

Michigan Officials Demand 'Gag' Act Be Used at Once

DETROIT, May 13 — Michigan's new police-state law, the Trucks Act, was headed for its first test in the courts next Tuesday as state officials filed a motion insisting that

the thought-control statute is constitutional and asking the courts to throw out a suit seeking a permanent injunction against its enforcement.

On May 20 a panel of three federal judges will conduct a hearing on the suit, brought last month by the Communist Party, to have the Trucks Act ruled unconstitutional. Another court action, prepared by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party, will ask a declaratory judgment to outlaw the Trucks Act, restrain state officials from prosecuting those who fail to comply with the measure, and compel the Secretary of State to certify the SWP for the ballot.

Attorney General Frank G. Millard, answering the Communist Party suit today, went to the lengths of denying that members of organizations singled out for attack under the new law would expose themselves to "grave and irreparable" harm if they register under the Trucks Act and equally grave and irreparable harm if they fail to register.

HARSH PENALTIES

The law provides that members or sympathizers of groups arbitrarily designated as "subversive" by the Attorney General must register with the state police and answer "any" question asked of them. Refusal to register, or failure to answer a single question when answering, would make them liable to a 10-year prison sentence and a \$10,000 fine.

Such harsh penalties for refusal to become a stoolpigeon essentially, for exercise of the right to be silent — are not "grave and irreparable" harm, according to Attorney General Millard, who has been straining at the leash impatiently since a federal judge temporarily block-

ed enforcement of the Trucks Act last month.

Even a four-week delay in the extension of the witch hunt was too much for the Michigan authorities who wanted to rush through mass arrests and trials before the "anti-communist" hysteria manufactured by them and the House Un-American Activities Committee had a chance to subside.

Millard has been trying frantically to circumvent the temporary restraining order. He went to the circuit court in Detroit with a petition demanding authorization for a grand jury investigation of "communists" in Wayne County. He sought to create the impression that any delay would be a dangerous invitation to a breakdown of law enforcement agencies.

CIRCUIT COURT REBUFF

The circuit court judges, with one eye on the federal restraining order, postponed action as long as possible. But when Millard continued to press them, they denied his petition last Thursday, ruling that it was "premature and does not contain sufficiently specific allegations to justify granting it."

Not even this rebuff stopped Millard from trying to further inflame the hysteria that has dominated Michigan since last February, when the House Un-American Committee hearings in Detroit created the atmosphere that intimidated liberal and labor leaders and made possible the passage of the Trucks Act by a unanimous vote in both houses of the State Legislature.

The day after the circuit court ruling, Millard's office announced it would call a meeting of state and local police "subversive" squads to instruct them about "the necessary incidence of evidence required in the prosecution under various state acts." The press interpreted this as preparations for "prosecutions through existing agencies" other than a grand jury.

Meanwhile the labor movement, which has gone on record dozens of times against witch hunts in general, is still silent about the worst witch hunt in Michigan history.

In Defense of I. F. Stone and His Korean War Book

By Art Preis

— See Page 3 —

POR LEADER DEFENDS REVOLUTION IN BOLIVIA

This is the concluding part of an interview in Paris with Guillermo Lora, leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) of Bolivia, reprinted from La Verite, French Trotskyist paper. A member of the Bolivian parliament, Lora was forced into exile by the reactionary government recently overthrown by the Bolivian people. In the first part of the interview, printed in The Militant last week, Lora described the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) which is now in power and analyzed the origin of the revolution in Bolivia.

Question: How did the coup d'etat develop into a revolutionary uprising?

Answer: Once the struggle began between the forces of the police and the troops of the regular army, the masses spontaneously descended into the streets, and then there followed a few hesitant moments before they plunged into the struggle for the triumph of the movement which the militarists had begun. The political leadership of the movement was then completely in the hands of the right wing of the MNR which did not dare arm the workers except for those elements it could trust completely, nor to initiate a broad mobilization. Nevertheless the masses were in the streets and demanded a definition of objectives that they were called upon to fight for. The trade union leaders had no other alternative than to elaborate a program of demands which included nationalization of the mines and abolition of landed property.

Fearful of the new character which the movement was taking, the militarists Selme and Torres Ortiz sought a new alliance with the military Junta (with which they had just broken) in order to smash the workers. Selme took refuge in the Chilean embassy where it appears he committed suicide and Torres Ortiz encircled La Paz with eight regiments which were completely decimated in the struggle.

WORKERS FIGHT HEROICALLY

At their wits' end because of the "betrayal" of the generals, the right wing leadership of the

MNR found itself obliged to summon the textile workers, the miners, etc., to struggle for the revolution while at the same time with the aid of the police it assumed its dominant position, sabotaged and checked the activity of the members of the POR who were leading the workers' militias.

The workers fought heroically against the forces of the military Junta, and impregnable barricades arose in working class quarters where our comrades showed themselves to be the most decisive and the most able.

Together with the masses, the POR took part in the movement of the ninth of April and published (Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 3)

By Harry Frankel

The entangling net of government "seizures," boards, legislation and legal technicalities drew tighter around the labor movement as the Truman steel seizure was argued last week in the Supreme Court. While the steel workers assembled for their constitutional convention in Philadelphia, they found their demands for wage increases and improved conditions all but buried beneath the legal arguments.

The fake "seizure" of the mills by the President on April 8, a pure and simple strike-halting device, was hailed by the steel union leaders at that time, but they are now beginning to take a second look at the matter. Arthur Goldberg, general counsel for the CIO United Steelworkers of America, appearing before the Supreme Court, refused to commit himself on the question of seizure. He argued only that provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law calling for an 80-day strike delay had already been complied with, since the union waited 99

days before the President took the mills over.

SECOND THOUGHTS

At one point in his argument, Goldberg remarked: "we look upon a Government-imposed settlement with disdain." He pleaded with the court to hasten its decision, since, as he put it, the union is not now in a position to deal with anybody.

These second thoughts on steel seizure, now expressed by the steel union after a month of apparent approval of the seizure, put the union's strategy in a more muddled state than ever. If, as Goldberg says, the union views a Government-imposed settlement "with disdain," why has the union permitted itself to be led around by the Government for six months, and why has the union gone begging to the White House door for such a settlement? Why has the union not denounced the government intervention and the government strikebreaking "seizure?" If the union really meant what Goldberg said, it would fight

against the seizure and would demand that the steel companies be pushed out from behind the protective wall which the government has erected with its fake "seizure" and be left on their own to face the power of the steelworkers.

MAINTAIN ACTION ILLEGAL

Two attorneys for the railroad brotherhoods, heard by the Supreme Court in the same seizure debate, maintained that the government action was illegal, and that it prejudiced the railroad workers fight for their own demands. The railroads were taken over by Truman in a strike-breaking move in August, 1950 under a specific statute. The brotherhood lawyers contended that they didn't want to see the President given illegal powers to break strikes by "seizures" because that would give him the right to maintain a seizure of the railroads even without benefit of the 1916 law which was invoked in the rail case.

This line of argument was not followed by steel union attorney

Goldberg, who stayed away from the seizure issue entirely.

If the Supreme Court upholds the right of the President to throw the barrier of fake "seizures" in the way of union strike struggles, this will place an unprecedented strikebreaking weapon in the hands of the capitalist-dominated government. It will mean that any President can halt a strike, threaten the use of troops to break that strike, and move against the striking union. All laws to which the union might appeal in defense would thus be abrogated.

The government, in arguing this case before the Supreme Court, is saying in effect that the President shall be the sole arbiter in union strike struggles. If he thinks the "national interest" is endangered by a strike, he may then use any and all powers to break that strike under the cover of taking over the operation of the struck plants.

Under such a seizure, operation of the plants, profits, dividends,

and all management remain in the hands of the companies. Actually, only the union is subject to restraint. It is told: you can't strike against the government. Then, having been deprived of its sole powerful bargaining weapon, it is told, as were the steelworkers after the April 8 "seizure," to go ahead and bargain with the companies. How successful such bargaining can be has already been shown in the steel case.

The Murray leadership of the steel union and even many of the steelworkers themselves looked with favor upon Truman's action last April. They hoped for a fast settlement, a wage increase without a strike. How illusory that hope was is now clear. Even if the hope had been well founded, and even if the steelworkers had gotten their pay hike, they would have made this gain at the expense of a very serious long term concession. This concession, that the President has the right to break strikes by fake "seizures," must never be made.

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Labor Leaders Sound Alarm Against "Union-Seizure" Bill

Court Upholds Undemocratic Illinois Law

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO, May 11 — A reactionary and cynical three-judge federal court, after ten minutes of deliberation last Tuesday, upheld the constitutionality of Illinois Law 1030 which makes it a criminal offense to cross a county line and solicit signatures on a statewide petition.

This shocking decision provoked the Chicago Daily Sun-Times, a leading liberal paper with a circulation of over half a million, to state in an editorial:

"We hold no brief for the Socialist Workers Party. But... We can conceive of a situation in which the people of Cook County, representing a majority of the state's voters, might become so enraged at a raw deal handed them in Springfield that they would want to use the threat of a third party to bring the major parties into line. But the threat could not succeed — simply because, under the present undemocratic nominating restrictions, such a third party wouldn't stand a chance."

"No matter what happens in the courts (on Law 1030), the present laws should be repealed by the state legislature and more equitable statutes adopted. Democracy needs no restrictions of the sort now on our statute books."

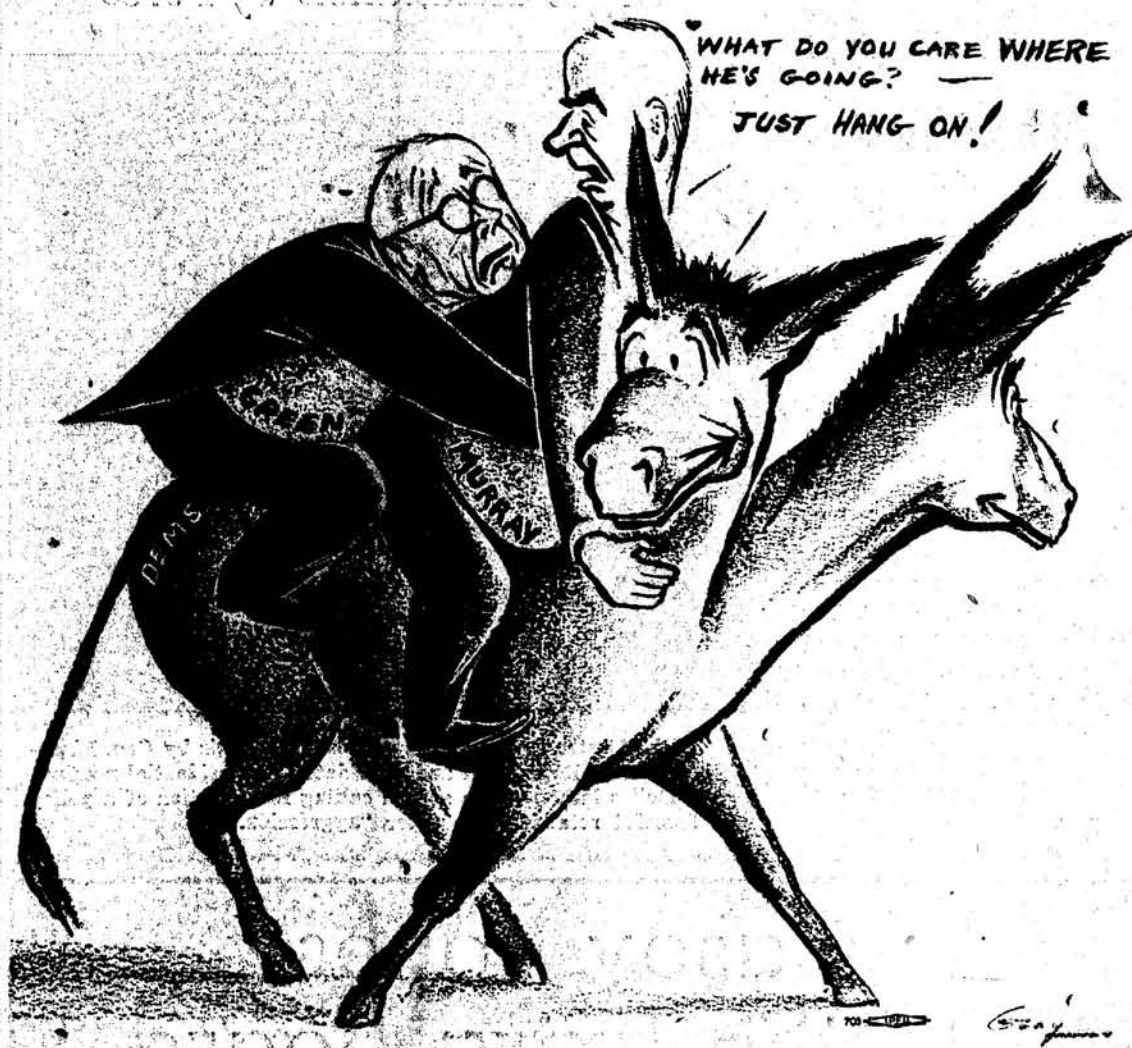
APPEAL CONSIDERED

The Socialist Workers Party is exploring ways and means to appeal this case before the U.S. Supreme Court immediately. The purpose of the suit is to have Law 1030 declared unconstitutional and to enjoin state officials from enforcing its criminal provisions.

The appeal would be made on the same grounds as argued in the lower courts for the SWP by Attorney M. J. Myer, noted civil liberties lawyer. He held that freedom of speech includes the right to solicit petition signatures and that any limitation on such solicitation violates the free speech amendment of the constitution. Precedent had been established in the case of Thomas vs. Texas. Here, it was declared unconstitutional to prevent an out-of-state union organizer from soliciting signatures for the establishment of a union.

F. Heiser, noted labor lawyer, presented the argument for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting the Socialist Workers Party's suit.

News of the court's decision was printed in all of Chicago's big daily papers.



Angered Steel Delegates Roll Sleeves for Action

By George Lavan

PHILADELPHIA, May 15 — Three thousand delegates to the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the CIO Steelworkers union yesterday afternoon voted unanimously to authorize strike action to gain their long delayed wage increase.

The resolution adopted stated: "This Convention of the United Steelworkers of America declares that the crisis in the steel industry must be promptly resolved. We cannot and will not continue indefinitely to work in 1952 for 1950 wages and working conditions; we cannot and will not continue indefinitely to work without satisfactory collective bargaining contracts."

The steelworkers' contract expired Dec. 31, 1951. Since then they have been working without a contract while their case went through everything in the book: bargaining with corporations who didn't want to bargain, three months of Wage Stabilization Board hearings, "seizure" and "unseizure," lower courts and the Supreme Court, six strike post-

ponements and a three day on-again-off-again strike.

SITUATION STILL CONFUSED

The Convention met with the situation still as confused as ever. This was reflected in the perplexity of the convention itself on how to get at the steel corporations when so many branches of the government stand in the way.

Only one thing are the delegates sure of — the strength of their union and the ability of the steelworkers to shut down the steel industry and fight it out on the picket lines.

This was evident in the unanimous support of the resolution authorizing strike action. This resolution, however, is nothing new. It sets no strike date. It merely reaffirms the power President Philip Murray has held all along to call a strike or to temporize.

DELEGATES DEMONSTRATE

The vote on the resolution was followed by a demonstration which halted convention proceedings for over 15 minutes.

Delegates streamed onto the platform, throwing confetti, setting off firecrackers, chanting "We Want a Contract" while others sang "We Shall Not Be Moved."

Truman Administration emissaries, Secretary of Labor Tobin and Vice President Barkley, both assured the convention of their sympathy for the steelworker's fight. Tobin declared he was "impartial" until the WSB made its recommendations. After that he was "heart and soul and spirit" behind the steelworkers. The delegates greeted these statements with generous applause but listened in vain for any words on what the Truman administration intends to do next in the steel dispute.

WHAT ROAD TO TAKE?

Since the top union leadership didn't explain to the convention what plans they have, if any, to carry on the fight should the case remain bogged down in government agencies, this was discussed, often with bewilderment, by the delegates in the corridors.

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National Labor Conference, Organized Strike Protests Needed to Defend the Unions

The Smith injunction-receivership bill "threatens the existence of our American democratic system," and would "destroy the trade union movement." This warning was

given last week by the CIO in testimony denouncing the ominous new bill before the House Armed Services Committee where hearings are being held. The Pentagon and big business are both backing the new union-smashing proposal. The AFL, which also testified against the bill, called it a "shocking proposal."

The new Smith bill is proposed by the same Howard W. Smith (Dem., Va.) who sponsored the Smith-Connally wartime strike-breaking measure and the Smith "Gag" Law used in victimizing leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party. It would establish a legal procedure for preventing contract settlements favorable to workers, and for smashing strikes. Its injunction-receivership provisions make it possible for employers to refuse to negotiate with unions, and then to call upon the government to break the union's strike. (For a fuller account of the proposed law, see story on Page 2.)



HOWARD W. SMITH

William Green, AFL president, told the Committee hearing: "In all my years as president of the AFL, I have seldom seen a more shocking proposal." He went on: "It robs labor of its greatest economic weapon — the strike."

"What, may I ask," Green said, "is the sense of continuing to expend vast sums and great energies for defense against an outward foe when the inward foe has already accomplished all that we had hoped to guard against?"

Joseph Curran, of the National Maritime Union, speaking for the CIO, told the committee: "It is in our opinion as viciously anti-labor a bill as has ever been introduced in Congress. This bill is designed first to break strikes and second to break unions by ruining them financially and by

turning them over to the direction and control of government administrators."

ENDORSED BY PENTAGON

The bill, which was endorsed by Pentagon chief Robert A. Lovett, Wall Street banker now serving as Defense Secretary, and by John A. Stephens, Vice-President of U.S. Steel, puts the labor movement in a similar position to that which it faced in 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Law was pushed through. Vicious as the Taft-Hartley Law is the Smith Bill is far worse. It takes up where that law leaves off. The union campaign against the Taft-Hartley Law failed in 1947, as have all efforts to get the law repealed since that time. The

(Continued on page 2)

NEGRO STUDENT KILLED BY SPECIAL COP AT NYU

NEW YORK, May 13 — The killing of Enus Christiani, Negro student at New York University, by a special cop early last Saturday morning, has all the earmarks of a typical Jim Crow murder.

The killing came toward the close of a student block party at NYU's Washington Square College. James G. Giordano, university special guard, shot Christiani twice, claiming that he had run "berserk" and was breaking up booths.

A few hours before this, Christiani, along with other students, had indignantly protested the display at one of the booths of a caricature of a Negro woman, at which darts were to be thrown. But when a cop told him to leave, he went away. The facts about what happened between this incident and the shooting have not yet been cleared up.

But yesterday, when a group of Negro and white students, including leaders of the NYU chapter of NAACP, went to inquire about the facts from police officials at Precinct 8, they were told that the special cop had already been cleared by the District Attorney's office and the case was "closed."

When they tried to get specific information, they report, "We were further treated with callous disrespect and referred to as 'You God-damned lot of Communist b—ds.'"

Why such haste in closing the case? Why are facts withheld from the public? Why such hostility toward people who seek information? The answer is obvious — the authorities have something to hide. Past experi-

ence with police brutality against Negroes in this city points to another Jim Crow murder and fully warrants a demand for a complete and unbiased investigation of the killing.

The NAACP Ad Hoc Committee for Justice in the Christiani Case, in a leaflet distributed at NYU today, declares: "We are convinced that the facts do not substantiate the killing!... Were it not for the fact of Negro second-class citizenship and the ideas of white supremacy which place a lower premium on the life of Negroes than on whites, the guard involved would have thought twice before drawing blood, and the authorities would not have exonerated him with such indecent haste... We are convinced that had Enus Christiani been white, other means would have been found to control the situation and he would be alive today."

The committee is demanding: Public condemnation by the administration of the killing; immediate suspension of the guard; his arrest and an immediate grand jury investigation; an NYU student-faculty, Negro-white investigating committee; an apology from the university to Mrs. Christiani, and remuneration to the family; the hiring of Negro guards (without firing present guards) to create an interracial guard staff; and permanent disarming of the guards.

"I'm No Stoolie," Student Tells FBI

How to answer the FBI's attempts to turn the U.S. into a nation of stoolpigeons was shown in recent issues of the Minnesota Daily, paper of the University of Minnesota.

On April 29 the paper printed a letter from a reader, signed "Name Withheld" and identified only as a graduate student. It said:

"... I have been known to express left-wing opinions on various occasions. A short time ago, a man from the FBI approached me and wished me to answer questions concerning myself and various groups and individuals with whom he presumed I had some acquaintance. He made it very clear that

unless I 'cooperated' — i.e., turned informer for the FBI — my status as a student here, and future job status would be placed in serious jeopardy. ...

"I replied that people's political convictions were their own personal affairs, and not something about which they should be subject to investigation and intimidation. Therefore I could not cooperate in any questioning based on probing my own or other people's beliefs or associations. ...

"I did not wish in any way to be responsible for injury to someone because of his or her political beliefs, nor did I wish to help perpetuate the atmosphere in which such investigations are born. ...

"(This incident indicates) that we at the University do not have

the freedom to move along certain avenues of inquiry or expression without risking our present and future school and job status and the security of our families. ...

"THE MOST FIT"

"Under the conditions created by the present wave of investigations and not-too-subtle intimidation, it seems to me that the 'most fit' in the struggle for academic survival would be ... the student or faculty member: (a) who restricts his mental operations to the ordained 'respectable' channels of information and thought; (b) who keeps his mouth tightly shut when controversial questions arise; (c) who, if he has once thought or spoken independently may redeem himself in the eyes of the Justice

Department ... by becoming a stoolpigeon."

This letter was "answered" the next day by one "James Krefting, SLA Senior." He says the FBI is authorized by law and "none of the laws permit coercion in any form" — and thinks that thereby he has refuted the charge that the FBI is intimidating people. He implies that the graduate student must be guilty of "plotting" to use "force and violence" or else "no one would be investigating him. He demands to know: 'Is his status as a student now in jeopardy?'" — the day after the graduate student reported he had been threatened with reprisals if he would not agree to act as a stoolpigeon. And he sneeringly wants to know why the graduate student withheld his name.

The answer is the typical product of a police mind. It comes as no surprise, therefore, when Krefting proudly states that he worked for almost two years as an agent in the Washington field office of the FBI. It takes a man with an FBI mentality to defend the FBI's attempts to introduce thought-control into the schools. An altogether different reply came one day later from David Herreshoff, Secretary, Socialist Club. He wrote:

"Reply to a graduate student who said no: 'I would be proud to know you. You had the courage and integrity to say 'no' to an FBI agent who asked you to inform against some of your acquaintances suspected of harboring dangerous thoughts.' 'It was a shameful and insult-

ing proposal, and you answered it like a man. When you told off that federal flatfoot, you set an example which any self-respecting person with his wits about him can follow. You refused to follow the example of contemporary informers because you understand that they are modern Judas Iscariots who differ from Judas only in that their treachery is more efficient and their consciences less troubled. Judas, after all, betrayed only one man to the police. And he never lived to write a book about it.

"J. Edgar's janissary was guilty of the moral equivalent of pandering when he sought to enlist your 'cooperation' in violating other people's liberty of conscience. The answer you gave him is what he and his ilk deserve. 'I salute you, unknown friend.'

The American Way of Life

'The Dread Danger of Communism'

Run for your lives! Man the lifeboats! Head for shelter, and try not to trample the children!

Believe me, I am not prone to hysteria, and everybody who knows me can testify that I have always pooh-poohed the "Communist danger." But even I have seen the light, and know now the true magnitude of the menace we all face.

I know it because I have just finished reading an article in the May 11 Parade, entitled "Could YOUR Child Become a Red?" and written by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI.

Hoover is a man who ought to know what he is talking about. The members of Congress think so; no matter how economy-minded they are, they never cut any appropriations for the FBI. The FBI is getting bigger all the time, it hires and pays all kinds of people to spy and inform on organizations and their members, it taps wires and opens letters, etc. So when Hoover reports something, it is based on a great deal of undercover work and it is gotten at a good deal of expense.

Since it is our tax money that pays for this, and since we are the ones who are being menaced by Communism, Hoover evidently feels we have the right to know some of the terrifying information gathered at such great risk by his agents. When we read it, and after restraining our panic, think it over carefully, we should have a new insight into the great service to the American people being performed by the FBI.

Without further ado, I turn the floor over to Hoover. What follows are direct quotations from his amazing revelations:

"Daddy, is there a God?"

The little 8-year-old boy, his eyes sparkling, waited intently. An older playmate had mentioned God. Surely, Daddy would know the answer.

The father, a trained Communist, hesitated, a look of surprise on his face.

"No, son. There is no God."

"But Daddy," the young boy protested. "Henry said there was. He said God created the world, and is our best friend."

"Nonsense," the father snapped. "God is capitalist propaganda. He doesn't exist. Forget such notions."

These are the teachings of a Communist parent! These words symbolize the dread danger of Communism to American youth. ...

In one American city, not too long ago, a 9-year-old boy was speaking to his father, a Communist official.

"Daddy," he said, "it's funny, but Stalin and Lenin are the only two Russian presidents I ever heard of."

A little irritated, the father said, "They each had long terms."

"What party are they in, Daddy?"

"The Communist Party, of course," said the father, becoming more annoyed.

"How often are elections held?"

"As often as mentioned in the constitution."

"And, Daddy, ..." the boy started to ask. The father had enough. "Go on to bed. That's enough tonight," he said.

"That's enough" — that's the attitude of the Communists when questions are asked. They don't want questions — alert, intelligent, straight-from-the-shoulder questions.

The parents of America have a special responsibility to guard their children — with sympathetic supervision. If American parents spent just a fraction of the time and effort on their children that Communists spend to beguile them, I would have no fear.

— John F. Petrone

Vicious Strikebreaking Bill Threatens Unions

By Thomas Raymond

The new Smith "union seizure" bill now before Congress would make it possible for the government to break a strike, smash the union that called it, and then force the union to pay for this "government service."

The bill opens a new stage in government anti-labor legislation. Previous laws mask their strikebreaking intentions under the cloak of "settlement" clauses. They pretend to provide machinery for the settlement of capital-labor disputes. This is true even of the Taft-Hartley "slave-labor" law, which provides for a government board that is supposed to try to bring about an agreement. This new bill, on the contrary, specifically forbids the government from making any recommendations towards a settlement, and specifically provides powers for strikebreaking, and for that alone.

The bill sets up this procedure: Either the President or Congress may order the Attorney General to secure a court injunction against a strike. The Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932 is suspended in such cases by this bill. The injunction holds indefinitely. During the first 80 days a Presidential board inquires into the causes of the dispute.

This board would be required to issue a "statement of facts," but it is prohibited from making any recommendations for settlement, nor is it to report any finding "as to which party is at fault."

SEIZE UNION PROPERTY

After the expiration of the eighty-day inquiry period if a settlement has not been reached the Attorney General is required to apply to the courts for a "receivership" over the property of both the company and union involved in the dispute. This is the vicious new strikebreaking measure in the Smith bill.

Receivership would not affect the company. This would be just like one of the present fake government "seizures." The plants would continue in operation under the same bosses. Profits and prices would continue as before.

In addition, the bill specifically prohibits any wage increases; it says "Provided, That the receiver shall have no power to change the terms and conditions of employment from those in effect at the time of his appointment."

The receivership over the union, on the other hand, gives the government power to "manage and operate such property to the extent necessary to prevent such property from being used in aid of any concerted interference with the continued operation of the plants, mines or facilities in question."

PROSCRIBES STRIKES

Further, the bill would make it unlawful to either strike or encourage a strike while the plants were in the government's hands, or to contribute funds for the strike or for strike benefits, or to give "direction or guidance" to such a strike.

On top of everything else, the bill provides that this receivership continues until a settlement is reached (although it doesn't explain how any union can win a settlement without any power to push for its demands and with its apparatus in receivership), and that after the receivership is over, the union and company will have to split the costs of the receiverships.

LINKED TO WITCH HUNT

The new Smith bill reveals the close connection between the

AFL-CIO Heads Sound the Alarm Against Smith Bill

(Continued from page 1)

half-hearted efforts of the union bureaucracy have proved insufficient. If the unions are to conduct a successful campaign against the Smith bill, the power of the rank and file which showed itself at the time of the Taft-Hartley fight must be released, and it must be released now, before it is too late. In the final weeks before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law, hundreds of local unions and local union councils demanded a nationwide protest strike. In some localities, particularly in the mine fields, such strikes did take place on the initiative of the rank and file. However because of the slowness and timidity of the labor officialdom, these strikes came too late, and were too little.

ORGANIZE NOW

This time the labor movement must organize itself before hand, and protest the passage of the Smith bill with such power and unanimity as will make it impossible for Congress to commit this anti-labor outrage. In order to do this, the unions should at once call a nationwide conference of all labor, to map a militant strategy for the fight, and to mobilize the workers of the whole nation to defeat the new Smith bill!

Saturday was our anniversary. Mom and I had planned to go out for dinner that evening if I wouldn't have to work. On Friday, I had been three times out on the extra board. That means there were two other engineers to be called for work before me. We decided it would be safer to go out on Friday evening rather than on our anniversary because by Saturday, I might get called for a road job and that would mean that I might not get home for two days and possibly a week.

Before leaving Friday evening, I called the round-house clerk and told him we were going out to eat. He told me that there had been no change and that he knew of no vacancies, so we felt quite safe in going.

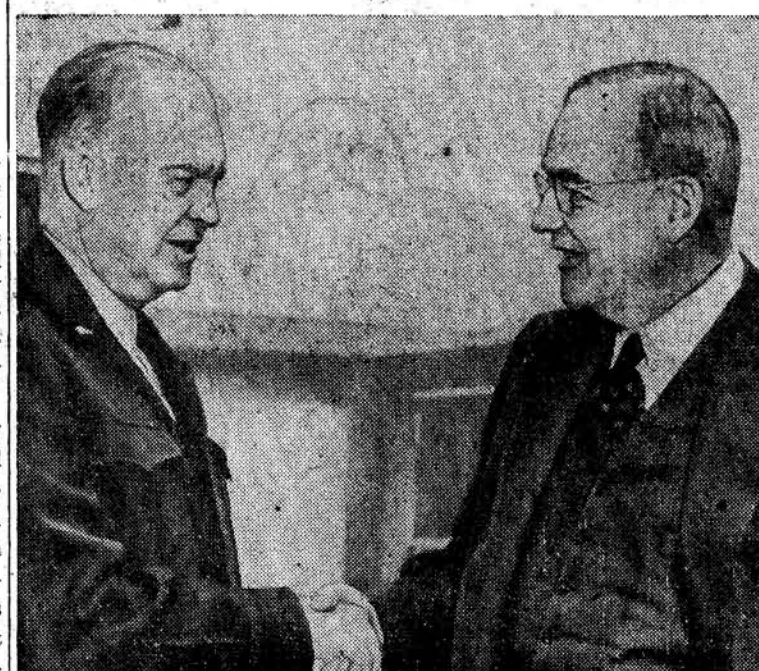
We went to quite a nice night spot, a place where they even use linen napkins. An extra man can never make any plans or live like the neighbors who work regular hours and have a five-day week. To sort of make up for that, we splurged a little.

CALLS AGAIN

After ordering our meal, I decided that I better call again to see if there had been any change. No one had been called so we took our time and enjoyed our meal. One hour later, before leaving the restaurant, I called again. This time, they had called the first man out but there were no other openings. On our way home, we decided to stop and call on a couple who have been our friends for many years. After visiting awhile, I called again so as to be sure that I wouldn't miss my turn.

It was only an hour since my previous call but, by now, things had happened! Seven minutes

Urges 'Retaliation' by Force



John Foster Dulles (r.) is welcomed to Paris by Gen. Eisenhower, fellow Republican and candidate for presidential nomination. Dulles later made a speech calling for adoption of a policy of forceful retaliation to deter "aggression."

Casey Jones On the Extra Board

By a Railroad Engineer

after I had hung up the phone after my restaurant call, one of the regular yard engineers had laid off and also one of the road men. The men ahead of me got the yard job and I was scheduled to go on the road job but, since I was not home to answer the telephone when I was called, I was taken off the list for sixteen hours.

The company does this in order to keep us chained to the phone. It works, too, because we don't miss many calls — in my case, only five or six in 35 years. The lesson is driven home because you don't get any pay for the day that you're off!

After my sixteen-hour penalty was up, I got marked up again at the bottom of the list, so I really had plenty of time to figure what the loss was when Mom and I went out for a couple of hours of recreation — the first day's pay and the following one, waiting to get to the head of the list.

FINALLY GETS CALL

My next call came Sunday to head on the first passenger train to a sub-division for a branch line job.

After four days there, the regular man on the job reported back for work so I came home on Thursday afternoon. We got word, the first morning that I was working on the branch line job, that one of the boys at my home terminal that I've worked with for many years had been knocked off the top of a boxcar and killed. I didn't even have a chance to go to the mortuary to see him or to attend the funeral.

In order to speed the work and thereby increase the profits, there's no time to push the cars to where they belong. They just give them a kick down the track and they go until they strike other cars that have brakes set on them for that purpose. This brakeman was on top of one of

these cars, releasing the brakes preparatory to shifting the cars onto the train that would take them to their destination. I guess he didn't even have time to get scared before he was killed.

TOO MUCH WORK

I was marked up again on the extra board Thursday afternoon and this time I got called to go to work at a yard in my home terminal which, nevertheless, is about 15 miles from where I live. I was due to report on the job just eight hours from the time I was through work at the small town sub-division. Even if I had gone right to bed, there wouldn't have been much time for sleep as the two hour drive into my home terminal left just six hours of the legal eight hour rest period. But that's not all! They call us three hours before the job starts work so that left just three hours of this particular rest period — not much rest for an engineer who might be called to run a passenger train.

Think of all the people whose lives depend on my judgment and alertness! These are some of the things that help to make old men of us before our time.

PAY DISCOURAGING

Another discouraging thing is our rate of pay. To operate a big three-unit diesel that will pull up to twelve thousand tons or more, I get the magnificent sum of \$1.90 an hour — no differential for nights, Sundays or holidays; no sick leave either.

And because we tried to correct these abuses and improve our conditions the government "seizes" the railroads and breaks our strike.

It's Friday again, but, actually, the days of the week don't make much difference to railroad men. There goes the telephone. I wonder where and what kind of a job it will be this time.

Steel Convention Authorizes Strike To Win Demands

(Continued from page 1)

What should the union do if the court ruled this way? or that way? Would the Truman administration refuse to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction if the seizure was ruled illegal?

This confusion about the road ahead was coupled with an instinctive feeling that the one reliable weapon is strike action. Speeches from the floor reflected this.

SHUT THEM DOWN

District 31 Director, Germano, declared that if the WSB recommendation couldn't be enforced and the Supreme Court ordered collective bargaining, "O.K. we'll bargain; but I say let's go back to our 22 point program and bargain on that or we'll shut their damn plants down."

John M. Mayerik of Local 1014 told the convention: "I know I won't be able to hold my local union from hitting the bricks very much longer, and I know most of you delegates here are of the same feeling as I am, because you have your fingers on the pulse of your membership."

The bitterness against the steel barons was indicated by such introductory statements of speakers as: "I'm from Bethlehem, Pa., the heart of Bethlehem Steel — the black heart of Bethlehem Steel." Clarence Royster of Local 1010, Gary, Indiana, urging strike action, said: "We are ready to shut the Inland Steel plant down and let it rot until hell freezes over."

DRESS REHEARSAL

Sam Camens of Youngstown Local 1330 analyzed the different possible decisions of the Supreme Court. He also said: "I never knew industrialists to come out against government seizure in a labor dispute before. If this had been an ordinary seizure they would never have said a word in protest. It wasn't seizure they were against but the wage increase." If the Supreme Court returned the plants to the corporations, he said, "I know what you will do. There would be a nation-wide strike within an hour, within minutes. ... Our recent strike of three days was just a little dress rehearsal."

District 26 Director, James Griffin, declared: "You and I know, fellow delegates, that this fight has been waged in a series of rounds. We had the round of collective bargaining where the industry said 'No.' We had the round of the Wage Stabilization Board and the industry refused to accept those recommendations. We then had Executive action and the seizure of the industry, and now the round of the Supreme Court. ... We may get sluggish on the law, but we will get off the floor after the Supreme Court has its inning, and we will kick the hell out of the steel industry in the interests of our people and the citizens of the United States."

NEW ANTI-LABOR BILLS

Theodore Dostal of Youngstown Local 1330 warned that "the present crisis in the steel case might well be the turning point in labor relations in this country." He pointed to economic developments that encourage the corporations "to push harder than ever against the unions and workers who are insisting on a greater share of the production of their toil. The steel corporations are leading the fight in organizing an anti-labor Congress and state legislatures."

He described the new anti-labor Smith Bill introduced in Congress immediately after the steel seizure and urged that legislative attack be met by a tremendous labor opposition as in a labor March on Washington or a national labor holiday.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1542.

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

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3960.

CHICAGO—234 St. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-8:30 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND—10000 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6207.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

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MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-8 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

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

NEWARK—223 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 1933.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-6329.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Oakland is still the leading branch in the West Coast competition for Militant subscriptions. However, Seattle moved up from sixth to second place this week and may prove to be an effective challenger for this honor. San Pedro added another 130 points to their score which moves them up a notch on the scoreboard.

Frank K. of Oakland, with 482 points to his credit, is still high scorer in the individual competition for the prize to the leading subgetter of one week's vacation at Mountain Spring Camp. Myra of the Westside Los Angeles branch is in second place with 137 points; and in third place is Dan R. of Seattle, 57 points. The branch scoreboard reads as follows:

Oakland	514 points
Seattle	344 points
San Francisco	292 points
Westside Los Angeles	286 points
Eastside Los Angeles	276 points
San Pedro	264 points
Southside Los Angeles	262 points

Minneapolis sends in seven more subs making a total of 14 for the first week of their local campaign. Literature Agent Helen S. writes, "The two leading teams are the Debs Banner Bearers and the Lavender Hill Mob with 11 points and six points, respectively. The Debs Banner Bearers are all railroad men and are really on the job bringing in renewals and new subs. Larry, steward of the team, is the leading subgetter with seven points to his credit. Donald is in second place with four points. A six months sub counts for one point and a year sub counts for two."

"Our entire bundle of Militants was sold out this week. Millie is doing her usual good work at the AFL Hall; Wally and Pauline sold 13 papers in a short time on the campus, while Dave, John, and Jack sold 25 to their friends over there."

Newark reports that in the six weeks since it started its local

campaign it has obtained 30 six-month and one-year subs. "The best part of it is that 14 of these are new subs," they write. "Four of the new ones were obtained as a result of our 25c home delivery subs. We expect to do even better in the final six weeks of our campaign."

Bert Deck sends in nine more subs for Chicago and reports good sales of the May Day Militant. So far, he writes, Bob H. has sold 31; Manny, 25; Helen, 18; Marj, 10; and Mitch, 5.

Flint Literature Agent Fred P. writes, "Our renewal campaign is proceeding normally despite the Trucks bill. We've had a few refusals resulting from fear, but most subscribers express indignation at the banning of the party, and are willing to take the paper if only as a gesture of good will." Fred sends in 11 more subs for Flint.

Literature Agent Jean Simon reports excellent sales of The Militant for Cleveland. She writes, "At one of the caucus meetings during the Textile Workers Convention, Almeda alone sold 75 papers. These were only caucus meetings, not convention sessions, at night. We had no one free to sell during the day. Last night at a Paul Robeson concert sponsored by the Cleveland Negro Labor Council, I sold 19 copies of 'The Jim Crow Murder of Harry Moore' and 25 copies of 'The Militant.' Unfortunately that was all the literature I had with me. More could have been sold." Jean sends in several sub renewals together with one new sub.

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Honor the Koje Agreement!

Why doesn't the U.S. Army operating under the UN flag in Korea, honor the agreement it made with the Koje prisoners of war?

General Mark W. Clark, apparently without consulting the UN, has repudiated the agreement, which provides for "humane treatment," "no further violence and bloodshed," and an end to "forcible screening to any rearming of prisoners of war in this camp." He claims it was made under "duress." He also says that the damaging admissions made by General Colson, acting commander of the PW camp while General Dodd was a prisoner of the prisoners, are untrue.

General Clark's statement is false on both counts. The prisoners who held General Dodd did not threaten his life if their demands were not granted. Quite the contrary, they treated him with honor and respect, guarded him against possible violence, provided for his comfort, and gave him equal rights as a participant in meetings which they held to present their charges. All of this is reported by General Dodd. He even admits that the meetings were conducted "according to the best parliamentary procedure," and that on all disputed points the chairman ruled in the general's favor!

General Dodd's story makes it very plain that he and General Colson were not compelled to make any concessions which they did not consider justified. As a matter of fact, they did not agree to the original demands of the prisoners, but rewrote the agreement in words which they felt were accurate and in accord with the facts.

The prisoner-delegates that met with General Dodd planned to hold further grievance meetings for 10 days. It was only after thousands of troops were massed outside the compound, and when heavy battle equipment including tanks were drawn up, and when the threat was made to massacre thousands of unarmed and helpless prisoners, that General Dodd was told his life would be forfeit if that happened.

General Clark's denial that the prisoners of war had been mistreated in the past or that any prisoners had been killed is also false. The very same New York Times (May 15) that carried Clark's falsehoods also contained a column by Hanson Baldwin, military specialist, in which he recalled that only a short time ago, 90 Korean and Chinese PW's on Koje Island had been massacred by heavily armed guards firing mercilessly through the barbed wire enclosures. The whole American press carried this as front page news not many weeks ago. How can the generals deny it now?

The Pentagon talks about "duress" and "blackmail" with a sanctimonious hypocrisy that turns the stomach. This is the very same Pentagon, let us recall, that is trying to impose its reactionary will upon the Japanese people, upon the German people, yes, even upon the people of the whole world by "duress" and "blackmail." The Pentagon parades its atom bomb as the supreme example of "duress" in our age.

The courageous Koje prisoners risked their lives to put their case before the world. They demand that their agreement be honored, and that the mistreatment and killing of prisoners be halted. They are right. Honor and justice are on their side.

ADA Official Purged at Queens

The announced dismissal of Dr. Harold C. Lenz as Dean of Students at Queens College and his reassignment to a job as teacher of German is a lesson and a warning to the whole country.

It proves conclusively that the witch hunt is not aimed at "communists" alone, as many people mistakenly believe. It proves that the witch hunt has far broader objectives — including the stifling of every independent and dissenting voice, no matter how "non-communist."

As Dean of Students at Queens College, Dr. Lenz incurred the hatred of the local American Legion and Catholic War Veterans in 1947 by defending the right of the students to get a charter for any organization they form. They and other hard-bitten reactionary groups went after his scalp with a vengeance in 1951 when he appeared before the New York Board of Education and spoke against a regulation to bar the use of school buildings to "subversive" groups.

Last fall the president of Queens College advised Lenz to keep quiet about his political views if he wanted to avoid "unpleasant activities." Pressure was then put on him to resign as dean, which he declined to do. Now he has been removed on the spurious pretext that some other "kind of trained person" is needed for the deanship, which he handled without any complaint for several years.

Dr. Lenz is not and never was a "communist." He is deputy chairman of the New York City chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, an organization that is well known for its opposition to communism and its support of the Truman administration's policies. He is an official of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is a liberal, distinguished above all by his staunch belief in civil liberties.

And that, precisely, is his "crime." The witch hunters are out to silence not only radical opponents of war but ALL liberal and labor figures who dare to object to violations of the Bill of Rights.

This is what happened in Germany too. The witch hunt started with the radicals and when this was not militantly resisted, it was quickly extended to the liberals and later even to conservative elements in Germany. The "anti-communist" drive ended in the complete suppression of democracy.

That is why all the opponents of a police state in this country must unite their forces in a struggle to defend ALL the victims of the witch hunt, regardless of their political ideas. If it wants to escape the fate of Germany, the American labor movement, in self-defense, must take the leadership of the movement to defend our democratic liberties wherever and whenever they are threatened.

In Defense of I. F. Stone and His Korean War Book

By Art Preis

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR by I. F. Stone. Monthly Review, 1952, 384 pp., \$5.

I. F. Stone's rigorously factual and powerful book helps lift the cobweb curtain from some of the darkest and foulest corners of the U.S. imperialist intervention in Korea. Under ordinary circumstances, I would have used the space for this review to tell the reader of many things I like about this courageous and commendable book as well as to indicate where I differ from the opinions of the author, who writes from the point of view of a left liberal, not a Marxist.

The difficulties which Stone met in trying to get a publisher gave more than a hint of the kind of reception his book might meet from the reviewers, since most of the press is solidly pro-war and supports the U.S. invasion of Korea. But the actual reception which has greeted Stone's book goes far beyond ordinary hostile criticism.

Those who have most to fear from Stone's revelations — and they include all supporters of the war in Korea from the MacArthurites to the Trumanites — have launched an almost unprecedented campaign to destroy not only Stone's book, but Stone himself.

That is why I feel I must subordinate a discussion of the book itself to a defense of the right of an honest man to seek the truth about the Korean war and to write the truth as he has found it, without being subjected to the personal vilification, intimidation, threats and contemptible lies and slanders which are being flung at Stone.

OUT TO "GET" STONE

Orders have gone out to the hired literary assassins of the pro-war Big Business press to "get" Stone. One of these sneak-pads from the back-alley of capitalist journalism, who have attempted to blackmail Stone in the public press, is Richard H. Rovere, co-author with Arthur Schlesinger Jr. of the book, *The General and the President*, a defense of Truman against MacArthur. Rovere's review of Stone's book covers most of a page in the weekly book review section of the May 11 N. Y. Post. This "review" is a succession of stinkbombs hurled at Stone and his book, with numerous booby-traps laid for the unsuspecting Post reader.

WHY THE ATTACK?

The unusual prominence and extraordinary amount of space devoted to Rovere's review in the pro-administration Post indicate the exceptional importance attached to Stone and his *Hidden History*. If the book is as bad and dull and nonsensical as Rovere makes out, one wonders why he takes nearly a news-page of type to say so. That alone should tell us the book deals a terrific punch which the Post is trying to counter with a blow below the belt.

Much of Rovere's "review" is nothing but a literary mugging of Stone himself. Literary hoodlum Rovere doesn't make a frontal attack. He sidles up to Stone with the deferential air of a moocher on a street corner about to make a touch.

Stone, he says, "once" gave

every promise of "becoming one of the most accomplished journalists in this country." That was when Stone was writing editorials for the N. Y. Post in conformity with its pro-Roosevelt policies, when he wrote for the Nation, attacked the Stalin-Hitler pact and supported U.S. imperialism in World War II. Then, of course, Stone was "an adroit stylist, a shrewd and thoughtful analyst and a man with an incredible capacity for gathering and storing information." In fact, "Stone was as good as the best and perhaps was the best."

But now, "something unpleasant to contemplate" has hap-

pened to Stone. Ever since he started to fix his "shrewd and thoughtful" attention on the operations of the Korean war, after turning from his first support of the war to a more critical attitude, "Stone has no longer been a promising journalist or even a moderately good one." And to make matters worse, "zest, style and humor have departed from his work, leaving it merely querulous."

QUERULOUS?

I can well believe that Rovere doesn't find Stone's book "zestful and humorous." Opening any page of the *Hidden History*, with

its sharp wit and quick satiric flashes, must be like being rolled in a barrel of razor blades for someone like Rovere, apologist for the Truman Administration and for the U.S. marauding in Korea. As for Stone being "querulous" — which the dictionary says means "habitually complaining, fretful, whining" — Rovere is just swinging wild. Stone doesn't whine. He fights and with a mighty fast left jab, too.

Rovere finally resorts to what is meant to be his most crushing slander against Stone. "Stone's contribution to American journalism today is that of a man who

thinks up good arguments for poor Communist positions."

Anybody who has followed Stone's contributions to the press in recent years and who reads his book (and I hope everybody interested in the truth about the Korean war will read it) will spot Rovere for a liar and not even a good one. In fact, Rovere, sensitive to the possibilities of a libel suit, hastens to add: "He is still not a Communist." Rovere attributes to Stone "a peculiar ritual" described as "the anti-genuflection" such as defending civil rights for Trotskyists, or condemning the lack of free speech in the Soviet Union.

If I read Rovere's attack rightly, it is nothing but a declaration that Stone is being read out of the world of "decent" — that is, subservient — journalists; that he, or anybody like him, is going to be cut off from further employment opportunities in bourgeois journalism and that every attempt is now going to be made to ruin his professional career.

Having thus disposed of Stone as a "once promising" journalist and cut him off forever from the spoils of capitalist journalism, Rovere then deigns to treat with Stone's book. Reading the book

Rovere finds "downright agonizing" — something like the man who stepped in front of the train, I fancy. The book is everything from "preposterous" to "bland and heavily documented rubbish."

NAILED BY THE FACTS

But there's one thing Rovere can't get around. "Has Stone any facts with which to back up his arguments? He has facts, all right — carloads of them... he examined every fact about the Korean war... For the most part, Stone's hard facts are accurate." Rovere claims, falsely, that Stone "discarded all facts that could not be so used" to back his arguments against the war. There are some facts Stone didn't use — mainly the ones buried as "top secret." I suspect they won't help Rovere's position if ever they are uncovered.

Stone is no man to run away from a fight. So, while I can't speak for anyone, else, I can for myself, and I'd like to offer Stone a little united front on this occasion to go gunning for some of these literary hoodlums who are trying to gang up on him. After reading Rovere's review, I'm in a hunting mood. Haven't bagged me a skunk in a dog's age.

Police Attack Tokyo May Day Marchers



Police clash with May Day demonstrators in Tokyo in most violent outbreak of the day that was celebrated around the world as international workers' holiday. Over 350 persons were injured as Tokyo police fired tear gas and guns into the crowd. Demonstrators raised the slogan: "Go home, Yankees."

German People Oppose Pentagon War Alliance

The German showdown is drawing closer, and the next few weeks may decide whether the Pentagon-led imperialists of the West will be able to draw the Bonn government into the capitalist war alliance, or whether they will be forced to retreat for the time being.

If the so-called "contractual agreement" is actually signed by the end of May or early in June as now planned, then West Germany would become the European Japan, the organizing center for the anti-Soviet war in Europe as Japan is in Asia, only infinitely more powerful and more crucial. The Stalinist East German regime has indicated that it will not stand for such a move without counter-measures of its own, and has even gone so far as to hint at the possibility of civil war. That was the meaning of East German Premier Otto Grotewohl's May 8 warning that Germany might become another Korea, and of Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht's warning of "consequences for West Berlin" should the Bonn regime enter the imperialist alliance.

Stalinist threats and warnings are however, not the most important impediment that the Pentagon faces in its drive to re-

militarize Germany. Far more crucial is the attitude of the people of Germany. The German working class and youth are very strongly aroused over the issue, and even the German capitalists approach the war pact reluctantly. The people as a whole, even including the capitalists, look with dread upon the prospect of a new war in which Germany would be the battleground, and could never in any sense be a victor. In addition, the capitalists are trying to use the reluctance of the nation as a club to extract maximum concessions from the American-British-French governments.

That is why the recent Soviet offer of a unified and neutralized Germany had an effect that, in the words of Drew Middleton (N. Y. Times, May 11) "was greater than six months of discussion on the Contractual Issue."

The biggest expression of the feeling of the German people on this question is through the Social-Democratic Party, chief opposition, which has been winning support in recent months, as seen from its great gains in the Hesse elections a few weeks ago. This party is strongly opposed to signing the "contractual agreement." The Socialists

have made great gains in state elections during the past year, and their claim that new parliamentary elections would put them in power appears to be justified.

The Social Democrats are well supported in the trade union movement: the Bavarian Trade Unions voted against rearmament early this year by a majority of 119 to 1, the transport workers did the same in Hamburg, and other polls and expressions of sentiment show the same feeling everywhere (see *The Militant*, April 28, for a report on this from Germany).

The May 11 youth demonstrations in Essen, heart of the industrial Ruhr offer more proof of the same feeling, and of the militancy behind it. Press reports in the U.S. say that the demonstrations were Stalinist-led. If true, that would be an important admission. The fact that the Stalinists, who are very unpopular in West Germany, could get 30,000 youthful militants to join in a demonstration, would prove the great hatred of the youth for Washington's war and militarization plans.

These powerful bursts of feeling, which will probably grow more pronounced, underlie the difficulties and crises that have dogged the Bonn negotiations. The pressure has even invaded the Adenauer coalition. The two chief allies of Adenauer's Christian Democrats, the Free Democrats and the German Party, have been balking at the terms of the war contract, and dissension has even welled up in Adenauer's own party. Negotiations to heal the rift are now under way, but the dissimilarity is proof that the West Germans are not behind the war-drive.

This situation has gone so far that it led the Manchester Guardian Weekly, British liberal paper, to say on May 8: "It is doubtful whether a single German party can now openly subscribe to the American policy of pushing through the contractual and defense agreements before negotiating with the Russians. This would mean 'going on record' as preferring Western integration to German unity. Very few Germans are ready to take that risk at the moment."

This was written from Bonn on May 1. Since that time, the Adenauer coalition has been making an all-out effort to comply with Pentagon plans. The disagreements have been pushed beneath the surface. However, one may safely predict that they will burst forth once again in the near future, impelled by the growing and bitter opposition of the German people to the schemes of Washington that would make them human sacrifices in an anti-Soviet war.

POR LEADER DEFENDS REVOLUTION IN BOLIVIA

(Continued from page 1)

ed a declaration which embodied the program of the exploited and whose central point was the need of nationalizing the mines.

The Trotskyists made the barricades the centers of resistance against reaction and forums for the revolution; they engraved a radical character upon the movement.

The textile workers decided to impose their conditions on the right wing of the MNR; they obliged it to accept working class elements in the new cabinet who constitute its left faction.

Question: What is your perspective as to the future of this uprising?

Answer: The coup d'etat inaugurates the stage of the broadest mobilization of the masses and is only an episode in the enormous battles to come which Bolivian toilers will undertake against reaction in all its forms.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The subversive movement undertaken by the militarists on the backs of the people has acquired a revolutionary character through the presence and action of the masses. The government instituted in Bolivia is provisional because of the conditions of the class struggle and does not correspond to the degree of mobilization of the exploited and even less to the transformations which are now taking place in their consciousness.

Reaction is playing its last card by attempting to control the masses through a government weighted with the most reactionary elements of the MNR and particularly the Freemasons. Masonry is the most effective agent of imperialism in Bolivia. One can already distinguish today a political differentiation between the masses and the right wing faction of the government.

The armed struggle ended with the rout of the supporters of the military Junta but its place has been taken by a muffled political struggle. The agents of reaction and the supporters of "North American democracy" are trying to appropriate and disfigure the victory won by the exploited on the barricades. The struggle which immediately began is a struggle of the masses to impose their demands on the April 9th government.

Question: Is our party in the vanguard of this struggle?

Answer: Yes, and it supports the left wing faction of the new cabinet. It should be said that we alone are capable of defending every progressive measure

through the mobilization of the masses. It is now necessary to fight for the nationalization of the mines, the key industries and the land. This struggle will be intimately connected with the development of the mass upsurge, with the involvement of new working class sectors in the struggle in such a way that it acquires nationwide scope, and finally with the constitution of a workers and peasants government.

THREAT FROM THE RIGHT

Question: How do you characterize the present government?

Answer: The Paz Estenssoro government, dominated by its reactionary wing shows all the characteristic features of "Bonapartism," operating between the proletariat and imperialism. The declarations of the new president leave no doubt as to his decision to capitulate to the Yankees and to win their confidence by presenting himself as the only one capable of controlling the masses. One cannot exclude the possibility that the right wing, faced with the sharpening of the mass struggle against it will ally itself with imperialism in order to crush the so-called "communist" danger.

In this connection, the essential mission of the POR is to assume the role of a vigilant guide to prevent the aspirations of the workers from being diluted by vague promises or by maneuvers of right wing elements.

It is beyond doubt that the new government is now being subjected to enormous pressure by the feudal bourgeoisie and by imperialism to make it capitulate or to destroy it. Under such conditions the POR defends the government with all its strength and by means of mobilization of the masses. The coming victory of the exploited dictates the duty of avoiding by all means a repetition of a new July 21st, 1946, when imperialism was permitted to take over a popular movement for its own interests.

There is no other way that this can be done than by aiding the masses to understand through their own experience which leadership can lead them to victory.

Today, far from succumbing to the hysteria of a struggle against the MNR, whom the pro-imperialists have baptized as "fascists," we are marching with the masses to make the April 9th movement the prelude of the triumph of the workers' and peasants' government.

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A. P. Randolph in Tokyo

By Jean Blake

Most Negro newspapers have reported the fact that A. Philip Randolph, in company with the so-called socialist Norman Thomas, was driven from the platform of the May Day demonstration in Tokyo this year. In the main, they have merely repeated the accounts that appeared in the white capitalist press, treating the incident as another example of "communist violence" against blameless American "leaders."

We think the matter deserves more careful examination. Specifically, we think a number of questions should be answered: What was Randolph doing in Tokyo? What was the nature of the demonstration which opposed him? How did an American Negro labor leader become the object of the anger of a Japanese workers' demonstration? And, most important, with whom should American Negroes sympathize in the dispute?

The May Day demonstrations in Japan were mass celebrations of the international labor holiday which symbolizes working class solidarity against capitalism and imperialist domination. "About three million Japanese turned out throughout Japan for more than 400 scheduled rallies," the AP reported.

Demonstrators chanted and carried banners with the slogan most appropriate for such an occasion: "Go home, Yankee!" just as other workers in Germany, Algeria, Tunis and elsewhere called for an end to American, British and French rule of their countries. And just as class-conscious workers in unfortunately smaller meetings in the United States have raised the anti-imperialist demand, "Bring Home the Troops," and the anti-capitalist slogan, "Build a Labor Party."

The Japanese workers' movement, like those of the rising masses throughout Asia, is voicing the needs and demands essential to the reorganization of their economy and society, for life, for peace, and for a future of production for human needs rather than profit for native capitalists and foreign imperialists. The attempt of the U.S. State Department propagandists to picture that movement as one of fanatical Stalinists, or tools of Moscow, is as much a vile slander as the similar reactionary attempt to smear the struggle for Negro equality in the U.S. as a "communist plot."

The Japanese workers are fighting against their own capitalist class and its attempts to restore the ban on "dangerous thoughts" that existed before World War II. At the same time, as the May Day demonstrations indicated, their experiences with the U.S. occupation and the

Korean war have educated them about the role of U.S. imperialism in preserving the rule of the most reactionary elements in Japanese society. In addition, they have also rid themselves of their illusions about American labor leaders who try to sell them capitalism sugar-coated — and that includes labor leaders who may happen to be Negro. That is why the Tokyo demonstration turned against A. Philip Randolph.

What was he doing in Tokyo? According to a statement he issued in New York before leaving for Japan: "I shall be glad to explain to our Japanese brothers the philosophy and program of the free, voluntary trade union movements of our country. I want also to emphasize the importance of developing a brotherhood across the sea policy between the free trade unions of our industrial (capitalist — J.B.) economy and the free trade unions of Japan and other non-industrial, agrarian countries of Asia and Africa."

Randolph would do better to listen while our Japanese and European brothers who have learned the consequences of a capitalist trade union philosophy and program explain it to him and to his friend, Norman Thomas.

But these two Americans whose trip was facilitated by the State Department did not learn. They refused to believe even what they saw with their own eyes.

"We do not think that Communist rowdism and certain jingoistic slogans ('Go home, Yankees') and statements ('Washington is reviving imperialism in Japan and Germany') which we saw and heard today express the general sentiments of the Japanese people or of the mass of workers."

We wonder whether Randolph and Thomas would believe it if three million American workers told them the same thing, or whether anti-Japanese prejudice could be rearing its ugly head in the minds of these two American "leaders?"

The important lesson of the Tokyo May Day incident, it seems to us, is that American Negroes and other workers are going to have to take a stand: Either they must dissociate themselves from Wall Street's drive to dominate the peoples of the world, and express their solidarity with the colonial struggles for freedom, or they can expect the increasing hatred of the rest of humanity for everything that symbolizes American imperialism to fall on their heads too.

American workers can be proud to be Americans only if they make America something to be proud of.

Ceylon "Unpopularity" Poll

By Tom Conlan

Among the mass of the Ceylonese people the reigning capitalist party, the United National Party (UNP), finds itself discredited. Popular discontent centers, naturally, on the UNP Ministers in the 13-man Cabinet who have misruled the country for the last 4½ years.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that considerable popular interest should have been aroused by public contest conducted by the Ceylonese revolutionary socialists, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP). This contest takes the shape of a "people's poll" whose aim is "to discover the most unpopular Minister."

This is stated on entry forms which list the incumbent UNP Ministers and require contestants to rate "the order of demerit of the 13 Cabinet Ministers." In addition to being widely distributed, these entry forms have been regularly carried by the LSSP press, published in English and Sinhalese.

The contest rules are simple. Any one may participate. Each entry must be accompanied by 25c (Ceylonese) in stamps. There are three prizes of 250 rupees, 150 and 50 rupees "for the closest estimate of the order of demerit as determined by the poll," plus two consolation prizes of 25 rupees each. (A rupee is worth 21c in U.S. currency.) All proceeds of this contest will go toward the LSSP election fund to "smash the UNP" and establish a "Workers and Peasants' Samasamaja Government" in the impending elections, scheduled for May 22.

From all indications the popular response to this "unpopularity contest" is painfully embarrassing the UNP government. So much so that the Times of Ceylon, the pro-UNP mouthpiece, deemed it necessary to single it out for attack by its "national editor," one Victor Lewis by name.

The LSSP contest, swears Lewis, is "unwholesome and despicable," "disgusting" and "nauseating," "degrading," "contemptible," etc., etc.

Notes from the News

PRESIDENT TRUMAN is quoted in Mr. President as saying: "DO NOT be misled by anyone to believe that you are in danger of being attacked by any nation west or east or south or north of your frontiers. Do not let yourselves be plunged helplessly into war as were the German people and the Italians and the Japanese. Do not let the Communist and the Chinese aggression in Korea be used as a pretext for burdening you with further armaments that will cause you to live in a state of constant fear." (P.S. This is not what Truman says to the American people; it is what he says he would like to say to the Soviet people.)

THE UNITED STATES, where average income per person is \$1,789, is spending \$425 on arms per person each year, a British paper estimates. In Asia, the average income per person is: India \$56; Pakistan \$50, Indonesia \$25, Philippines \$44, South Korea \$33, Thailand \$36, Iran \$84, Burma \$36.

THE CIO TEXTILE WORKERS UNION, at its convention in Cleveland, adopted a resolution declaring: "The Supreme Court's decision sustaining the conviction of the communist leaders also is a grave blow to our heritage of free speech and free thought. These Communist Party leaders were convicted under the Smith Act, not for conspiring or attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence, but for conspiring to teach and advocate the propriety of such an overthrow. . . . We insist that the prosecution of those who merely advocate ideas, however repulsive, is injurious to the cause of freedom."

PRIESTS, MONKS AND NUNS are being forced to work in Czechoslovakia, according to a May 9 N.Y. Times dispatch from Paris. Projects they are assigned to include textile plants, government-owned farms, sawmills, mining, timber-cutting, construction, airfield building and erection of dams.

BUSINESS will have a bigger voice in the conduct of government affairs than they have had for 20 years if Eisenhower is elected, Paul G. Hoffman, one of the general's chief supporters, promises.

EVER SINCE the Nation, liberal weekly, announced a May 25 dinner-forum on "Arab-Israel Peace," the Social Democratic New Leader and professional red-baiters like Frederick Woltman of the N.Y. World-Telegram have been conducting a campaign to persuade some of the sponsors of the affair to withdraw their names on the ground that the sponsors include "assorted Stalinists and 'muddleheads'" like Algernon Black, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Langston Hughes, Mordecai Johnson, Thomas Mann, Dirk J. Struik and other people who do not meet the Social Democrats' "anti-communist" qualifications. Now the New Leader proudly reports that AFL President William Green was the first to buckle under this pressure and withdraw. Other sponsors include Senator Lehman, Jacob Potofsky, Louis Hollander, Rev. Donald Harrington, and Senator Kefauver, was listed as a speaker.

"THE USE OF ANTI-SEMITISM as a political instrumentality is currently being stepped up significantly," the American Jewish Committee warns.

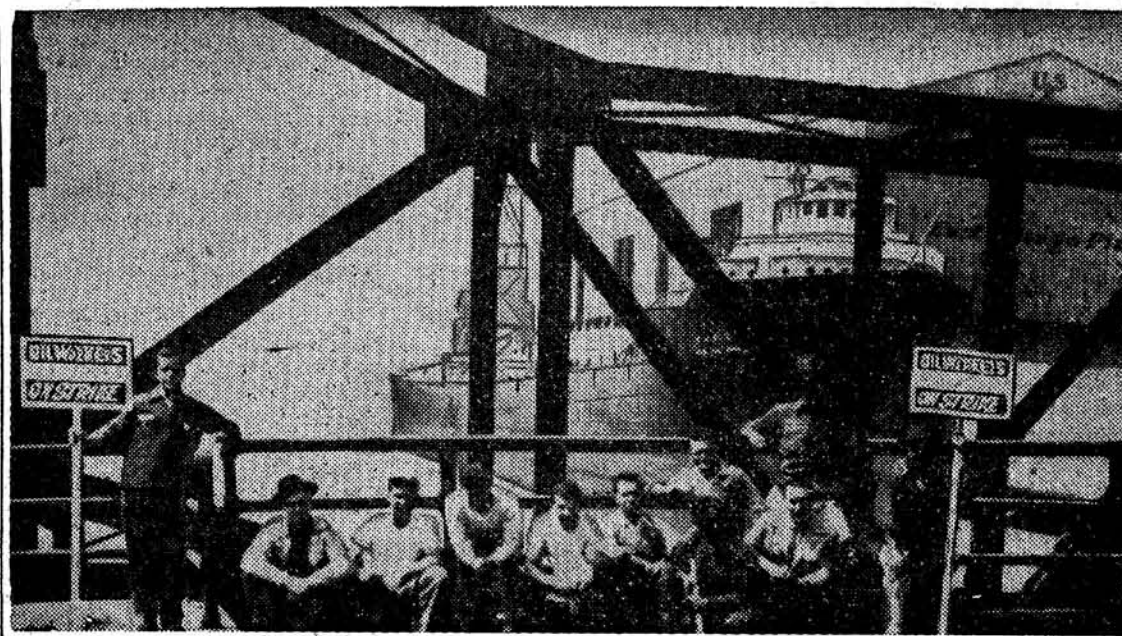
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THE MILITANT

Oil Pickets Hold Up Tanker



Striking oil workers sit on drawbridge over Indiana Harbor canal, East Chicago Ind., and refuse to permit span to be lifted to allow passage of oil company vessels. Stranded in background is tanker carrying 65,000 barrels of gasoline.

WSB Sets Wage Ceiling In Oil Industry Ruling

An arbitrary decision by the Wage Stabilization Board has set a 15 cent ceiling on wage increases in the oil industry. Labor members of the WSB voted for the limit, although the Oil Workers Union had won an 18 cent an hour increase from one operator.

The 90,000 striking oil workers had been holding out for an 18 cent an hour general wage hike, plus a raise in night shift differentials. The WSB approved an increase in night bonuses.

Although WSB director Feinsinger stated the ruling does not "necessarily control other settlements," it will undoubtedly put the companies in a strong position to resist the 18 cent demand. The ruling involved an agreement reached between Local 443 of the Oil Workers International Union, CIO and the Farmers Union Central Exchange of Laurel, Mont.

"UNUSUAL CONDITIONS" Any wage increases over the 15 cent figure will have to be based on "unusual conditions" the WSB stated. The striking oil workers considered the fact that the oil companies had increased their profits by 250% since 1939, in terms of 1939 dollars, while wages had increased only 6% in the same period, "unusual conditions" which justified a far greater wage increase.

The WSB ruling was announced

as the oil strike entered its third week. Industry members of the board voted against the ruling, but it is expected the companies will agree to the pattern.

Prior to the wage ruling the WSB had issued a back-to-work order to the strikers which union leaders firmly rejected. In a union statement the WSB was told, "All the Congressmen and WSB members in Washington cannot produce or refine one barrel of oil."

Should the union refuse to accept the wage limit set by the WSB, and continue the strike, the case would then undoubtedly be certified to Truman, who would then have to decide whether or not to invoke the injunction provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

WSB RETREAT

While the WSB 15-cent pattern is inadequate to meet the needs of the oil workers, and is far less than the union justifiably de-

manded, it represents a retreat on the part of the government board. It had previously stated that the union was entitled only to a 10 cent an hour wage increase.

The effectiveness and militancy of the oil strike, however, forced the WSB to raise the limit on wages.

Night shift differential increases from 4 to 6 cents an hour on second shift, and from 6 to 12 cents an hour for third shift, raises the average general wage increase computed on an hourly basis to 17½ cents.

Should the oil unions accept the pattern it would by no means represent a defeat for the union. But the oil workers have shown the solidarity and fighting spirit to win even greater concessions, had they not been confronted with government interference on the side of the companies.

MICHIGAN LEGISLATURE REFORM SOUGHT BY CIO

DETROIT, May 3 — The passage of the fascist-like Trucks law by the Michigan state legislature is further proof of the importance of the CIO drive for reapportionment.

The Michigan state constitution requires that the legislature reapportion itself every ten years, according to shifts in population. The last reapportionment took place in 1925. There is no legal provision for enforcement of reapportionment. The CIO petition campaign aims for a referendum on this issue in the November election to gain enforcement powers.

The reapportionment drive seeks to abolish minority rule by a corporation-controlled clique of 30-odd senators and 100-odd representatives. This clique obediently serves the billionaire manufacturers in all laws dealing with labor's rights, unemployment and workmen's compensation, Fair Employment legislation etc.

The Voice of Local 212, UAW-CIO, presents this picture of the situation: "The present majority in the legislature is elected by only 31% of the people in the senate, and 36% in the house."

The Detroit Times summed up the influence of Big Business when it reported the death of lobbyist John Lovett, chief lobbyist for the Michigan manufacturers: "A nod from him, leaning over the gallery rail, sent legislators scurrying into action."

WEIGHTED RURAL VOTE

In effect, present apportionment discriminates against the working class population in the big industrial areas. For example, one senator from north-eastern Michigan represents 60,000 people. Another senator from Wayne County represents 660,000 people. The rural voter has eleven times the voting power of the industrial workers in this instance.

In the selection of representatives, figures show the industrial workers' vote counts only slightly more than half as much as that of a rural voter, for example, 91,599 voters elect one representative in one district while 25,852 voters from another district also elect one representative. These facts demonstrate the need for the campaign to win equal voting rights for Michigan's working class voters.

The CIO News of April 25 states quite correctly that "Big Business seeks to freeze the democratic state legislature." Passage of the Trucks law is among the latest outrages committed by this bipartisan clique. Trucks, the author of the law, is typical of the overwhelming majority of the state senators and representatives. He comes from the Lake County village of Baldwin, which has 835 residents.

METHODIST PARLEY HITS WITCH-HUNT BUT CHURCH YIELDS TO PRESSURE

The Methodist Church, at its Quadrennial General Conference in San Francisco, adopted a resolution condemning the witch hunt but took a number of other steps making concessions to it. The conference's resolution on civil liberties declared in part: "In this time of fear, areas of freedom of speech and thought are being narrowed all over the world. . . . In some lands, thought control uses the techniques of absolute censorship. . . . In other lands the techniques are those of social rejection, calling of names, demands for 'loyalty oaths,' denial of employment, irresponsible accusations, and assertion of 'guilt by association.' . . . Our role is not to suppress ideas, but to open channels of communication, so that men can come to know the thoughts of their neighbors, and so that the best thoughts of all men can come to be possessions of all mankind."

WITCH HUNT HITS CHURCH

But the effects of the witch hunt right within the church itself were shown by the conference's revision of its social creed. Previously, the creed said the church favored "the subordination of the profit motive to the creative cooperative spirit." But in today's atmosphere that seemed to the delegates to smack too much of "socialism" and so it was changed to read:

Students at NYU Meet to Defend Smith Act Victims

By George Rock

NEW YORK, May 9 — The fight for civil rights took a major step forward today on the campus of New York University. At one of the largest and liveliest meetings

of its kind held in a long time more than 130 students heard Dr. Grace Carlson and Conrad Lynn call for repeal of the Smith Act and defense of all its victims.

The meeting was jointly sponsored by a number of organizations and student leaders. The Young Progressives of America, however, struck a sour note by refusing to join. This refusal to participate in a common action in defense of all Smith Act victims was ascribed to Stalinist influence. Yet many YPA members came despite the official frowns of the group leadership. They felt at the conclusion that the rally was a huge success.

Dr. Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party's 1952 candidate for Vice-President of the United States condemned the Smith Act and the hysteria which it has generated in this country. She warned that the labor movement and the minority peoples are its real intended victims and she called for united struggle against it.

Conrad Lynn, attorney and Chairman of the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee said that the Communist Party was not the main object of the Smith Act, but only the most available scapegoat. The real aim of the act, he held, is the proscribing of all dissident opinion.

He gave as an example, the case of Ruth Reynolds, a New York pacifist who was victimized and imprisoned in Puerto Rico under the Smith Act because she raised her hand at a Nationalist meeting in 1949 and by so doing is alleged to have registered herself in favor of the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence. For raising her hand she was held responsible for a revolt which took place almost a year later.

SWEEPING LAW

In his analysis of the Smith Act, Lynn indicated that there has been no law in this country so broad in its scope since the Alien and Sedition Act of the 18th century. He condemned the attitude of such "liberals" as Norman Thomas, Ludwig Lewisohn, Jay Lovestone and John Haynes Holmes who hold that the Smith Act would be all right if it were properly enforced, that is, applied only against the Stalinists.

RECALL STALINIST ROLE

Lynn asserted that such a policy lays an intellectual basis for repression. He recalled the role of the Communist Party in 1941 which was "no more active in calling for the repeal of the Smith Act than the Republicans." Liberals who become apologists for the witch hunt by condoning its use against the Stalinists,

follow the same stupid and suicidal policy begun by the Stalinists in 1941 when they supported use of the Smith Act against the Socialist Workers Party.

Lynn said that it is impossible to take two sides on the question. You must be either for persecution and suppression or wholly against it. Unity of all opponents of the Smith Act is essential or else all non-conformists will be picked off one by one. I. F. Stone and Rev. A. J. Muste, who had been scheduled to speak, were unavoidably detained and unable to attend the meeting. A representative of Rev. Muste unfortunately arrived too late to address the meeting.

In the lively discussion period which followed Grace Carlson's talk, one student denounced the C.P. as "traitors," denounced everybody at the meeting as "traitors," and denounced the sponsors of the meeting and Dr. Carlson as "traitors" for defending the civil rights of the C.P. He went on to speak well of the living conditions and the status of civil rights of the Negroes in the South, claiming that things are improving there, and giving as "proof" — the fact that there are Negro policemen down South.

ARGUMENTS DEMOLISHED

No sooner had he finished speaking than a young Negro girl rose and demolished his arguments. "Sure, there are Negro cops down South," she said, "but they can't arrest a white man. If a white man shoots a Negro, a Negro cop can't arrest him. If conditions continue at their present rate, it will take a century before anything changes." Her reply and the arguments of many students in reply to this fellow all received heavy applause.

THE REAL TRAITORS

Dr. Carlson got a big round of applause when, in response to the charge of "traitor" she said, "The real traitors are the people who are sending American boys to Korea where they don't belong."

She pointed out that Thomas Jefferson, the Abolitionists and many others who wanted progressive changes were called traitors. In reply to a question on the Korean War, Dr. Carlson drew more applause when she replied that she believed in "Korea for the Koreans."

Many of the students who came to the meeting were undecided about the Smith Act when they arrived. But by the time it ended they were firmly convinced of the need to repeal the reactionary measure.

"We stand for the principle of the acquisition of property by Christian processes, and in the right of private ownership thereof with full acknowledgement of stewardship under God and accountability to Him for its use. . . . We espouse no particular economic system, and refuse to identify Christianity with any economic order. We approach every economic order in the commands of our Christ and judge its practices by the Christian gospel."

DEBATE TOUCHED OFF

Another concession to the witch hunt was the conference's resolution calling upon the Methodist Federation for Social Action to drop the word "Methodist" from its title and move out of the church's New York building. The Federation is an unofficial body, legally occupying the building, which has taken a liberal position on a number of social problems, including the witch hunt.

The Rev. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit, defending the federation for its "vigorously liberal" policies, called the resolution an "unprecedented procedure" akin to censorship. He said the federation would welcome an investigation but would refuse to "succumb to the tendency to shut up dissenters."

The leader of the reactionary tendency at the conference,

Charles C. Parlin of Newark, said the issue was not freedom of speech but the right of the federation to "masquerade" under the name of the church. Another delegate was less hypocritical when he denounced the federal plan for opposing the Marshall Plan.

The conference also opposed universal military training and said "there is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation" and urged the church to "seek to free itself utterly" from them.

"EXCEPT"

But this pious sentiment was considerably watered down the next day when the conference urged all Methodist theological schools to admit qualified students without regard to race or color "except in those instances where state laws would force an undue hardship upon the institution involved."

The Hidden History of the Korean War

By I. F. Stone

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