the hearts of the Korean and Chinese peoples. "Korea is in ruins, millions have been destroyed." "The people of new China, especially the women, will never go back to the old slavery," she said.

Another outstanding event of Mrs. Weiss' tour, was her interview, together with the writer, over the "mike reporter" program of Akron's largest radio station, WAKR. This interview, almost purely accidental, proves by analogy, that if you keep looking for work each morning, you may find a job.

We were having lunch at the Mayflower Hotel coffee shop, IN THE HOPE that we would be interviewed. About 150 other people were eating lunch also. Suddenly, a man springs up in front of our table, asks us if we would agree to his paying our bill and accepting two free tickets to the movies, and he interviewed on the air on the question "do you believe that the Conservatives will win the election in England next month?" We consented.

INTERVIEW BROADCAST
The interview which was taped and broadcast at 7 PM that evening, afforded us the opportunity to predict a labor victory (Myra said "by a small margin") and the "hope for a sizeable increase in left wing representation in Parliament" ("especially," said Myra, "the forces grouped around the left wing opposition fighting against a third world war"). Myra, identifying herself as a Socialist Workers Party lecturer, scored "US intervention," and told the reporter that there was a vital distinction between the Chinese revolution and the Stalin revolution.

Our interviewer, alert, intelligent and gracious, concluded by thanking us for presenting interesting views that "are too seldom heard."

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'LIFE' MAGAZINE FEARS M'CARTHYISM IS NOW A LIABILITY TO REPUBLICANS

Last week's Militant reported a number of developments indicating that important sections of the population are starting to show uncertainty, indifference and even opposition to certain aspects of the witch-hunt. Since then, there has been more evidence of the beginning of a decline in the effectiveness of redbaiting:

1. Life, the conservative Republican magazine published by Luce, asks Sen. Taft to repudiate McCarthyism because McCarthy is becoming a liability and a danger, both to the Republicans and the nation.

This represents a shift in the view of many top Republicans, who previously regarded McCarthy as a prime asset. It does not mean that the Luce wing wants the witch-hunt discontinued, but that it feels the ex-

treme McCarthy form of the witch-hunt is becoming discredited among the people and that the Republican Party will suffer politically unless it pretends to disavow McCarthyism.

2. The same belief—that public support of McCarthyism is on the downgrade—explains the growing boldness and self-confidence with which McCarthy is being attacked in the Senate, where up to now most Senators of both parties felt that criticism of the Wisconsin Senator was tantamount to putting their political necks on the chopping block.

MCCARTHY PROBE ON
Now Sen. Benton (D, Conn.) even thinks a career and a mass following can be built around the issue of McCarthyism (just as McCarthy built his around the issue of "reds in the State Department"). A Senate subcommittee is holding hearings on Benton's resolution for a probe to decide if McCarthy should be expelled from the Senate. This may not get very far; most Senators do not cotton to the idea of setting a precedent whereby they could be expelled for "calculated falsehood, deceit, corruptibility, mendacity," etc. But it has McCarthy on the defensive, and it is putting the Republicans on the spot.

3. A cry of anguish has gone up from the powerful boosters of the General Eisenhower-for-President movement because he too has become the target of a well-organized and well-financed redbaiting smear.

Literature being widely distributed charges Eisenhower "joined the Soviet murderers in their plot against free nations" and is part "of a plot to dissipate American strength," claims he is "the Zionist candidate... the candidate the Communies and New Dealers are trying to impose on the Republican ticket," shows him getting a medal from Stalin, etc.

The N. Y. Times on Sept. 30 asserted that this "underground and scurrilous" campaign against Eisenhower has "no link" with the "aboveboard" campaign that the Taft forces are conducting against an Eisenhower nomination. But the facts show that copies of such literature have been widely circulated by Ralph Masterman, Maine GOP chairman and Lieutenant of Sen. Brewster, one of the chief leaders of the Taft group.

When such stalwart water boys of imperialism as Marshall and Eisenhower can be subjected to "red" smears, it is time for other politicians to do some worrying. And that is what is apparently happening in top circles of capitalist politics.

FEPC OPPONENTS ARE SILENT AT FLINT PUBLIC HEARINGS

By Mike Burns
FLINT, Oct. 1.—A sharp blow was delivered here last week to the forces trying to scuttle the passage of a Fair Employment Practices law in Flint. At a public hearing by the Flint City Commission not one opponent of FEPC had sufficient courage to stand up in the open and speak.

The Flint Journal, mouthpiece of General Motors, up to now the primary public exponent for killing FEPC, was as silent as a clam. Having written columns and editorials on how FEPC will cost "taxpayers' money; having pushed forward a new slogan—"Education not Legislation"—the Journal was evidently unable to find a single spokesman to get up in a public hearing and voice its shrill complaints against Fair Employment Practices.

In contrast to the reticence of

reactionary big business interests, sixteen speakers ranging from auto workers to a college professor spoke for the passage of a strong FEPC Law. Of the groups represented were the NAACP, UAW-CIO Regional Council, Urban League, Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Party, Flint Women's Council and Flint Jewish Community Council.

Practically all of the speakers emphasized the hollowness of the slogan "Democracy" while discrimination continues unabated. Gwena Dollinger, chairman Flint SWP, pointed out the hypocrisy of sending boys to die in Korea for something that isn't even present at home.

A worker from South Carolina brought attention to the fact that the only beneficiary of playing off white against black, worker against worker, is big business.

The unanimity of all the speakers for adoption of FEPC was undoubtedly a surprise (in some cases probably unwelcome) to the City Commissioners. Having tried to bury FEPC in a Legislative Committee about a month ago, they had been forced to report it out in order to consider a rent increase that had also been assigned to the Legislative Committee.

The large turnout and interest aroused among the Negro people may be attributed to handbills widely circulated by the Socialist Workers Party calling for mass support and action for an effective FEPC law.

However, it would be an illusion to believe that the City Commission has been convinced of the necessity for an effective FEPC law, despite the evidence of strong public support.

The pending penalty for violation of FEPC embodied in the proposed law, \$300 maximum fine or up to 90 days in jail or both, may be watered down. Or the City Commission, true to the business interests of a majority of its members, (only 2 out of 9 represent labor in a city where 2 out of 3 are workers) may attempt to put the bill up for a referendum vote where all the skulduggery of a back-alley campaign can be employed.

New Grand Jury To Study Cicero

(Continued from Page 1)
their time, money and energy to a defense of Clark's lawyer. Meanwhile the racists are snickering and Jim Crow reigns supreme in lily-white Cicero.

Continuation of the present policy will mean the loss of more time and the frittering away of excellent opportunities for mobilizing a mass movement of protest in Cook County and the rest of the country. Only such a movement will convince grand juries, federal or local, that they should punish the crimes of the racists, undo the dirty work of the Cook County grand jury and give protection to the right of Harvey Clark to live in a home of his own choice.

The chief responsibility for organizing a united militant struggle lies with the labor movement. If it does not discharge this responsibility in adequate fashion, if it does not take the lead in a successful fight to win justice in the Cicero case, then it too will be hammered and hamstrung by "conspiracy" indictment frameups in the future.

Twin City Meetings
on
"A Socialist Program for the United States"
Speaker:
Myra Tanner Weiss
Minneapolis:
*Friday, Oct. 12 8 P.M.
at 10 S. 4th Street
St. Paul:
Tuesday, Oct. 16 8 P.M.
at
American House, 444 Rice St.

New York Socialist Workers Party
1951 CAMPAIGN JAMBOREE
JIMMY WRIGHT'S BAND
Square and Social Dancing
ENTERTAINMENT REFRESHMENTS
Friday, October 12, Columbus Day, 8:30 PM
Caravan Hall
110 East 59th Street Donation \$1

Cleveland
SWP Branch announces
A Series of Eight Lectures
"The Truth About the First American Revolution, 1776"
Sunday Evenings - 7:30 PM
October 7 through Nov. 28
10609 Superior Avenue

Stop Warmakers by Fighting for Socialism

(Continued from Page 1)

pretend that they are arming only to restore the balance of power. But all of history proves — and the common sense of the people confirms it — that one never arms to preserve peace but to wage war. The more the bourgeoisie succeeds in advancing its war preparations, the more will it be tempted to modify the course of international discussions by throwing the weight of its armaments into the balance.

No collection of signatures, no congress of "partisans of peace" can decisively stay the murderous arm of imperialism which has decided to settle its accounts with the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This war, hated by the workers, the colonial peoples and revolutionists — cannot be averted or stopped if it should break out, except by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime. Only by wresting from the capitalists the factories which manufacture the engines of destruction and by smashing the states which mobilize soldiers for the bourgeois army, can the working people prevent the desperate imperialists from attempting to drown in blood the working people's will to emancipation.

For the last half century capitalism has been writhing in unremitting agony. The capitalist class defends itself desperately against its inevitable downfall, deploying for this purpose the

immense means still at its disposal. Mass assassinations, white terror on a vast scale, militarization of entire peoples and continents, bloodiest fascist and military dictatorships, periodic unleashing of global wars — all these in the final analysis are only the successive stages in this struggle for self-preservation on the part of a class which senses that it is doomed by history. The bourgeoisie leaves the world as it came into it: "dripping blood and mud from all its pores."

The cataclysms unleashed by decadent capitalism could plunge the world into barbarism if humanity accepted them passively. But there is within modern society a class capable of deciding the fate of the world, a class which has already shown in deeds the heroism and devotion with which it is ready to struggle for a new society: and that is the working class.

The revolutionary efforts of the proletariat to take its fate into its own hands were formerly separated by periods of a quarter century, and isolated in a single country or even a single city (1848, 1871, 1906). Right after the First World War, these efforts extended to the empire of the Czars and to Central Europe, but they were defeated everywhere except in Russia. The international bourgeoisie thus, for the last time, seemed all-powerful when it unleashed the Second World War.

strike by communist workers which they label "political," against every uprising of colonial slaves which they label as "an expansion of Russian imperialism," against the magnificent struggle for freedom by the Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese masses.

The declaration of the Frankfurt International (of Social Democratic parties) enumerates the contradictions of capitalism solely in order to draw the conclusion that capitalism must be reformed, controlled, regulated. The leadership of the British Labor Party, which came to power with an absolute majority in Parliament, has not utilized this exceptionally favorable opportunity to transform industrial England into a bastion of world socialism. On the contrary, it has endeavored to save capitalism, to prevent the breakdown of the Empire, and capitulating to imperialism, it is actively participating in the drive toward war against the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Wherever the Social Democrats participate in government, they, just as in Great Britain, carry out the robber policies of the bourgeoisie against the working masses and direct the massacres of the insurgent colonial peoples.

The Stalinist parties which, after the ignominious dissolution of the Third International by Stalin, have regrouped into the Cominform, appear to be in the vanguard of the struggle against the preparations for imperialist war. Forgetting the citations for progressiveness and democracy which they had bestowed upon American imperialism during the Second World War, they now furiously denounce it as the principal foment of war. But the solution which they propose is not the overthrow of this imperialism but conclusion of a new treaty of alliance with it!

The "peace government" which they are advocating in so many countries is not a Workers and Farmers Government; it is a governmental coalition with a "pacifist" wing of the bourgeoisie. This is because the Kremlin, which is the conductor of this

International Solidarity



campaign, aims not at a victory for world revolution but solely at a favorable modus vivendi with imperialism. That is why the Stalinist parties return again and again to reaffirm "the possibility of a peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism," even though this "coexistence" means slavery for hundreds of millions of exploited who are burning with the desire to put an end to all exploitation.

all kinds and upon all the continents, assembled in the THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, greet the workers of the entire world who are fighting for their class interests and who, despite all differences in ideology and consciousness, constitute a single and united anti-imperialist front which will overthrow the rule of capital and create the World Federation of Socialist Republics. They greet warmly the revolutionary militants who fill the jails of imperialism and of Stalin, and all working class victims of repression. The victorious proletariat will soon open their cells and mete out due punishment to their jailers.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Chinese proletariat, the poor peasants and their brave sons who are fighting imperialism in Korea. The first resounding victories of the Chinese revolution constitute the most important event in world history since October 1917. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of all countries to defend in every possible way the Chinese revolution which is threatened by imperialist intervention. It calls upon the Chinese workers to pursue their struggle up to the complete destruction of bourgeois power and the establishment of a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat, based on committees democratically elected by the workers and poor peasants.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the heroic proletarians of Korea who, despite the avalanche of fire and steel which imperialism has hurled upon them, are losing none of their tenacious will to liberate and unify their country. It calls upon the workers of all countries to give the maximum material and political aid to the Korean proletarians, until the last imperialist soldier has left this martyred country.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers of Great Britain who, in their class organizations which are the most powerful in all of Europe, are today preparing themselves for a new stage in the struggle for socialism: the fight for workers' control of production and against imperialist rearmament. Attain consciousness of your immense possibilities, workers of Great Britain! Place yourselves at the head of the struggle for a Europe torn from the grasp of the capitalists! Transform the powerful industrial potential of your country into the bastion for a freely concluded alliance with the colonial peoples who are freeing themselves from imperialism! Show the world proletariat how a real proletarian power can be built without either bureaucratic control or privileges.

Scales of Revolt Vaster

Today the struggles and uprisings of the workers to destroy imperialism and to lead the world to socialism take place on a scale infinitely vaster than ever before. All Asia, all Europe, Great Britain, several countries of Latin America and even of Africa, are evolving under the impact of these tumultuous struggles, whether instinctive, conscious, or organized. They are the product of the unbearable burden which imperialism is compelled to impose upon the peoples, of its inability to satisfy the elementary needs of the masses, of its powerlessness to break the fighting spirit of the working people.

The Chinese people, the colonial peoples on the road to emancipation, and even the peoples of the USSR and the "Peoples' Democracies" — despite their hatred of the abhorrent Stalinist regime — will tenaciously defend their conquests against the restorationist attempts of international capital.

In Latin America and in the Near East, the masses will take advantage of any weakening of their imperialist masters in order to rise in their turn and to shake off their chains.

The American proletariat, faced with the greatest crisis in the history of its country, will rise to political action under the impact of the war, and will join the decisive struggle for the downfall of the bourgeoisie in its last fortress.

Nevertheless, the Stalinist parties which still retain a large mass base in many countries cannot under all conditions limit their political activity to a servile execution of the Kremlin's orders. Confronted by powerful insurrectionary movements of the masses, as in the case of China and in Yugoslavia, they may in turn, under the pressure of their own mass base find themselves obliged to project a struggle for power. In so doing, they would be preparing the ground for an inevitable future break with the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalinism and War

From these struggles will emerge a revolutionary power capable of destroying capitalism. The immense destruction which imperialism threatens to bring down upon humanity is no reason to bewail or despair of the fate of the world. On the contrary, it is necessary to work for the quickest possible socialist victory of the proletarian struggles so as to shorten the ordeals which capital is preparing for humanity.

The imperialists are preparing the war in the hope of smashing the power of their opponents by force. But this war, erupting at a time when the forces of the people everywhere are harassing the bourgeoisie, will begin by upsetting the very unstable equilibrium of the capitalist countries.

Everywhere, the struggle unleashed against rearmament, inflation, the destruction of the workers' rights, will continue and spread when general hostilities break out. Everywhere, proletarians and oppressed will openly defy the capitalist exploiters.

Thus, by its very logic, the next World War will become a global civil war. The revolutionary upsurge in Asia, against which Wall Street will unleash the war, will extend itself in the course of this war over the five continents. Imperialism is preparing to crush the insurgent peoples, but it will reap world revolution as retribution for its crimes.

To fight for the defeat of imperialism does not mean to fight for a hypothetical "victory of the Kremlin" or a supposed "extension of Stalinism" with its police regime and its destruction of all proletarian democracy. The Soviet bureaucracy is the by-product of the counter-revolution which triumphed everywhere in the world with the exception of the USSR after 1923. The development of the world revolution will spell the inevitable end of the Soviet bureaucracy, just as it will that of imperialism.

The transformations which the Stalinist parties might undergo in the course of the most acute revolutionary crises may oblige the Leninist vanguard to readjust its tactics toward these parties. But this in no way relieves the proletariat from the task of building a new revolutionary leadership.

What is on the agenda today, is not so much the question of a projection of a struggle for power under exceptional conditions in this or that isolated country, but the overthrow of imperialism in all countries as rapidly as possible. Stalinism remains obstacle number one, within the international labor movement, to the successful conclusion of this task.

The Noskes and the Scheidemanns betrayed the revolutionary proletariat in Central Europe after the First World War in the name of rebuilding the bourgeois fatherland; the Thereses and Togliattis consummated the same

betrayal in Western Europe after the Second World War. But the objective possibility of these betrayals was fixed by the limited character of the revolutionary movements, by their isolation within the respective countries, by the lack of genuine revolutionary experience on the part of the rising masses. That is why the building of a new revolutionary leadership has proved to be such a long and arduous task.

The revolutionary struggles which are now developing will ceaselessly expand from continent to continent. The masses taking part in them have experiences which will be fresh in their memories. This will reduce, especially in the advanced countries, the possibilities for maneuver and betrayals on the part of the bankrupt old leaderships, and will create extremely favorable conditions for the formation of a new revolutionary leadership. The epoch of the permanent revolution will be the epoch of the flowering of the Fourth International.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the fighters in the colonial revolution of Vietnam, of Burma, of Malaya, of the Philippines and of Indonesia who today are fighting in the vanguard of the world anti-imperialist struggle. It is the duty above all of the proletariat of Great Britain, of France, of the U.S.A. and of the Netherlands, to assist and support the struggle of these class brothers, a struggle which deals a very heavy blow to the domination of the bourgeoisie at home.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the industrial and agricultural workers of India, of Japan and of Ceylon, who have built powerful trade union and class political organizations, and are seeking to wrest the leadership of their nations from the bourgeoisie. Only workers and peasants governments will cut the last ties with imperialism, will carry out a genuine agrarian reform, will expropriate the landed proprietors and big bourgeoisie and will create the necessary conditions for a real economic upswing in these countries.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Negro workers and poor peasants of Africa who have, in the course of the past few years, awakened to the anti-imperialist struggle. It calls upon them to build their trade unions and class parties everywhere, to combat all efforts of imperialism to transform their continent into bases for the coming war.

Down with the "color bar" and all racial discrimination! Long live the unity of the African peoples in their goal to conquer the political democracy and to throw off foreign imperialist exploitation!

Withdraw Imperialist Troops

A victorious proletarian revolution in a small country like Yugoslavia proved to be incompatible with control by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Can one believe that hundreds of millions of proletarians, victorious against their own bourgeoisie, would willingly submit to the orders of the Kremlin? The sooner the proletariat of the key countries of the world rises against the capitalists and gets rid of its exploiters, the sooner will the imperialist threat against the USSR diminish and the sooner will the Soviet workers themselves settle accounts with the parasitic bureaucracy which, for the past 25 years has robbed them of the fruits of their conquests and of their tremendous efforts at reconstruction.

lower living standards is falling upon the workers of all countries. Millions of youth are being uprooted to serve as cannon fodder for capital. What do the organizations which presume to speak in the name of the working class, propose under these conditions to the proletariat which is rising to defend its bread and its liberties?

The Social Democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucracies have re-established international centers: the so-called Frankfurt International and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. These two organizations are cynically and openly tied to the war chariot of Yankee imperialism. They call upon the people to accept the entire burden of rearmament, begging only for an "equitable" distribution of this burden among the different classes in society.

They are in the forefront of propaganda directed not against the crimes of Stalin but against the USSR itself, against every

It summons the workers to utilize every important crisis which the capitalist class of their own country will have to meet, as a means to establish the direct power of the working class by its own democratically elected committees and councils.

It summons the oppressed peoples to achieve their national and social liberation.

It summons revolutionary militants to enter everywhere into

the real movements of the masses, to participate in their daily struggles and to share their experiences, demonstrating to them that they are the most courageous fighters, the best organizers, the most conscious guides and most patient educators for revolution.

Communism is not an ideal to which reality must conform. It is the real movement which is overcoming the repugnant reality of capitalism in its death agony. The revolutionists have no interests apart from those of the real movement of their class. Standing above all group or national narrowness, they represent the universal interests of the proletariat and the clear consciousness of the road which leads to socialism.

The Congress greets in particular the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, which will lead the masses of its country in overthrowing the corrupt bourgeoisie.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Bolivian proletariat and its courageous vanguard, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POB), Bolivian section of the Fourth International. For years the Bolivian miners have been striving to overthrow the bloody tyranny which the mining corporations exercise over their country. By going through the joint experience of a great anti-imperialist united front alongside of them, the POR

will be able to lead them to understand that only establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the support of the poor peasants, will bring about this emancipation.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the proletarian and all the poor masses of Latin America who do not want to be pawns of bourgeois and military cliques that serve as the instruments of Yankee imperialism. The Latin-American

diversified and varied movement of the world proletariat toward socialism. It fights within their ranks for its revolutionary program. In the course of the tumultuous years ahead it will attain the leadership of this movement. It will direct the efforts of toiling humanity to build a classless society, without exploitation or oppression of any kind — a society which will know universal peace and will assure abundance for all by means of an economy based on need, a society in which civilization will expand its benefits to include all humanity. It calls upon the workers of all countries to unite and fight for this great goal.

Down with imperialism and the murderous war which it is preparing!

Long live the world socialist revolution, whose triumph will be secured by our common efforts!

Humanity's Supreme Test

Humanity faces its decisive test. The capitalist enemies of the workers are feverishly preparing the weapons to crush under their iron heel the peoples who are thirsting for freedom. An ever-growing burden of privation, regimentation and

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Utilize Every Crisis

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The Negro Struggle

Why Cicero Happened?

By Jean Blake

At a time when propagandists for American "democracy" are trying to convince colored people all over the world that in the U.S. alone has "liberty and justice for all" been achieved, the outburst of anti-Negro mob violence in Cicero, Illinois, provides a difficult contradiction to explain.

The best that Dewey of New York could do was tell the Asian people that the incident was "exceptional."

Negroes, who know better, and others who can't deny reports of renewed Ku Klux Klan activity, police murders of colored people, and of other symptoms of the malignant disease of "white supremacy," wrote thousands of words trying to answer the question: Why did Cicero happen?

The first reaction of some officials, was to see the long arm of Joe Stalin behind the outburst. But Walter White of the NAACP, as well as reporters on the scene, dismissed that far-fetched idea immediately as having absolutely no basis in fact.

Some amateur theoreticians (assuming they were not deliberately trying to pit one minority group against another for their own ulterior motives), pointed to the fact that some of the persons in the mob were of Polish or other foreign extraction. Such persons, they said, are not quite American yet, and so they are prejudiced. But Jim Crow, as everyone knows, is an American, not a foreign institution.

One writer for the Pittsburgh Courier, tried the sociological approach. She pointed to the war, insecurity and other relevant factors, but lamely added that it happened in the summer time — heat, nerves, and emotions, you know.

None of the explanations dug very deep for the real reasons that impelled several thousand white men, women and youths to wreck an apartment building in order to prevent a single colored couple and their children from moving into a \$60-a-month apartment in a Chicago suburb, famous as the former headquarters of the Capone gang.

Now that a juridical mob, the Cook County Grand Jury, has backed up the direct-action mob by indicting the victims, instead of the criminals, perhaps more light will be thrown on the problem of why Cicero happened. The explanation must now include the reason for the gross miscarriage of justice by the grand jury.

Summer and the hot weather have gone, so that explanation won't do. The Communist agitators theory obviously won't hold water either, since the best the grand jury could do was indict

a man who allegedly distributed Communist literature in Cicero — a month after the incident. The juridical mob, which obviously agreed with the other one since it indicted the NAACP attorney denouncing the civil rights of the Harvey Clark family, motivated its action with the charge that Attorney Leighton and those responsible for renting the apartment to Negroes were guilty of "conspiracy to injure property... by causing a depreciation in the real estate market price by renting to Negroes."

Now, we know that renting to Negroes, even in a community where some hypothetical potential buyer might be prejudiced against owning an apartment in which colored people live, does not depreciate the market price of real estate in a period of acute housing shortage. Not when good old demand still exceeds supply of apartments.

But even assuming, only for the sake of argument, that such property would depreciate in market price, does that explain basically why thousands of men, women and youths mutilated the building, smashed a piano, threw several thousand dollars worth of furniture out of the window, burned it and ripped out plumbing? Were all three to six thousand of them small property owners in the neighborhood defending their homes and "life's savings" from ruin? Obviously not!

The mob consisted of miseducated youth, misguided middle-class elements, and some backward workers not yet educated to understand their own class interests. They were egged on by fascist elements like Joseph Beuharnais, leader of the anti-Negro White Circle League. They were incited by real estate interests who maintain segregated housing in order to make white workers pay more for the mythical advantages of living in a lily-white community while Negroes must pay more for depreciated ghetto homes because they are barred from others.

The misguided whites were receptive to provocation because they were raised and educated, work and live, in a capitalist dog-eat-dog society in which discrimination is condoned, fostered and encouraged. The war economy, high taxes, inadequate housing, economic insecurity, all combine to make them respond like scared animals, not thinking men, to the inflammatory agitation of men like Beuharnais and their kind among the local police and other government officials.

That is why Cicero happened. And for the same reasons there will be other Ciceros so long as the basic reason, capitalist insecurity and Jim Crow remain.

Deep in the Red

By Tom Conlan

It is not generally recognized how deeply this country is in debt; and, what is even more important, the rate at which it is being mired deeper and deeper.

The federal debt of over \$260 billion is twice as large as the combined indebtedness of the rest of the world put together. But to this huge sum must be added other public and private debts which swell the total debt well above the \$500 billion mark.

The state and local government indebtedness last year passed \$24 billion dollars, an amount larger than the entire federal debt of not so many years ago. And according to figures just released by the Department of Commerce, the net private debt last year rose to the astronomical sum of \$245 billion. The federal debt plus the state and local debts, plus the private debts, thus add up to more than \$539 billion, or a load of \$3,500 for every man, woman and child.

Last year alone recorded a staggering increase in indebtedness to the tune of \$38 billion; and unlike previous years, the bulk of it was not due to increases in federal or local government IOUs. This debt expansion in 1950, says the Department of Commerce, "was almost wholly confined to the private debt category."

Consumer credit leaped by 20 percent in the space of a single year reaching a record figure of \$20 billion. A brief five years ago, in 1946, consumer credit stood at a shade above \$10 billion. It has now doubled.

Even the farmers, reputedly among the most prosperous sections of the population, have been feeling the pinch. Farm mortgages which by 1946 had dropped to \$4.8 billion have climbed back

by 1950 to \$5.8 billion, an increase of over 20 percent.

Privately the people are falling into debt at a rate twice that of the prewar period. The rate at which the federal debt has increased is far higher. In the prewar years the federal debt per capita amounted to \$325; today it is \$1,700 or more than five times as large. And, of course, the end is nowhere in sight.

What is the annual cost of these swiftly piling up public and private debts? The federal budget itemizes the interest on the debt at close to six billion dollars. The government has thus far been able to float its indebtedness at relatively low interest rates. Consumer credit charges, corporation and business loans, mortgages and private loans come easily at twice the interest rate paid by the government, or roughly to \$12 billion. Taking the national income at \$180 billion it turns out that the carrying charges on the public and private debts are already absorbing about 10 cents out of every dollar.

Rich and powerful as the American economy is, such a debt burden cannot fail to impose severe strains. We are not far from those limits where further increases in private and public indebtedness can come only as a direct threat to the stability of the entire fiscal structure.

For the mass of the people an intolerable situation has been created by this loading of the debt burden atop the higher taxes and amid the higher prices. Last year, as the consumer credit figures show, the great mass of the people already found it impossible to obtain the food, clothing and shelter they needed without going into debt, faster and more deeply than ever before.

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The Akron branch of the Socialist Workers Party provided me with the high spot of the tour so far. It's a small branch and I really didn't expect them to be able to do very much. But the new organizer in Akron, Lou Cooper, is not one to be discouraged when confronted with a big job and small forces. They put out a nice printed leaflet, distributed it widely, got announcements of the meeting in the newspapers and over the radio and organized the available cars to transport friends to the hall.

In this way they attracted an audience four times the size of the branch. And that's a real accomplishment. I was particularly happy to see five young people come to the meeting in response to one campus distribution.

From the city of rubber factories I went to the city of steel mills, Youngstown. After our meeting one of the steel workers took me for a night drive around the area. It was an impressive sight. The huge cranes and the massive piles of iron ore were clearly outlined by the bright light of the bessemer flame. Sparks showered profusely like a brilliant display of Fourth of July fireworks. Smoke filled the air and the heat of steel-making processes even warmed the waters of the river. Steam rose from the surface of the slow-moving stream as it coursed its way through the cold night air.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

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Not only man but all of nature is trapped, used and transformed, by this giant capitalist industry which provides the basic materials of all other production enterprises. Foul odors pervade the city and all is blackened and grimy with smoke. Of course, none of this is necessary. Making steel could be a safe and comfortable and clean occupation if all this productive might created by labor were used to shorten working hours, if science were used to protect the city and its inhabitants, instead of making profits for big corporations.

In my economic studies I learned all about the different rates of production of ingots in England, the U.S., Germany, etc. But until my visit to this steel metropolis I had never seen an ingot and had only the vaguest notion of what it was. I should have liked to go inside the steel plant and watch the process from the arrival of the iron ore to the work of the rolling mill, but these industrial centers are barricaded with guards like a federal penitentiary.

And the analogy doesn't stop there. The workers are imprisoned inside. Most of them are serving life sentences and when they are old there will be little to show for the many years of labor except the increased riches of the rich. Furthermore, the greed of the profiteers drives the men to work faster and faster until the intensity of labor leaves them exhausted at the end of the shift and increases the hazards of their labor. A speed-up drive is now going on in the steel mills in response to the demand of the war economy. No working class in the world has to work at such a pace as that demanded by U.S. Big Business.

After my meetings in Youngstown we drove to Pittsburgh through one industrial town after another. In this area is a very concentrated section of the American working class. Whole towns are owned and dominated by one capitalist corporation. I hope that in our 1952 election campaign we shall be able to penetrate these towns with our liberating socialist program. They will understand and appreciate it better than most people.

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Anti-War Candidates Speak To 18 San Francisco Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 29.—Frank Barbara and Harry Press, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for Mayor and Supervisor, have completed 18 appearances before union meetings in San Francisco after the first two weeks of campaigning.

The Ship Scalers and Painters local, of the Int'l and Longshoremen and Warehousemen's union responded with exceptional enthusiasm to Barbara's socialist analysis and solution to the workers' problems today. Barbara described the sharp drop in production in 1949; he showed that in that year steel production declined 22% in only five months, whereas it took three years for steel to drop 20% after the 1929 crash.

WAR FOR MARKETS

"In spite of Marshall Plan money taken from the American taxpayers and distributed to European capitalists to purchase American goods, the spending of GI mustering-out pay and the workers using up what savings they may have tucked away during wartime employment, the market was still not enough to keep the capitalist machine going under peacetime production," Barbara pointed out. "There were 5 million unemployed and small businesses were going broke at the fastest rate in history. The growing economic crisis led to a more intensive struggle to capture old markets and conquer new ones. This is the basic cause of capitalist war. But now some of these markets or colonies are fighting for their independence, they don't want to be colonies any longer. This is the meaning of the war in Korea. We socialists demand the Asian people be allowed to decide their own fate and that American troops be withdrawn from foreign soil."

The union membership indicated strong approval of this proposal by their applause. During the question period, Barbara was asked his opinion of the thought-control Smith Act. He related the first prosecutions under this act, the famous Minneapolis case in which 18 leaders of the great Minneapolis teamsters union and of the Socialist Workers Party were railroaded to prison.

After Barbara concluded his remarks the chairman said, "I am glad the speaker referred to the case of the Minneapolis teamsters because at that time we were not fully aware of the significance of the Smith Act and we made a mistake in not coming to their aid." Harry Press, candidate for Supervisor, spoke before a very responsive membership of the AFL Laborers Union Local 261. He explained the war which capitalist America is now preparing, is the third time in 34 years that American youth will be called upon to pull Wall Street's fat out of the fire. "It is time to take the war-making powers out of the hands of Wall Street's puppets in Washington," he declared, "and allow the people to decide by referendum vote all questions of war and peace."

At a meeting of AFL Retail Clerks Union 410, the membership gave serious consideration to what mayoralty candidate Barbara had to say. When the question of admitting him to speak was first considered it was rejected. But a woman arose and pointed out it was a shame that the highly publicized candidates were admitted and the lesser known rejected. She proposed a reconsideration of the question and the membership voted unanimously to hear Barbara. The good response to his talk indicated both agreement with many of the ideas he expressed and also of his right to express those ideas.

Some of the unions before which Barbara and Press have appeared are the Boot and Shoe Workers Union 320, Millmen's Union 42, Painters Union 19, Sheet Metal Workers 104, Brewery Wagon Drivers, etc.

THE MILITANT

Westinghouse Plant Shut Tight by Buffalo Strikers

BUFFALO, Oct. 1.—The huge Cheektowaga plant of the Westinghouse Corporation has been shut tight here for more than a week by a strike of 5,000 workers. The local union took action after many months of fruitless negotiations in which it finally became evident that the company was deliberately seeking a showdown with the workers on the picket line.

Key issues in the strike, which is led by Local 1581, IUE-CIO, are four in number. In a half page advertisement in the Sunday Courier-Express, the union phrased the issues this way:

"1. Westinghouse has attempted to destroy the principle and practice of plant-wide seniority and substitute for it a seniority plan based on (65) 'occupational job units.'

"2. Management has insisted on a policy of laying off employees for three days without pay on either real or fancied violations of plant rules, which in many instances are arbitrary or unjust.

"3. Westinghouse refuses to fulfill its obligations to its employees of agreeing to a completed grievance procedure for its Buffalo IUE-CIO workers.

"4. Westinghouse Buffalo Management has further provoked this action of our members by discharging without justification an IUE-CIO departmental steward who is responsible for handling grievances and other inside-plant problems."

The company attitude to the strike was made crystal clear in an advertisement which attributed the walkout to "a few union leaders" and announced: "Our plant is open to our employees any time they want to come back to work."

POLICE DIRTY WORK

This ad is regarded by the union militants as an open bid to break the strike. Also significant is the fact that the company did not even mention an offer to negotiate.

Today's huge turn-out at the picket line and the enthusiasm shown by the workers gave the lie to the company claim that, "a few arrogant leaders are not permitting the Buffalo plant to get into production." The police, as usual, showed they were doing the corporation dirty work when they arrested IUE Organizer Clifford Haley on a trumped-up disorderly conduct charge following a previous arrest of a Westinghouse striker on the same trumped-up charge.

ON THE LINE

Thus far the company has not dared to send its foremen and other supervisory personnel through the picket line in a body, although a few of them managed to sneak in with the aid of the police. Evidence is piling up, however, that the company intends to use its supervisory personnel as a first measure to disrupt the strike.

Today's mass picket line obviously made it impossible for

the company to carry through its project of breaching the lines. All morning the atmosphere around the picket line was extremely tense in anticipation of police provocation. However, due to the excellent turn-out, the police were completely stymied, except for the arrest of IUE Organizer Haley.

CONFERENCE CALLED OFF

As though to retaliate against the workers for their demonstration, the company this morning cancelled the negotiation conference with the union which it had tentatively set for today.

Plant Manager Botsai told reporters: "Until the officers of Local 1581, IUE-CIO, show some respect for the law and abandon their strongarm tactics of keeping our people out by force, a meeting with them would condone their unlawful acts and is out of the question."

In answer to Botsai, the local union president Stan Pawlak said the company's announcement proved that it "prefers to promote strikebreaking and violence rather than settle the real issues of the strike."

Ominous signs that the company is preparing to obtain an injunction was seen in the fact that the company had ordered cameramen posted on the plant roof to take pictures for use as "evidence" for injunction proceedings.

FEAR BELL TREATMENT

Local 1581, IUE-CIO, is a key union in the local labor movement. It has enjoyed a reputation for militancy and aggressiveness on the Niagara Frontier, which ranks second only to the famed Bell Aircraft Local 501, UAW-CIO. This is the first large scale strike that the Westinghouse local has engaged in and the labor movement here is watching it with the keenest interest. Everywhere throughout the area workers are heard expressing fears that the Westinghouse Corporation is getting set to give the workers in this plant the "Bell Aircraft treatment."

By this is meant the infamous strikebreaking and union-busting tactics employed by the Bell Aircraft Company two years ago, which resulted in so much bloodshed, wholesale arrests, and vigilante tactics employed by the company's deputized gunmen.

REUTHER DUCKS ISSUES OF LAYOFFS, SPEEDUP AT REGIONAL MEETINGS

DETROIT, Sept. 30.—Forced to yield to rank and file pressure for action against the speedup, unemployment, and growing corporation arrogance, Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, arranged a series of regional conferences supposed to give an answer to these problems.

As expected, these so-called conferences are being converted by Reuther into sounding boards for his utopian "theories" and a platform from which to attack the opposition to his bankrupt leadership. A review of the Region 1 "conference" held last Wednesday at Detroit Midland Local 410 hall, makes this clear. Reuther began his speech by asserting "everybody knows that our most important job is to support the war" and at the same time "retain our basic gains."

Dealing with the critical problem of mass unemployment, which has resulted in hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers and thousands more on short work weeks, Reuther gave a detailed account of his numerous trips to Washington and conversations with Truman, Wilson, etc., in an effort to obtain for the auto corporations more steel, aluminum, copper and other material being diverted to war production. He lamented the fact that he was not always properly armed with "facts" and "statistics" as to just what was going on in the various auto plants. He urged the officers to "sacrifice" and become part of this "fight" by devoting "more time" getting more statistics and information.

THE SPEED-UP

Having "disposed" of the unemployment problem with an account of his frequent trips on the Washington "merry-go-round" and his assurance that "a year from now there will be a labor shortage in the Detroit area," Reuther next toyed with the problem of speed-up. "Speed-up is a much abused subject," according to Walter Reuther. "All too often it is just a brick bat for ambitious politicians to throw at the International Union," he added.

Auto workers in Detroit and elsewhere who have watched the lines move ever faster in a man-killing pace will doubtless relax and be reassured, now that the speed-up, according to Reuther, does not really exist but was only dreamed up by nasty anti-Reuther "politicians."

ESCALATOR CLAUSE

Anxious to have the auto workers forget his long time opposition to the escalator clause and his proposal of two years ago that the UAW-CIO prohibit all such clauses, Reuther hailed the operation of the escalator clause as a great achievement of the Reuther leadership and the main factor in the adoption of a "soft wage policy" by the Wage Stab-

ilization Board. Not a word was said about the inadequacy of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index as a measure of the cost of living, or about the fact that no allowance whatever is made for taxes which are taking a larger and larger share of the paychecks of the working people.

ATTACKS OPPOSITION

Content that he had painted a picture of intense International Union activity on behalf of the auto workers, Reuther violently attacked the opposition Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO. Blasting their call for a 30-hour week at 40-hour pay as an answer to the unemployment problem, as unrealistic and "poorly timed," Reuther stated the problem was to "get more goods not more leisure." The real answer to the problem, according to Reuther, is "the guaranteed annual wage" and he assured the audience that the "facts were being assembled so that a fight can be made on this—in 1955." In the meantime "...sharpen up your statistics, boys, and we'll carry them to Washington."

Recognizing the growing support of opposition forces in recent months which have crystallized largely around Ford Local 600 and its leadership, Reuther made a blistering attack upon these leaders, singling out Carl Stellato, Ford Local President and Chairman of the Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO. He charged Stellato and his fellow officers were agents of John L. Lewis in the auto union and that "outside funds" were being used to conduct a campaign against the Reuther administration.

At 5 minutes to eleven, as the auto workers were streaming out the door, Norman Mathews, the chairman, opened the floor for "questions and answers." Ernie Mazey, of Briggs Local 212, expressed the resentment of many of the workers present when he took the floor to denounce the arrangement of the whole conference in such a way as to prevent serious discussion.

The ability of the International Union leadership to get away with this type of "conference" did not rest with themselves alone. Unfortunately, while the leadership of Ford Local 600 had initiated the proposal for a genuine conference to discuss the vital problems of the auto workers, no organized attempt to intervene in "Reuther's conferences" was attempted by the opposition forces contributed greatly to Reuther's ability to make of the "conferences" giant "caucus" meetings instead.

Mulrain, who is out to smash the slowdown and cripple the union, suspended 47 union members for "loitering on the job." The union leaders responded with a defiant declaration that the slowdown would continue until their demands are won. They condemned Mayor Impellitteri, Acting Mayor Joseph T. Sharkey and the Board of Estimate for forcing the slowdown.

Sanitation men's Local III-A of the AFL Building Service Employees Union, representing 9,600 workers, has been conducting a slowdown as part of its campaign to win a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay. They are prohibited from striking by the anti-labor Condon-Wadling Law.

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ON THE SPOT

This struggle has put Sharkey on the spot. In his role as Democratic candidate for President of the City Council, he was all set to make a television speech

Sheet and Tube Plant Shut Over Speed-up

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 1.—Eight months of guerrilla warfare between tonnage-paid steelworkers and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. appeared to be coming to a climax this week as the corporation closed its basic steel plant here at Brier Hill. The company gave as the reason for the shutdown, a claim that the blooming mill workers were conducting so effective a slowdown that it was impossible to operate.

James P. Griffin, director of District 26 of the CIO United Steelworkers, and the presidents of all Sheet and Tube local unions called the shutdown of the Brier Hill plant a lockout. Seventeen hundred workers are idle.

Meanwhile, 1,100 workers at the Republic Rubber plant here struck this morning over an unsettled wage dispute, bringing the total number of workers idle in this Mahoning Valley industrial city to almost 3,000.

The dispute at the Sheet and Tube plant arises from tonnage rates which the company wants to put into effect. After a verbal agreement some time ago between the union and Sheet and Tube for a one percent wage increase, the corporation unilaterally installed its own incentive plan in disregard of the verbal agreement.

These "incentive pay-rate" disputes are so broad that they have included every basic steel

plant in the Mahoning Valley. The companies are attempting to install tonnage wage plans which provide for a pay scale that is lower than the tonnage actually turned out, instead of one that rises with the exact amount of the tonnage increase.

Strikes on this issue have taken place at the U. S. Steel plants here and in Gary, and at the Sharon Steel Co. plant. The battles have also been marked by attempted firings of union leaders who led protest stoppages, and by strikes over these firings. Workers here are beginning to understand that this is a concerted plan of assault by the steel bosses against established working standards.

N.Y. SWP on Radio

over
"People's Choice"
Program
WNEW - 1130 k.
9 to 9:15 P.M.
Fri., Oct. 12 Fri., Oct. 26
Mon., Oct. 22 Mon., Oct. 29
Wed., Oct. 31

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Socialist Forum
presents a lecture on
COLUMBUS DAY, 1951
a Marxist review of the revolutionary development of
American history

Speaker:
Harry Frankel
Friday, Oct. 12 8:30 P.M.
at 423 Springfield Avenue