

Steel "Seizure" Halts Strike; Pay Hike Still Held Up

By Thomas Raymond

Philip Murray called off a strike of 650,000 steelworkers set for midnight April 8 after the government "seized" the steel mills by order of President Truman. Truman placed Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, a businessman in private life, in charge of the mills after the token seizure, and requested representatives of the steel companies and the CIO United Steelworkers of America to resume bargaining. The steel companies have gone to the courts requesting injunctions that would nullify the seizure.

Despite the fact that Murray had said before the seizure that the union would "presume" that pay raises would be put into effect in case of seizure, no such move was made. Sawyer, when questioned about this on the night of the seizure, made this clear. When asked "What about WSB (Wage Stabilization Board) recommendations for a wage rise — what are you going to do about

ASKED TO BARGAIN

Thus the steelworkers are in the position of being asked to continue bargaining with the companies, who have said "No" to them a thousand times since negotiations started, while being deprived of their weapon. That is the present situation, 100 days after the first strike deadline last New Year's day, and five months after negotiations began last year.

The New York Herald Tribune of April 9 said: "Should seizure result in a prolonged cancellation of the strike without wage increases and other new benefits for the workers, union representatives noted that the men would be no better off from a financial point of view than if the Taft-Hartley law's strike ban had been invoked."

The so-called "seizure" of the mills, previously used during railroad, coal mine and other disputes, will actually mean very little in the operation of the mills.

CONTINUE AS BEFORE

The mills will continue under the actual full control of their present owners and managers, who have already been "appointed" by Sawyer as "operating managers."

The steel barons will "continue their functions, including the collection and disbursement of funds in the usual and ordinary course of business," according to Truman's order. Sawyer hastened to make clear that this includes the payment of dividends to shareholders, etc.

The only changes that the "seizure" brings with it are the posting of notices on company property telling of this "seizure," and instructions to fly the American flag.

The "seizure" could only affect the running of the mills and the profits of the companies if the government ordered that the WSB wage and condition recommendations be put into effect, or in other words, negotiated a new contract with the union. It has been pointed out that on two previous occasions, the govern-

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APPEALS COURT SETS KUTCHER CASE HEARING

The case of James Kutcher, who was fired from his clerk's job with the Newark Veterans Administration for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, will be heard in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on Thursday, April 10 at 11:30 A. M. The Washington hearing will be an appeal from the unfavorable decision in the Kutcher case made in the U.S. District Court.

The "Case of the Legless Veteran," so named because Kutcher lost both legs after being hit by a mortar shell near San Pietro, Italy during World War II, is the only test of the government's "loyalty" purge procedure at present before the higher courts.

The outcome of the Kutcher case will have great importance in determining the future of the government "loyalty" program. For this reason, the Kutcher case has rallied very broad support in labor and liberal circles.

Kutcher's firing from his "non-sensitive" job was based upon the listing of the Socialist Workers Party, of which he is a member, on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Since the last court decision made in the Kutcher case, however, the Court of Appeals has taken a legal slap at this list. In the Remington case, the court held that "the list is a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed organization."

FIRE FROM JOB

Kutcher is contending that he was fired from his job without any determination of his personal actions or fitness, but solely on the basis of the "subversive" list. He contends further that his party was placed on that list without being given any opportunity to defend itself in a public hearing.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Washing-



JAMES KUTCHER

ton attorney, is to make the oral argument for Kutcher at the Thursday hearing, and Herbert Levy, of New York, staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, will make a supplementary argument. Levy and the ACLU asked to share the oral argument so that they might present the constitutional questions to the court.

The Appeals court which will hear the case is the last legal step that can be taken before appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

ACLU Will Call Conference on Illinois Law 1030

CHICAGO — The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union voted to call a conference of all minority parties to devise ways and means to fight law 1030. Both the Socialist Workers Party and the Progressive Party have indicated their readiness to participate in such a conference; it is expected that other organizations will respond to this call.

H.B. 1030, passed unanimously by the last session of the Illinois legislature and signed by liberal Democrat Gov. Stevenson makes it virtually impossible for a minority political party to get on the State ballot. Thus it would assure the two capitalist parties a monopoly of the ballot in this crucial presidential election year.

The growing movement of organized opposition to law 1030 stems from the fight initiated in federal court by the Socialist Workers Party and from the organization of a Citizens' Committee in support of that fight. The Socialist Workers Party's suit against Governor Stevenson and other state and county officials maintains that law 1030 is in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the Federal Civil Rights Act.

The Independent Voters of Illinois, an affiliate of the Americans for Democratic Action, described the law in the last issue of their newsletter, the Bell Ringer, as one "which violates Civil Liberties, by preventing those soliciting signatures for petitions for state elective offices from going outside their own county."

"The law works hardships on small-membership political parties," it continued, "I.V.I. has opposed the law."

SWP Election Petitions Filed In Michigan

Third State Where Ticket Is Entered

Michigan last week became the third state where petitions have been filed by the Socialist Workers Party to place its candidates on the ballot for the November election.

Petitions containing 12,163 signatures obtained in more than 12 counties, were submitted to the Secretary of State in Lansing.

The required minimum is 9,800 signatures from ten counties, and the final date for filing is April 30.

Canvassers reported that they were subjected to police harassment and restrictions in Lansing, the state capital, but succeeded in obtaining double the number of 100 signatures in that county.

The Michigan SWP completed its petition work well in advance of the deadline for filing despite the witch hunt atmosphere engendered by the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Detroit.

THREE STATES FILE

Previously, petitions were filed for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President in the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Petitions for local candidates were also filed in both states.

However, Clyde Turner, candidate for State Treasurer in Pennsylvania, was ruled ineligible because she had not signed a new "loyalty" oath required by the Pechan Law, which went into effect on March 1.

Altogether, ten candidates of minority parties were disqualified in Pennsylvania either because they did not know that the oath requirement applied to them when their petitions were filed, or because they refused on principle to sign such an oath.

The combined population of the first three states where the Socialist Workers Party has filed is more than 21,000,000, or over one-seventh of the national total.

Wrong to Go Into Korea, Say Latest Poll Majority



EISENHOWER PROGRAM: MILITARISM, SPEEDUP, BAN ON MILITANT UNIONS

By John F. Petrone

General Eisenhower's first annual report as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, issued in France on April 2, was in many ways an election campaign document, assuring the capitalist class in the United States that he can be depended on as President to carry out their program of war and regimentation loyally and efficiently.

Every one of the 12,000 words in his report was directed to support of Wall Street's foreign policy — greater militarization in preparation for war against the Soviet Union; a stiffer squeeze on the people of Europe who he admitted already are carrying "heavy tax burdens," unalterable insistence that Germany must be rearmament and integrated into the military machine he heads, etc.

MAKING HIS BID

In addition, in many lines and between the lines, Eisenhower was asserting his qualifications as the best possible President. Big Business could have to carry through this war program. "I can state accurately that a great many

of the problems referred to me, and often the most difficult, have been economic, political and psychological rather than purely military," he stressed in an obvious attempt to allay fears that as a professional militarist he might not know how to carry out the capitalist program in the White House.

Like most capitalist candidates, Eisenhower rarely says in clear, simple and concrete language just what he stands for, preferring to speak in generalities and vague platitudes. But it is hard for any careful reader of his report, or capitalist or worker, to misunderstand the meaning of the section of his report that discusses what he thinks should be done, especially about the relations between labor and capital.

THE HITLER METHOD

"To advance this great effort (rearmament to the teeth), unified action is required, not only among but within our nations," he says. In other words, there must be class peace: labor must quit fighting back against capital. To make his meaning still more certain, in

the next sentence he denounces "political factions." There is only one way to do away with "political factions" — by abolishing the right of free political activity. That is how Hitler "unified" Germany both economically and politically.

Continuing, Eisenhower says: "At the same time there are workers in our member countries still suffering the delusion that their interests are served by association with Communist-led labor groups." The reference is mainly to Europe, where the overwhelming majority of the workers in France and Italy are opposed to Washington's war preparations and remain loyal to their unions, which are led by Stalinists.

Such a situation is "nightmarish," he declares. The implication is that if he had the power he would smash such unions in Europe, and would fight to the death against any unions in the U.S. that would elect anti-war leaders and would dare to resist military regimentation by independent labor action.

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CIO Packinghouse Dist. 3 Hits U. S. Militarists, Profiteers In Bitter Anti-War Statement

By Joseph Keller

For nearly ten months, during which some 31,000 more U.S. battle casualties have piled up, Truman, Acheson and Gen. Ridgway have prolonged the Korea war while

dangling the prospects of a cease-fire before the American people. But the people are sick and tired of the propaganda excuses for the truce stalling. They believe

the U.S. should never have invaded Korea in the first place.

An outright majority of 51 per cent in the latest nation-wide poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion have again replied, "Yes, a mistake," to the question: "Do you think the United States made a mistake in going into the war in Korea, or not?" A distinct minority of 35 per cent replied, "No." No opinion was voiced by 14 per cent.

"The belief that the war was a mistake has persisted for more than a year," states the Institute's director George Gallup. In March 1951, exactly half those polled said the war was a mistake, while 39 per cent then said it was not. As a matter of fact, the shift in public opinion dates from the time in November 1950 when Gen. MacArthur hit the Yalu River border of Chinese Manchuria and provoked the entry of China into the Korea war. "From that date on," says Gallup, "surveys have found the war unpopular."

FLOUT POPULAR VIEWS

Thus, the White House, State Department, Pentagon and Congress for almost a year and a half have flouted the unwavering opinion of the majority of the American people that it was wrong for the U.S. ever to have intervened with armed forces in the Korea civil war. Of course, Truman never consulted the people when he committed this country to undeclared war.

What many American people, especially workers, think about the Korea war, is expressed in a biting resolution adopted at the recent District 3 convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, as reported in the U P W A's The Packinghouse Worker for March. Dist. 3 represents more than 30,000 members in Iowa, Nebraska and Colorado.

"The resolution on the Korean war pointed out that 'the corporations were attempting to use this crisis to smash unions,'" says the UPWA paper. This is precisely what last week's Militant charged

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AFL, CIO Leaders Silent on Crisis in Democratic Party

By George Breitman

The top AFL and CIO leaders had nothing to say on politics in the first week after Truman withdrew from the presidential campaign. They evidently did not know what to say or do.

They helped to elect Truman in 1948 because he promised to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and pass civil rights legislation, and although he did neither they were still willing to tag along behind him this year.

Their silence and confusion flow from the fact that they know they will have a much harder time selling the next Democratic candidate to their members than they had with Truman in 1948, because the next candidate will not go as far with Fair Deal demagoguery as Truman did.

CIO DILEMMA

With him out of the way, the problem will now be to find someone who will carry on (Truman's) policy, this friendly and understanding attitude towards the labor movement in our country," writes one of the editors of the CIO Toledo Union Journal, discussing the dilemma facing the union leaders. "Unless such a candidate is found to head the Democratic Party in the coming election, the anticipated energetic participation of the labor movement in the coming election may not be forthcoming."

But not one of the Democratic contenders, including the one who is supposed to be most liberal, Gov. Adlai Stevenson, goes as far as Truman on labor and civil rights issues even in words.

The AFL News-Reporter (April 2) tried to do a little whitewash

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Corruption, Scandals Flood White House

By Art Preis

Not even the new plumbing and sewage system of the \$5,000,000 rebuilt White House can handle the overload of political filth and corruption pouring from the Truman administration. The drain pipes have backed up and the Democratic administration finds itself in danger of being washed out of the White House with the foul overflow of scandals.

An anticipation of this, in part, no doubt strengthened Truman's decision to withdraw from the '52 elections. He had hoped, however, to keep the flood of scandal from inundating him before he had a chance to walk, not run, for the nearest exit next January 1.

DISINTEGRATION

But the firing on April 3 of Truman's own special corruptions investigator Newbold Morris by his Attorney General McGrath and then his firing of McGrath, indicate that the administration has become so rotten with corruption that it is beginning to disintegrate. It can't even tolerate an "investigation" under its own direction by its own hand-picked agent.

Truman used the Morris incident as a pretext to "accept the

resignation" of McGrath who was very vulnerable and a great embarrassment to the administration. But Truman replaced him with another Democratic political hack, Federal Judge James P. McGranery of Pennsylvania, a former Congressman and for three years assistant to former Attorney General Francis Biddle. McGranery, like McGrath, is a prominent Roman Catholic layman, who has twice been decorated by the Pope.

The setting up of a special investigator for the alleged purpose of uncovering graft, thievery and influence-peddling was Truman's move to "neutralize" a series of probes by Congressional committees controlled by Republicans and anti-administration Democrats. These Congressional probes which did no more than scratch the surface of corruption, had nevertheless drawn a lot of pus from such key agencies as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Treasury Department's Internal Revenue Bureau.

SYMBOL OF GRAFT

The deep-freeze and mink coat gifts received by Truman's White House associates like bedeviled Maj. Gen. Harry A. Vaughan and



McGRATH

Donald Dawson merely symbolized the graft, bribes, pay-offs and shakedowns that are rampant throughout every department and agency of government. The White House resembles nothing so much as a super-market for the sale of influence, patronage and juicy government war contracts. Truman, the once bankrupt haberdasher, has finally made good as the manager-in-chief of this super-market.

For more than a year Truman passed off the mounting scandals as "asinine" and "smears." But when the Department of Justice itself came under fire then Truman had to act.

FORCED TO ACT

In December he announced he would take "drastic action" against "wrongdoers... no matter who they are or how big they are." This came after he was forced to fire the Justice Department's top tax-fraud prosecutor, T. Lamar Caudle, for outside business connections. McGrath was reportedly facing ouster for similar reasons.

Suddenly, McGrath's status changed. Truman announced not only that McGrath was being kept, but would be given the responsibility for investigating any wrong-doing. Among the persons "who saved McGrath from being fired — for the time being," wrote Robert S. Allen, Washington columnist, in the Jan. 9 N. Y. Post, was "Cardinal Spellman, who made a long distance plea from Tokyo."

Truman and McGrath covered

up the smell of whitewash by inviting Newbold Morris, a former president of the New York City Council and an "independent" Republican, to come to Washington as a special corruption investigator. Morris, a great admirer of Truman, was undoubtedly expected to act as a deodorizer.

Everything went along swimmingly at first. On Feb. 1, McGrath inducted Morris as his Special Assistant with his own outside headquarters and said, "The President has approved this appointment." He called Morris a "distinguished lawyer" with a "reputation for courage, firmness and fairness." He offered Morris "my complete, enthusiastic and unlimited cooperation." On Feb. 14, Truman himself issued a special executive order asking all officials and departments to give "highest priority" to Morris' requests.

Then on Feb. 25, Morris announced he was going to ask for a financial accounting — income, bank accounts, real estate, safety deposit holdings, etc. — of all key government employees, including nearly 600 persons in the Justice Department, starting with McGrath himself.

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Labor Swamps Tories In British Elections

Sweeping Labor Party victories in local elections show that six months of Tory rule have disillusioned the mass of the British people with Winston Churchill's Conservative Party, and have paved the way for a Labor Party return to power at the first opportunity.

Aneurin Bevan, leader of a left bloc in the Labor Party, followed up the victories with a speech at Sheffield on April 6 in which he challenged Prime Minister Churchill to call a new general election, which he predicted the Labor Party would win.

SWEEPING VICTORY

Most significant among the elections that have thus far taken

place was the balloting for London county council on April 4. Labor and the Tories each had 64 seats in this council, with the Liberals holding one seat. This representation was elected in 1949. But when the smoke had cleared away last Saturday, Labor had won a total of 92 seats, pushing the Tories down to 37 and wiping out the lone Liberal.

Middlesex County, which includes part of London, remained in Tory hands, but their lead of 42 seats was cut down to a bare 5. Elsewhere, the Labor Party reported strong gains against the Tories. Elections will be held on April 9 to determine control of

62 more county councils throughout England and Wales.

VIOLATE PROMISES

The reasons for the sharp leftward swing are quite clear. The British Tory paper, Lord Beaverbrook's Evening Standard, admitted on April 4 that "the Tories made pledges at the (October 1951) election which they have not kept. They promised more freedom and the people have new controls. They promised economies and extravagance still goes unchecked. They promised to check the rise in the cost of living, and the purchase tax is now levied on a wider range of articles than before."

These admissions by the Beaverbrook paper tell only part of the story. The truth of the matter is that the London and other county council elections in Britain are only one more reflection of the Europe-wide rebellion of the working people against the armaments program being imposed upon them by American imperialism. The New Statesman and Nation, British review states in its issue of March 8:

"Bevanism is no longer a Left-wing heresy; it is the prevailing current of opinion throughout the constituency (Labor) parties... his diagnosis of the economic situation and his warnings about the effect of breakneck rearmament have been broadly confirmed by events and must therefore provide the basis for future Socialist policy."

The London victory, giving Labor a 55 seat majority, is as great as the record 56 seat majority gained by Labor in the 1946 local elections. However, the 1946 victory followed the 1945 sweep of the parliamentary elections on the part of Labor. Thus the local elections which have just taken place indicate that the trend of sentiment towards Labor is as great and sweeping as the vast Labor outpouring of 1945. The Tories crept into power last October with only 48% of the vote as against Labor's larger 48.7%.

EISENHOWER WILL TRY COVER-UP ON JIM CROW

The Eisenhower gang is out to line up Negro votes. A number of signs point to an effort by the brass hat and those who are friendly to him to counteract the bad reputation he got among Negroes in 1948 when he opposed the abolition of segregation in the armed forces and sneered at civil rights bills as useless attempts "to force someone to like someone else."

On April 1 Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, bluntly informed the Minnesota Welfare Conference that Eisenhower "formerly" favored military segregation. As far as the record goes, Eisenhower still supports military Jim Crow. Why is White being so tender about Eisenhower?

Truman four years ago, but Jim Crow remains. The new announcement of "integration in Europe" may well prove to be the same kind of hoax, intended for political purposes but not seriously threatening the military Jim Crow pattern.

CAUSE FOR SKEPTICISM

Smith is correctly skeptical about the aims of both Eisenhower and the administration. "Actually," he writes, "the policy of integration of Negro troops in the European Army is one which, if carried out, will be the result of international politics, and not the 'goodness' of either the administration or the general."

But that won't stop some Negro leaders from jumping on the Eisenhower bandwagon and trying to fool Negro voters into supporting a brass hat whom even the Dixiecrats may end up by backing. One sign of this was the announcement in Newark, N. J., that Harry Hazelwood Jr. was forming a Negro state committee for Eisenhower. Hazelwood is president of the Newark branch of the NAACP.

PURE SPECULATION

White said that he had talked to the general on the subject several times, and the general did not change his Jim Crow attitude on any of those occasions, but that now he may have changed his mind. But that is pure speculation. Why didn't White blast Eisenhower just as he blasts Russell of Georgia for his white supremacy position?

The April 5 Pittsburgh Courier carried a report from its correspondent in Paris, William Gardner Smith, which may explain this matter. Smith says Eisenhower is going to come out soon with an "almost complete integration policy" for U.S. troops in Europe, and that he and administration officials (including the Pentagon) are "at war over who shall receive credit for the new integration policy, once it is announced."

As Fred Hart made it clear in last week's Militant, both Eisenhower and the Pentagon are responsible for the continued segregation of Negro troops in the Army both here and in Europe. "Integration" was promised by



EISENHOWER

EISENHOWER PROGRAM: WAR, SPEEDUP, UNION-CRUSHING

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Then comes Eisenhower's concept of labor's place in society: "In the free system, labor is a full-fledged partner and must share in responsibility as equally as it must share in productivity. We can thrive mightily in an era of good feeling. It can be brought into being by vibrant, selfless leadership at all levels of society."

he things increased productivity (speedup) is the chief function of the labor movement and the only thing that entitles it to get a larger portion of the national income. (See the recent book, What Eisenhower Thinks.)

Peace between the contending classes, "national union," suppression of militant unionism, and class collaboration based on pressuring labor into accepting the speedup — these are key planks in the Eisenhower platform that would certainly make Big Business thrive and which he promises to put into effect through his vibrant leadership.

That is why the capitalists have good reason to be satisfied with the Eisenhower candidacy. But what about labor? How much longer are its leaders going to keep silent and inactive about the threat Eisenhower represents? How much longer are they going to insult the intelligence of union members by pretending that they "don't know what Eisenhower stands for"?

HIS LABOR PROGRAM

Under Eisenhower, therefore, labor would get the honorific title "full-fledged partner." It would not share in the profits of capital, of course, but in the responsibility for insuring increased productivity. On many other occasions the general has made plain that

ment made awards to workers while it was in control. In 1946, the government signed a contract with the miners' union granting the welfare fund, and in early 1951, the government granted a wage increase to the railroad workers.

FORCED CONCESSIONS

However, in both these cases, the awards were wrung from a very reluctant government by strikes that took place while the government was in "control" of the mines and railroads. The railroad workers staged three strikes after August of 1950, when the government took over the roads, and finally got Truman to commit himself to an increase which the workers rejected because it was too small. In the end, the railroad workers were given a concession equal to half of what Truman had promised them, and in order to get this they had to strike.

Similarly, the coal miners formed a solid embattled strike front against the government in 1946, and refused to be intimidated by fake government "seizure" maneuvers. Only after this and only after they had forced the operators to concede the principle of a welfare fund, did the

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TRUMAN ORDERS STEEL "SEIZURE" BUT DOES NOT ORDER PAY RAISE

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government finally award the welfare fund to the miners. Thus the government has never conceded contract improvements to workers after a "seizure" unless it was forced to do so by a strike that took place while the "seizure" was in effect.

However, Philip Murray called off the scheduled steel strike when the government "seized" the steel mills last Tuesday, and

he further indicated that the steelworkers would continue to work for the government. He not only ended the strike, he also withdrew the strike threat. Whether the steelworkers will get their new contract under these conditions remains to be seen, but it is certain that Murray has gravely injured their chances by promising uninterrupted production to the government.

several subscriptions to Fourth International.

Milton B. with a score of 95 points, is in top place so far in the competition for the first prize of two days free vacation at Mountain Spring Camp. New York is awarding 62 points for a one year sub, 26 points for a six months sub, six points for a 25c home delivery sub, and one point for a single copy. Other prizes to be awarded at the end of the 10 weeks campaign will be one day's free vacation to each of the second and third place winners, and a choice of party literature to those in fourth and fifth places.

Newark is continuing their campaign with good results. They now have a six weeks home delivery list of 26 readers, from which they are confident additional regular subs will come. Dorothy B. reports that one man who has been buying The Militant regularly on the street from Jimmy Kutcher noticed an ad for one of Newark's forums, which he attended. Later when Dorothy visited him he was glad to take a subscription to the paper.

Literature Agent Fred Perry writes that Flint's subscription work is already under way, now that their election petition work is finished, and that they plan to continue their campaign until June.

CHICAGO

May Day Rally

Address by
FARRELL DOBBS
 SWP Presidential Candidate

'A Socialist Anti-War Program for 1952'

Chairman: Arne Swaback

SWP HALL
 734 SO. WABASH

Refreshments - Social

FRIDAY, MAY 2
 8 P. M.

Subscription 35¢

At \$100 a Plate Dinner



Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois reaches for wine after hearing President Truman declare he would not seek renomination. Stevenson, choice of the so-called "Fair Deal" wing of the Democratic Party for the Presidential nomination, opposes repeal of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law and favors leaving civil rights "up to the states." Seated at left at Jefferson-Jackson dinner is Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

AFL, CIO Leaders Silent on Crisis in Democratic Party

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job for Stevenson on the civil rights. He declared he had "failed to endorse himself with the Southern Democrats" by saying he believes in "federal action, rather than states' rights, when states' wrongs persist."

What Stevenson actually said was that he favors leaving such issues as FEPC to the states and not passing a federal FEPC law unless and until the states have "every opportunity" to pass local measures. As the AFL leaders well know, this is a retreat from the 1948 Democratic platform and a concession to the Dixiecrats.

TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

But even the AFL paper could not get too enthusiastic about Stevenson. Without committing itself flatly, it noted with disappointment: "The possibility that he might not make an especially strong candidate was indicated when he said... that he did not favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, merely substantial revision. The 1948 Democratic platform called for repeal."

Nevertheless, Stevenson appears to be the choice of many to oust the Tories. On April 6 the Machinist, weekly paper of the AFL Machinists union, reported that a poll of 150 AFL, CIO, railroad and independent union presidents showed a majority of them thought Stevenson would draw the greatest support from labor's ranks, if Truman did not run.

However, this poll was taken before Truman withdrew and before Stevenson came out into the open with his positions on the Taft-Hartley Act and FEPC. It may be that today some of the labor leaders are not so sure about how well Stevenson would "draw" with the rank and file if his position on these key questions is a carbon copy of the Republican candidate's position.

WILL GO ALONG

The likelihood is that they will go along with whatever decision is made by the capitalist boys in the backroom, and that they will then try to sell the Democratic candidate to the workers with the line that he may be openly more conservative than Truman, but after all he still is not quite so conservative as the Republican candidate, etc.

This is the famous "lesser evil" policy which the labor leaders have employed to justify opposition to the formation of an independent Labor Party. It remains to be seen if this line will be as successful in 1952 as it was in the past; with each succeeding campaign it is becoming plainer that there is less and less difference between the so-called "lesser evil" Democrats and the "greater evil" Republicans.

Wrong to Go Into Korea, Says Majority

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in discussing the McGraw-Hill publishing corporation's ad which called for opposition to the union shop — that is, support for the open shop — as one of the "ideals" for which U.S. Big Business is engaging in the Korean war.

"ANTI-LABOR DICTATOR"

The resolution further assailed the administration for supporting the "corrupt, anti-labor dictatorship" of Syngman Rhee, who, the resolution charged, has made a deal by which the rich mineral deposits of Korea are made available to American corporations without charge for the next five years.

A reason for the little progress made in the Korean truce negotiations, the resolution added, is that negotiations are left to military men "who are afraid public support to the gigantic armament spending at home will stop if the war in Korea is settled."

FEAR END OF WAR

The Militant has repeatedly published actual statements to this effect by Big Business spokesmen, and the Big Brass has given irrefutable proof that the corporation profiteers and Wall Street speculators fear the depressing effects on profits of halting the Korean war.

Dist. Three's resolution also charged that "American military leaders, in collusion with representatives of corporate wealth, are committed to further and further involvement of our nation in senseless wars by France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and our own country to keep the poverty stricken people of the backward nations of Asia, Africa and South America in complete subjugation for the profit of the few," reports The Packinghouse Worker.

The resolution concluded by calling for "our government to return to the great inspiring tradition of our nation which has always been to aid the oppressed, not the oppressors — the ruled not the rulers — the enslaved, not the slave-masters."

It is a long, long time since the capitalist government in Washington has aided the oppressed and not the oppressors. But aiding the ruled, not the rulers is the tradition of the American people. This tradition can be served by the overwhelming demand to withdraw the troops from Korea at once and to stop the war now.

We can have no trust in the truce negotiations because, even if they eventuate in a cease-fire, it is the purpose of the Washington politicians and militarists to keep a half million U.S. troops permanently in Korea awaiting a favorable time to renew the war. Get them out of Korea now!

The American Way of Life

A High School Forum

The weather was rather nasty. It rained during the morning and early afternoon, and it was fairly cold. On this day the Sixth Forum for High Schools, sponsored by one of New York City's largest newspapers, the Herald Tribune, was being held at the prominent Hotel Astor located in the center of Times Square. In spite of the bad weather, I wanted very much to attend the forum, having graduated high school not too long ago and still having an interest in the ideas expressed by high school students.

ROLE TO PLAY

When I was in high school there was always a great deal of discussion about world affairs and current political problems, and among the students there was a striving for an understanding of the world we live in. After all, it is our generation that will sometime in the future shoulder the responsibilities of civic leadership; in addition, we felt that we had a role to play today while we are still young.

As youth, we are faced with social contradictions more acute than any other section of society. To fight the war in Korea and whatever other military ventures are being planned, it is we who are conscripted into military service. During a business lull, we are the ones who, having the least industrial skill and job seniority, are the first laid off and the last rehired. If the government is going to make economies, invariably the first budget cuts will be appropriations for public education. With this in mind, I looked forward to hearing what the students would say at the forum.

The forum was highlighted by 24 high school students from 16 countries in the Middle East and Far East. I didn't really expect these students to be truly representative of the youth of their countries since the lands from which they came are so poverty stricken that only the wealthy can afford to have their children educated.

SOUNDING BOARD

If I expected the forum to be a discussion of the problems of youth I was sorely mistaken. The program given to all the observers stated that the forum highlights will be used by the State Department "for transmission to foreign language areas served by the Voice of America," and indeed, the forum proved to be little else than a sounding board for the State Department.

Although the purpose of the forum was to discuss the topic "The World We Want," the greater part of the time was spent in a long speech by Gov. Dewey on our "great free enterprise system" and the need for helping our "friends" across the seas; by

two State Department officials extolling the "altruism" of U.S. "magnanimity" through the Point Four program in the struggle against the "growing Communist menace." The students during the time afforded them, dutifully spoke of how, when they return to their own countries, they would struggle for "freedom and democracy" and "against communism."

The time allotted for the students was divided into two panel discussions. In the first, the students spoke of how wonderful they all thought the United States was, and then they compared American customs with their own. They talked about ice cream sodas, electrical appliances, and went into the subject of dating — how teenagers date in the United States and in Far Eastern countries and a general comparison of social behavior. From the way it was presented, I couldn't help feeling that it seemed that each one had been given a part to memorize and was being called to the microphone in order of recitation. The second discussion, which was given the title of the forum, "The World We Want," was mainly devoted to an idealization of the United Nations.

SOBER MOMENTS

However, the forum did have a few sober moments. When the students were being introduced, one of the Egyptian students stated that what Egypt desires above all else is her independence. Sixteen year old Chung-Wah-Lee from Korea very movingly described the Japanese occupation of Korea during the last war and how the country has been ravaged during the recent fighting in Korea. Reminding us of the horrors that a new war would bring, Kayoko Suito, the Japanese student, spoke of America's atom-bombing of Japan and of the genuine desire of the Japanese people for peace and of their fear of being afflicted again with this terror.

After the forum was over and I was leaving, I asked myself: If these students had been able to conduct a genuine forum and were given free rein in expressing their ideas, what would they have really said? — Jack Ennis

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Monday, April 14, 1952

The Truth Will Out

Washington has been playing a double-dealing game with the American people on the question of Far Eastern policy. It claims it seeks no territory for U.S. imperialism, while it secretly plans to grab all it can. This applies specifically to Formosa, which is recognized by international treaty as a part of China.

Secretary of the Navy Dan A. Kimball, under whose direction the U.S. 7th Fleet is "protecting" Formosa, has made it pretty plain that the U.S. rulers don't intend to get out of Formosa even if the Korean war is ended. On March 27 he said that Formosa would remain under U.S. armed control "regardless of Korea."

He amplified this statement in Tokyo on April 1 when he told reporters that the Navy would "clobber the hell out of" any attempt of the established government of China, under Mao Tse-tung, to reclaim Formosa by arms from the forces of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship, which was kicked out of China by the Chinese people and has survived thanks only to the U.S. fleet and air force. At the same time, Kimball said, the Navy would "stand on the sidelines and cheer" any counter-revolutionary invasion of China by Chiang.

The State Department has tried to take the curse off Kimball's statements with the mild objection that he was "stating a personal view. He is not stating policy." But there has been no sharp repudiation of these statements of one of the top policy-makers.

True enough, Kimball was not voicing the formal policy, the fake policy handed out to the public. That policy, as enunciated by Truman at the start of the Korean war, was one merely of "neutralization" of Formosa, ostensibly to keep the Korea war from spreading in the Far East.

But Kimball has voiced the real, if secret, policy. He affirms what the actions of Truman, Acheson and the Pentagon make obvious: They don't intend to get out of Formosa; they do intend to make it a base for an invasion of China using Chiang's forces to run interference, if they can get away with it.

We have had more than one case of some big-shot general or cabinet member shooting off his mouth (or fountain pen) and revealing the actual aims concealed behind the false statements of policy put out for public consumption. An example is the episode of the diary of Maj. Gen. Robert W. Grow, former U.S. military attache in Moscow, who called for "War now!" and "Start by hitting below the belt." Grow was censured not for what he wrote, but for letting it fall into the Kremlin's hands.

In the same sense, the State Department officials have not demonstratively repudiated the aims stated by Kimball. They have merely objected to the fact that Kimball has embarrassed them by disclosing that their real aims in Formosa are completely at variance with the ones they profess to the people.

Local 245 and Labor Politics

A step toward independent political action was taken by an American labor union when the Seventh Annual Convention of the New England district of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers voted, with only one abstaining, to endorse the formation of a Labor Party at the earliest possible date.

The Packinghouse Worker for March, reports that a convention decision was also made that "Each local be urged to run UPWA members for public office." It further reports: "The delegates were told of the experience of local 245 which ran Frank Slowik; treasurer, for Ward Alderman in Chicopee, Mass. (Chicopee is an industrial city of about 40,000 population.) Although Slowik was nosed out, as a result of his campaign both he and the local are now important politically in Chicopee."

This tells a significant tale. It tells of a local union in the CIO learning about independent labor political action through its own initiative and experience, and then making these lessons available to a district organization of its international union. It tells of the convention of this district picking up that experience, and broadening it to the general demand for a national Labor Party.

This instructive incident provides the best of all possible answers to the timid and backward leaders of labor who restrain the labor movement from the formation of a national party. Even those labor leaders who give lip service to the idea of labor's independent political action emphasizes only the many difficulties in the way of such a project. They speak as though the only way a Labor Party can come into existence is to spring into being full grown on a national scale.

The actual process through which a labor party can be built is seen in the case of Packinghouse Local 245 of the New England District. Local labor candidates, sponsored by city labor movements, can prove that there is an alternative to capitalist politics, and can fire the ranks with enthusiasm for independent labor politics.

The British Labor Party, today the most powerful force in Britain, was only a tiny minority party before World War I. Even in 1918, it elected only 57 members to Parliament, running a very poor third after the Tory and Liberal Parties. But only five years later, in 1923, the British Labor Party got almost 4 1/2 million votes, elected 191 members of Parliament, and by January of the next year had formed the first labor Government.

Rapid as this development was, it is nevertheless slow compared to the possibilities of an American labor party. The U.S. labor movement is far more powerful now than the British was then. In addition, all events developed at a slower pace in those years than today.

The possibility of a labor party in the United States and of the very rapid growth of that party certainly exists. But that possibility rests with the actions of the rank and file of the trade union movement, and not with the leaders, who will continue to drag their feet as long as the ranks permit. Local unions like the Packinghouse local cited above, and local conventions like the New England Packinghouse convention, show the way.

Ceylon Elections and United Front

By John G. Wright

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylon Trotskyists, the largest opposition party on this strategic, Southeast Asian island, continued the attempt to negotiate with the Ceylon Stalinists the formation of a united left bloc in the coming parliamentary elections, with a view to ousting the capitalists from power and installing a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

According to the latest cables, the Ceylon parliamentary elections are scheduled to take place toward the end of April.

THE C.P. LINE

At a time when an exceptional opportunity exists in Ceylon to establish an anti-capitalist government, the Stalinists are sponsoring a Ceylonese variety of "People's Front," seeking merely to substitute a "more progressive"

capitalist government in the place of the ruling UNP. To this end the Stalinists have called for an agreement that would include "all anti-UNP groups" on the basis of a "minimum program," without specifying that such a program should be anti-capitalist in character, as the LSSP correctly demands.

Despite these fundamental disagreements, the LSSP "has invited the CP to sit down with it to try to evolve an agreed concrete governmental program," points out the Feb. 21 editorial of the Samasamajist, LSSP's English weekly.

On Feb. 16 Leslie Goonewardene, LSSP Secretary, sent a letter to the Ceylon CP welcoming the fact that "you (the CP) are agreeable to meet representatives of our party at a conference in order to endeavor to reach an agreement in relation to the

coming general elections struggle."

In the name of the LSSP, Goonewardene then proposed as the basis of such a conference the LSSP 14-point program "and the governmental program contained in the agreement" made by the CP with the DPR Guewardena group. (The 14-point program of the LSSP was reported in the March 31 issue of The Militant. The DPR Guewardena group is a split-off from the LSSP which has evolved in a pro-Stalinist direction.)

As for the "question of inviting other organizations," the LSSP proposes that this be dealt with "only after agreement has been reached between us." The LSSP also raised no objections to the DPR Guewardena group's being jointly represented on "the delegation which we (the LSSP) shall meet at the proposed conference."

The LSSP letter concludes with the suggestion "that a convenient time and place for the conference be arranged over the telephone."

LSSP LETTER

"An agreement on programmatic principles, apart from being extremely difficult of achievement would be useless without agreement on practical measures," explains the Feb. 21 editorial in Samasamajist. "On the other hand, agreement between the Left parties on practical measures, which are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist IN CONTENT is all that is needed in the present situation to take the mass movement several steps forward on the road to the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. It is to be hoped that the CP will find it possible to come to agreement with the LSSP on such a practical program."

CORRUPTION, SCANDALS FLOOD WHITE HOUSE

(Continued from page 1)

It is unlikely that Morris was very serious. His own financial status does not bear close scrutiny. He was called before the Senate Permanent Investigating Committee in March and asked to tell his connection with a surplus government tanker deal in which, as a member of the law firm involved, Morris netted some \$30,000 in fees. But he probably thought that sending out the questionnaires on incomes would make the probe look good.

A BODY BLOW

The mere suggestion of an attempt to look into the wealth and income of Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington touched their most vital nerve center. It hit them right in the solar plexus. Morris had committed not a venial, but a mortal sin. None felt this more than McGrath. Harold E. Stassen, former governor of Minnesota and a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, had publicly charged that McGrath had served his country so well during his twelve years of public office that he had become a millionaire. How?

Called before a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee on March 31, McGrath testified that he did not make out the questionnaire and had not distributed it to employees in his department and did not know that he ever would. And he added that if he had to do it over again he would never reappoint Morris. McGrath later claimed that by his refusal to sign the questionnaire or to make others fill it out he had "stood up for what I believe to be the great principles of personal liberty and fundamental rights of federal employees of the Federal Government."

DOUBLE STANDARD

These great principles did not apply, however, to the privacy, personal liberty and fundamental rights in the political witch-hunt and "loyalty" purge of federal workers by the Truman administration. He backed up the FBI's illegal wiretapping, rifling of mail, quizzing of friends, relatives and neighbors, that has become the chief activity of the FBI.

McGrath was not alone in his defense of the "United States traditions of privacy and individual freedom." Arthur Krock, dean of the N. Y. Times Washington correspondents, flatly charged and gave strongly corroborated evidence that Truman had told McGrath in advance that his decision to fire Morris was "right" and "to go ahead." Truman personally "had instructed the Attorney General not to distribute the questionnaire among officials of his department," Krock wrote in the April 9 Times.

GLAD HE LEFT

The truth is that everybody in Washington—that is everybody holding office, Republican as well as Democratic—were glad to see Morris and his questionnaires go. The United Press wrote on April 4: "Republicans and Democrats applauded the ouster of Morris, who never was very popular on Capitol Hill."

"There have been growing indications that the proposed questionnaire was resented far and wide, perhaps most strongly not by the politicians but by the substantial business men who are serving the government on a temporary basis during the emergency. . . . There is reason to believe, however, that politically appointed office holders also got in their licks against the questionnaire," reported Anthony Leviero in the April 6 N. Y. Times.

The same paper on April 2 had reported "acid protest" against the questionnaire by other Cabinet

members, including Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder. Drew Pearson wrote in his widely-syndicated column on April 4 that the "leader of the revolt" against Morris was Secretary of Defense Robert Lovett.

JUST BUSINESS MEN

After his firing, Morris wrote in the April 7 N. Y. World-Telegram that one reason that there is such corruption in Washington "is that people who go into politics generally are in business." Lincoln Stephens put it more clearly in his famous book, "The Shame of the Cities," which exposed political corruption back 50 years ago. Stephens wrote:

"He is a self-righteous fraud, this big business man. He is the chief source of corruption. . . . The commercial spirit is the spirit of profit, not patriotism; of credit, not honor; of individual gain, not national prosperity; of trade and dickering, not principle. . . . My business is sacred," says the business man in his heart. Whatever prospers my business, is good; it must be. Whatever hinders it, is wrong; it must be. A bribe is bad, that is, it is a bad thing to take; but it is not so bad to give one, nor if it is necessary to my business."

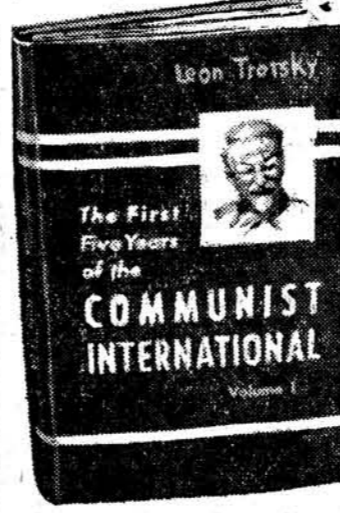
TRUE TODAY

What Stephens found decades ago, and what Morris hints at today, will not change with the change in Attorney General. McGrath comes to Washington with a record so bad that Philadelphia District Attorney Richardson Dillworth, a Democrat, called McGrath's appointment as Attorney General "so bad as to be almost unbelievable" and predicted that his regime "will be marked by incompetence, bias, favoritism and ward politics at its worst."

McGrath's first words in Washington disclosed that he understands full well that Truman didn't appoint him to find any Democratic wrong-doers. Henceforth, he said, all "investigations" of corruption will be done by the FBI (which has no power to investigate the Treasury Department and Internal Revenue Bureau.) But "first, I will find out if and where corruption is," said McGrath, with the accent on the "if."

Above all, he opined, "there will be no witch-hunts." He did not mean that the FBI will not go growing into the past lives of a low-paid government clerk to see if he once belonged to the Friends of Nature back in 1931. No, the "loyalty" purge will go on.

But asked if he were going to investigate McGrath's outside sources of income, McGrath replied, "What right would I have to do that?" There will be no "witch-hunt" against the rich political crooks—not so long as the Democrats and Republicans rule Washington.



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Imperialist Pact Ratified



In Washington, chairman Tom Connally of Senate Foreign Relations Committee (L) and Sen. Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) look on as Senate Sec. Leslie Biffle signs Japanese treaty. Ratified by a vote of 66 to 10, the treaty which ends the war with Japan provides for an imperialist pact. It establishes Japan as the jumping-off base for an anti-China war. The treaty has met with tremendous opposition throughout Asia, and is opposed by both China and India, two largest Asian nations.

KOREA WAR STARTED BLITZ ON REAL WAGES

By Harry Frankel

The average working class family is really beginning to feel the strain of the war economy. Its living standards are down almost 5% since the start of the Korean war.

Judged by past experience, this is an exceedingly sharp drop in the standard of living, unusual for any non-depression period.

The drop in working-class real buying power is revealed in a study made by Dr. Julius Hirsch, Wall Street economic consultant. Dr. Hirsch is mainly interested in proving that taxes should be reduced. He contends that "we have . . . taxed part of our economy into something like a recession. While the defense and hard goods industries are up 24% from June 1950, consumer and soft goods industries are down 11% from the February 1951 level."

REAL WAGE DOWN

Dr. Hirsch's figures were made up for a "typical city worker family," that is, a family consisting of the worker, his wife and two children, and earning an average pay check. The most important figures having to do with income, price rises and tax rises as they have affected this family since the Korean War started may be summarized as follows:

	June 1950	Nov. 1951
Weekly Pay	\$54.85	\$59.78
Real Pay in 1951 Dollars	55.40	54.57
All Taxes	5.27	6.76
Real Pay After Taxes	50.13	47.82

The average worker was getting \$4.93 a week more in Nov. 1951 than he was a year and a half before when the Korean War started. However, after new price increases took \$5.76 out of his buying power, and new taxes took \$1.48 more away from him, he was left with an actual pay cut of \$2.31 each week. Many workers have not gotten any pay increases since the Korean War began; for these workers the pay slash is fully \$7 a week.

PRODUCING MORE

Dr. Hirsch's figures, as given above, do not tell the whole story, even though they are very

startling. This further point must be added. The worker is getting much less than he was when the Korean War started, but he is producing far more. The productivity of the average worker goes up each year by between 2 and 3%. However, 1950, the year when the war started, saw an exceptionally big productivity increase. In that one year output per worker went up by 6.3%. Thus in the year and a half after June 1950, the worker's output rose by at least 7 or 8%, but his buying power went down by almost 5%. This is a very large decline in the relative position of the workers.

These figures explain the "little recession" that has hit the consumer goods industries in recent months. They show why department store sales in mid-March were 10% below sales in the same week a year ago, and why they were 15% below the previous year in the last week of February. The worker can't buy, not because he is hoarding his money, but because he hasn't got it.

CASHING BONDS

Working-class and lower middle-class families cashed in their government E bonds faster than they bought them during 1951. They bought a little more than half a billion dollars worth of \$25 bonds, but they cashed in almost three-quarters of a billion dollars worth of the same bonds. This was a result of the same decline in real earnings.

Another result of the drop in pay is seen in the savings figures. The richest tenth of the nation recorded 73% of the net savings in the U.S. during 1951. But fully half of the population, the bottom five tenths, were "dis-savers." They had to spend more than they earned to support their families, and to do this they either spent some or all of their accumulated savings (like E bonds) or went into debt.

Thus the Korean war, in addition to the tremendous cost in American lives, has been a first class blitzkrieg against the living standard of the American people.

Malaya's Fight for Independence

By Charles Hanley

The British Tory government, reports the April 8 N. Y. Herald Tribune, has given "full approval" to the savage reprisals inflicted upon an entire Malayan village for allegedly aiding guerrilla bands waging a struggle for national independence. "Last month," says the Herald Tribune, "Secretary of State Dean Acheson gave strong American support to the British campaign."

What is the nature of this "campaign" to which Churchill, Acheson and Company give their whole-hearted support? On March 28 the Associated Press reported that British High Commissioner General Sir Gerald Templer, "has ordered the 5,000 villagers of Tanjong Malin under house arrest and cut their rice ration, accusing many of them of aiding Communist guerrillas in the area 45 miles north of this city." This barbarous measure aroused voices of protest even in the British House of Lords.

"Viscount Stansgate," reports the April 8 Herald Tribune, protested that "no one could justify . . . preventing women and children from getting enough food when they had done nothing wrong."

"COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT"

The Earl of Listowel, another Labor peer, protested that such "collective punishment" was a new departure in British colonial policy. "But the Earl was either short of memory or ignorant of 'British colonial policy.' Collective punishment has been practiced against the people of Malaya for years and condemning innocent women and children to hunger is only one of its milder forms.

The British imperialists have practiced a "scorched earth" policy in Malaya, burning villages, imposing collective fines, evacuating whole village populations, destroying homes and crops, because the people "failed to help British security forces in the campaign" against the guerrillas. And now the "civilizers" have come up with something new!

On April 5, a Reuters dispatch from Singapore, disclosed that "chemical warfare from the air is to be launched" against the imperialists call the "Communist bandit food-growing areas in the depths of the Malayan jungle." The New York Times, April 5, reports that the British-

owned Straits Times, which the N. Y. Times characterizes as one of the most reliable newspapers in the Far East, reports that British planes "flying low over jungle clearings, would spray large areas 'with a withering chemical destroying food crops which support terrorist gangs.'"

Such food-destroying chemicals have already been used, says the Times, and "chemicals had also been used to destroy trees along the sides of two dangerous roads in Malaya in order to deny terrorists natural cover."

Why are the British imperialists and their American counterparts driven to practice such beastly atrocities upon innocent and helpless men, women and children in the Malayan jungle?

Behind the spurious facade of a crusade against "communism" lurks the bloody hand of the imperialist exploiter of a rich colonial country and its people.

COLONIAL PRIZE

Malaya is a peninsula situated south of Burma and Siam (Thailand), north of Indonesia, and one of the rich countries of South Asia. The British cling to it not only because of the port and military base of Singapore but because Malaya also produces two thirds of the world's natural rubber supply, one third of its tin, as well as rice, cocoa, sugar cane, coconuts, etc. It is a country of large plantations, beautiful cities and good roads. But it is also a jungle country dangerous to Europeans. There are no roads in the jungle, but there are guerrillas fighting for Asia's freedom from colonial tyranny.

Malaya is a bi-national country inhabited mainly by 2,760,000 Malaysians and 2,850,000 Chinese immigrants. The Chinese live in the cities and also in the towns' population. They are denied citizenship under the "democratic" rule of the British.

The French bourgeois newspaper "Le Monde" has published an interesting and revealing series of articles by its special correspondent, Robert Guillaing.

Guillaing points out the predominant role of the Chinese in the Malayan war. The movement originated in the Malayan Chinese anti-Japanese resistance in World War II. The guerrilla army does not get any noticeable aid from the outside. The Malayan revolt is not organized in Moscow or in

Peking; it is organized in Malaya. And it is actively or passively supported by almost the entire people — Malaysians and Chinese — of the peninsula.

BRITISH SCHEMES

The British are trying to sponsor an anti-communist Malayan nationalist movement and anti-communist trade-unions. Guillaing admits that this artificial "movement" is not very successful. The only kind of unity between Malaysians and Chinese which is possible in Malaya is unity in common anti-imperialist actions, not unity in an alliance with the imperialists who, so far, have not even granted elementary political rights to the Chinese.

The guerrilla army itself is small. "Amidst a population of 6,500,000 inhabitants, the five thousand men whose organization calls itself Liberation Army of the Peoples of Malaya are like a handful of sand; but they are like grains of sand thrown into a motor: They seriously damage the entire machine," says Guillaing. The five thousand are supported by many other thousands. They are not isolated and are therefore able to wage a continuous campaign of sabotage against 25,000 British soldiers and 100,000 policemen, a campaign that started in June 1948.

The Liberation Army has been capable of plunging the British colonialists into an atmosphere of uncertainty. The British are unable to defeat it. At any time the guerrillas can retreat into the jungle or come out of the jungle. Pursuing them is not much use. Their weapons are light; they can easily carry them. And the jungle is immense. And there even exists a second jungle: The Chinese community in the cities. It is difficult to find a guerrilla fighter hidden by Chinese sympathizers. And there are practically no "Quislings" to betray him to the British. The Chinese communities are impenetrable.

The Liberation Army is not the group of "bandits" the British talk about in their official communiques. It is, in fact, a uniform-

ed, highly disciplined organization, divided into regiments (each of 500 or 600 men), companies and platoons. The Liberation Army has a unified command and a planned strategy. This "Red Army of the Jungle," as Guillaing calls it, also attaches great importance to the political education of every soldier and officer. Each unit has its political instructor. Each unit has its regular educational courses.

"Karl Marx in the deep jungle," reads one of Guillaing's subheads. When they are not in action, the guerrillas have to study each day the questions of economy, politics and revolutionary strategy. Tropical diseases and heat cannot vanquish their determination. They edit their own newspapers under almost fantastic difficulties. They even publish books. Their theories may be influenced by Stalinism to a considerable extent — we do not know about this. But we do know that an army of partisans waging its own struggle under its own leadership and supported by a revolutionary movement of the people is bound to develop a policy of its own, to become increasingly independent from the Kremlin. This is proven by the examples of Yugoslavia and China.

The British at present attempt a hunger blockade against the partisans in the jungle after the failure of every other military measure. They are bound to fail again. Hunger will not break the spirit of Marx. And townspeople and farmers will both continue to help the Liberation Army. For they see the downfall of colonialism at the end of the road, even if the struggle is long and painful. The Malayan people know that this is but one of the fronts of an entire continent in revolt.

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Is FEPC Socialism?

By Jean Blake

"Compulsory FEPC would be the longest step into socialism this country could take." That's what Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, said on a recent NBC television program, "Meet the Press."

The term "socialism" is being bandied about very loosely this election year. Every attempt to reform some of the glaring evils of American capitalist democracy is being labeled "socialist" by someone or other.

Those who propose the reforms protest bitterly against the label, and correctly. They are only trying to patch up some of the holes in our present social system so that it will hold together a little longer. They are not ready to discard the whole rotting fabric and weave a new cloth.

Senator Russell and his kind are wrong. Reforms such as the Fair Employment Practices laws — even compulsory ones — are not socialist.

Socialism means an organization of society on a radically different basis from what we have today, not just a slight sugar-coating of the present set-up. It means taking ownership and control of the means of making a living and securing the necessities — and "luxuries" of life — out of the hands of the small minority of capitalists who own the factories and raw materials, and who do not use them unless they net a profit. It means operation of the factories and of our whole society democratically, by the workers.

Socialists do not propose merely to limit Senator Russell and his class in their power to play off one group of workers against another by means of segregation and discrimination. Socialists propose that the workers — Negro, white and every other category — take away all of the power and control of Senator Russell and his whole capitalist class, reformists as well as "Tories," to dictate under what conditions the people shall work and live.

No FEPC measure proposes to do that. No FEPC measure challenges the right of the capitalist class to run industry, or to close down the factories and mines, or to determine who shall work and who shall not. All that FEPC asks is that the boss not make color, race or religion the deciding factor in hiring.

But so long as capitalist control continues in America, no amount of FEPC laws will be able to prevent the bosses from using that control to discriminate in one form or another. So long as we have two classes, capitalists and workers, capitalists will have the motive and will find the means. They must keep the workers divided because once the workers, as a class, unite and

act in their own interest, capitalism will be through.

And that is why socialists are the most uncompromising fighters today for FEPC and all democratic rights. Knowing that the socialist transformation of society can be accomplished only by the working class, the vast majority of the population, we support measures that will preserve and extend democratic rights. Only those, like Senator Russell, who fear the power of the masses, will fight to the bitter end, by legal and illegal means, to maintain the rule of the minority, the capitalist class.

Some of the reformers who propose FEPC legislation because they think they can avoid a revolutionary change through a few concessions of this type accuse socialists of being insincere in their support of FEPC.

"You people don't really want to see discrimination abolished," they say, "because if it were, Negroes would not back proposals for more radical change."

That type of reasoning misses the point. Any gains that help unite the working class very definitely work in favor of a socialist transformation. The struggle for FEPC, and anything else that helps remove the extra burden Negro workers have to bear, strengthens the colored workers and the class as a whole in their ability to come to grips with the basic problems of building a better world for themselves and their children.

Another argument used by those who question the motives of socialists in the struggle for FEPC is that we only support the fight for FEPC in order to win the support of the Negroes for the workers' revolution, and if the workers took power in this country the Negro struggle would be sold out just as the British Labor Party has sold out the colonial workers in Africa.

Aside from the fact that Britain is still a capitalist state, not a workers' state, that argument reveals a lack of understanding of the program of revolutionary socialists. We predict that the workers will come to power in the United States with many of the problems of capitalism, such as Jim Crow, still to be solved. The first tasks of the workers' state here will be to eliminate those capitalist hangovers so that a classless society can be built. That means that in the transitional period the workers state will have to enact anti-discrimination legislation not only in employment, but in every sphere of social life, with vigorous enforcement by those most concerned.

FEPC is not socialism, but for all of the reasons given above, revolutionary socialists are the most uncompromising fighters for FEPC.

Progressive Party Dispute

By Fred Hart

A national conference of the Progressive Party, meeting in Chicago on March 30, decided to select Vincent Hallinan and Charlotte Bass as their nominees for President and Vice President.

However, there appears to be a difference of opinion among the party leaders as to whether this action means that the Hallinan-Bass slate will be the one that the party will actually support in November.

A few months ago, another national Progressive Party conference in Minneapolis decided on the following policy: "We shall continue to work for and do everything in our power to bring about the organization of an independent ticket supported by a coalition of all groups and individuals who stand for a genuine policy of peace."

This was understood at the time to mean that the Progressive Party would prefer not to run a presidential slate of its own. Some leaders of the party have not changed their attitude on this question, and when the March 30 Chicago conference was called, the Washington state committee publicly questioned the meaning of the Hallinan-Bass candidates.

The March 28 issue of the Stalinist Daily People's World (Northwest edition) reported that the Washington state committee, in a unanimous statement, said it still feels the Minneapolis policy statement is "sound, workable and necessary."

The committee states it has no objection to naming a slate now if that is what is needed to help the party get on the ballot, in states which must file early, "provided it is made clear to the public as well as to our members that this is all we are doing."

The committee adds: "We ask ourselves, if the Progressive Party selects a slate of candidates for President and Vice President at this time, will this action close or tend to close the door to the carrying out of a coalition policy...?"

"Our conclusion is that, if we are choosing a (permanent) slate, it does, and without rejecting the candidates we reject this change in policy and declare that we shall not vote at this time to choose a slate of candidates."

The People's World story said the state committee statement would be taken by Secretary Thomas Rabbitt to the Chicago conference.

None of the stories about the Chicago conference, printed in the Progressive and Stalinist press, gave any hint on what happened to the Washington statement, not even whether it was discussed. Maybe Rabbitt was told that the naming of the Hallinan-Bass slate was just a convenience for the states that have to file before the PP national convention next summer, and withdrew his objections. Or maybe something else happened.

At any rate, this incident reveals that at least one section of the party (the Washington state committee is Stalinist-dominated) is extremely touchy about the possibility of any tendency arising in the party to alter the Minneapolis policy of making a last-ditch effort to arrive at some kind of coalition with capitalist politicians.

The Daily Worker line (April 2) is that there is no alternative to supporting the Progressive Party's presidential ticket, but that: "On congressional candidates, there is, of course, still a possibility to affect united fronts in support of ANY congressional ticket that is pledged to peace and labor's welfare program." (Emphasis in original.)

ANY capitalist politician running for Congress can have the Stalinist vote if he gives a little lip service to "peace and labor's welfare program." But the Stalinists continue to oppose the formation of an independent Labor Party making a clean break with all capitalist politicians and challenging them for power.

Notes from the News

"THE TWO OLD PARTIES have made it virtually impossible for a new party to be born and to challenge them for the votes of the American people," says an editorial in the Madison (Wisc.) Capital Times. It denounces the old parties for toughening the "expensive and time-consuming" ballot requirements for minority parties and thereby restricting "the right of the American people to express their preference for political ideologies." It says that "political monopoly has grown dangerously in this country and it is menacing our welfare just as surely as economic monopoly menaces it."

JACOB POTOFKY, president of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has resigned from the City Center of New York because of its decision to send the New York City Ballet to play in Franco Spain.

I. F. STONE'S NEW BOOK, The Hidden History of the Korean War, will be published on May 5. It was rejected by several leading publishers (although Stone is recognized as one of the top American journalists) because it explodes so many lies of the bipartisan propagandists, and is being published by Monthly Review, the magazine edited by Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman.

THE NEW LEADER, Social Democratic magazine, begs both capitalist parties to "put up candidates who are agreed upon NATO, foreign economic aid, and the like." Its editors say: "In a year as crucial as this, we cannot afford to have debated in an election campaign the issue of isolationism versus internationalism. The latter... should be accepted by all political leaders as the basis of the nation's foreign policy. What should be subjected to intense discussion is only the means by which our foreign policy has been or should be executed." (Newest member of the New Leader editorial board is Maurice Spector.)

NORMAN THOMAS told a meeting in Garden City, Long Island, "I like Eisenhower as a candidate for the Presidency." When this was publicized, Thomas issued a statement declaring: "I was quite emphatic in pointing out more than once my feeling that Eisenhower should declare himself on specific issues." He added that he would support the Socialist Party candidate anyway. (Thomas is opposed to having a Socialist Party candidate for President. An SP convention in Cleveland will decide this question next month.)

THE CIO TEXTILE WORKERS UNION convention will be held in Cleveland beginning April 28. The union's paper predicts a hot fight between the two factions supporting President Emil Rieve and Executive Vice President George Balaban.

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER, contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, told a Cleveland audience last week that he favors "hot pursuit across the Yalu River" after giving the Chinese and Koreans an ultimatum on truce terms and a time limit to accept them. (Daniel Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters, is backing Kefauver.)

"AN ANTI-COMMUNIST TERROR is in actual process of development," said Rabbi B. J. Bamberger in a sermon at the West End Synagogue in New York. "Dubious politicians, yellow journalists, ex-Communists who are as unprincipled as they were before they repented, ambitious clerics of various denominations are involved in something less than a holy alliance. They are exercising an unofficial but powerful censorship over radio and television, have badly frightened teachers and professors and are attempting to curtail freedom of expression throughout the country."

VOLUME XVI

UAW Issues New Order on Strike Funds

By Bob Kingsley

CLEVELAND — Another blow was struck at the traditionally democratic character of the CIO United Auto Workers in an "Administrative Letter" sent out by Emil Mazey dated March 6, 1952 to all local unions. This letter is intended to set policy on the use of strike funds during strikes.

Up to now it has been the function of the local to determine how and where the fund should be used in the fight against the company. We are informed for the first time that a Community Services Program has been developed by the International Union to assist our members in making full use of community services and that the local or international strike fund cannot be used until the local and its members have exhausted the services offered by welfare agencies.

SIMPLE BUT UNTRUE

The explanation for this intrusion into local union autonomy over its own strike fund is as simple as it is untrue. After explaining that the strike fund of the international now stands at \$5,000,000 and that it is maintained by setting aside 25 cents per member per month Mazey says, "It should be obvious to anyone that it is impossible to build an adequate strike fund to take care of all the needs of our members with these limited funds. . . . If 300,000 General Motors workers were on strike at one time and we gave the strike assistance of \$5.00 per member, in 3 1/2 weeks we would deplete our entire strike fund."

What Mazey forgets to mention is this: All of the big auto and agricultural industries organized into our union are now tied up with 5-year contracts. For more than one reason the international union will not sanction or authorize a strike in any one of the big industries because their contracts don't expire until 1955. Moreover, all of the 5-year contracts include compulsory arbitration clauses, a small fact which makes a large strike even more remote.

Those of us who attended the 1951 auto convention in Cleveland still remember the promises made by the Reuther leadership for bigger and better strike assistance if the delegates would increase the dues from \$1.50 to \$2.50. At that time Mazey said, "We have got to take the necessary steps to make certain that we have adequate strike funds to take care of the needs of our members when they are forced to strike so that the pangs of hunger will not force our members to accept inferior, unsatisfactory agreements."

MUST PROVE POVERTY

As a Union Counselor for my local union here in Cleveland I took the liberty of calling some of the Welfare Agencies to gather the necessary information in case our local goes on strike during present negotiations. Invariably, in order to qualify for aid from these agencies, such as city or county relief, a member must show no bank account, he must sell his television set (if he owns one), and HE MUST TURN IN THE LICENSE PLATES OF HIS CAR. In short, in order for a striking worker to get any aid from his local union he must first prove complete poverty to the existing relief agencies in his community.

The local union, according to this Administrative Letter, will not get any strike assistance from the international until 75% of the local's strike funds have been depleted. If the policy of the international is to be carried out it is almost a certainty that very little help can be expected in the form of strike aid by any member of our union or even by the local union in the event of strike.

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THE MILITANT

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Secret Meeting on Steel



Before testifying on steel crisis in closed session on Capitol Hill, chairman Nathan P. Feinsinger (c.) of Wage Stabilization Board confers with chairman James E. Murray (r.) of Senate labor committee and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.). Feinsinger's WSB cut demands of steelworkers as low as possible before recommending compromise settlement, which was then rejected by steel corporations.

WITCH HUNT RULING OF NLRB HIT BY L. A. UNIONS

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES — Riding along on the witch hunt hysteria, a National Labor Relations Board examiner here handed down a decision involving the Square D. Co. and the United Electrical Workers Union which would allow the company to fire any worker, or to refuse to recognize any union committee, under the pretext that the company questioned the loyalty of those involved.

The ruling stated that "the company may require a non-Communist affidavit from any individual or individuals claiming to represent the union in any capacity before recognizing such individuals as representatives of the union."

"The company may refuse to confer, meet with or bargain with any person or persons who decline to furnish such affidavit or affidavits," said David F. Doyle, the Board examiner.

Furthermore he ruled that the firm could "discharge any employee who disseminated communist literature in the plant or who advocated communistic action or the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence."

OBVIOUS AIM

This means that not only the government, but the boss could decide how the worker is to think, and that not only top union officials but all union committees must meet the purity standards of the boss before he will recognize them. So obvious is the union busting aim of this measure that many of the labor leaders who were anxious to outdo each other in their red baiting drives in the unions have become alarmed and have been forced to support the stand of a union they helped to throw out of the CIO for being "Communist-dominated."

Albert T. Lunceford, CIO leader who helped out the UE from the CIO, recognizing that this en-

dangers all labor said, "If a union asks wage increases for its members in such a time as this, the company might decide such a request was unpatriotic, therefore the union was unpatriotic for asking, and therefore honest American working men could be subjected to the indignity of being forced to sign company drawn oaths of allegiance."

W. J. Bassett, secretary of the AFL Central Labor Council, a red baiter in his own right, explained that with such a provision in the contract, an employer could fire someone for just distributing union literature, even if it were only an announcement of a meeting to discuss wages and working conditions, if in his opinion the union is Communist dominated.

FATAL CONCESSION

Apparently not understanding that this is the meaning of the government witch hunt, the representative of the U. E., William Elconin, agreed with Doyle that the union contract should have a clause under which the company could discharge an employee who advocated the use of force in overthrowing the U. S. government, but according to him, the matter should first be passed on by the security officials of the government.

Unfortunately, the policy of playing along with the witch hunt, and then trying to make it stop at a certain point where it begins to threaten even the union officials will not work. Lack of militant resistance to the government thought control program can only encourage the capitalists to utilize the witch hunt to weaken, undermine and attempt to destroy the organized labor movement.

Miseducation at UAW Parley

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, April 6 — The fifth national educational conference of the CIO United Auto Workers today concluded four days of as expensive and elaborate a miseducation as the Reuther leadership could provide.

More than 2500 delegates from the United States and Canada heard a variety of professors, politicians and government spokesmen — and UAW pres. W. Reuther — at public mass meetings in the afternoons and evenings.

Reuther made the keynote speech at the opening session Thursday night on "Planning a Successful Strategy for Peace and Abundance." He touched on many of the major problems before the 1,250,000 members of the largest union in the world, but only to distort the thinking of many serious rank and file in attendance, with false answers.

"We've got to work not only on the economic front," Reuther said in his introductory remarks, "but on the political front."

"We of the UAW-CIO were not trying to patch up the old world," he said, appealing to the democratic rank-and-file militancy of the early days of the organizing drives. "We were trying . . . to build a new world in which people needn't go hungry and war could be abolished."

Along the same vein, he asserted that today we see a world-wide revolution going on "against the status quo, because the status quo means poverty and war."

The auto workers must concern themselves with this world-wide struggle, he said, "because the best collective bargaining agreements you can write will not do any good in years ahead unless you can solve the problems of the world . . . of democracy versus communism."

But American labor leaders like him are embarrassed when they attempt to provide leadership at world labor conferences, Reuther admitted, because the workers of Asia, Europe and the rest of the world keep asking one fundamental question: "Are you going to have another depression in America?" You know how to have full employment putting people to work on weapons of war, they say, but you never solved the problem of unemployment. In 1939 you still had nine million unemployed, until the World War gave them work. In 1949 you were heading into another depression, with 4 1/2 million unemployed, until Korea saved you.

The task, Reuther recognizes, is "to find a way to mobilize the resources of America for the

Akron Strikers Win Right to NLRB Election

By L. Cooper

AKRON, April 4 — After 37 days on the picket line in which BF Goodrich production was brought to a complete standstill during the past week, close to 300 striking office workers (unit of Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers) unanimously ratified a strike settlement this evening. The ratification meeting was genuinely high-spirited and the membership was in agreement with President George Bass that "a victory under the circumstances" had been achieved.

The settlement called for an NLRB election to be held on April 30 to determine if Local 5 should continue to have sole bargaining rights for the office workers. If Local 5 is chosen by a majority of the 1100 employees, then the company agrees to immediately grant a modified union shop and to make available to the union all information on individual salaries that the union has been seeking, for many years, "in order to bargain intelligently."

For close to 30 days the strikers had defied a court injunction that prohibited picketing of the railroad tracks and truck entrances to the Goodrich plants and by March 31 the strikers had finally "choked off" all production. Because no trains and trucks got through, President Bass and 8 other leading unionists were sentenced on March 28 to the maximum jail term allowed for "contempt" of the local injunction. Their sentences of 10 days each and \$250 fine each are now being appealed.

Spontaneous militant support from large sections of the rank and file rubber workers of Akron also greatly contributed to the strike's effectiveness. Although the 9 unionists were in jail for only 2 hours, a vast wave of sympathy strikes started throughout the Goodrich and Goodyear plants. Had they remained in jail, the sympathy strike movement would unquestionably have encompassed most if not all the rubber plants.

At Goodrich, for 3 days following the sentencing, production workers reinforced the picket lines and kept all non-strikers and supervisors out of the plant. Police were out in force on Monday morning, March 31, to intimidate the picket lines. Only at the instructions of President Bass did the strikers allow the supervisors and non-striking office help through. However, none of the more than 12,000 production workers returned to work until after the final strike settlement on April 4.

MICHIGAN GOVERNOR TO SIGN NEW WITCH HUNT MEASURE

DETROIT — While the anti-labor House Un-American Activities Committee was tarring every militant of Ford Local 600 of the UAW-CIO with the brush of communism and conspiracy, the

Legislative body of the State of Michigan prepared and has ready for Gov. Williams' signature the Trucks-Lindemer-Teahen Bill.

This new law will bar the Communist Party from the Michigan ballot, prohibit "communists" from holding office and impose stiff penalties for sabotage. Another measure requires that every member of the Communist Party or alleged Communist-front organization must register with the State Police if he remains in Michigan longer than 30 days. Failure to register becomes a felony punishable by a fine of \$1,000 to \$10,000, by imprisonment of two to ten years, or both.

An attempt to extend the above provisions to "known members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion" was made by Senator Robert A. Haggerty (Dem.) but this effort was fought off by Senator James M. Teahen Jr.

Governor Williams, the darling of the CIO and AFL labor leaders, commented, "While I want to look it over, I see no reason why I should not sign it." The Trucks

Bill will become operative the moment the Governor signs it.

Editorializing on this subject the Detroit News fans the flames against civil rights with the following question: "WHY FORBID THE BALLOT TO PARTIES, AND THEIR MEMBERS, WHO UNDER LAWS ALREADY WRITTEN SHOULD BE IN THE PENITENTIARY?" (Their emphasis.)

Just as Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, seized on the House Un-American Activities Committee witch hunt to place an Administrator over Ford Local #600, so too, the Michigan Legislature prepared and tightened another noose to strangle the Bill of Rights.

Proof again that the Democratic political darlings of the labor leaders do not serve the laboring class. Proof again that the present labor leaders must be replaced from top to bottom with leaders who will rely on the organized strength of labor to protect and advance their interests.

On civil liberties, Reuther stated, "We must square democracy's noble promise" with the reality. This, in view of the recent actions by the UAW leadership to decapitate Ford Local 600 and tighten up bureaucratic control of the United Auto Workers generally, was the most hypocritical remark of his speech.

Prelude to the opening session at which Reuther spoke was a meeting Thursday afternoon of presidents of forty UAW locals in Ford plants to give a "vote of confidence" to the international officers in their drive against Detroit Local 600.

Fifty delegates bought copies of The Militant to read the front page stories headed "Reuther Praised by Labor Haters for Joining Witch Hunt Purge," and "Ford Local Heads Urge Fight on Dictatorship." Fourteen copies of "The Road to Peace," by James P. Cannon, were sold at the Saturday night session. So there was some working class education at the conference after all.