

WHY U.S. LABOR SHOULD OPPOSE TRUMAN 'SEIZURES'

(See Page 2)

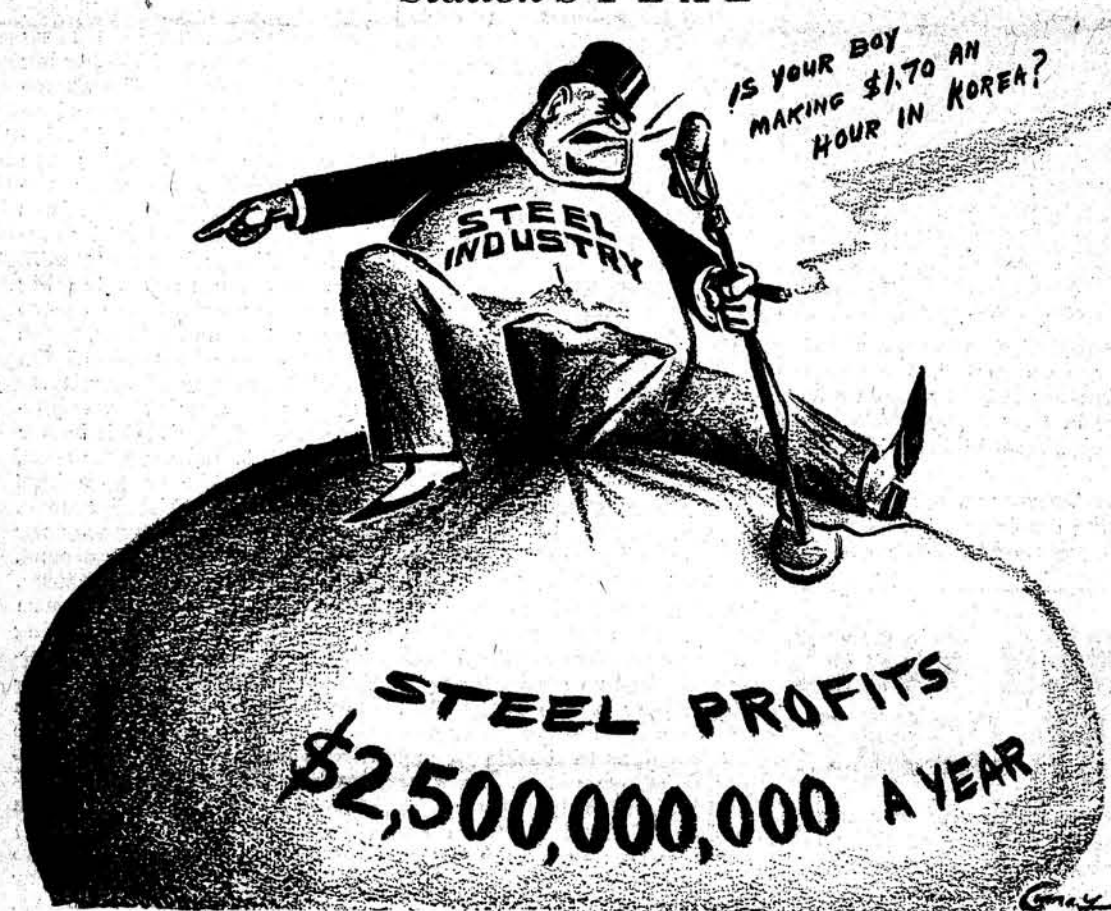
Vol. XVI - No. 16

307

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Station S T E A L



NEWS ITEM: Inland Steel Co. president Clarence B. Randall, broadcasting an industry attack on the WSB's recommendation of a wage increase for steel workers, cried: "Is your boy making \$1.70 an hour in Korea?"

STEEL TALKS OFF AGAIN; HINT GOVERNMENT PACT

By Thomas Raymond

Union-industry negotiations broke down last week in the steel dispute, and Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, nominal "boss" of the "seized" plants said he would proceed "promptly but not precipitately" to bargain with the union.

Government seizure has thus far failed to bring the long awaited wage increase and union shop contract demanded by the union and recommended in whittled-down form by the government Wage Stabilization Board. The steel union's 170 man Wage and Policy Committee, meeting in Washington, contented itself with the vague declaration that "the time is overdue for a settlement based on the board's recommendations, and the patience of the Steelworkers is not inexhaustible." This is a departure from the previous policy of the union, which has set a strike deadline with every postponement it granted.

Meanwhile, the capitalist class, aided by almost every newspaper in the country and by many Congressmen and other government officials, has opened a terrific campaign against the steelworkers and against government seizure. Full page advertisements and biased news stories supplement the hysterical editorials that scream from every big business paper. The U.S. News, leading capitalist magazine, keynotes the offensive with a headline in its April 18 issue: "WILL STRIKES BRING SOCIALISM?"

RUMORS OF TERMS

Rumors as to the pending action by the Secretary of Commerce hint that he may make further cuts in the steel union demands before he orders new terms into effect.

Iron Age, steel industry magazine said in its April 16 issue, that Sawyer will order the WSB recommendations "refigured on a two-year basis." Both sides have rejected this proposition, but says Iron Age: "it looks like the one that's coming this week." The N. Y. World Telegram said on April 17: "Informed government sources said he (Sawyer) probably will impose what the industry already has offered — a 12% cent hourly wage boost and 5% cents more for fringes, but not a union shop."

Big British Union Backs Bevan Line On Rearmament

The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, sixth largest in Britain, overwhelmingly adopted a resolution condemning the British government's rearmament program. Out of more than 1,000 delegates representing 350,000 workers, only a dozen voted against the resolution at the union's national conference at Margate on April 15.

This action puts the USDAW on the side of Aneurin Bevan, leader of a group in the British Labor Party which criticizes the rearmament program initiated by the Labor government and continued by Churchill. Bevan reflects a growing sentiment in Labor Party ranks for "more socialism" and independence from Washington's foreign policy.

A former Labor minister pleaded with the USDAW delegates: "If the conference accepts this resolution you will be turning down Clement Attlee and the policy of the Labor government which served you well."

But this had no effect. The USDAW, which formerly went along with the Attlee wing of the Labor Party, can now be counted as part of the trade union opposition. Bevan, who already had the support of most of the constituency Labor Party groups, now seems assured of the backing of at least three of the six biggest unions, most of whose leaders used to be in the Attlee camp.

FEPC Issue Haunts Capitalist Politicians

By Albert Parker

The capitalist politicians twist and turn with all their might, but they cannot get away from the Negro struggle and the demand for civil rights legislation. The Negro movement lacks a militant leadership willing to engage in an all-out political fight against the Jim Crow capitalist forces, but the pressure from the ranks is so strong that the Negro question makes itself felt with great weight in American politics just the same. FEPC has been buried a dozen times, but it is a specter that continues to haunt the smoke-filled rooms of the capitalist politicians.

Eisenhower, whose supporters are putting on a special drive to attract Negro support, was put squarely on the spot this month when Congressman Adam Clayton Powell sent him a questionnaire, prepared by representatives of 200 organizations in New York, inquiring where he stood on a Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and anti-filibuster legislation.

"CAN'T FIND TIME"

After a couple of weeks delay, Eisenhower sent an answer from France — refusing to state his views on these questions. "The nature of my duties (in Europe) in such as to require my full time

and energy," he wrote, "and I simply cannot find the time to make the detailed studies and analysis required to answer the questions you submitted. Such a task could only be accomplished with the help of several expert assistants who are, of course, not available here in this military headquarters."

Twist and turn, dodge and duck — it does Eisenhower no good. He has postponed the day when he will have to take an open stand on these questions, but at a heavy price. The delay may keep him in good with the Dixiecrats, but it weakens and discredits the efforts of opportunistic Negro leaders who have jumped on the Eisenhower bandwagon and hope to corral the Negro vote for him.

"Mr. American," as his propaganda calls him, has been spending entire days at a time meeting with his political aides at his headquarters in France, but he claims he cannot find time to say where he stands on issue that both capitalist parties, including the one he hopes to lead, have written into their platforms and promised to enact several times in the past.

Most high school students know what FEPC involves, but the would-be President of the United States says he needs "several expert assistants" to help him before he can tell whether or not



FRANK McKINNEY

he thinks discrimination in employment should be opposed through federal legislation.

WHAT HE HAD TIME FOR

He could not find the time or the experts to help him state his views on legislation demanded by the Negro people and the labor movement, but he did find time (and without "experts") to announce his views on legislation

demanded by the big oil interests.

For several years now the oil companies have been fighting in Washington for 40 billion dollars' worth of "tidelands oil" (located offshore in coastal waters) to be turned over to the states of Texas, California and Louisiana. The Supreme Court has ruled that the federal government has "paramount interest" in these valuable properties. But the oil millionaires and the Dixiecrat movement they organized and control have been maneuvering to upset this federal claim because they can "do business" better with the compliant state legislatures than with the federal government.

And while Powell's questionnaire was lying on his desk, Eisenhower wrote a letter to his Texas campaign manager announcing that as president he would sign a bill authorizing this 40 billion dollar oil grab for the States' Righters.

DEMOCRATS TOO

The Democrats too are twisting on the horns of the great dilemma created by the civil rights issue: "How to nail together a civil rights plank that will hold Southerners in line without risking the loss of minority voting blocs in the big northern cities." (Wall St. Journal, April 10).

Truman's decision not to run

reduced the chances of the Dixiecrats bolting the party (and taking many more electoral votes with them than they did in 1948). But it did not altogether eliminate the possibility of a Dixiecrat split if the Southern bloc does not get the kind of platform it demands.

Democratic National Chairman Frank McKinney has a "plan," the Journal reports: "To start with, he'll appoint a preliminary committee to begin work on the troublesome proposals. There'd have been such a drafting committee in any case, but the McKinney strategy is to assign more Southern Democrats to it than ever before. This, he hopes, will give the feeling they're beginning to be brought back into party councils, and thus put them in a frame of mind more amenable to compromise."

TWO-SIDED HITCH

But there is still a hitch in this wonderful plan. "Whatever recommendations this group makes, however, must be ratified

(Continued on page 2)

Ridgway Fears "Bring Boys Home" Movement

Legless Veteran's Case Heard by Appeals Court

By Joseph Andrews

WASHINGTON, D. C. — There was a big man in Washington the other day. On most days the nation's capitol is crowded with plenty of chiselers and influence peddlers. An honest man is hard to find.

But on April 10, James Kutcher was in town. In the city of Truman and his henchman he was a towering Gulliver among the political Lilliputians. He didn't go there to buy up a couple of senators, to cover up a tax fraud, to wangle a cost-plus contract from the Pentagon; he didn't go there to scratch anyone's back. He travelled to Washington to fight for a principle.

IDEAS PROSCRIBED

Kutcher went to the seat of the federal government to defend his right to think. He had been fired from his job in the Veterans' Administration in Newark, N. J., because he had said he was a member of the Socialist Workers' Party, and proud to be one. The fact that he had lost both legs in the second imperialist war did not earn him the right to work as a clerk in the VA office, because the Attorney General had put socialist ideas on the proscribed list.

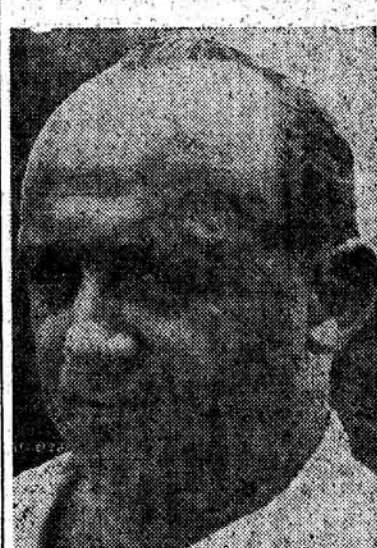
So on this day, Kutcher made his way up the steps of the imposing structure housing the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. He used two heavy canes and two artificial legs to climb the stairs and enter the court to which he had appealed his case — the last court of appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Prosecutor flushed when he saw Kutcher. Somewhere within him a tiny remnant of conscience made itself felt. "I would like to meet you some time, Mr. Kutcher, when we are not litigants," he said. Kutcher smiled tolerantly.

PROUD OF MEMBERSHIP

Three sober black-robed judges heard the case. The prosecutor hurried to get it over with. "Kutcher admits that he joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. He admits he is still a member. He says he is proud to be a member. He took minutes in Party meetings in Newark. He made a pledge to The Militant." He might have added that Kutcher despite his handicap regularly sells The Militant to workers on the streets.

(Continued on page 2)



JAMES KUTCHER

Kremlin Panics U.S. Diplomats With German Bid

By Joseph Keller

Whatever the intrinsic defects or merits of the Soviet government's new proposals on Germany, they have produced one valuable by-product: Exposure of the hypocritical pretense of the U.S. rulers that Washington wants a reunified democratic Germany.

With the very first Soviet note offering to settle the German issue on the basis of a united, rearmament, "neutral" capitalist Germany, the U.S. State Department was thrown into what the Wall Street Journal called a "very near panic." The U.S. diplomats evaded the central points of Moscow's note by replying that the pre-requisite for German reunification is a "free election" under UN supervision.

FEAR FREE ELECTIONS

But even as the imperialist spokesmen called for "free elections," they were fearful that Stalin would accommodate them. Russell Hill of the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported on April 6, that "the Western Allies are still hoping that the Russians will not take them up on this one. Nothing is better calculated than the prospect of such elections to put a crimp in plans for West German rearmament."

Whatever aims the western capitalist powers have, it is not to give the German people themselves the chance to determine the fate of Germany. Thus, Joseph C. Harsch, special Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, wrote on March 29 of the "grave risk that Moscow will accept the idea of German elections, thus leaving the future to the fall of German ballots, giving individual German voters the ability to determine the shape of the future."

The Kremlin's second note to the western powers, made public April 10, confirmed the worst fears of the U.S. diplomats. It was, in essence, not only an acceptance but an insistence on the very "free elections" that the U.S.-British-French note had said is a pre-condition for consideration of a German peace treaty.

IN A HOLE

True enough, the Soviet reply spoke of "free elections" under the supervision of the four powers which have divided up and control Germany, while the U.S. has called for UN-supervised elections. But few would consider this a difference in principle. "But if . . . the Allies toughen up, rejecting the four-power plan, Stalin still with profit can accept the Allied UN proposal," sadly

(Continued on page 2)

General Wants to Keep U.S. Troops in Korea Indefinitely Even if Truce is Reached

Contrary to the beliefs or hopes of millions of parents, wives, children and friends of the GIs in Korea, the U.S. troops will not be returned home in the event of a truce. Approximately a half million American military personnel will be kept in Korea indefinitely.

This was made plain by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, U.S.-UN Far East war commander, in an exclusive interview published in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune of April 13, 14 and 15.

THE GENERAL'S FEAR

The high-ranking militarist expressed the fear that the American people will demand the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Korea, reports Mac R. Johnson, who interviewed the general.

"He indicated it would be most unfortunate if an armistice in Korea signaled a 'bring-my-boy-back-home' movement such as developed in the United States immediately after Japan's surrender as World War II ended."

This is a warning that the Big Brass intend to keep the U.S. forces in Korea despite the great unpopularity of the war and the majority sentiment, shown by repeated nation-wide polls, that the U.S. should never have intervened in Korea to begin with.

But Ridgway's fear is also an indication to the American people of how they can bring an end to the war and secure the safe return of their conscripted loved ones. There is nothing the generals fear so much as a mighty mass movement, expressing the deepest desires of the GIs themselves, such as forced the return of the troops at the end of World War II.

From start to finish, the White House, State Department, Pentagon, Congress and the field commanders like Ridgway and MacArthur have lied to the American people about the Korea war, its real scale and character. Now, Ridgway tells us that "there is absolutely no fairness in calling the Korean War a 'balmy wire war' or a 'second-rate war' —

KEPT A SECRET

During the past few weeks and days the rumors have come thick and fast that the long drawn-out truce negotiations are about to end. We hear, as we have heard over and over since last July, that a cease-fire is almost at hand. Is it true? That is a secret not shared with the people.

We do not know what new war crimes the capitalist diplomats and militarists are scheming in secret behind the backs of the people.

We do not know what can ensure the end of the war and establish a safeguard against its renewal on a more savage scale. That is the powerful intervention of the people with the demand: Get the American troops out of Korea!

UNIONS SUPPORT FIGHT ON ILLINOIS LAW 1030

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO — "Law 1030 is a dangerous attack on free speech and the right to petition that will soon hit all organizations, including the labor unions," charged the resolution passed by the AFL

Basic Processors Union, Local 44, in answer to an appeal made by two representatives of the Citizens Committee Against Law 1030. "Law 1030 must not go unchallenged," it continued. To add strength to these words the membership voted a \$25 contribution to the Socialist Workers Party's court fight against this law.

The Butcher Workman, journal of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union, says Law 1030 "is vicious. In the past it has happened where the candidates of both major political parties are very anti-labor that the trade unionists in protest were compelled to offer their own candidate on an independent ticket. The only way that this can be accomplished is through the right to petition, which certainly is fundamentally constitutional."

UNION SUPPORT

Other unions which have passed similar resolutions and made financial contributions to the fight against Law 1030 are the Chicago Joint Board of the CIO Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union, Local 829 of the AFL Building Service Employees, and Locals 223 and 73 of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The CIO International United Transport Service Employees Union not only supported the fight

with financial aid but sent a letter to each of its locals recommending they do likewise.

These unions recognize the restrictive and undemocratic character of this law and the importance of the Socialist Workers Party's suit in federal court to have it declared unconstitutional.

Law 1030 makes it a crime punishable by \$1,000 fine and six months' imprisonment to solicit signatures on election petitions for statewide office outside one's county of residence. Thus it virtually excludes minority parties from getting on the ballot.

STEVENSON EXPOSED

Law 1030 was passed unanimously by the last Illinois legislature and signed without comment by Governor Adlai Stevenson. At a recent Students for Stevenson meeting on the University of Chicago campus, the two speakers for Stevenson, Maynard Krueger and Rexford Tugwell, were asked why Stevenson signed such an undemocratic bill. Tugwell became flustered and gave no answer; Krueger declared it wasn't "germane" to the discussion.

Publicity around this law is ripping away Stevenson's mask as a democratic man-of-the-people and exposing him as a politician preserving his class interests at the expense of free speech and free elections when necessary.

Why American Labor Should Fight Against Truman 'Seizures'

By George Breitman

The American labor movement will long regret its leaders' acceptance of Truman's "seizure" of the steel industry. By going along with this arbitrary action they are helping the government to create a weapon which will be used against the workers and in favor of the employers at least 99 times out of 100.

No matter how the present steel dispute ends, the precedent set by Truman can and will be used by him, or the presidents who succeed him, to undermine and weaken labor's chief means of defense, the right to strike.

Unfortunately, many workers, under the impression that Truman was acting in behalf of the steel workers, are shutting their eyes to this danger. They see the steel barons, the most reactionary capitalist politicians like Taft and practically all the capitalist newspapers denouncing Truman's "seizure" and they figure that it must be a good thing if all these anti-labor forces are against it.

NOT SOLE FACTOR

Now it is true that labor, in working out its own policy, should look around and see what its enemies think about any particular development. But what its enemies say or do should not be

the sole factor determining what labor says or does under all conditions.

For instance: A few weeks ago, Truman was demanding the passage of a permanent universal military conscription law. Many of the most reactionary politicians in Congress, for their own reasons, were against the law. The labor movement knew this but it correctly decided to oppose the law just the same. Wouldn't it have been foolish for the unions to come out in favor of the law or to be silent about it merely because reactionaries were against it?

Similarly with Truman's "seizure." The capitalists, politicians and newspapers have their own reasons for denouncing it, and none of those reasons are pro-labor. But that doesn't automatically make Truman's action pro-labor either.

EYE TO EYE

These groups are not against "seizure" in principle. They applauded when Roosevelt broke strikes in the mines and other industries by "seizure" under the Smith-Connally Act. They thoroughly approved Truman's strike-breaking "seizure" of the railroads and haven't got a single favorable word to say about the railroad unions' current court suit against this "seizure." They may differ with Truman on his methods but they see eye to eye with him on his anti-labor objectives.

The steel barons are complaining because they want no restraints at all on their power to do as they please, not even restraints which work to their benefit in the long run.

Taft complains because he feels he is being cheated out of the political "credit" of having a steel strike prevented by the Taft-Hartley Act.

The N. Y. Times complains in part because Truman didn't go to Congress first and ask it to pass a "seizure" law, thereby exposing and discrediting the elaborate democratic and constitutional facade behind which the capitalist class tries to conceal its rule.

In other words, each of these groups is acting in behalf of its own interests when it protests Truman's move. Why shouldn't labor do the same—especially since it is labor and the right to strike which are the real targets of "seizure"?

A BAD PRECEDENT

The steel union may (or may not) get some small concessions out of the present situation, but if it gets them at the price of

silent consent to Truman's "seizure" it will turn out to be the most Pyrrhic victory in the history of the American labor movement. Because in return it will be conceding to Truman and any future President the right to smash strikes by "seizure" whenever they take it into their heads to do so.

In the long run this will mean a much greater loss, in terms of wages and working conditions, than they will ever get out of the present dispute.

In addition, it will mean the impairment of fundamental civil liberties that are indispensable to the progress of the labor movement.

Truman has no right whatever to assume the powers he has proclaimed. No law passed by Congress or anyone else sanctions it. Nor does any section of the Constitution. He is acting entirely on his own say-so.

That is what the absolute monarchs of the past used to do. The "divine right" which they claimed to justify such procedure was so hateful that the people rose in revolution and either abolished the monarchy or put strict constitutional curbs on it. Truman's claim of "inherent powers" is essentially just as despotic as the kings' claim to "divine right."

NOT CONSTITUTIONAL

The U.S. Constitution gives the President the right to recommend laws to Congress, but it does not give him the right to make laws himself. It specifically says: "Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The Constitution never delegated to the President the powers he is now asserting.

The trend toward rule by "executive decree" is an infallible sign of a drive toward a police state. A similar Bonapartist development occurred in Germany during the last years of the Weimar Republic and greatly helped to prepare the way for Hitler. The "emergencies" that Truman invokes to justify his decrees are becoming permanent features of capitalist society today.

The latest usurpation of dictatorial powers is only one of several that have marked Truman's regime.

Truman alone and without consulting Congress threw the United States into the Korean war. More than 100,000 admitted battle casualties and the hatred of colonial people all over the

world are only part of the price the American people have had to pay so far for this usurpation of the power to wage war.

Truman by himself and without any prior legislative authority began the "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist system that nourished McCarthyism and the brutal thought-control campaign that is tearing the Bill of Rights to pieces.

USED AGAINST STRIKES

It was in 1949 that Truman first openly proclaimed his doctrine of "inherent powers" in curbing strikes. Congress was then considering proposals to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. Truman sent his Attorney General, Tom Clark, to tell the Senate Labor Committee that the Taft-Hartley anti-strike injunction provisions were not necessary because "the inherent power of the President to deal with emergencies" is "exceedingly great" and the President has "access to the courts to protect the national health, safety and welfare" without any special law.

The Socialist Workers Party denounced this dictatorial claim and sought to arouse the labor movement against it. On Feb. 26, 1949, Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, warned that "the nation faces a growing threat of one-man rule by executive decree" and "a definite trend toward concentration of dictatorial powers" in Truman's hands.

In a letter to the Senate Labor Committee, Dobbs demanded the enactment of safeguards making it "unlawful for any agency of government, be it executive, legislative or judicial, to restrict, restrain or deny the right to strike and picket by injunction, seizure of struck facilities, or by any other means."

But the labor leaders, said nothing, stupidly thinking that Truman's claims would help to bring about repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Relying on Truman then, as Philip Murray relies on him now, they maintained a criminal silence about his dictatorial claims. One result was that the Taft-Hartley Act was not repealed. Another was Truman's present extension of executive powers to prevent and break strikes by "seizure" as well as injunction.

Truman's doctrine of "inherent powers" must be openly repudiated by the labor movement, whose living standards and liberties cannot be defended by assenting to measures that strengthen the drive to a police state.

(See Editorial on Page 3)

Phone Workers Picket



Members of District 4, CIO Communications Workers, picket main offices of Michigan Bell Telephone Co. in Detroit as part of 43-state strike of 16,000 workers. Another 300,000 phone workers respected the lines. Phone strikers in New Jersey, Ohio and Michigan have won wage increases ranging from 11.3 to 12.7 cents an hour.

The workers, installation and warehouse men, are on strike against the Bell System's manufacturing subsidiary, the Western Electric Company. They are demanding pay raises of 23c per hour.

JAMES KUTCHER TAKES CASE TO HIGHER COURT

(Continued from page 1)

voice. He didn't make the headlines, like Taft and Eisenhower. But he was the biggest man in Washington.

Washington, April 10 — Appeal of the discharge of legless veteran James Kutcher by the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party was heard April 10 in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Kutcher was originally discharged by the Newark branch office of the Veterans Administration on the grounds that under Presidential Executive Order 9835, which bans membership in an organization "advocating overthrow of the government by unconstitutional means," Kutcher had to be fired.

But when his case was appealed to the Veterans Administrator, Carl Gray, Jr., the administrator held that Kutcher had to be fired on the grounds that Kutcher violated the Hatch Act, which forbids membership by government workers in an organization "which advocates overthrow of our constitutional form of government."

The Veterans Administrator held that since the Socialist Workers Party had been placed on the Attorney General's subversive list, and Kutcher is an avowed member of the SWP, he must automatically be fired.

BASIS OF APPEAL

Kutcher's dismissal was appealed on both the unconstitutionality of the procedure of discharging a government worker without a hearing, for the mere expression of opinion, and on the illegal procedure of the Veterans Administrator who fired Kutcher for grounds other than those with which he was charged by the branch office.

Kutcher's dismissal was based by the Veterans Administrator on the so-called subversive list.

The American Way of Life

Goodbye to the Shmoo

"You may, unless you had something better to do, have been reading my comic strip Li'l Abner this week. If so, you are probably startled to see that my hero is

apparently being married to one Daisy Mae Scragg. This time it's the real thing. Yes. After 18 years the poor lout is finally, hopelessly married, and in one of Marryin' Sam's cheapest, most humiliating weddings."

So writes Al Capp, creator of Li'l Abner, Mammy and Pappy Yokum, Henry Cabbage Cod, Sir Cecil Cesspool (he's deep, says Capp), Harry S. Rasputin, Truman, Clarke Bagley, J. Roaringham Falback, the Pork King and Senator Jack S. (good old Jack S.) Phogbound, in Life magazine for March 31. Capp's article is written to tell why he let Li'l Abner marry, and he explains it this way:

CAPP EXPLAINS
Li'l Abner, Capp says, was a satire. "Nobody had ever done one quite in these terms before. I was delighted that I had. I was exhilarated by the privilege this gave me to kick hell out of everything. 'It was wonderful while it lasted; and I had no reason for marrying Abner off to Daisy Mae. But then something happened that threatens to shackle me and my kind of comic strip. It is what I call the gradual loss of our fifth freedom. Without it, the other four freedoms aren't much fun, because the fifth is the freedom to laugh at each other....'

"For the first 14 years I revelled in the freedom to laugh at America. But now America has changed. The humorist feels the change more, perhaps, than anyone. Now there are things about America we can't kid."

As Capp continues his explanation, we find that it was not really Daisy Mae who trapped Abner. What got him was the witch hunt. Thought-control is making social satire impossible, Capp says, and so his comic strip must become more personal.

"I realized it first when four years ago I created the Shmoo. You remember the Shmoo? It was a totally boneless and wildly affectionate little animal, which, when broiled, came out steak, and when fried, tasted like chicken. It also laid neatly packaged and bottled eggs and milk, all carefully labeled 'Grade A.' It multiplied without the slightest effort. It loved to be eaten, and would drop dead out of sheer joy when you looked at it hungrily.... It was simply a fairy tale and all I had to say was wouldn't it be wonderful if there were such an animal, and, if there were, how idiotically some people might behave. Mainly the response to the

WAIT FOR CHANGE
"So that was when I decided to go back to fairy tales until the atmosphere is gone. That is the real reason why Li'l Abner married Daisy Mae. At least for the time being, I can't create any more Shmoos, any more Kigmies; and when Senator Phogbound turns up now, I have to explain carefully that, heavens-to-Betsy, goodness-no, he's not typical; nobody like THAT ever holds public office."

And so Al Capp tells us that we shall have to do without his most delightful characters. The FBI has got them. Most of all we'll miss the Shmoo.

Goodbye, dear Shmoo. We'll miss you, but we'll get our economy of abundance some other way.
— Harry Frankel

THE MILITANT ARMY

Jean Simon reports a very good sale in Cleveland of 50 Militant at the UAW national educational conference held there last week. She writes, "Reuther was the speaker, so the issue with his picture on the front page, and the two articles on the Ford Local situation, was particularly appropriate. This gathering unlike others I've sold at, had a considerable number of people who were familiar with The Militant, whether friendly or not. Also some delegates from Canada asked me whether this was not the paper of the same group that publishes the Labor Challenge."

"Several delegates threw in more than a nickel and said, 'Here's a contribution.' Only a few were hostile either on a basis of lumping us together with the Stalinists, or siding with Reuther generally against critics of all kinds. Labor Action was the only other literature being distributed. I thought that might make our sales more difficult, since I was alone, and they were hawking, 'This one is free.' But the net result was that they passed out their papers quickly and were through, while I continued to sell The Militant and talk with the delegates for about 45 minutes." The following night, Jean writes, she and Dot went back to the conference with "The Road to Peace" and sold 14 copies.

Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports that New York's subscription campaign committee has planned their second all out sale for Sunday, April 20. Meanwhile all Militant salesmen have been provided with lists and neighborhoods to visit in the intervening period. Harold R., with 104 points to his credit, is now in first place in the competition for the first prize of two days at camp. Helen S. writes, "We intend to complete our renewals this month

Detroit
May Day Frolic
Dancing
Entertainment
Refreshments
6108 Linwood
Sat., April 26, at 8 PM
Donation: 50c
Auspices:
Socialist Workers Party

KREMLIN PROPOSALS FOR REUNIFIED GERMANY PANICS U.S. DIPLOMATS

(Continued from page 1)

noted Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor Ludwell Denny on April 11. "That would put the Allies and the Bonn government in a hole."

The point is not that Stalin has become a great democrat who wants to let the German people vote freely. The German workers know there can be no really free elections run by foreign occupiers. What they want is the withdrawal of all the foreign forces so they can run their own elections. But Stalin is agreeable to the kind of outside-controlled "free election" that the U.S. claims it wants.

A HOT POTATO

But that is the "most alluring and potentially dangerous point in the second Soviet note," states Drew Middleton in the April 12 N. Y. Times. The Bonn government officials fear to discuss unity because "they would have no place in the government of such a country," while "Allied officials do not discuss it, because it is clear they have no alternative policy to integration."

What they do have is a policy to keep Germany divided and to retain control of West Germany as a military and economic satellite of U.S. imperialism.

"What worries the West is knowledge that it cannot afford now — and maybe not for a very long time — without jeopardizing the entire Western defense plan, which depends upon 12 West German divisions — to agree to unification of Germany on any terms," concedes United Press foreign commentator R. H. Shackford in his April 12 dispatch from London.

Every thread-bare argument used to justify the unrelenting drive of Washington to force Western Germany into military alliance with the anti-Soviet forces has unravelled at the first impact of the Kremlin's proposals. Where for instance does the claim now stand that the Kremlin has aggressive "imperialist" designs and wants Germany disarmed in order to be able to grab it? The Kremlin has actually offered to give back to the old German ruling class the control of East Germany as well as Western Germany and to let it rear up under the leadership of the former Wehrmacht officers and the ex-Nazis.

AGAINST REARMING

In reality, the U.S. seeks only to impose rearmament under its own aegis and is in a "stretch drive," as Drew Middleton described it in the April 17 N. Y.

Times, to get a binding contract with the Bonn Government before the German people can voice their own desires, which are against the rearming of a capitalist Germany, either on the Washington or the Moscow pattern. This opposition has been "recorded in the various public opinion polls," writes J. Emlin Williams from Bonn in the April 15 Christian Science Monitor, and is "especially strong" among the generation of military age.

As for the imperialist contention that Stalin wants to "sovietyze" Germany, that is seen to be the last thing in his mind. The most attractive part of Stalin's proposal to the German capitalists is that it carries with it the clear implication that he is ready to hand over to them Eastern Germany which he now controls and to otherwise strengthen German capitalism economically as well as militarily.

It has, however, been sufficient merely to raise the issue of a reunified independent Germany to blow up the pretensions of U.S. imperialism and lay bare its anti-democratic and aggressive aims.

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE HAUNTS ALL CAPITALIST POLITICIANS

(Continued from page 1)

by the National Convention itself at Chicago in July. So there could still be a blow-up there — just as in 1948, when the Democrats thought they had a compromise solidly built into the platform."

Moreover, the hitch has two sides. The Dixiecrats may be satisfied with the proposed "compromise" and so may the Fair Deal liberals. But what about the

Negroes and the millions of white workers and middle class elements who voted Democratic in 1948 on just such issues as civil rights?

Of course, they won't be represented on the Democratic platform committee. But they will have other ways of expressing their sentiments. One of these is already being discussed in the Negro press. Marjorie McKenzie, who has defended Truman's policies in the past, writes in the April 12 Pittsburgh Courier:

"SIT IT OUT"?

"The Negro vote seems destined to function in a political limbo this year. If ever there was a group of voters without a party home, we are it. President Truman hadn't anything left but the Negro vote. Now we haven't got him, and we haven't got anybody else, either... we might have to sit this one out."

But if any sizeable number of Negroes decides that the Democratic Party is no longer their home and that they have to sit out the 1952 campaign, then the Democrats will surely be licked.

So, despite the inadequate leadership of the Negro people, their fight for equality is having a profound impact on American politics. The specter of civil rights follows the capitalist politicians, plaguing them wherever they go, tormenting whatever they do.

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¢

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1 for six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name
Street Zone
City State

☐ \$1 Six months ☐ \$2 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1242.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social Sat. Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Bureau, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3860.

CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:00 P.M. Phone HARISON 7-0408.

CLEVELAND — 10009 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6297.

FLINT—SWP, 1307 Oak Street, Phone 22408.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANdalous 4-0553.

MILWAUKEE—617 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-9 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—425 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—116 University Place, Phone AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — 18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1053.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-6202.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.

ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters. Main 7781.

SAN FRANCISCO—1789 Fillmore St., 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-6410.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Branch meetings every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 8278.

YOUNGSTOWN — 264 E. Federal St.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
\$2 for 6 months. Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): \$3 each in U.S.,
40¢ each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-
itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVI - No. 16

Monday, April 21, 1952

Answer to Seizure

What should be the answer of the labor movement to government seizure of industry as a method of resolving labor-management disputes?

Leaders of the CIO, from president Philip Murray on down, have praised Truman for his seizure of the steel plants, which they interpret as a friendly act in the interest of labor.

On the other hand, Railway Union leaders condemn Truman's seizure of the railroads as a strikebreaking measure subjecting the rail workers to "involuntary servitude" in the interest of private profit.

Steel industry spokesmen squeal like stuck hogs over the steel seizure but say nothing about the railway seizure. Railway magnates are quietly content with their present arrangement, which guarantees an uninterrupted flow of lush profits for the companies while denying the workers their just demands.

In both cases, the Truman administration contends it is acting in the "national interest." Just where does the interest of the people lie in this dispute?

From the beginning the steel barons have refused to yield a penny of their swollen profits for a wage increase. The only basis upon which they would grant the union a cost-of-living increase, they said, was to get a \$12 a ton price boost in exchange. This, disclosed Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall was "twice as much as the recommended pay rise would cost," and on the basis of their profits they were entitled to nothing.

The Steel Industry and Railroads have been doling fabulous profits out of the government's armament drive. Both head the list of those receiving billions in government handouts in the form of fast "tax write-offs" to build new plants and equipment. Both have been heavily subsidized at the expense of the taxpayers. Yet their unbridled greed knows no bounds! These giant monopolies exercise a stranglehold on the economic life of the country. Like the Robber Barons of old these corporate magnates extort tribute from the people while mercilessly exploiting the labor that creates such enormous wealth.

The spurious outcry in defense of the "right of private property" following the steel seizure is a smokescreen for the Big Business creed: the right to fleece the people. Truman defends this right — in his own way. Like all political representatives of his class he conceives of the "national interest" as identical with that of the capitalist ruling class. In the interests of the class as a whole he seeks to curb, in this instance, the excessive greed of a section of his class.

Challenge the "right of private property?" Not Truman! Profits and dividends are pocketed by the owners, as before, with management and control vested in the corporation heads. But once the American flag is hoisted outside the plants labor is stripped of its most effective weapon — the strike is declared illegal. That is the essence of industry "seizure" under a capitalist government.

Under the circumstances, the real interest of labor would best be served by raising the slogan and fighting for the demand: Nationalize the steel industry and railroads under workers control. Let those who do the work and create the wealth operate and control these monopoly industries for the benefit of the people.

What's Silly About Pay Hikes?

The New York World Telegram, key paper in the national Scripps-Howard chain, lectured the steel workers in its April 15 issue. An editorial on the steel union wage demands winds up as follows:

"The steel worker got his most recent wage increase in December, 1950. That carried his average hourly earnings to \$1.88, where it is now."

"And here's what he has to show for it:

"That \$1.88 buys what \$1.29 bought in January, 1946."

"And with his \$1.88, the steel worker now can buy almost exactly what he bought with the \$1.29 he earned in April, 1946."

"Silly cycle, isn't it?"

Yes, it is a silly cycle, but not the way the World Telegram means. The Scripps-Howard paper is trying to show that the steel workers are no better off than if they had not gotten their wage increases. But the steel worker will ask this question: "Where would I be if I had not gotten any wage increases at all? I would be trying to buy \$1.88 worth of goods with \$1.29, and, let me tell you, brother, that can't be done."

The World-Telegram, in reply to this, asserts that if the workers had not gone out after wage increases, there would have been no inflation. This is the same old capitalist song, but it's out of tune by now. For one thing, price inflation is a world-wide process, going on wherever the impact of the war economy is felt. It has hit workers all over the world, including the United States, whether they got wage increases or not. And in the second place, the steel workers and workers in other industries can hardly be held responsible for the government arms program, deficit spending, taxation and Korean invasion, all of which have boosted prices sharply since 1950. That is the responsibility of all those who, like the World Telegram itself, want a world-wide counter-revolutionary war against "communism."

Thus the cycle of wage increases and price increases, which the World-Telegram calls "silly" is silly, not because the workers have won wage increases, but because these wage increases haven't been big enough.

The World-Telegram doesn't tell the whole story. First of all, taxes take a far bigger slice out of the budget of the worker's family now than they did in 1946. And second of all, the average worker is producing at least 15% more goods every hour now than he did in 1946.

The real truth is that the worker has fallen way behind. His standard of living has been reduced by inflation and taxes. The steelworker and other workers are trying to catch up, and the World-Telegram calls this "silly."

Justice Douglas's Call for "Peasant Revolutions"

By Art Preis

Supreme Court Justice William

O. Douglas made something of a

sensation on April 7 when he

proposed a "Point Five" program

to promote "peasants' revolu-

tions" in underdeveloped coun-

tries. He declared that Truman's

Point Four technical assistance

program is "only underwriting

the status quo" of landlordism

and tenancy. Instead, he said,

Point Four should be accompanied

by a program to break up the

large landed states and provide

land for the poor peasants.

"I am sure that if the audience

were tonight in many of the

underdeveloped areas which we

propose to help by Point Four,"

Douglas told the National Con-

ference on International Economic

and Social Development, "we

would be forming an American

revolutionary committee to over-

throw this octopus — these ab-

sentee landlords who live in

Waldorf Towers of Paris or

Beirut — that has enslaved mil-

lions of little people."

AID TO LANDLORDS

Douglas truthfully contended

that the technical and scientific

aid offered under Point Four,

amounting in fiscal 1951 to only

\$19,000,000 for the whole world,

would mean little to "the fellow

at the bottom of the economic

pile" because "the average return

to the 99 per cent of the people

who produce the crop is between

5 and 10 per cent" while the rest

goes to the landlords and usurers.

Some of the conservative news-

papers tore at Douglas' phrase

"peasants' revolutions" like

starved dogs tossed a tray of red

meat. But the Christian Science

Monitor, which can scarcely be

called a funder of revolution,

took a calmer attitude. It assured

us in an April 11 editorial that

Douglas' phrase about promoting

peasants' revolutions "is quite

in line with the American interest"

and does not propose "arbitrary

and violent distribution of wealth."

Douglas merely wants the United

States "to select for its aid those

governments which showed a real

concern for their people" and

"with skill and discretion the ad-

ministrators of technical aid can

extend gradually and judiciously

what Justice Douglas calls 'the

American revolution of social

justice.'"

Douglas recognizes that U.S.

imperialism cannot gain a favored

position in Asia and Africa

through military means alone. He

is heedful of the blazing demand

of the great peasant masses

throughout the colonial world for

land reform and freedom from

landlordism. He believes that the

U.S. can gain a dominant position

in Asia and Africa only by play-

ing the role of benevolence, sup-

plying armed might with a

social program, particularly land

reform. He wants what one com-

mentator has called a "controlled

revolution" — controlled with

"skill and discretion" by Wash-

ington.

WILL NOT WAIT

But the hundreds of millions of

poor peasants all over Asia, the

Middle East and North Africa

have not waited for Douglas'.
"American revolution of social

justice." They have not asked

by-your-leave of Washington, nor

relied on the polite, gentle and



WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

ineffective kind of "revolution by

consent" of imperialism that

Douglas has in mind. They have

unleashed gigantic revolutionary

armed struggles in China, Korea,

Indo-China, Malaya and the

Philippines.

Where does Douglas stand on

these real, live revolutions of the

great peasantry? He opposes

them.

The struggle in Korea, for

instance, began as a civil war

between the North Korean gov-

ernment, which offered land

reform to the Korean peasant

poor, and the Syngman Rhee gov-

ernment of South Korea, which

the Wedemeyer report described

as a regime of land-owners, bank-

ers and mortgage holders who

will "fight to the finish any

attempt to better the lot of the

average Korean." Douglas has

not denounced the U.S. invasion

of Korea as an attempt to crush

a peasants' revolution on behalf

of a capitalist-landlord regime.

He does not now call for the with-

drawal of U.S. troops from

Korea.

THE REAL TEST

The mightiest peasant revolu-

tion in all history has been under-

way in China. Douglas has op-

posed this revolution which drove

out the bloody regime of Chiang

Kai-shek, dictator-protector of

the landlords, loan sharks and

mortgage holders. Nowhere that

the peasants are waging actual

revolutionary struggles — not in

Indo-China, Malaya or the

Philippines — do they find a

defender in Douglas. He opposes

all these real peasant revolutions

as "communism."

But even if we accept Douglas'

intentions as sincere and motivat-

ed by honest concern for the

miserable masses in the colonial

countries, his proposal for U.S.-

controlled and directed "peasants'

revolutions" is a fantastic and

utopian conception. To the Amer-

ican capitalists, whose whole pro-

gram and course is the exact op-

posite of what Douglas proposes,

his "Point Five" is what the April

9 N. Y. Daily News called an

"idiotic dream" and a "dangerous

delusion."

Truman expressed this same

fear when, through a paper read

to the National Conference on

International Economic and Social

Development, he claimed that the

movement for economic and po-

litical reforms in Asia and Africa

"has great dangers. Such a move-

ment can be easily misled. Com-

munists or reactionaries can ex-

ploit the hopes and aspirations

of these peoples for their own

evil ends. Unscrupulous agitators

can use these forces of change to

bring disorder and bloodshed."

Hence, while Truman is willing

to provide a little bit of window-

dressing to imperialist aggression

in Asia and Africa through the

expenditure of a few million

dollars on Point Four, on March

7 he proposed the expenditure of

about \$1½ billion in 1953 for

military aid to reactionary despot-

isms in Asia and Africa to put

down the peasant masses.

"SCARE OUR FRIENDS"

American imperialism doesn't

believe in any nonsense about

"controlled" revolutions for its

benefit. It is not in the business,

as the April 9 Wall Street Journal

put it, of stirring up "peasants'

revolutions" to overthrow the

existing orders, divide up the

wealth and in general turn every-

thing upside down." All Douglas

and his likes do, says the Journal,

is "to scare the wits out of our

friends."

"Our friends" are the native

capitalists and landlords and the

western imperialist rulers of the

colonial territories. The whole

policy of Washington is to defend

and strengthen these rulers and

the property relations which they

represent. The imperialist politi-

cians are out to destroy revolu-

tions anywhere that threaten the

established reactionary order.

In Korea, the U.S. government

has resisted a civil war for social

and economic reform, including

land division, by deliberately

wiping out the country almost

to the last peasant hut and

slaughtering millions. Washing-

ton openly supports Chiang Kai-shek

and arms him for an invasion of

China to restore the control of

the capitalists, landlords and

usurers.

In Indo-China, U.S.-armed

French mercenaries are visiting

merciless reprisal upon the

peasants. Tillman Durkin, reports

from Saigon in the April 13

N. Y. Times, that "the type of

mechanized warfare waged lately

by the French-Vietnamese forces

is tough on the rural inhabitants

and gives the Vietnamese rebels

talking points for their propa-

ganda. To combat the Vietnamese

groups in the villages the French-

Vietnamese use artillery and

napalm (flaming jellied gasoline)

and civilian casualties are in-

evitable."

WANT CHEAP LABOR

U.S. capitalism has a material

stake in maintaining the present

exploitative order in colonial

countries. It wants to reap

benefits from cheap labor as part

of its aims in dominating the

colonial world. A hint of this is

given in a March 16 dispatch from

Tangier, Morocco, by Clyde

Farnsworth to the Scripps-

Howard newspapers. He tells how

U.S. army engineers plan to

reduce the cost of constructing

U.S. bases in Morocco by replac-

ing American workers "with

cheap local laborers. This roughly

is the difference between \$2.75 an

hour and up for American skilled

labor and 12½ cents for local

workers."

There is reflected the true aim

of U.S. imperialism. Douglas is

practicing deception when he

would have us believe that we can

appeal successfully to the gov-

ernment of this imperialism to

adopt a wholly different and op-

posite aim.

Elmer Rice's Civil Liberties Plea Flatly Rejected by Hook and Co.

By John F. Petrone

The American Committee for

Figures on Oppression

By Jean Blake

This column does not usually quote a lot of statistics, partly because figures are hard to remember and partly because most workers know from their experience in wage disputes with government figures on the cost of living, wages and profits, that liars can figure, too.

But there are some cold facts in the Bureau of Census figures recently released by the U.S. Department of Commerce that deserve all the publicity we can give them. Allowing for all kinds of errors and distortions, they still pack a wallop and tell the story of oppression of Negroes in this country as powerfully, though not as dramatically, as all the recent reports of bombings and violence against colored people.

The income of the average Negro American is about \$30.17 per week, or roughly \$1,569 a year, as compared with the average white's \$3,135. And this represents an improvement over the situation up to 1949-1950 because in the latter period the median wage that is, not the average, but the mid-point, considering the higher incomes on one side and the lower incomes on the other for Negroes increased by 23 per cent, while the median for whites went up only 10 per cent.

Even with that increase, however, very little improvement in the lot of Negroes as a group took place, because 77.2 per cent of the Negro male population still earns between \$1.00 and \$2,499.00 per year. Only 5.5 per cent earn \$3,500.00 a year or better. But 30.8 per cent of the white males earn that much.

The most oppressed, as we know and the recent figures confirm, are the Negro women. Of them, 85.1 per cent earn between \$1.00 and \$1,499.00 annually, and only 7.1 per cent earn \$2,000.00 a year or better.

What do these figures mean? — They give us some pretty fundamental reasons for higher figures on Negro death and disease due to poverty as compared with whites. They explain the overcrowding, the lack of modern necessities and conveniences in Negro homes, the limited opportunities for education, training, and recreation, the lack of any sense of security.

They make it clear why in a capitalist democracy, where the amount of democracy a group enjoys depends on the amount of capital it has, there is no democracy for Negroes.

These figures explain why Negroes have less illusions about "opportunities" and "liberty and justice for all" in America.

They also tell why Negroes continue to be a spur to the working class as a whole to struggle to defend its standard of living and to fight for greater gains, before the group as a whole is pushed closer to the condition of those at the bottom of the heap.

We remember a pretty speech by Thurgood Marshall at the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Boston two years ago in which he painted a glowing picture of the improvement in the lot of the American Negro, and said that the elimination of second class citizenship was finally in sight. (That was B.C. — before Cicerone — and before the murder of Harry T. Moore.)

We also remember some fantastic statements by Edith Sampson in the U.N. about the opportunities for Negroes in America today.

And we also recall a raft of Hollywood productions in recent years that tried to perpetuate the myth that prejudice and discrimination in the United States, is 1) not very widespread, the exception rather than the rule, and 2) stems primarily from individual ignorance, immorality and psychological abnormalities in both Negroes and whites.

We'd like to borrow a favorite expression from a friend of ours and say to all of these would-be leaders and would-be interpreters of the Negro people: Let's get basic! Look for the underlying causes of Negro oppression and you can't escape the fact that they are economic.

Clip the cold statistics cited above and paste them on your wall. Remember them. No amount of gains — whether in Supreme Court decisions, government appointments or even FEPC legislation — will wipe out second-class citizenship for Negroes so long as Negroes get only half the income they would get if they were white.

Notes from the News

ELIA KAZAN, film and play director, who told a House Un-American Activities subcommittee that he had been a member of the Communist Party for a year and a half in the mid-Thirties, said he quit because: "The last straw came when I was invited to go through a typical Communist snoop of crawling and apologizing and admitting the error of my ways." But he didn't seem to mind crawling, apologizing and admitting the error of his ways in his testimony to the committee, and in the big two-column ad he took in many newspapers repenting his past CP membership and explaining why he favors "exposing" other members, past and present.

CATHOLICS who have recourse to psychoanalysis commit a mortal sin, says the official bulletin of the Catholic clergy in Rome. Psychoanalysis is "complete materialism," says the bulletin, and Catholics who engage in it will be barred from heaven unless forgiven before they die.

A CAMPAIGN to build a memorial to General MacArthur in Japan is sagging badly. Since last July only \$222 has been collected, while \$1,530 was spent for advertising and \$1,432 for other expenses.

WILLIAM R. HUDGINS, Negro businessman in New York, sent an open letter to Congress asking why it was spending money to investigate the Katyn atrocities in Poland at the same time that it ignores the bombing of Negro homes in seven states of the U.S.

BENJAMIN GITLOW, Communist Party candidate for Vice President in 1928 and more recently a professional witness for various national and state witch hunt committees, is now campaigning for Senator Taft. Speaking with him at a Taft rally in New York was Benjamin Spolsky, who began his long career as a witch hunter back in the Palmer Raid period right after World War I.

VINCENT HALLINAN, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, began serving a six months sentence at McNeil Island Prison Farm

in Washington on April 8. His "crime" was fighting hard in defense of his client in the frameup trial of Harry Bridges.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY national convention this year will be held in Chicago over the July 4 weekend.

PRE-TRIAL HEARINGS at the trial of 16 Communist Party members in New York have brought out these facts: Manual workers constitute 54% of employed males in New York City, but only 8-10% get on the jury lists. But of course, the prosecution insists, this is all accidental and not the result of discriminatory rigging.

THE "MILLIONAIRES' AMENDMENT" to the U.S. Constitution, which would lower taxes for the rich (and raise them for the poor) by limiting taxes to 25% of personal and corporate income, is making strong headway. A joint resolution to that effect has been introduced in both houses of Congress, where it needs a two-thirds majority. 28 state legislatures have already approved the measure; a total of 36 legislatures is needed to pass the amendment. Strongly opposed by the labor movement, the amendment was recently endorsed by the American Bar Association at a convention in Chicago.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY is opposed to the anti-democratic Illinois Law 1030, but it informed the Socialist Workers Party that it cannot join in a united fight for repeal of the law because "we cannot meet with you on a common ground for discussion of same, any more than we could meet on any matter for a similar discussion."

LOUIS BUDENZ, ex-Stalinist, admits that he has made a good thing financially out of his stoolpigeon activities. In the seven years since he left the Communist Party for the Catholic Church he has received \$70,000 for his informing, writing and lecturing, in addition to the salary he draws from Fordham University.

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1952

NUMBER 16

Murderer of Negro Seaman Goes to Trial

Constantly tripping over his own contradictory testimony, a murderous ship's captain, on trial for the fatal shooting of a crew member, said he didn't know until "later" that the shots he fired had entered the body of his badly injured and handcuffed victim.

COLD-BLOODED MURDER

Captain Franklin B. Weaver, master of the Isbrandtsen cargo ship, Flying Trader, murdered William M. Harvey, 25 year old Negro steward, last Oct. 25 while the ship was in the North China Sea, heading for Japan from Manila.

Weaver murdered Harvey in cold blood while the steward stood before him, pleading to have handcuffs removed. But for some reason the captain was charged only with having committed the act "in the heat of passion" and brought to trial on an indictment for manslaughter. The maximum penalty for that is ten years.

Members of the crew took the witness stand in New York to tell the details of the sadistic Jim Crow murder.

CREW TELLS STORY

Harvey was sick, unable to work, but Weaver refused to let him off and threatened to throw him out the sea if he did not do his duties. On the night of the killing, the 200-pound captain and his first mate assaulted the 125-pound steward with a blackjack, beating him on the head and body until the blood spurted out. They handcuffed him and then the captain went to his cabin for a pistol.

When he returned, Harvey was on his feet again. He walked toward the captain, holding his manacled hands before him and begging the captain to remove them. Weaver shot twice without warning. As Harvey fell, he cried, "Go ahead, captain, shoot me again." As he lay there, Weaver pumped another bullet into his body, killing him.

Crew members testified that some of them were so horrified that they locked themselves in their cabins, not knowing what Weaver would do next. When the ship reached Kobe, Japan, 30 of them, members of the CIO National Maritime Union, walked off the ship in protest against the murder and because they refused to take any further chances with their own lives.

ONE WITNESS

At the trial Weaver had only one witness besides himself testifying in his behalf — the first mate, who was really an accessory to the crime. The mate pictured the captain as an angelic character, and the captain volunteered the explanation: "I had to do it."

Next Week

The Revolution
in Bolivia

Reuther Rejects Ford Election; Stellato Group Issues New Paper

V. R. Dunne Gives Lectures on Rise Of Labor in U.S.

MINNEAPOLIS, April 8 — The first of five classes on "The Rise of the Modern Labor Movement" began successfully today at the University of Minnesota.

The classes, sponsored by the campus Socialist Club, are being conducted by V. R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and former Minnesota labor organizer.

At the first meeting Dunne explained to twenty interested students how "foreign" ideas influenced the first labor unions, how the labor movement influenced the rise of public education, and the historical role of the IWW.

An enthusiastic discussion lengthened the class to two hours. The remaining classes will be held on Tuesdays at 7:30 p.m. in 208 Folwell Hall.

Scabs Beaten Back



Pickets rout strikebreakers who tried to move 200 tons of finished goods from strikebound plant of Whippany Paper Co. in N. J. In all-day battle with scabs, 12 persons were hurt, most of them members of the CIO United Paperworkers.

DETROIT — Despite the fact that the CIO United Auto Workers constitution provides that a new election must be held within 60 days after an administratorship is placed over a local union, President Reuther of the auto union intends to deny such an election to Ford Local 600, which was placed under an administratorship on March 15.

The International Executive Board of the UAW bases itself on the pretext that the top officers of the local have not been removed, but only stripped of all power. Since the officers remain formally in office, the Reuther machine says, no such election is required.

ELECTION DEMANDED

Carl Stellato, president of the local which is the largest local union in the world, has demanded an election before May 15. He and the other three top officers of the local contend that such an election "is mandatory under the provisions of our Constitution since the officers of Local 600 have for every practical purpose been completely suspended from office in the constitutional sense that they are no longer permitted to function in accordance with the duties outlined for Local Union officers."

Complete control of the union is in the hands of the six-man board of administrators, with the elected officials prohibited from calling meetings, from presiding over them, or even from speaking at them unless permitted by the Administrative Committee.

The four top officers, in a letter to the International, pointed out: "We have repeatedly stated . . . that we are absolutely willing to abide by the democratic decision of the majority of the members of Local 600."

REUTHER'S 'DEMOCRACY'

Reuther has turned the official Local paper, Ford Facts, into a factional organ which is carrying on a heated campaign against the Stellato leadership, but refuses to allow the opposition, which is the duly elected local leadership, to state its side of the case in the paper. In view of this, the Stellato group has begun issuing its own paper, called Local 600 Union Facts.

Since the local officers may not call local meetings or use the union hall, they called a caucus meeting recently, the best attended in Ford history, with a turnout of 1200 workers who backed the fight for union democracy. A \$4300 fund raised at this meeting is being used to finance the new paper.

Further moves by the International against the local are expected. According to the Detroit Free Press of April 14, "A reliable source reported that Reuther planned to charge Stellato with conduct unbecoming a union member on the basis of the fight with the International. If convicted, Stellato would be disqualified from running for office."

White Discusses Political Action At Toledo Rally

TOLEDO, April 10 — Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the chief speaker at a meeting on the Harry T. Moore bomb-murder held by the Toledo branch of the NAACP last Thursday night.

White discussed the problems facing colored people all over the world. His solution for these problems was: 1. Register. 2. Vote for "friends." 3. Join the NAACP. 4. Donate money to same.

White warned that Toledo Negroes would be met with "the same horrors that have happened in Cicero, Florida and Texas," saying "it will happen here" — the housing situation is not improved. The audience applauded when he mentioned political action, but made no noticeable response when he lamely ended with the advice: "Vote for your friends."

Nobody responded when White personally made a bid for \$25 and \$50 memberships in the NAACP. The same thing happened when he called for plain old \$2 memberships.

A number of copies of The Militant distributed outside the meeting were gladly received, none being thrown away and only one person refusing to take it. Some literature was also sold.

WHAT WORKERS THOUGHT ABOUT STEEL 'SEIZURE'

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, April 14 — The government seizure of the steel industry ended an intensive period of strike preparations in this steel city. Determination to strike for their demands was clearly exhibited by the steel workers as the strike deadline drew closer.

For a number of months, the newspaper 22 in '52 or Fight (named for the unions 22 contract demands) published by a group of large CIO United Steelworkers of America locals, spread the facts about the steel dispute to the workers in this area. At the same time, locals held mass meetings, many passing resolutions demanding that, in the event of government seizure, the profits of the steel companies be taken by the government.

FAVOR TIGHT SHUTDOWN

The steel workers explored every possibility of putting additional pressure on the corporations to settle with the union. Chief among these was the demand raised by many workers and local union officials that, when the strike took place, the gates of the companies should be shut down tight, with no maintenance crews or personnel of any kind being permitted into the plants.

The policy of the Steelworkers international office was that the union should arrive at maintenance agreements with the companies, as it has several times

in the past, and provide the men to keep the plants in shape. But many local militants and some of the largest steel locals here held out against this policy. They felt that some demoralization results from the policy of maintenance of the mills, and recalled that most workers resented the provision for maintenance crews in the 1949 shutdown.

When the government seized the steel industry, the steelworkers in the Youngstown District were very happy. They felt they had scored a victory. They believed that by using the strike threat they forced the government to take their side.

SOBER SECOND THOUGHT

When the corporations refused to accept the seizure and initiated court and propaganda actions against it, this heightened the feeling of the workers that the seizure was in their favor. However, after a couple of days, the steelworkers, finding themselves still without a contract, showed signs of realizing that the seizure was not so great a victory as they had anticipated. They saw another Railroad case, possibly with another long stall.

The union leadership does not seem to be anxious to force the issue to a head. However, the leadership has to deliver to the membership, or its prestige with the workers will deteriorate. All in all, the workers feel their great power, and will not for long be thwarted in their struggle against the corporations.

Soviet Offer Shakes Trade-Hungry West

By Harry Frankel

The Moscow trade conference which concluded last week has made a great impact in the capitalist world because it offers European and Asian businessmen just what they need most at the very moment they need it. It offers increased trade, and businessmen outside of the U.S., reeling from the effects of the American war drive upon their economies, feel the tug of this offer very strongly.

The first results of the conference upon America's capitalist allies abroad have been almost comic. Anti-communist businessmen are scrambling for a piece of the new business. Capitalists and their governments throughout the world who continue to be restrained by American prohibitions on East-West trade look on longingly. The would be world-bribers in Washington are whining: "What's the use of buying allies if they won't stay bought?"

THEIR DILEMMA

The Wall Street Journal of April 15 quotes one "harassed" State Department official on the trade offer as follows: "It's an even bigger threat to the U.S. than Russia's proposals for a German peace. It can do a lot of damage. And so far, we don't seem to be able to think of anything to do to counter it."

The trade conference, called by Russia and boycotted by the U.S., called the State Department bluff on the so-called "Iron Curtain." At the conference the Soviet bloc of nations offered to purchase

British and Japanese textiles and other goods which are at present a drug on the market. They offered to sell in return coarse grains, timber, and even structural steel (to India) which are badly needed in Western Europe and Asia. They offered to carry on this trade in the form of barter deals, or to accept payment in foreign currency.

The U.S. State Department has tried to picture all of this as some kind of an insidious plot, but talk about "plots" can hardly restrain businessmen who are offered a market for goods that they cannot otherwise sell. Nor is the appeal of the Soviet offer limited to businessmen alone. Spreading unemployment in Britain and many parts of Europe makes the trade offer popular to the workers, all the more so since they haven't joined Wall Street in its anti-communist atomic crusade and show no signs of intending to join.

AN IMPORTANT ALLY

Under the headline "Moscow's Talk of Big Trade in Sweet to Europe's Idle," Michael L. Hoffman, European economic analyst for the New York Times wrote on April 7: "... if the Communists really want to increase commercial exchanges with Western Europe as advertised, they have an important ally that was not around a few months ago, namely unemployment in the consumer goods industries of several major European industrial countries." The N. Y. Times for April 10 bore this out

by reporting that British unemployment has reached a five year peak, with almost a half-million workers jobless. Germany and Italy, have long suffered from severe unemployment. France, Holland, Belgium and other nations are now starting to sink to the same condition.

The present situation which causes European industrialists to either grab for Soviet markets or to look longingly at them is fundamentally the result of the continued crisis of European capitalism, which went into stagnation and decline almost 40 years ago and has grown progressively worse.

The European nations, called upon to build a war machine on the basis of a bankrupt economy, find their already precarious situation greatly aggravated. They are prohibited from exporting enough to pay for their war machines, both by the general crisis of capitalism and by the U.S. restrictions on trade with the East.

The Marshall Plan, the original anti-communist "rebuilding" scheme for Europe, recognized this dilemma to some degree back in 1947. It provided for an expansion of trade with the countries of Eastern Europe. But, since the Washington-inspired war drive got into high gear, the European countries have been deprived of even that slim straw.

BANKRUPT ECONOMY

A Chicago economist just back from Europe, Dr. Melchior Paluyi, speaking to the Chicago World

Trade Conference on March 6, put the European situation as follows:

"It is not correct to say that Britain and France are heading for bankruptcy — they are bankrupt. . . . A grand total of some 750,000,000 persons are directly involved, and the crisis of international trade balances threatens to spread to more countries."

The Moscow trade conference has shown what a powerful weapon a program of economic collaboration can be. However, the Stalinists, in line with general course of "peaceful co-existence" with capitalism, have exaggerated the possible effects of East-West trade. For example, one delegate at the recent British Communist Party congress, an unemployed Welsh steelworker, was cheered when he said: "We

must break down the barriers of East-West trade and that will give the people employment in steel work for the next hundred years."

It is illusory to think that any possible extent of such East-West trade could solve the problems of capitalism. The capitalist crisis existed and grew worse, not only since the restrictions on trade, but prior to these restrictions. It was the breakdown of capitalism that brought the Soviet world and the New China into being, and which will bring down the rest of the capitalist world.

Nor could East-West trade halt the war drive. But while the demand for trade cannot halt the war drive, it can weaken the war camp of American imperialism. This is its great significance, and this is what has been making Washington fume with rage.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
Current Events
at Home and Abroad
Speaker:
GEORGE BREITMAN
Candidate for U.S. Senate
Friday, April 25, at 8:30
at 423 Springfield Avenue

Los Angeles

MAY DAY PICNIC
Sunday, May 4
at
Elysian Park Picnic
Grounds No. 1
From 12 noon to 5 p.m.
CHICKEN DINNER
SOFTBALL GAMES for ALL
FREE ICE CREAM FOR
THE KIDS

MAY DAY RALLIES FOR SOCIALISM

NEW YORK

Speakers:
Joseph Andrews
Associate Editor, The Militant
Gladys Barker
Anne Mann
Chairman:
Michael Bartell
Malin, Studios
225 W. 46th Street
Thur., May 1, at 8 PM
(Subscription 50c.)

LOS ANGELES

Speaker:
Myra Tanner Weiss
"AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE
WORLD REVOLUTION—THE
CRUCIAL YEAR OF '52"
1702 East 4th Street
(Near 4th and Boyle)
Thur., May 1, at 8 PM

CLEVELAND

Speaker:
Lou Cooper
Akron SWP Organizer
May Day and
the Akron Strikes
Chairman:
Jean Simon
Militant Reporter
10609 Superior
Thur., May 1, 8 PM

NEWARK

Speaker:
Joseph Andrews
Associate Editor, The Militant
Social and
Refreshments
423 Springfield
Sat., May 3, at 9 PM

TWIN CITIES

Hear
Dorothy Schultz
St. Paul Branch Organizer
Speak on
May Day - 1952
10 S. 4th St., Minneapolis
Thur., May 1, at 8 PM

SEATTLE

Speaker:
Daniel Roberts
Why America Will
Go Socialist
also
Selected Readings from
Frederick Douglas
Frye Hotel
3rd and Yesler
Thur., May 1, at 8 PM
(Subscription 35c.)

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party