

# Truman Flouts Bill of Rights In Vatican Deal

By Tom Conlan

The little man in the White House took another swipe at the Bill of Rights and a further step toward reaction by his latest decree ordering full diplomatic relations with the Vatican and appointing four-star General Mark Clark as Ambassador. This is a frontal assault on the basic democratic principle of the separation of church and state.

It comes on the heels of two previous usurpations of constitutional powers: Truman's personal launching of the war in Korea and his recent imposition of the news blackout on all government departments, a body blow to the freedom of the press.

In some respects this move to embrace the Vatican is the most sinister to date. Consider the manner in which it was done. We do not at all mean by this the specious "criticism" in some anti-administration papers who pretend to regard it as a trick to secure the large Catholic vote.

## PROTEST FORESEEN

If anything, Truman stands to lose many more votes than he can possibly gain. The storm of protest from the Protestant clergy, from Congress and from civilian circles generally, could not have come as a surprise to Truman.

It was foreseen just as the secrecy surrounding the entire operation and its timing was deliberate. The move was taken behind the back of Congress and at the last moment before it adjourned precisely in order to prevent the pressure of public

opinion from being fully exerted on the House and Senate. As matters stand, it will be possible to bring behind-the-scenes pressure to bear on Representatives and Senators to whip them in line by the time Congress reconvenes in January.

Congress has obviously been caught off guard and so have been the American people. But was the Vatican? Or the top brass in the Pentagon? You may be sure both were fully consulted and their approval obtained in advance. So far as the military here are concerned their complicity is amply established by the very appointment of a four-star general, who, in addition, has the gall to announce that he will under no circumstances resign his military post.

As for the Vatican, there was never any question of getting its approval. The biggest pressure for "full diplomatic relations" has come from the hierarchy, its agents and allies.

In this respect this move of Truman and the Pentagon working hand in glove with the Holy See should open the eyes of those who have been gulled by the propaganda in this country that the question of the Vatican is exclusively a religious one and that the hierarchy keeps creed scrupulously apart from politics.

## VATICAN IN POLITICS

The Vatican is in politics, as it always has been, up to its ears and invariably on the side of the most reactionary forces. Totalitarianism and the Vatican are of one and the same flesh and spirit.

The Vatican needs Washington's diplomatic recognition, that is open political backing, especially for its operations in Europe. In countries like France and Belgium the existing governments are hanging by a hair precisely because of the Vatican's unremitting pressure for closer and closer consolidation of church and state. With Washington's backing the Holy See hopes to beat down the existing opposition.

The American imperialists are eager to embrace the Vatican to cement the projected alliance with Franco and every other reactionary element in Europe for the projected world war. This open alliance with the totalitarian Vatican is in keeping with the whole character of Wall Street's projected war.

## CIO Woodworkers Say No to Wilson No-Strike Request

Five hundred delegates to the 15th annual convention of the CIO International Woodworkers of America unanimously rejected Economic Stabilizer Charles E. Wilson's request for a no-strike pledge by labor.

The International Woodworker, reporting on the union's convention in Denver early this month, said that Wilson, in asking for the pledge, had stated it was needed now "for the good of the country."

After the proposal was voted down, IWA officials made the following statement:

"The IWA will not give a 'no strike' pledge as long as profiteers gamble with the destinies of our servicemen and the general public with the only thought being to maintain and increase profits."

## DOCK REVOLT SHAKES "KING" RYAN'S THRONE

By Frank Faber

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 — The insurgent East Coast longshore strike is rocking the throne of "King" Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association.

Beginning in New York ten days ago as a "spontaneous" protest against Ryan's sell-out contract with the employers, the strike has daily gathered momentum and is embracing ever wider sections of the union.

## STRIKE IS SPREADING

Manhattan and Brooklyn piers were shut tight in defiance of Ryan's goons and strong-arm racketeers.

New Jersey and Staten Island docks were pulled by roving pickets and remained out despite the efforts of Ryan henchmen to prevent the walkout.

The port of Boston refused to work "hot" ships diverted from New York. Albany followed suit.

The strike is gaining support in Philadelphia and Baltimore where sympathy is strong for the strikers.

The CIO National Maritime Union, meeting here in convention, has instructed its members not to sail ships picketed by striking longshoremen.

The Ryan contract which set off the revolt provides for a wage increase of ten cents an hour, one shape-up per day with a guarantee of four hours work for those hired, and minor fringe benefits.

What especially infuriated the men was a clause inserted in the Ryan contract empowering the employers to hire less than the customary 21-man longshore gangs for certain ship operations. This surrender of working conditions which Ryan traded for a piddling wage increase, meant in some instances, a reduction of two-thirds in the number of men employed.

The strike leaders contend that the vote on the Ryan contract was crooked and that a majority of the men oppose the terms of the

agreement. They demand that negotiations be reopened on the basis of the original demands: for a 25 cents per hour wage raise, one shape-up a day with a guarantee of eight hours work, no reduction in the size of the 21-man gangs and more adequate vacation and welfare clauses.

Accompanying the demand for reopening negotiations is a strong undercurrent welling up from the ranks for the ousting of Ryan. Ryan is identified with gangster control of the union. The prominent part played in the attempt to smash the strike by such notorious thugs as Anthony Anastasia, brother of Albert of "Murder Incorporated" fame, has reinforced the conviction that so long as Ryan remains in office, the dock workers will be easy prey for the swarm of racketeers who infest the union apparatus.

## HIGHER LEVEL

The current struggle against the Ryan machine is on a much higher level than before. In previous revolts, which have regularly occurred whenever Ryan negotiated a new contract, the outbreaks remained sporadic, disorganized, and atomized. But the "rebels" have learned by experience.

For the first time the strikers are carrying picket signs and conducting organized picketing. There have been a larger number of mass meetings and the strike leadership has come out more openly and numerous than before. Flying squadrons are dispatched to weak points and are used to spread the strike to adjacent areas. Contact is being made with other ports. While still weak the strike organization has thus far proved effective. Ryan has good cause to look to his jittery crown.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

# Congress Votes Everything For Big Business, Goes Home

## U.S. Backs Aggression Against Egypt

The British, with complete U.S. backing, have seized the entire Suez area in Egypt, its main ports and cities, transportation and power facilities. Martial law has been imposed and thousands more British troops rushed in.

The N. Y. Times, Oct. 24, expressing the new "strong" moods among the American imperialists, assures the perpetrators of this imperialist crime against the Egyptian people that they have "the moral support of the greater part of the Western World," and gloats over the "holding operation by the British" who, the Times is sure, will stay in Egypt "perhaps for a long time to come."

The following day the U.S. State Department announced it is rushing ahead with the organization of the "Middle East Command" — without the Egyptians! This means that at one stage or another it is contemplated to send in American, French, Turkish and other troops to bolster the current British "holding operation." This, says Washington, will assure a "peaceful settlement" of the Egyptian crisis.

The gloating in capitalist circles here over the "successes" thus far scored in Egypt by this "strong policy" is fully shared in London. The London Times, hailed on Oct. 17, the "changed tone" in the U.S. with regard to Middle East policy. What especially delighted the British colonial despots was the manner in which the Wall Street Journal approved the naked imperialist course in Egypt. "It does not follow," announced this publication of the financial sharks, "that every simpering weakling must have the privilege of imposing his moronic whims on the strong."

The "simpering weaklings" are the Egyptian, Iranian and other Arab masses whose "moronic whim" is to liberate themselves from the abomination of the whole colonial system! Every word here drips with contempt for the colonial masses, and this "new tone" of the American imperialists, will certainly not pass unnoticed by the millions not only in the Middle East but throughout the whole former colonial world. They are demanding, and the American people should demand with them:

## HANDS OFF EGYPT!

## "Equality of Sacrifice"



## Democratic Hoax Flops As Tax Law Is Passed

President Truman signed the new tax law on Oct. 20. This means that federal taxes are increased 12% for working people and 1% for millionaires, and that heavy boosts in sales (excise) taxes on beer, cigarettes, whisky, electrical appliances, automobiles and many other standard items in workers' budgets, will go into effect on Nov. 1.

Economically, the new law is a blow at the living standards of workers, already depressed by rising prices. Politically, it is a dead giveaway on the real nature of the Democratic Party and the cowardice of the labor leaders.

## CIO PROTEST IGNORED

When the House of Representatives met on Oct. 16 to consider the tax bill, its members had received a letter from the CIO asking that the bill be sent back to conference for revision because it "fails to observe the basic principles of equity and equality of sacrifice."

This had no effect on Truman's floor leaders in the House. They asked for adoption of the bill and predicted it would pass by a wide margin.

## THE TRUMAN SQUEEZE

But a number of Democratic representatives from heavily populated working class districts, who had been elected as union-endorsed "friends of labor," decided to make a gesture to the labor movement. Believing that the bill would pass anyhow, they voted against it so they could pose again as "friends of labor" in next year's election.

To their consternation, the bill was defeated 203-157.

Truman of course had no intention of letting the matter rest there. First, he had demanded a 16 1/2 billion dollar tax increase; then he lowered the figure to 10 billions; and now he was determined to get at least the 5 1/2 billions provided in the tax bill just rejected by the House.

So he put on the pressure, letting the Democrats who had voted against the bill know that they would get no patronage if they didn't vote right.

The pressure was felt. When the bill was brought up again on Oct. 19, 23 liberal Democrats and 3 liberal Republicans changed their vote, and a number of others made themselves absent. The bill was passed 185-160.

What happened to the claim that the bill violates "the basic principles of equity and equality of sacrifice"?

## THE HOT POTATO

The CIO had nothing more to say on the subject. It did not send any more letters to Congress until after the bill had been signed. It did not want to "embarrass" the liberal Democrats whom it is going to support next year even though they voted against "equality of sacrifice."

The liberal Democrats then (Continued on page 2)

## Labor Pays Heavy Price for Supporting Capitalist Parties

Big Business has every reason to applaud the 82nd Congress, which adjourned its first session last week. It gave the capitalists, brass hats, price-gougers and rent hogs practically everything they

wanted — the biggest arms program in peacetime history and the biggest profits of all time. It gave the workers one blow after another, raised their cost of living, increased their taxes and dragged them closer to another world war.

When Congress met in January, all the polls showed that the overwhelming majority of the American people wanted the war stopped in Korea, and the troops brought home. But Congress paid no attention to the anti-war sentiments of the people it is supposed to represent.

Instead of stopping the war in Korea, Congress used it as a pretext for rushing ahead with preparations for extending the war on a global scale. Out of the staggering \$95 billion appropriation it made this year, Congress gave 57 billion to the brass hats in this country (who had at their disposal another 37 billion still unspent from previous appropriations) and 7.3 billion to brass hats abroad.

It approved the sending of troops to Europe, a new draft law which provides for universal military training and the building of hundreds of military installations here and overseas.

The new tax bill provides a clear proof of the class bias of Congress. It raised the taxes on workers 12% while the growing number of millionaires will have to pay only 1% more.

## FAIR DEAL DEAD

The Fair Deal program, which was never anything more than a promise, was not even the subject of much talk in Washington this year. No effort was made to pass civil rights legislation or a health insurance program. Nothing was done to curb the witch-hunt. The Taft-Hartley Act remains in full force, except for one second-rate amendment.

Congress flatly refused to permit prices to be controlled, and went out of its way to cancel promised meat rollbacks. Rent controls were put on a local-option basis, with the result that rents were boosted in many parts of the country. Congress saw no reason to let the penny postcard

## Taxes Take Back Quarter of Wages

Federal, state and local taxes "now take one-fourth of the income of a man earning \$3,500" a year. This was the conclusion reached by Roswell McGill, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, after a study of the current tax load in the United States. The new tax law steeply increases the amount that is withdrawn from workers' pay envelopes.

be an exception, and doubled its price.

## BREAD AND CIRCUSES

In Rome the ruling class used to offer the masses bread and circuses. Here the workers have to labor for their bread (whose price also rose this year) while the circuses come in the form of Congressional investigations and hearings. There were 130 of them started in this session of Congress, but most of them served only to promote the witch-hunt or to divert the people's attention from the most significant social, economic and political problems facing them.

The labor leaders are forced to recognize that conditions have gone from bad to worse. But all they have to propose is a "purge list" of a few dozen Congressmen with particularly brazen records, and their replacement by a few dozen other politicians from the same capitalist parties.

## A HEAVY PRICE

The bankruptcy of this policy is shown by the fact that every two years during the last decade the labor leaders have had to characterize the current Congress as "the worst" in modern history. And each Congress is worse than the previous one because capitalist politics is becoming more and more incompatible with the welfare of the working people.

To sum up, experience with the 82nd Congress has taught that labor is paying a heavy price for its leaders' opposition to the formation of an independent labor party.

# The War Collier's DOES Want

By Harry Frankel

Collier's magazine, in a special issue headed "Russia's Defeat and Occupation 1952-1960," lets the cat out of the bag. The fantastic hopes and dreams of the American capitalist class are revealed in a sensationalized, incredibly bloodthirsty number of the magazine, dated October 27, and billed by Collier's in full page newspaper ads as the magazine number that "can change the course of history."

"Preview of the War We Do Not Want" they call it. This is a thin camouflage. Collier's describes the war it does want, happening as it would like to see it happen. The whole issue of the magazine is at one and the same time a program — and a pipe-dream. It is a program for full-scale A-bomb war in the near future. And it is a pipe-dream because it reveals, in all its fantasy, the mad dream of American imperialism; the dream that can never come true. It is a dream of a new war, won quickly through immense atomic destruction, and "pacifying the world" with the peace of the grave.

## COLLIER'S PIPEDREAM

Here is how the pipedream is presented: Collier's magazine editors became, in their own

words, "alarmed . . . over the creeping pessimism of the free world as it faced the threat of an unending series of Korea's." To allay these fears, they planned and published an issue of their magazine projected into the year 1960. From this vantage point, they relate the events of World War III which begins on May 10, 1952 following a Kremlin attempt to assassinate Marshal Tito and

invade Yugoslavia. All that follows hangs upon this flimsy pretext.

The U.S. and supporting imperialist nations immediately declare war, and open "saturation A-bombing" of the USSR! They win this war in a quick, easy campaign in which 90% of the devastation is limited to the Soviet Union, and then proceed to the restoration of capitalism.

Thus is the story told by an assortment of high-priced talent: Robert Sherwood, Hanson Baldwin, Allan Nevins, Arthur Koestler, Walter Winchell, Lowell Thomas, Stuart Chase, Walter Reuther, etc.

## WAR THEY WANT

Every line of the contents of the Collier's "1960" number is really about a war that Collier's

and the U.S. capitalists — really want, and want badly. For example, the subtitle of the main article speaks of the "inevitable outcome: a smashing victory for the West, and the promise of a better era." The article itself says that the first reaction of the "American people was one of relief . . . at least the long period of suspense was ended." Another article says of the Russians:

" . . . the first great relief they experienced was when the conflict actually began."

These articles are typical of the sinister character of the whole magazine. They reveal the purpose of the Collier's project: to picture a sure victory, a "better era" afterwards, and a "great relief" for all peoples, when the war does come. If all this is so, why should Collier's call it "The Unwanted War"? Better call it "The War We Want." That is what the U.S. capitalists really mean.

Like crazed Pied Pipers, they play their grisly tune: "Follow us to war. Victory is sure and easy. A better world lies beyond."

## A-BOMB NIGHTMARE

What about the A-bomb? As an excuse for unlimited U.S. atomic warfare, Collier's first has the Russians A-bomb six or seven U.S. cities. Such bombings, as the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shows, would result in at least 1 1/2 to 2 million deaths, aside from the maiming of millions more. Collier's leaves this very vague, but goes on quickly to point out that U.S. A-bombing of Russia will be "roughly 100 to 1" in favor of the U.S. Bombing on such a scale would

(Continued on page 2)

## Pentagon Pipe-Dream vs. Reality

By Thomas Raymond

Collier's, in its special (Oct. 27) issue pretends to give a realistic forecast of World War III. Actually, the picture it gives is a fantastic distortion of historical development.

Collier's inability to foretell the future can be seen from what is left out of the story. Everything of importance, every great social force reshaping the present world, vanishes without a trace so far as Collier's is concerned.

Completely omitted from their calculations are the vast anti-capitalist movements of Western Europe. These movements, comprising the biggest working class

parties the world has ever seen, show that the working people of Europe want socialism, and are willing to organize and fight for it. Collier's has no mention of that fact — one of the most important social realities of our epoch.

The other great world-wide upheaval, that of the colonial masses of Africa and Asia, which has grown so powerful during the past ten years and which is spreading so rapidly, is also omitted from the calculations of the Collier's editors and writers. With the coming of the war, says Collier's, all of these problems of imperialism will disappear.

What about the U.S. capitalist economy, already badly shaken by the crisis of world capitalism? War preparations are already cutting into the working people's standard of living. A full-scale war would drive the people further down into poverty. Large-scale resistance on the part of the American workers would surely follow.

## SPECTRAL DREAM

These omissions indicate just how spectral the Collier's pipe-dream is. In this dream, all the burning social problems of our epoch that are arousing the colonial and proletarian masses

from one end of the globe to the other will vanish with the coming of the war. The whole social trend, which is undermining, weakening and must end in destroying capitalism, will reverse itself and begin to favor capitalism as soon as war starts and Wall Street begins to apply unlimited force. That is the dream.

That is why they long for the war to come. They hope to reverse the progressive course of history with the A-bomb.

American capitalism, if and when it does embark on such an insane adventure, will find that (Continued on Page 2)



# Notebook of an Agitator

## THEY STRAIN AT A GNAT

"Politics makes strange bed-fellows," and the issue of "crime in politics," Rudolph Halley's one-point program in the race for President of New York City Council, is a big enough blanket to cover a wide assortment of sleepers. Staking out a place for itself on the same bunk with the Socialist Call and the New Leader, the New York Times says positively: "There is one overriding issue in the election of Nov. 6." That issue "is corruption, graft, bribery, political favoritism, the Tammany-Costello type of government."

The ADA World, organ of Americans for Democratic Action, has an article on the same theme by Gus Tyler, one of the bright young left-wing socialists of the 30's, who made the remarkable discovery that socialism doesn't pay but crime does, and something ought to be done about it. Crime, that is, not socialism. "Sin," he says, is "THE dominant issue in the many municipal elections across our country this November." Halley, for his part, avows in the New Leader that "the fight against crime is my personal war." And Tyler comes right back with a new synonym for sin and crime and a false definition: "THE BIG FIX is the selection and election of public officials who know that they owe their elevated position in government to the underworld."

I don't believe a word of it. Even on their own level — the level of crime, graft and corruption — the campaign of Halley and his Liberal Party sponsors and his Republican, Democratic and "Socialist" supporters is a fake and a diversion from the real, big-scale political shakedown racket. They "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

### The Real Big Steals

There is no doubt whatever, as numerous investigations and exposures have already revealed, that the American governmental structure is rotten with corruption from top to bottom. But the operations of the local gamblers and gangsters are only a small part of it. The real big steals and swindles take place in Washington under the protecting umbrella of the Truman Administration. Nobody knows that better than Rudolph Halley. Why doesn't he tell the people the truth about the high-class grafters and influence peddlers down there? Why does he nibble at the fringes of the question and concentrate all attention on the comparatively minor grafts and rackets of the local criminals who have to operate in the shadows outside the law?

Perhaps a speech of Halley's, reported in the New York Post, gives the explanation. Speaking at the local convention of Americans for Democratic Action — those dare-devil liberals who have the bookies scared to death — Halley said that as a Democrat it was not a pleasant thing to have to fight his own party. But, he added, the organization had to be purged of gangsters and self-seekers. He meant the local organization of his party, Tammany, which has always been fair game for any two-bit reformer. He didn't mean the national organization in the saddle at Washington where the big thievery goes on. He didn't tell us anything about that. So I'll tell him a few things; just a few — it would take a big book to tell only a small part of what informed people already know.

### "Legitimate" Graft

I'll skip over the well-publicized deep-freezers, mink coats, free hotel accommodations, big cameras and medium-sized hams, and similar trifles and trinkets which mysteriously accrued to practically every government official of Mr. Halley's "own party" who has been investigated yet. This small stuff is interesting only as "atmosphere." Chairman Boyle's "legal fees" come under the same general heading. After all, he only collected a hundred thousand dollars or so — as far as the investigation has revealed up to date. That's still peanuts. The appropriation of other people's money in the form of more or less "legitimate" graft runs into billions and tens of billions. Part of the story is already known, but Halley, hot on the trail of gamblers and gangsters, hasn't said anything about it yet.

Take the "tax amortization" racket, for example. That is really fantastic. Tom Conlan explained in The Militant a few weeks ago how it works: "Tax amortization" is a slick scheme whereby the big corporations may evade paying taxes altogether. Here is how it works. A corporation files notice that it proposes to construct and equip such and such a plant and then gets it certified as "vital for defense." Thereupon it is issued special certificates enabling it to deduct from its taxes the full cost of such a plant in five yearly installments. The plant thus costs the corporation exactly nothing. The total of such "amortized" plants already amounts to almost 10 billion dollars.

Whose money is that? Well, pal, some of it used to be yours before the government put the

withholding tax bite on your pay envelopes. You could lose a lot of two-dollar bets to the bookies and still feel no pain if you had that tax money back.

Take one more example of the big and still slightly legal graft revealed by Joseph Alsop in the New York Herald Tribune Oct. 10. Truman appointed his "poker crony, former Gov. Mon C. Wallgren of Washington" as chairman of the Federal Power Commission, and Wallgren "turned the Power Commission over to the industries it is supposed to regulate."

There was big dough in this deal. Alsop continues: "As soon as Wallgren was named chairman of the Federal Power Commission, he enacted by simple administrative ruling Sen. Kerr's bill to free natural gas producers from Commission regulation, which the President had just vetoed." The first beneficiary was the giant Phillips Petroleum Company in which Senator Kerr had a vital interest. Says Alsop:

### "Golden Results"

"The effect of the Wallgren ruling, of course, was to permit the increased gas prices being demanded by Phillips. In his minority opinion, Power-Commissioner Thomas Buchanan estimated that these gas price increases would cost the customers of just one pipeline company, the Michigan-Wisconsin, a total of \$5,000,000 annually, or \$125,000,000 for the life of the contract. For the people of Detroit alone, the bill was put at \$1,770,000 a year. Former Power Commission Chairman Leland Olds has also estimated that the price increases raised the value of the natural gas reserves of the Phillips Company alone by no less than \$700,000,000. And, of course, the Power Commission ruling in the Phillips case means similar golden results for all other gas-producing companies like Phillips."

Senator Kerr, who is not on the list of criminals against whom Halley is waging a "personal war," did pretty well for himself in the deal. Alsop writes:

"Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Phillips should have shown friendship to Sen. Kerr, proponent of the Kerr bill, worker for the Wallgren appointment, and large owner of gas and oil properties in his own right. And in fact, at the time when the Kerr bill was expected to become law, Phillips transferred 100 sections of proven gas acreage to the Tascosa Corporation, a specially organized subsidiary of Sen. Kerr's company, Kerr-McGee. Phillips also entered into a most unusual contract with Tascosa for exploitation of this acreage."

"According to an official memorandum from the Phillips Company files, this transfer and contract will result in a long-run profit to Tascosa, also chiefly owned by Sen. Kerr, of at least \$1,297,000 and more, probably upwards of \$2,000,000."

What Truman's "poker crony," Mon C. Wallgren, got out of it is not stated. But at the risk of getting pinched for gambling in the current anti-crime crusade I'll lay you 6 to 5 he didn't lose anything.

Alsop is worried about the chain reaction from the Phillips case: "The 'integrated' pipeline companies, including Panhandle Eastern, employing as counsel John Scott, an ex-law office associate of Democratic National Chairman William Boyle, have now come before the Federal Power Commission. These companies own their own gas wells as well as pipelines. They say, 'If Phillips can charge whatever the traffic will bear for gas at the wellhead, why can't we?'"

Why not, indeed? Especially if they have an ex-law office associate of ex-Chairman Boyle to front for them. "If this happens," says the indignant Joseph Alsop, "the process that began with Mon C. Wallgren can end, not with a mere additional annual bill of a couple of hundred millions for natural gas consumers, but an additional bill of maybe \$1,000,000,000 or more for electricity users."

### Spill-Over from Main Shakedown

It begins to run into money, doesn't it? But even these huge sums are only the spill-over from the main shakedown of capitalist exploitation. That works automatically to make a few drones and parasites fabulously rich and keep the workers poor from working.

Richard Croker, the unabashed Tammany leader of an earlier day, put his finger on it when he told Lincoln Steffens, "There is graft in Wall Street, of course. . . Like a businessman in business, I work for my own pocket all the time." And then he added for the benefit of charlatan reformers and their dupes who promise to solve social problems by fighting petty crime: "If we get big graft, and the cops and small-fry politicians know it, we can't decently kick at their petty stuff. Can we, now? We can't be hypocrites like the reformers who sometimes seem to me not to know that they live on graft." — J. P. C.

# Ford Local 600 Fights Gag Attempt by Reuther

By Everett Kennedy

**DETROIT** — Alarmed at the growing opposition to his do-nothing leadership, Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, has moved to stifle all criticism of his policies and gag the opposition leaders. Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600 and chairman of the opposition Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO, and Pat Rice, vice-president of Local 600, were recently ordered to appear before the International Executive Board to answer charges that certain material published in Ford Facts was "detrimental to the interests of the International Union."

### KANGAROO COURT

Stellato and Rice appeared before Reuther's kangaroo court accompanied by the entire Ford Local 600 Executive Board. When they found themselves confronted

with general and unsupported allegations, both Ford Local officers insisted on their constitutional right to have any charges against them presented in written form, after which they were prepared to submit their answer in writing.

### STELLATO ACCUSES

From accused, Stellato became the accuser. He castigated the Board for its indulgence in political sniping and a smear of the Ford Local leadership at a time when they are doing nothing to meet the emergency problems of more than 100,000 unemployed auto workers in the Detroit area.

Reuther tried in vain to provoke Stellato into a discussion of the post-UAW Convention issue of Ford Facts in which Stellato broke with Reuther in a scathing denunciation of the unprincipled politics played by the Reuther machine at the convention. Then Reuther reluctantly agreed to present his charges in writing.

Thus far, no written charges have been received by the Ford Local leadership.

### GROWING OPPOSITION

While it is not yet clear just how far Reuther intends to go in his latest attempt to intimidate his opponents, the auto workers must be on guard if their democratic rights are to be maintained. It is significant that Reuther's move against Stellato came as the Committee for a Democratic UAW is winning support for its program among increasing numbers of auto workers.

### REUTHER CONDEMNED

The last meeting of the General Council of Ford Local 600 gave Reuther a fitting answer to his attempted crackdown on Stellato and Rice. With only seven dissenting votes, more than 200 delegates adopted a resolution condemning the Reuther action and pledging full support to the Ford Local leadership.

# How Reuther Fought the Speedup -- In 1960 -- In Nizhni Novgorod

American auto workers will be glad to learn that Walter Reuther is going to do something to stop "inhuman speedup." Not this year and not in Detroit or Flint, of course. His attack on speedup, he positively assures us, will take place — in 1960 — in Nizhni Novgorod.

Reuther asserts this in the sensational issue of Collier's which is devoted to fictional accounts of the war Collier's would like to see waged against the Soviet Union. The CIO United Auto Workers president is the sole labor contributor to this brain-storm of atomic conquest.

Other articles tell how Russia is practically blown-off the map with "saturation A-bombings." Reuther's piece tells how he heads a team sent by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to "assist in building free trade unions and aid in the general rehabilitation" of the Russian workers — if there are any left to "rehabilitate."

### THE SPEEDUP

Speedup was the big grievance of the Russian auto workers before American imperialist atom-bombing them into "freedom." One of the characters Reuther invents, Malchin, who heads the "Auto Workers' Council of the All-Russian Democratic Labor Federation," tells how he was sent to a Siberian labor camp before

the imaginary war, for attacking Stalin's "vicious sweatshop system that pitted worker against worker and which inhumanly attempted to drive workers for greater production under the guise of patriotism."

If you didn't know Reuther was talking about Russia, you might think it was an American auto militant from Detroit describing the growing speedup under Reuther's five-year contracts.

### WHERE WAS REUTHER?

Reuther doesn't have any trouble telling us what the war will do for the Russian workers — those that survive A-bomb "liberation." But he says nothing of the consequences for American workers. According to the fictional Collier's account, the first Russian A-bombs hit Detroit — so that settles the Detroit auto workers' speedup problem.

If we may be permitted to barge in on the prophecy act, we'd predict that unless Reuther gets in a hustle to eliminate the speedup here, the American auto workers will likely boot him out of office long before he sets sail for Russia on his "Mission to Nizhni Novgorod."

# PENTAGON PIPE-DREAM AND THE REALITY

(Continued from page 1)

the war, instead of relieving it of problems, will intensify all of them. The First and Second World Wars were only minor social upheavals in comparison to a Third World War.

The capitalists will learn that social progress cannot be halted by force. The unlimited force they dream of using will, from the very beginning, be strictly limited by the social upheavals of the people of all the world. In the end, the people will destroy capitalism and its A-bombs, not the other way around.

### THE REAL FUTURE

Among the more grotesque aspects of the Collier's picture,

is the portrait of the post-war world. The articles written by Walter Reuther, Arthur Koestler and other Social-Democratic hangers-on of American capitalism are based on the ridiculous assumption that they and their kind will be put in charge of the world after the war! They do not realize that if capitalism ever managed, by some miracle to survive another world war, it would be in a form so reactionary, so bestialized, so fascist-like that it would have absolutely no room for the Reuthers.

### BIGGEST MISTAKE

The biggest mistake that the editors of Collier's make, along with the American capitalists, is to assume that American workers will remain as blind, timid, docile and subservient as the official labor leaders. They will not uncomplainingly or passively endure all the terrible burdens and sacrifices of another war to promote the imperialist program of world subjugation.

### MILITANT RECORD

There is little in the record of the labor movement of this country to lead anyone to believe that it can be led by the nose — least of all, degraded to the abysmal levels that the next global war will inescapably bring in its wake. On the contrary, U.S. labor's entire recent past guarantees that it will fight militantly and unwaveringly against every attempt to slash living levels, to deprive the unions of their rights and independence, to convert the workers into mere adjuncts of the war machine.

### A BETTER WORLD

Don't deceive yourselves, gentlemen, the working people of this country, together with the toilers of the whole world, will live and struggle on, no matter what you, the capitalists, do. We will live on, and build a better world. That is the real future.

# L. A. Employer Gets Weiss Offer to Debate Socialism

**MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 16**—Sixty University of Minnesota students heard Myra Tanner Weiss brand the U.S. Government as the aggressor in the Korean war. The meeting was sponsored by the Student Group for Political Analysis, the campus organization before which Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Party spokesman, debated Minnesota State Senator Joe Childs last year.

Mrs. Weiss's campus appearance was originally projected as a debate on the Korean War. Students asked a number of outspoken pro-war professors to defend their views in debate with the SWP lecturer. None, however, could "find the time" to put their ideas to the test of open discussion.

Questions and comments from students, many of whom were hearing a socialist analysis of the Korean war for the first time, indicated a considerable degree of agreement with the SWP standpoint. Applause interrupted the speaker when she hit the Truman Administration for posing as the defender of democracy abroad while suppressing civil liberties at home.

The foundation of a Marxist Socialist Club on the campus was proposed during the discussion.

By Winifred Nelson

**ST. PAUL, October 16** — Myra Tanner Weiss spoke here tonight before a gathering of workers, students and housewives at the American House on the subject, "A Socialist Program for the United States." The meeting was sponsored by the St. Paul Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The hall was filled to capacity with persons both old and young, colored and white, who had come to hear a socialist talk against war and for a future of peace and plenty for all. A large sign at the front of the hall set the theme for the meeting: "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—END WAR THROUGH SOCIALISM." A literature display at the back of the hall featured the speaker's pamphlet, "Vigilante Terror in Fontana" and other Marxist works.

"The primary lesson of the Korean war," stated Comrade Weiss, "is that American foreign policy is made on Wall Street. It is openly imperialistic, aggressive and reactionary in the extreme." So long as Wall Street dominates, she continued, a third world war is inevitable. "But," she declared, "Wall Street is not the

only America. The American working class will have a say about the future of the United States and the world."

Following the meeting, the audience contributed generously to a collection to help make possible future meetings of the SWP here.

**LOS ANGELES, Oct. 17** — Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party and veteran of five electoral campaigns, has flung a challenge to debate Mr. Reese H. Taylor, President of the Union Oil Co. Mr. Taylor, in a speech before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, as reported in the Oct. 4 Los Angeles Times, attacked the ideas of Marxism, and stated he was interested in defending his point of view before as wide an audience as possible.

Upon receiving a copy of the newspaper article, Mrs. Weiss, now on a national tour, wrote to Mr. Taylor urging him to debate the subject, "Was Marx Right or Wrong?" before the people of Los Angeles. Her tour will take her back to Los Angeles on Nov. 7 in preparation for a mass meeting to be held on Nov. 16 at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St.

In response to Mr. Taylor's offer to "go out and to battle with the communist hot-eyed disciples," wrote Mrs. Weiss: "I take this to mean that you would be willing to 'do battle' with a spokesman of Marxist theory which is scientific socialism."

"Even as you feel the importance of publicizing your conception of American economy as a new economic system different from what Marx predicted for us," she concluded, "so I feel the importance of making clear how American social reality is precisely the greatest confirmation of Marxist theory."

### WRITES EDITOR

Also informing Mr. Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles Times of her challenge to debate Mr. Taylor, Mrs. Weiss wrote: "Mr. Taylor makes no distinction between the Stalinist distortions of Marxism and that scientific system of thought which Karl Marx evolved. These Stalinists with their vulgarized caricature of Marxism will never be able to answer Mr. Taylor. But genuine Marxists have been answering Mr. Taylor's arguments and demolishing them for years."

# THE MILITANT ARMY

This fall's work promises to be full of lively possibilities for Militant salesmen. Advance tapes have already been sent to literature agents of over 1,000 subscriptions secured during the campaign and expiring in November and December. Branch literature agents will be making preparations ahead of time to see that every name on their lists is visited for a renewal.

The new series by Harry Frankel on "Sam Adams and the American Revolution" will be of special interest to these recent subscribers who will want to be sure their subs are renewed in time not to miss any issues in this important series. Student readers will also be interested in regular subscription so that they can be sure to get the whole series. Many will want to clip the articles and save them for reference. When completed they will make a valuable notebook on this important period in American history.

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports a fine sale in Chicago of the Militant featuring stories on the Cicero frameups. Sixteen Militant salesmen, Bert writes, "hit the streets, stood outside meetings, and knocked on doors, to sell well over 650 copies of these issues. Top scorers were John and Snow, who sold 183 papers; Joe and Helen, 131; Bert, 72; and Manny, 60."

### BASED ON FACT

This part is not based on fancy, but on fact. The Pentagon does have a ring of offensive bombing bases all around the USSR. Who, then, is preparing for aggressive warfare? Collier's makes the answer clear enough.

### WAR PROVOCATION

The whole issue of the magazine, from cover to cover, is the most jingoistic war provocation imaginable. The front cover shows an M.P. with "Occupation Forces" stenciled on his helmet, standing guard over the whole of Europe and Asia. If any Moscow magazine ever appeared with similar contents, cries of "War!" would resound from the walls of Congress.

fighting campaign and program have increased interest in The Militant. I sold my copies in half an hour and have had equally good reports from others."

Milwaukee is cleaning, repairing, and painting their headquarters, writes Literature Agent Bill Crane. Bill is taking the opportunity to put his literature files in shape for a head start in the Militant subscription work this fall.

"New York literature sales this week took a step forward," says Literature Agent George Rock. "Campaigners for Michael Bartell, candidate for City Council President, went doorbell ringing Sunday in various parts of the city to tell the voters about our socialist, anti-war program."

"The results were certainly heartening. In addition to distributing copies of our election platform, campaigners sold four subscriptions to The Militant, 52 individual copies, five copies of the pamphlet, 'The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is, What It Stands For,' and seven tickets to our November Election Rally. One subscriber contributed a dollar to the election campaign fund."

"Donald and Irene, two of the day's pace-setters, sold 21 copies of The Militant, one sixth month sub, one copy of the pamphlet, and a ticket to the election rally. "Leo and Steve met a woman whose husband has been in Korea 15 months and hates being there. She was impressed with our program and bought a copy of The Militant and the pamphlet to mail to him."

"Calvin met a fellow who had a subscription to The Militant which had expired. He thought that Calvin had come to take a renewal on his sub. He asked Calvin where the heck he had been. He had been hoping someone would come around for his renewal. He also bought a ticket to the November 2 Election Rally."

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by James P. Cannon

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## HOAX FLOPS AS DEMOCRATS SWITCH TO PASS TAX BILL

(Continued from Page 1)

selves also dropped the question. The only alibi they offered for submitting to the pressure of the White House, the Pentagon and Wall Street was the lame statement that their previous vote had succeeded in "dramatizing" the faults of the bill, and that there was now "no other responsible course" for them to follow but to vote for that same bill, with none of its faults removed.

**WHAT IT PROVES**

Thus the mixup of Oct. 16, while it did not stop the soak-the-poor bill permanently, helped to expose the fact that the Democratic Party as a whole, including its labor-supported liberal wing, is responsible for the increased tax burden on the American people.

**TRUMAN TECHNIQUE**

It also exposed something else. It showed conclusively that when Truman really wants to exert pressure on the Democratic members of Congress, he can do it. He always does it when the interests of Big Business are at stake. He only makes a pretense of doing it when it comes to issues like civil rights legislation, the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran thought-control law.

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Monday, October 29, 1951

Atomic War and Social Revolution

Collier's magazine brazenly offers its so-called "preview of World War III" as primarily "a warning to the Kremlin." This is a transparent subterfuge. Shoddy fiction is not likely to impress the Kremlin rulers who are themselves specialists in throwing sand into people's eyes.

signal for their long-awaited emancipation. To appraise the power and consequences of the colonial revolution is beyond the horizon of the Pentagon or the Collier's editorial offices. For the first time, the great bulk of mankind on our planet, untold hundreds of millions of the most poverty stricken and oppressed have moved into the center of the political arena.

But behind these deliberate lies there is the actual thinking, the whole mental outlook of these editors and writers who mirror the outlook and thinking of the capitalist rulers in this country.

So conservative a politician as Senator Malone of Nevada did not hesitate to predict on the Senate floor that "within 5 or 6 years the Negroes of Africa will run the colonial nations out of Africa — including us, if we are still supporting them." (Congressional Record, Oct. 18.)

Let us take, for example, the interval set by Collier's for the duration of the war. It will last, assure all these editors and writers, only a brief three years, as against the First World War which took four years; and the last one which endured for six.

It is not that Sen. Malone is more farsighted than his colleague, he is simply less ignorant of what is taking place throughout the former colonial world.

Is this "promise" of a comparatively brief and therefore "easy" war simply deception? Or is there an element of self-deception also involved? Let us recall that in World War I the Kaiser and his generals confidently expected a quick victory. So did the opposing side. World War II also began as a "blitz" but did not end that way. Hitler confidently expected to overrun the Soviet Union in a few months, and so did many generals in Washington and London.

The colonial revolution, the great world event of our time, has gathered its awe-inspiring momentum through the victory of the Chinese masses which has brought to power the Mao Tse-tung regime. This victory was not expected by Washington, which staked, as it still does, everything on Chiang Kai-shek. Only fools and scoundrels will claim that the Kremlin expected it or aided the Chinese Revolution, either. Up to the very last moment, Stalin continued to peddle his assistance to Chiang and Washington.

But there is a far deeper lesson which history has taught and which the capitalist-minded rulers apparently are incapable of learning. We refer here to the revolutionary consequences of world wars, to which Collier's, like its predecessors in Europe, remains completely blind.

Great social upheavals that never entered into the reckoning of the warmakers resulted from both of the previous world wars. The whole world is convulsed right now by the birth-pangs of the social transformation already embracing the bulk of humanity. Yet the purblind strategists in the Pentagon, and their sensational journalistic choir-boys in Collier's, leave the social revolution completely out of their calculations, and seek to dupe the American people into making the same incredible blunder.

The next world war, as depicted by these would-be prophets, is to be in the nature of a single combat between two world powers — the U.S. on the one side, the Soviet Union, isolated, on the other — with victory guaranteed in advance to Washington. All this is not only according to Collier's, but also according to Pentagon. No such guarantees are offered by history which has demonstrated time and again that armies remain invincible and nations unconquerable only in nationalistic mythology.

The projected global holocaust of the war-mad American imperialists will not check this worldwide process of social transformation. It will only speed it up.

It is a fact that neither of the two previous world wars followed the neatly pre-arranged military patterns of belligerents on either side. The First World War ended in the Great Russian Revolution of 1917 — a world event expected by nobody except a handful of Russian Marxists headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

These rulers cannot accept the colossal movement of Asian, African and all other colonial peoples toward freedom, independence and economic equality; they must clash head-on with it, otherwise their capitalist system dies. But the American people, above all the workers and poor farmers, have every reason to hail the colonial revolution for what it really is, the second harbinger, after the Russian Revolution, of the socialist transformation of the whole world.

To whom did the Second World War bring victory? The map of the world has indeed been changed, so drastically altered as to be hardly recognizable — but not in favor of either the victors or the defeated in the last world slaughter. The greatest beneficiaries thus far have been the colonial masses for whom the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 came as a

Two world wars have demonstrated how decayed and destructive capitalism has become, and how with each war it digs its own grave deeper and deeper. Another world war, more terrible and destructive than all that were ever waged put together, is too big a price to pay in order to permit capitalism to survive a little longer. The more resolutely the reigning capitalist leaders press toward war, all the more will the American people awaken to the truth that socialism offers them and mankind the only program whereby it is possible to live in peace.

The Road to Peace

The burning need of the peoples throughout the world is to find the genuine road to peace. The key task of revolutionary socialists is the struggle against the relentless war drive which is powered by American imperialism. Indispensable to such a life-and-death issue are absolute clarity, knowledge of correct methods of struggle, and uncompromising exposure of all phony peace slogans which simply exploit the genuine peace sentiments of the mass of the people by diverting them into impotent pacifist channels.

The essence of Cannon's approach is to bring into clear contrast the shoddy Stalinist counterfeit with the socialist position on the struggle against imperialist war as enunciated by all genuine internationalist labor leaders and especially by Lenin.

That is why we recommend as MUST reading to our readers and their friends the pamphlet "The Road to Peace," by James P. Cannon, just published by Pioneer Publishers. Collected in this pamphlet are the articles which originally appeared from week to week in our paper under the headings "The Stalinist Peace Policy" and "The Stalinist Ideology."

The greater the number of workers reached by the vital message contained in this pamphlet, the broader will become the avenues for the genuine struggle for peace. That is why we highly commend the decision of the Socialist Workers Party to place the sale of this timely pamphlet on a campaign basis in order to make sure it reaches the largest possible working class audience.

The author's treatment centers on the Stalinists for the very reason that the Kremlin is the main force today diverting the anti-war mass moods into fraudulent and demoralizing "People's Front

The campaign, conducted on a national scale, will go on for three months, beginning November 15.

To participate in this campaign you need not be a member of the Socialist Workers Party. We urge all our readers to promote its success by ordering extra copies from Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Urge your friends and shopmates to read it. You will thereby be helping to pave the road to peace through socialism.

Capitalism Can't Live Without War Economy

By John G. Wright

The American people are pounded day in and day out with the propaganda that arms production will not only make this country strong, rendering it safe from "aggressor attack," but that it is the best guarantee of peace. This is a barefaced hoax.

shortage of consumer goods would prevail, plus a labor shortage. A shooting war in Korea, plus a hiked arms program, plus the increase of the armed forces to 3 1/2 million men, all this spelled universal shortages to capitalist minds still thinking in prewar terms.

widely publicized "price wars" failed to boost sales. September, a barometer to fall sales trends, has also proven disappointing. There has been an upturn, but below the one that was seasonally expected, "not yet as much as merchants had hoped," reports the National City Bank in its Monthly Letter for October.

The historical fact is that every arms race in the past has ended in a major shooting war, and the arms race now in progress is no exception. But what makes the war danger even more acute is the additional factor that capitalist economy has now developed to the point where civilian demand at home and abroad is able to absorb only a fraction of the entire productive capacity.

Instead of shortages there materialized a 70 billion dollar glut, with merchandise piling up in stores and warehouses from one end of the country to the other, and with unemployment rising sharply.

PRIMING ARMS PUMP

The one thing that has prevented the bottom from dropping out of the whole economy, it is universally admitted, is the arms boom. The government is pumping in orders at the rate of four billion a month. Appropriations for a total of 100 billion dollars have already passed Congress. Early next year, it is confidently predicted, a score or so more billions will be appropriated to expand the air force and the atom bomb plants still further.

For a market that can absorb the output of American industry, capitalism requires nothing less than the unlimited market of production for war.

TWO MAIN FACTORS

Two factors were primarily responsible for this entirely unexpected development. First there was the tremendous growth of productive capacity in the post-war period which in many cases matched and surpassed the stormy growth of the war years. In the last six years more than 100 billion dollars have been invested in new plant and equipment. Old plants have been modernized and productivity significantly increased. Under the impact of Korea, the "panic buying" and soaring prices, this productive capacity went into high gear, flooding the available outlets.

A GLOOMY VIEW

This state of affairs is mirrored in the thinking of business. In a survey conducted by Business Week, Oct. 6, one St. Louis manufacturer is reported as follows: "If the defense program ends, we will have one hell of a depression." This "philosophy," cautiously says Business Week, "to a much lesser degree has come to shade most businessmen's long-term thinking." But the editors then go on to admit that "the smart money boys are placing at least some of their bets on a possible economic dive around 1953," when the arms program will presumably begin tapering off.

DEPRESSION OR WAR

The entire postwar experience has proved this to the hilt. Even before Korea, U.S. military appropriations set an all-time "peace" record. But these large arms budgets, on top of domestic and world-wide demand for consumer goods, arising from the destruction, shortages and scarcities of the last global conflict, proved not enough. On the eve of Korea, 16 months ago, this country tottered on the brink of depression, with production dropping off and unemployment climbing to five to six million.

And here we come to the second factor. The purchasing power of the mass of the population had meanwhile been dropping off. Stiff prices and stiff taxes "priced" several more millions out of the market.

As matters stand, the dominant economic factor is the arms program. The government has already stepped into the position

THE "KOREA BOOM"

The "Korea boom" staved off the depression. It was confidently forecast by all the authorities, from the top government circles, through the big-time speculators, to the little stockjobbers, that by fall of last year a universal

As a result, throughout last spring and summer the civilian markets and civilian production have steadily declined. In some instances, such as refrigerators and television, comments Business Week, Sept. 29 sales still are "dead like in a cemetery." Administration warnings of future shortages, new regulations liberalizing consumer credit,

The Philippines Aflame With Agrarian Revolution

By John Black

Only the word revolution can accurately describe the present situation in the Philippines. Against the corrupt, dictatorial, reactionary and floundering government of landowners, merchants and their lawyers, 10,000 hard-hitting and determined Huks are waging open warfare.

course, he would like to catch them, but unable to do that he aims to take away the water. The water in which these fish swim are the farmers.

The Huks (the word is an abbreviation from the Tagalog words for People's Liberation Army) control large areas, often right up to the city limits. Sometimes they take over villages and towns for short periods. When they do, they set up a government, elected by the responsive population, which deals out justice to the "collaborators," village usurers and government informers. Before the Quirino government is able to concentrate its military forces, the Huks have melted back into the countryside, the heavy forests, the swamp terrain or their almost impenetrable mountain bastions. Leaving with them will be new recruits and left behind will be a community which has tasted, even if briefly, self-government such as they have never received from the Manila politicians.

Magsaysay's plan is to clear large areas of farmers, burn their villages and transport the inhabitants to the desolate island of Mindanao, where they will be set to work in policed camps. These camps are army projects and run accordingly. One of them is located in a wilderness 21.5 kilometers from the little village of Tubod, province of Lanao on Mindanao.

providing four years of freedom from any kind of taxation for any new and "necessary" business providing it had a payroll of over 25 employees or a capital investment of over 50,000 pesos. Compare this tax gift to the rich with the big increase in the cost of living and it is easy to see how crushing is the burden on the mass of the people.

GUERRILLA TACTICS

The Huk weapons are marked "Made in Japan" or "Made in the U.S." Much surplus material fell into the hands of these guerrillas who had campaigned throughout the war years against the Japanese occupation and even more against the native black marketers and collaborators. Although organized in an efficient, centralized fashion, with training camps, communication centers and farming areas where they grow their own supplies, their tactics are by and large of a guerrilla type. They attack usually in small groups of 50 to 100 and maintain extreme mobility, travelling very fast over the old water-buffalo trails.

The army operates out-and-out concentration camps too. On April 4 of this year Magsaysay announced he was negotiating the purchase of a former United Nations camp for displaced persons at Guisan, province of Samar. It is to be turned into a camp for political prisoners.

The native ruling group is divided into two political party machines based on personal allegiance and job control. When the incumbent President Quirino announced his candidacy at an open air rally, his opponents pointed out he had aptly chosen the location. Quirino managed to have every tree, bird and bee on the island vote for him. Both parties have learned all the tricks of stuffing the ballot box from their American mentors, adding a few of their own.

TRUE FACTS REVEALED

Originally concentrated on the main island of Luzon in the "sharecropper belt," their activity now extends to all the larger islands. The Quirino government is grudging with its information, but a glance at the Philippine press reveals, piecemeal, the true facts. Thus, during Feb. 19 to 27, a typical period, 14 separate clashes between government forces and the so-called "dissidents" occurred, involving several hundred casualties, from one end of the island group to the other.

Support for the Huks comes largely from the poor farmers and tenants in the countryside, but the corruption of the administration, its dictatorial rule, and soaring living costs have caused broad sections of the population to look toward the Huks.

Police repression. The protest and anger of the population have brought only increased repressions. Civil rights, along with the writ, have long been suspended. The army and the police hold "suspects" for long periods without trial or hearing. The army has the right to search premises.

BURDEN ON POOR

The new budget submitted to the Philippine Congress this spring allots half of the total revenues to the armed forces. On April 10 this year the cabinet adopted a set of regulations

One scandal after another rocks the administration. The large-scale surplus property swindles, the open smuggling under the eyes of officials, the scandals over veteran payments and war damage claims, the more recent cases of the Chinese immigration racket, have alienated all sections of the population. Government officials right up to the President's "kitchen" cabinet have been implicated.

Last October the government's Military Intelligence Service arrested more than 100 persons in the city of Manila, some 30 of whom have been brought to trial. The MIS claims that this smashed the "Secretariat of the Huks," including its courier and financial service. Six death sentences and 20 long jail terms were pronounced in May. At the same time the government announced that it was experimenting with one of Wall Street's contributions to the "free world." Napalm (jelled gasoline) is to be used against the Huks.

Inflation is a scourge. According to the last available figures issued by the Central Bank of the Philippines the cost of living index rose to 367.5 in April, 1950, or almost four times the prewar level.

Such in brief, is the background of the struggle now unfolding in the Philippines. It is not just another of the many agrarian revolts that have dotted the history of all Southeast Asia. It is a social revolution, led by the Huks and widely supported throughout the islands. (Next week: The Agrarian Problem in the Philippines).

Michael Bartell's Schedule

Table with columns for Date, Time, Radio/TV Station, and Program Name. Includes entries for 'People's Choice', 'New York Story', 'Ken Murray Show', 'Tex and Jinx', and 'Press Conference'.

the people, but on the size of their pocketbooks. American monopolist industry needs war production just to keep running; otherwise it faces the prospect of an economic catastrophe.

CAPITALISM NEEDS WAR

It is impossible to run this expanding industry indefinitely on a "short of war" basis, while exacting from the population all the sacrifices and burdens such a program entails. On the other hand, to taper off government orders is to pull the rug from under the stupendously enlarged productive apparatus, already far too big for its civilian markets, which depend not on the needs of

This provides the overwhelming economic compulsion to pass from a "short of war" economy to a "shooting war" economy. It is this that renders all the peace talk, whether it emanates from Washington or Moscow, so much sand thrown into the eyes of all the peoples.

RAMON MARTINEZ TELLS ABOUT CONDITIONS IN LATIN-AMERICAN LANDS

The following interview with Ramon Martinez, member of the Latin-American delegation to the Third World Congress of the Fourth International, is translated from La Verite, French Trotskyist paper:

Question: What significance will the Congress have for the Trotskyist movement in Latin America?

Answer: First of all I should say that this Congress was a real school for us. It was the first time in the history of the international workers' movement that the problems of Latin America were studied and decided by an international leadership. Even in its revolutionary period the Third International did not actually come to grips with this question.

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The development of Trotskyism in Latin America is obviously not a homogeneous one but we have already had a rich experience and a real tradition among the most advanced sections of the proletariat and even among the great masses of the proletariat as in Bolivia, Mexico, Chile, Brazil. In several countries we have led local and even national struggles of the working class. Several of our members have important trade union positions and in Bolivia we had deputies in parliament before the repression which is now raging in that country.

Question: What do you think of the military coup which has just occurred in Argentina?

Answer: I believe that we have there a confirmation of the analysis which has just been made by the World Congress of the mass movement in Argentina and of the Peron regime. Peron's main base of support is not in the army but among the masses. He has the support of a majority of the army only to the degree that he retains the support of the masses.

Question: What are the perspectives of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America and what is the comparative strength of Stalinism? Can you give some examples?

In the last few days those sections of the army most closely linked to the Argentine oligarchy and to imperialism have tried to overthrow Peron. The response of the masses was immediate. But their objective in intervening to smash the military coup was not to safeguard the established order, but to defend their economic, trade union and political conquests. Peron symbolizes these conquests to the masses.

Answer: The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bolivia promised the participation of 30,000 Bolivian soldiers in the Korean war during the last conference of ministers in Washington. This decision provoked great ferment among the Bolivian masses. Great crowds were waiting for the Minister's return to La Paz and big protest meetings and demonstrations were organized. The minister was obliged to change his point of embarkation and the Bolivian government dissociated itself from him. Similar movements were also aroused by resistance to the Korean war in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay.

Under such conditions it is easy to understand that the Trotskyist movement in Latin America has the possibilities of a fairly rapid development, all the more so because we are the only tendency in the workers' movement which has understood the real character

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Presents a lecture on Socialism — What It Is And How to Get It Speaker: Harry Ring Fri., Nov. 2, 8:30 at 423 Springfield Ave.

NEW YORK

Socialist Workers Final Election Rally 34th Russian Revolution Anniversary Meeting

MICHAEL BARTELL SWP Council President candidate GEORGE CLARKE Editor, Fourth International ENTERTAINMENT - DANCING - REFRESHMENTS Friday, November 2 -- 8 PM - Admission 25c ADELPHI HALL 74 Fifth Avenue (near 14th Street)



By Jean Blake

The founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council will be held Oct. 27 and 28 in Cincinnati. The Ohio CIO Council has labeled this new organization "communist-dominated" and warned local unions not to participate in it, but this does not answer a number of important questions being asked about it by militants in Negro and labor circles.

The first question is: What kind of organization is the National Negro Labor Council? A blast in a Cleveland daily paper which quoted CIO officials, recently characterized the new project as a Stalinist move toward dual unionism. This charge must be rejected outright. Dual unions are separate labor organizations which compete with established unions for membership and contracts with employers. No one has even suggested that the National Negro Labor Council proposes to do that, and the charge of dual unionism is therefore a complete misrepresentation which confuses rather than clarifies the issue.

Even a more generous interpretation of the charge of "dual unionism" — that organizations like the National Negro Labor Council would tend to split the labor movement by dividing Negro and white workers — is not a valid point. Negro labor committees have been set up from time to time to deal with the special problems of Negro workers in the unions, to aid in the organization of Negro workers, to combat Jim Crow in the unions, to secure Negro representation in union posts and committees, to spur the integration of Negroes in industry through union pressure, and to secure the support of the labor movement in Negro civil rights struggles.

Some of the best known examples of this type are the Negro Labor Committee in Harlem, headed by Frank Crosswaith, a rabid anti-Stalinist, and a similar committee in Los Angeles organized by John Dial a few years ago, and dominated by the right wing in the CIO there. As a matter of fact, the Stalinists, who had not yet started to advocate the formation of Negro Labor Councils, attempted to smear the Los Angeles committee, which they did not control, as a segregated "Jim Crow set-up."

Another important question Negro militants are asking about the National Negro Labor Council is: What is its relation to the established organization in the field of Negro rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Here, again, the charge of dual organization is not valid on the basis of experience up to the present. The NAACP — unfortunately, in the opinion of this writer — has not functioned as a mass organization dealing with the special problems of Negro workers in the labor movement, and consequently cannot consider such committees or councils as competitors.

Besides, the NAACP has generally cooperated with other organizations dealing with problems of Negroes in special fields. This has been true in relation to both the conservative, pro-capitalist Urban League and the National Negro Congress before it became completely Stalinist-dominated. It is apparent, then, that the National Negro Labor Council must be considered on its own merits, apart from abstract questions of the general relation of such organizations to the labor movement and the NAACP.

That brings us to the really important questions about the new organization: Is it merely a Stalinist tool and propaganda device which will disorient the Negro struggle, isolate militants from the main stream of the labor and Negro movements and result in victimization of those who participate in it? Or does it have substantial Negro labor backing, broad enough to prevent complete Stalinist domination, and can it provide a medium through which militants will be able to provide leadership for the struggles of Negro labor which is not adequately provided by other organizations? These are the questions the founding convention in Cincinnati this week should answer.

There is no doubt that the new organization is Stalinist-inspired. The Communist Party has pushed the formation of Negro Labor Councils in the major industrial centers for the past year. At the 15th convention of the Communist Party, Benjamin Davis, a member of their national committee, stated: "The test of political understanding of the Negro liberation movement is the extent to which Negro Labor Councils are built..."

The most significant base of the new organization is the Detroit Negro Labor Council, supported by UAW-CIO Ford Local 600, which has a membership of 60,000 workers. William R. Hood, recording secretary of Local 600, is the chairman of the committee organizing the new national Council.

A report and evaluation of the founding convention will appear in next week's issue of The Militant.

Richard Wright's Movie

By Charles Hanley

Almost the entire capitalist press carried unfavorable reviews of Richard Wright's movie, Native Son, based on the famous Negro writer's novel. The critics reproach Wright for having done a bad job — "amateurish and confused" — and with being a poor actor. These charges, I am convinced, are really a cover for an attack on the treatment of the subject, which some critics fear may encourage "dangerous thoughts."

The picture may have a few technical shortcomings, mainly because Wright lacked sufficient funds and because Hollywood's studios were barred to him. But Wright, playing Bigger Thomas, the central figure of the story, is decidedly not a poor actor. In fact, I think he is natural and convincing in this role, and even impressive precisely because of a certain quality of understatement.

Bigger Thomas is born in the slums of Chicago's Negro ghetto. Bred in misery, without hope of decent living conditions, he is driven to commit petty thefts. It would be easy to moralize about this, but how can he get away from the demoralizing atmosphere of the slums? (The recent riot in Cicero, near Chicago, shows what is likely to happen when Negroes try to escape the ghetto.)

He gets a job as chauffeur for a millionaire, who happens to be a kind and understanding man. Yet trouble is in store for Bigger. His employer's daughter asks him to help her get to her bedroom one night when she returns home drunk and unable to walk alone. Bigger reluctantly obeys.

Her blind mother, hearing a noise, enters the bedroom. Bigger is panic-stricken. Knowing it would be dangerous for a Negro to be discovered in a white girl's room, afraid that in her drunk-

ness she might betray his presence, he presses a pillow on her face to silence her. After her mother leaves, he discovers he has accidentally killed the girl.

Thus the fear and distrust which his experience has taught him to feel toward whites have driven him to kill, even though unintentionally. In every social drama, the psychological traits of individuals and the force of social conditions both contribute in shaping destiny. But we should not forget that psychological traits often are strongly influenced, directly and indirectly, by social conditions.

The originally innocent Bigger, whom society has put into a terrifying jungle of pressures and prejudice, is now stripped of all hope, flees and becomes a tragic criminal. Hiding in a deserted house he kills his girl friend because he mistakenly believes she has betrayed him.

Bigger Thomas is to die in the electric chair. When his second killing is revealed, nothing can save him and he knows it. The excellent courtroom scenes and discussions in the novel's last chapters were mostly left out of the movie. A movie is not a novel. It has to obey its own laws. Long talks or sermons have no place in a film. Its ideas can be developed only through action.

Wright obviously learned from leading Italian and French directors. His picture has a lot to say, but there is no sermonizing in it. Nevertheless, it could have been somewhat more explicit toward the end.

Wright is said to be somewhat dissatisfied with the film. He probably visualized something more perfect. But even if it does not measure up to his expectation, it is still an impressive achievement, one of the most powerful films produced by an American in recent years.

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Grace Carlson and I were selected out of a crowd by a man on a "street" interviewer television program. He asked where I was from, and then, why I was in Minneapolis. When I told him I was on a national tour for the Socialist Workers Party he quickly blocked any possible political discussion with the question, "What time of the day was Adam born?" In case you're interested in the answer to this "humorous" riddle, Adam was born before Eve. Oh well, we were given a free bottle of furniture polish, a detergent, and a cup of coffee.

At the University of Minnesota the Student Group for Political Analysis arranged a meeting for me on the Korean war. They hoped to make it a debate. Their invitation to a number of university professors was not accepted. So they announced in the student paper, the Minnesota Daily, that they were "leaving a vacant chair opposite Mrs. Weiss for anyone who cares to debate her on who is the aggressor in the Korean war." However the chair remained unoccupied. There were about 60 students present and after presenting a Marxist analysis of the events in Korea we had a long and interesting discussion involving events all over the world and our socialist future here in America.

After the student meeting we had a public meeting organized by the St. Paul branch of the SWP. It was the first time for several years that the Twin Cities branches had organized separate public meetings and St. Paul regarded their meeting as somewhat experimental. How-

ever, the attendance exceeded their most optimistic expectations. The total attendance at both branches was the second largest on the tour.

The comrades in the Twin Cities will be glad to know that at last I got to see a snow storm. This morning, my last day in Salt Lake City, I awoke to see a beautiful layer of white sparkling snow covering the lawns, trees, houses and mountains. My desire for snow scenes has been satisfied and I am content to let Minneapolis keep its California sunshine.

I decided to take a train to Salt Lake City instead of a plane, on the theory that for 28 hours I should be cut off from discussions and would be able to rest. But I ran into a railroad man I had known 16 years ago. He had heard of my activities and wanted to know all about socialism. A conductor, who had a son in the Korean war, was also interested. We talked almost the entire trip. People are so anxious for answers to all the questions that are bothering them, I couldn't refuse.

I wasn't much better off when I arrived in Salt Lake City. I was supposed to use the three-day stopover for a rest before the west coast part of the tour; but an old childhood friend of mine happened to be in town, so we made the rounds of old haunts, calling on friends I haven't seen in a decade. Each visit turned out to be a long explanation of U.S. imperialist foreign policy. Not many people know what is going on, but they seem to be anxious to find out. I am pleased with their desire to learn even though I am somewhat overwhelmed by all there is to teach people who are thinking about socialism for the first time in their lives.

I met two active participants in the recent copper strike. When they learned I was on a socialist tour, another lively political discussion began. One of them seemed especially pleased with my program and I couldn't help but think of how much progress a socialist could make among these copper workers who have just had such a rich experience with the strike-breaking injunction rule of the capitalist government. One of these days socialism will sweep like a great prairie fire across the entire country. Our only problem then will be to supply enough socialist teachers.

Los Angeles Welcome Social for Myra Tanner Weiss

Meet the Chairman of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, back in home port after a Coast-to-Coast tour. \* REFRESHMENTS \* DANCING \* ENTERTAINMENT SATURDAY EVENING, NOV. 10 1702 East 4th Street SWP Headquarters

THE MILITANT

4 More Frameup Indictments Are Quashed in Cicero

The Cook County Grand Jury's indictments charging five persons with "conspiracy" in the anti-Negro riot in Cicero, Ill., last July, have all been quashed.

On Oct. 11 the indictment against George Leighton, Chicago lawyer who tried to help the Harvey E. Clark family move into their apartment in Cicero, was dismissed in the criminal court. The frameup was so raw and the indignation against it so great that even officials of the State's Attorney's office asked that it be dropped.

On Oct. 22 indictments were dismissed against four other persons who had been victimized by the Cook County Grand Jury.

NO PUNISHMENT

Meanwhile, 118 people arrested during the riot were getting off with virtually no punishment.

In Cicero's police court, 52 were found innocent when police claimed they could not identify them as participants in the riot; 11 were fined \$10 each for "unlawful assembly"; one was fined \$25; 18 did not even bother to show up in court, thus forfeiting their bond; and 36 are scheduled to appear later.

The fascist instigators of the riot have not received even that much "punishment."

SPECIAL GRAND JURY

On Oct. 22 a special federal grand jury was impaneled to investigate the riot. Leo F. Tierney, a Chicago lawyer who formerly worked for the Department of Justice, was appointed special prosecutor.

Some Negroes have taken a "wait-and-see" attitude to the federal grand jury, which was ordered by Attorney General McGrath. They have learned from the example of the Cook County Grand Jury that such bodies cannot be depended on to dispense justice.

WAIT AND SEE

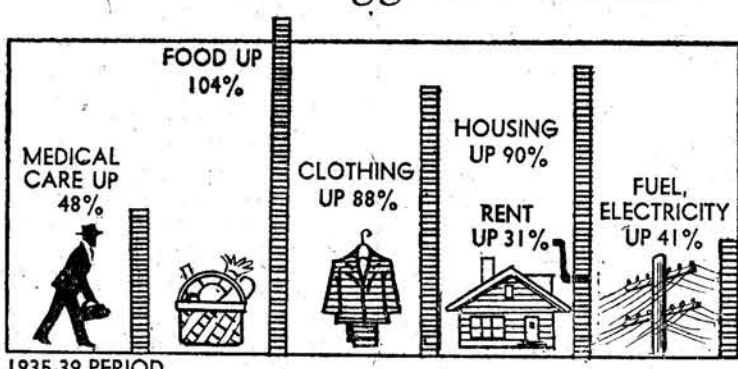
Leighton himself, before the indictment against him was quashed, said: "This is a favorable development, but we should remember that a grand jury investigation, federal or state, is not much good unless properly advised and guided... A federal grand jury is no different from a state body. Both are made up of people. Also, the jurisdiction of the federal body will be limited to violation of federal civil rights."

Earl B. Dickerson, chairman of the Temporary Citizens Committee, said: "I'll have to wait until something is done. This grand jury may be no better than the other one."

N. J. Candidate to Speak at Forum

NEWARK — George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Assembly from Essex County, will speak at a League of Women Voters forum Friday night, Nov. 2, 8 P.M. at the Newark News Auditorium, 215 Market St. He will also speak the next evening at a pre-election social at 423 Springfield Ave.

Food Shows Biggest Price Rise



This chart, showing percentage increases in the cost of living since the 1935-39 period, is based on Bureau of Labor Statistics figures. Food shows the greatest rise. But every housewife knows from her own experience that BLS statistics grossly understate the real rise in the main items that make up a working class family's budget. That is why many unionists are demanding that escalator wage agreements be based on a price index prepared by labor's own statisticians.

S. F. Campaign Moves To A Fighting Climax

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 22 — Attempts by super-patriots and red baiters to disrupt an overflow Socialist Workers Party campaign meeting, held last Friday night

in San Francisco's Mission district, were successfully repelled by the SWP candidates.

The audience, composed predominantly of workers, listened sympathetically, refusing to be incited by a group of sailors who shouted, "Go back to Russia!" "Get a soap box!" "Don't listen to this red baloney!" etc. Frank A. Barbaria, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was applauded when he said, "It is the duty of every worker to defend the right of free speech. This is a right we must not lose. We defend this right for everyone. You must do the same. American citizens must have the right to criticize the government."

At the busy corner of 22nd and Mission, in the middle of the city's largest working-class district, 150 people stopped to hear Barbaria and Harry Press, SWP candidate for Board of Supervisors, and Jackie, the young woman comrade who chaired the meeting, speak out against the Korean war, against increased taxes upon the workers to pay for the war, and in defense of the Asian Revolution.

LET PEOPLE VOTE One of the sailors asked Barbaria, "Do you mean to say that you support those Chinese who have invaded Korea and are shooting down our boys?" Barbaria answered: "Suppose the American workers and farmers changed this form of government and immediately a large imperialist army invaded Mexico and battled its way almost to the American border. Would not the new American government be justified in sending an army to meet the enemy?" He further stated that the boys in Korea, according to all honest reporters, were opposed to the war and wanted to come home. "Did Truman consult the American people about the Korean War? Why he didn't even allow Congress to vote on the question. We say 'Let the people vote on whether we shall have war or peace!'"

Many members of the audience stayed the full hour and a half that the meeting lasted and

remained afterwards to discuss and donate money to the campaign. The man who did the most baiting stayed to discuss, donated fifty cents and bought a copy of The Militant.

During the past week Barbaria and Press spoke to three more unions, bringing the total to 36. The three additional unions are the AFL Blacksmith Helpers, Baker's Union, and Cement Finishers. At the Cement Finishers meeting the chairman refused Barbaria the floor on the ground that the union had already endorsed Mayor Robinson. A rank and filer asked, "Do we have to vote for Robinson?" "No." "Then why can't we hear Barbaria?" Result: Barbaria spoke.

Harry Press spoke by invitation before the San Francisco Tenants Council. His presentation of the SWP program for committees of tenants and trade union representatives to set rents was warmly received by an audience of 200.

Another highlight of the campaign was the appearance of both candidates before a meeting of the local NAACP. All the capitalist candidates were there vying for the Negro vote. Incumbent Mayor Robinson was attacked by opponent Christopher because the mayor's appointees to the Board of Supervisors had defeated the city FEPC. Robinson countered by pointing out that Christopher's own milk firm hired no Negroes.

Harry Press, speaking for the SWP, stated, "We don't say one thing to white people and another to Negroes. Our position in support of Negro civil rights and FEPC is written in our literature which we distribute to colored and white. We advocate Negro rights 365 days of the year — not just before election."

The campaign will be climaxed with a meeting for Myra Tanner Weiss on Nov. 3, at which both Barbaria and Press will speak. During the last week of the campaign, house to house work and street meetings will be nightly projects.

SWP Supports Isler, Mulzac In N.Y. Election

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the City Council, today announced his party's endorsement of Jacques Isler

for the State Supreme Court and Hugh Mulzac for Borough President of Queens. Both these candidates are running on the American Labor Party ticket.

Said Bartell: "We disagree fundamentally with the political views of these candidates since we are socialists and they are not. Moreover, we do not believe that the ALP is concerned with mobilizing the labor movement or the Negro people for independent political action. Nor is the ALP waging a genuine struggle against the war. Such things are precluded by its past record and present program. Nevertheless, Socialist Workers Party members will vote for, and urge others to vote for, Isler and Mulzac, solely because they represent the genuine aspirations of the Negro people of New York to get representation on all legislative, executive and judicial levels. The Negro people are not content with the here-and-there appointments of Negroes to office by the big party machines to appease the Negro voters. The Negro people of New York demand and are entitled to representation at all governmental levels."

INDEPENDENT SUPPORT Jacques Isler, the only Negro candidate for the lily-white State Supreme Court, is running on the ALP ticket although he is not an ALP member. Isler is strongly supported by the Negro communities, Negro newspapers and many organizations including the Harlem Lawyers Association. Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Borough President of Queens, has the support of the Independent Citizens Committee to Elect Captain Mulzac, composed of non-ALP members. Mulzac achieved a national reputation during the last war when he became the first Negro captain of a U.S. merchant ship. This vessel, the S.S. Booker T. Washington, was manned by an inter-racial crew.

Under New York's peculiar municipal set-up the real power — power over the purse strings — lies with the Board of Estimate. There are no elections to this Board. However, Borough Presidents have a vote on this Board. The Socialist Workers Party upholds the legitimate desire of the Negro people of New York to secure representation on the Board of Estimate and is therefore giving critical support to Mulzac's campaign.

MAKING A DENT A result of Bartell's many appearances on television, radio and at forums as well as the active campaigning with distribution of thousands of leaflets, over twenty street-corner meetings, press releases, etc., is that more than ever before the Socialist Workers Party is making a dent in the political consciousness of New York City.

An example of this was Bartell's appearance on the popular midnight radio program of Barry Gray. The SWP candidate denounced U.S. intervention in Korea and proposed a referendum vote on immediate withdrawal of the GIs. Gray, who usually engages in a lot of cross-fire and questioning in his interviews, was unusually silent during Bartell's speech. Bartell took issue with Gray's earlier condemnation of the current longshore strike and called for support to this magnificent struggle of longshoremen to get rid of Ryan, Anastasia and the other racketeers. Only then did Gray interrupt, saying that he agreed the shape-up system was the cause of waterfront racketeering and that a rotary hiring hall was needed.

FLAYS POLICE BRUTALITY Bartell also appeared this week on the first of a series of three radio forums on the New York Story program. Another radio speech by Bartell over WNEW on police brutality brought phone calls to campaign headquarters and was extensively quoted in the Negro newspaper, Amsterdam News.

The SWP candidate has appeared at a number of forums with all the other candidates. One of these was at New York University, another at a high school in Coney Island. At the latter the working-class audience of over 150 gave Bartell the biggest hand of all the speakers. This is becoming a regular pattern at forums in workers' districts. And as at other forums, many came up to Bartell afterwards. One woman commented: "It certainly is good after listening to those phones to hear one honest man. You've got my vote."

Independent Negro Candidate Backed By SWP in Akron

By L. Cooper

AKRON, Oct. 19 — The voters of the 10th ward in Akron have the opportunity of electing an independent Negro candidate to the City Council on Nov. 6. Sponsored by members of the Bethel Baptist Church and friends, Joseph Roulac, young attorney-at-law, was certified for the ballot on August 8.

The Negro people of Akron desperately need representation in the Council. The outgoing City Council of 12, Democrats and Republicans, had not the faintest intention of sponsoring a local FEPC law, or curbing widespread discrimination against Negroes in restaurants, swimming pools, etc.

REVENUE DEVoured

The city's revenue is devoured by a huge debt of ten million dollars to the bankers. The outgoing Council almost sponsored a payroll tax to meet payments and interest.

Meanwhile the children of Akron have no playgrounds, and the sick and injured must pay exorbitant rates to doctors and hospitals. An independent Negro candidate could sponsor a corporation tax (instead of a tax on workers' wages) to obtain revenue for new playgrounds, and a people's hospital clinic.

A SLOW STARTER

Whether Roulac would fit the bill as a vigorous fighter for Negro and working class rights, remains to be seen. He's been a slow starter in bringing a program to the people of the ward and city. It is hoped that as an independent Negro candidate, Roulac will speak up clearly and forthrightly during the remaining weeks of the campaign.

The Socialist Workers Party of Akron is urging the election of Roulac, so that the Negro people in Akron may have representation and a voice in the City Council.

ARTICLES ON SAM ADAMS OPEN HIDDEN PAGES OF HISTORY; SERIES BY FRANKEL STARTS NOV. 12

By George Breitman

Two weeks from now The Militant will begin a series of articles on Sam Adams and the American Revolution, by Harry Frankel. Having read it, I am of the opinion that it will be greeted as one of the most popular features in the 22-year history of this paper and as a genuine contribution to American history.

This country has had two great revolutions, and in fact its present strength is partly due to their power and magnitude. The first, in the 18th century, overthrew the stifling domination of the Tory ruling class and the British crown and prepared the ground for the development of industrial capitalism. The second, in the 19th century, abolished the slave system and insured the definitive victory of industrial capitalism.

Thousands of books on these revolutions have been turned out by historians who are in the service or under the influence of the ruling class. But their works distort the true history of these events, obscure the revolutionary lessons they taught, minimize or deny the class character of the struggles that produced them. At their best, they tell only part of the truth. That is because history is generally written with a bias, consciously or not. As Frankel remarks, those who are afraid of revolution today find it

difficult to understand or tell the truth about revolutions of the past, even if they want to.

IGNORANCE OF PAST

At the same time, the American socialist movement, until only a few years ago, has borne some responsibility for the widespread misunderstanding and disinterest in the revolutionary history of the United States. In part, this was due to immaturity, especially to the sectarian belief that those were "capitalist revolutions" and therefore not the business of socialists, except to debunk them now and then. In part, it was due also to ignorance, flowing from an uncritical acceptance of the versions of history presented by the lackeys of the ruling class.

It is only in the last two decades that our movement has made a start in overcoming these deficiencies, and in scientifically combating the efforts of the capitalist class to use American history as a weapon in its struggle against the working class.

I think that Harry Frankel's series (it is really a short book) on the American Revolution will mark another step forward in this process. Written from the Marxist standpoint and bearing the signs of conscientious research, it tells a fascinating story in an extremely lively style and with a wealth of absorbing detail (al-

though naturally it cannot attempt to tell the whole story in all its detail) and it succeeds in throwing light on a number of problems of importance to workers today.

SCOPE OF SERIES

The seriousness and scope of this series can be illustrated by listing some of the questions Frankel examines and answers: Was the American Revolution a spontaneous uprising, or was it the product of organized activity by revolutionists who began as a minority of the population and based themselves on the discontent generated by an oppressive system?

What was the role of the revolutionary leaders? Who were they, and what did they represent? What was their relation to the masses?

What was the strategy of the revolutionary movement at each of the decisive turning points in the struggle? What were the organizational forms it assumed?

What classes made the revolution? Did most of the merchant capitalists support the revolution or did they support the Tories? Were the masses limited to an auxiliary role, or was their intervention decisive in making the revolution? Was the mass action of the workmen and farmers welcome to the merchants?

Was the revolution "democratic"? What is the relation between the pen and the sword in periods of crisis? What is the role of "force and violence" in the making of history?

Did the class struggles within the colonies hamper or promote the movement for independence from Britain? Was the revolution made by a "united" country or by one that was divided and polarized around antagonistic aims and interests? Was it primarily a colonial war for independence, or a civil war? Was it purely a political revolution, or a social revolution too?

WILL SERVE TO EDUCATE

Most readers of The Militant will agree that such material is needed and welcome in the socialist press, and that it will serve to educate both socialists and other, unaffiliated workers and students who are concerned with social and historical questions. We hope that the Frankel series not only will stimulate further study and writing on the revolutionary antecedents of the modern American labor movement, but that it will also be used to introduce The Militant to interested workers and students. Since the series will run for several weeks, the sale of subscriptions will be the best way to do this.

