

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

(See Page 2)

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Station S T E A L



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

Ridgway Fears "Bring Boys Home" Movement

Legless Veteran's Case Heard by Appeals Court

By Joseph Andrews

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

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

IDEAS PROSCRIBED

Kutcher went to the seat of the federal government to defend his right to think. He had been fired from his job in the Veterans' Administration in Newark, N. J., because he had said he was a member of the Socialist Workers' Party, and proud to be one.

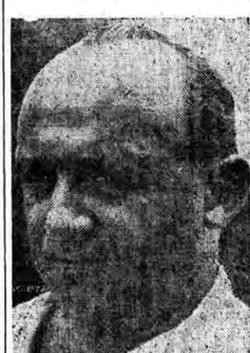
The fact that he had lost both legs in the second imperialist war did not earn him the right to work as a clerk in the VA office, because the Attorney General had put socialist ideas on the proscribed list.

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

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

PROUD OF MEMBERSHIP

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



JAMES KUTCHER

Kremlin Panics U.S. Diplomats With German Bid

By Joseph Keller

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

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

FEAR FREE ELECTIONS

But even as the imperialist spokesmen called for "free elections," they were fearful that Stalin would accommodate them. Russell Hill of the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported on April 8, that "the Western Allies are still hoping that the Russians will not take them up on this one. Nothing is better calculated than the prospect of such elections to put a crimp in plans for West German rearmament."

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

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

IN A HOLE

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

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

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

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

THE GENERAL'S FEAR

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

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

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

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

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

or even a "police action." Mac R. Johnson reports:

MAJOR WAR

"He said it is a major military operation ranking with World Wars I and II by any measurement — troops involved, casualties, expense, duration and other yardsticks."

Ridgway does not give us any figures, but we can supply them from other sources. U.S. combat forces in Korea have been rapidly built up during the period of truce negotiations to a half million. This enormous force will be kept in Korea indefinitely, if the generals have their way.

The American people never wanted this war. They were never consulted about it and their views and sentiments have been brutally brushed aside by the capitalist politicians and generals. All that we are offered now is an armed truce on a frozen battle-line that can be unfrozen without warning to plunge us into a bigger and deadlier war.

KEPT A SECRET

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

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

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

STEEL TALKS OFF AGAIN; Big British Union Backs Bevan Line On Rearmament

By Thomas Raymond

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

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

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

Iron Age, steel industry magazine said in its April 16 issue, that Sawyer will order the WSB recommendations "refigured on a two-year basis." Both sides have rejected this proposition, but, says Iron Age: "it looks like the one that's coming this week." The N. Y. World Telegram said on April 17: "Informed government sources said he (Sawyer) probably will impose what the industry already has offered — a 12 1/2 cent hourly wage boost and 5 1/2 cents more for fringes, but not a union shop."

Big British Union Backs Bevan Line On Rearmament

By Thomas Raymond

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

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

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

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

FEPC Issue Haunts Capitalist Politicians

By Albert Parker

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

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

"CAN'T FIND TIME"

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



FRANK MCKINNEY

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

WHAT HE HAD TIME FOR

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

demanded by the big oil interests.

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

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

DEMOCRATS TOO

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

Truman's decision not to run

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

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

TWO-SIDED HITCH

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

(Continued on page 2)

UNIONS SUPPORT FIGHT ON ILLINOIS LAW 1030

By Marjorie Ball

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

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

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

UNION SUPPORT

Other unions which have passed similar resolutions and made financial contributions to the fight against Law 1030 are the Chicago Joint Board of the CIO Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union, Local 329 of the AFL Building Service Employees, and Locals 223 and 73 of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

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

STEVENSON EXPOSED

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

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

Why American Labor Should Fight Against Truman 'Seizures'

By George Breitman

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

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

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

NOT SOLE FACTOR

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

3 Unions Demand Government End Railroad 'Seizure'

A federal court in Cleveland issued a preliminary injunction on April 15 prohibiting three railroad unions — the Engineers, Firemen and Conductors — from striking against the government, which "seized" the railroads in August, 1950, to break a strike.

The injunction, replacing a temporary restraining order issued by the same court last March 11, after a three-day strike, will be appealed to a higher court by the three unions.

James P. Shields, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said in Washington that "in the light of the Cleveland decision and the seizure of the steel industry, this nation is faced with the specter of continuing and expanding involuntary servitude unless present seizure tactics are wiped out on constitutional grounds."

The railroad unions have learned by bitter experience that Truman's "seizures" are thoroughly anti-labor in intention and in practice.

CHALLENGE "SEIZURE"

When their strike was stopped last March, the three unions went to court to challenge the government's restraining order. Government "seizure" of the roads, they said, is "a sham and a mockery," and workers on the roads are not government employees at all, for two reasons:

1. The government has refused to bargain collectively with them ever since the "seizure."
2. Profits continue to go to the private owners, and not to the government.

If they are working for the government, they charged, then the profits from their work should not go to private corporations but should be kept by government after the workers have been given "just compensation."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 3442.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social Sat. Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MA 6100 3-950.
- CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 11-9:30 P.M. Phone HARRISON 7-0408.
- CLEVELAND—10606 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6108 Llewellyn Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone 775-5287.
- FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22406.
- LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 8-4053.
- MILWAUKEE—317 N. 2nd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun., 10 A.M.-4 P.M. Library, 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-7151.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—425 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY—116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.
- BROOKLYN—18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1053.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-7151.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.
- ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters. Main 7151.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-9410.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meetings every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, book store. Phone Main 9278.
- YOUNGSTOWN—254 E. Federal St.

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

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

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

EYE TO EYE

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

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

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

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

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

A BAD PRECEDENT

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

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

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

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

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

That is what the absolute monarchs of the past used to do. The "divine right" which they claimed to justify such procedure was so hateful that the people rose in revolution and either abolished the monarchy or put strict constitutional curbs on it.

Truman's claim of "inherent powers" is essentially just as despotic as the kings' claim to "divine right."

NOT CONSTITUTIONAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

USED AGAINST STRIKES

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

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

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

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

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

(See Editorial on Page 3)

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

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

AGAINST REARMING

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

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

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

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

CHICAGO

May Day Rally

Address by FARRELL DOBBS SWP Presidential Candidate

'A Socialist Anti-War Program for 1952'

Chairman: Arne Swabeck

SWP HALL 734 SO. WABASH Refreshments - Social

FRIDAY, MAY 2 8 P. M. Subscription 35c

which in the Remington case was ruled in violation of the "due-process" provisions of the constitution. Neither Kutcher personally, nor his party, have had a hearing on the question of the legality of the views advocated in the SWP program.

Defense attorney Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. argued that Kutcher should be reinstated in his job with back pay, since his right to hold political opinions were violated, that he had been deprived of his right to a hearing, and that he had been illegally fired by the Veterans Administrator on grounds other than those originally presented.

The American Civil Liberties Union, represented by attorney Herbert Monte Levy, also argued on Kutcher's behalf as a "friend of the court."

DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS

The ACLU stated that whether Kutcher had been fired on grounds of the Executive Order 9835, or the Hatch Act, he would in both cases have been deprived of his constitutional rights under the First and Fifth amendments, which are supposed to protect the rights of freedom of opinion and association.

The decision in the Kutcher case will have great bearing upon the preservation of civil liberties. Involved in his case is the arbitrary subversive list, by which thousands of workers are being fired without a hearing, and are found guilty by association.

Should the Circuit Court of Appeals reject Kutcher's appeal, his case will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. As the American Civil Liberties Union brief stated, Kutcher's discharge "casts a broad censorship over minority and non-conformist political and economic views, and therefore interferes with the most important aspect of the First Amendment, right to freedom of expression."

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Phone Workers Picket



Members of District 4, CIO Communications Workers, picket main offices of Michigan Bell Telephone Co. in Detroit as part of 43-state strike of 15,000 workers. Another 300,000 phone workers respected the lines. Phone strikers in New Jersey, Ohio and Michigan have won wage increases ranging from 11.3 to 12.7 cents an hour.

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

JAMES KUTCHER TAKES CASE TO HIGHER COURT

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE HAUNTS ALL CAPITALIST POLITICIANS

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

"SIT IT OUT?"

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

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

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

The American Way of Life

Goodbye to the Shmoo

"You may, unless you had something better to do, have been reading my comic strip L'il Abner this week. If so, you are probably startled to see that my hero is apparently being married to one Daisy Mae Scragg. This time it's the real thing. Yes. After 18 years the poor lout is finally, hopelessly married, and in one of Marryin' Sam's cheapest, most humiliating weddings."

Shmoo was delighted. But there were also some disturbing letters. Some writers wanted to know what was the idea of kidding big business by creating the Shmoo. . . . Other writers wanted to know what was the idea of criticizing labor by creating the Shmoo, which made labor unnecessary. (Capp here adjusts himself to the witch hunt by taking impartial swipes at "capital and labor.") In reality, the big hue and cry against the Shmoo satire came from business, which felt the sting of ridicule of the capitalist economy of scarcity.)

Capp continues: "It was disturbing, but I didn't let it bother me too much. Then, a year later, I created the Kigmy, an animal that loved to be kicked around, thus making it unnecessary for people to kick each other around. This time a lot more letters came. Their tone was angrier, more suspicious. . . . Was I, in creating the Kigmy, trying to create pacifism and thus, secretly, nonresistance to Communism? . . . what in hell was the idea of creating the Kigmy anyhow, because it implied some criticism of some kinds of Americans and any criticism of anything American was (now) un-American? I was astounded to find that it had become unpopular to laugh at any fellow Americans. In fact, when I looked around, I realized that a new kind of humorist had taken over, the humorist who kidded nothing but himself. That was the only thing left. . . . Radio, the most instantly obedient to pressure of all media, had sensed the atmosphere, an atmosphere in which Jack Benny is magnificent but in which Will Rogers would have suffocated."

WAIT FOR CHANGE

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

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

Goodby, dear Shmoo. We'll miss you, but we'll get our economy of abundance some other way.

— Harry Frankel

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

Shmoo was delighted. But there were also some disturbing letters. Some writers wanted to know what was the idea of kidding big business by creating the Shmoo. . . . Other writers wanted to know what was the idea of criticizing labor by creating the Shmoo, which made labor unnecessary. (Capp here adjusts himself to the witch hunt by taking impartial swipes at "capital and labor.") In reality, the big hue and cry against the Shmoo satire came from business, which felt the sting of ridicule of the capitalist economy of scarcity.)

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THE MILITANT ARMY

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

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

The following night, Jean writes, she and Dot went back to the conference with "The Road to Peace" and sold 14 copies.

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

Helen S. writes, "We intend to complete our renewals this month in preparation for a lively, all out Minneapolis Campaign for new Militant subs in May. In another week we will be able to announce our plans in more detail. John, got one of the enclosed subs from a friend of his on the campus. Our new South American subscriber had been sent several copies of The Militant and he was so impressed with our paper that he requested this sub. Prentice got the other new sub from a fellow-worker."

Chicago Literature Agent Bert Deck sends in four subs sold by Jack, Elaine, Ines and Sam, and reports that "Militant sales have been going well. Manny, who services Post Office News, says that the stand has been selling up to 15 papers a week in the past period. Frank sold 11 copies at a steel factory this week, and Helen sold 16 at her usual street corner."

Lou reports a good sale in Akron last Wednesday. "Katherine sold 12 Militants at the tire builders gate. The paper made a good impression and she plans to go back again. We will make use of the strike issues when we go out for subs. We have also been selling 'The Road to Peace' and feel that this important pamphlet should be pushed uppermost, side by side with the paper, especially to militants in the labor movement, wide awake Negroes — all those to whom we wish to counterpose our program against that of the Stalinists."

Detroit

May Day Frolic

Dancing Entertainment Refreshments

6108 Linwood Sat., April 26, at 8 PM

Donation: 50c

Aspices: Socialist Workers Party

THE MILITANT

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Answer to Seizure

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What's Silly About Pay Hikes?

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

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

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

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

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

"Silly cycle, isn't it?"

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

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

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

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

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

Justice Douglas's Call for "Peasant Revolutions"

By Art Preis

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas made something of a sensation on April 7 when he proposed a "Point Five" program to promote "peasants' revolutions" in underdeveloped countries. He declared that Truman's Point Four technical assistance program is "only underwriting the status quo" of landlordism and tenancy. Instead, he said, Point Four should be accompanied by a program to break up the large landed states and provide land for the poor peasants.

"I am sure that if the audience were tonight in many of the underdeveloped areas which we propose to help by Point Four," Douglas told the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, "we would be forming an American revolutionary committee to overthrow this octopus — these absentee landlords who live in Waldorf Towers of Paris or Beirut — that has enslaved millions of little people."

AID TO LANDLORDS

Douglas truthfully contended that the technical and scientific aid offered under Point Four, amounting in fiscal 1951 to only \$19,000,000 for the whole world, would mean little to "the fellow at the bottom of the economic pile" because "the average return to the 99 per cent of the people who produce the crop is between 5 and 10 per cent" while the rest goes to the landlords and usurers.

Some of the conservative newspapers tore at Douglas' phrase "peasants' revolutions" like

starved dogs tossed a tray of red meat. But the Christian Science Monitor, which can scarcely be called a fomentor of revolution, took a calmer attitude. It assured us in an April 11 editorial that Douglas' phrase about promoting peasants' revolutions "is quite in... the American interest" and does not propose "arbitrary and violent distribution of wealth." Douglas merely wants the United States "to select for its aid those governments which showed a real concern for their people" and "with skill and discretion the administrators of technical aid can extend gradually and judiciously what Justice Douglas calls 'the American revolution of social justice.'"

Douglas recognizes that U.S. imperialism cannot gain a favored position in Asia and Africa through military means alone. He is heedful of the blazing demand of the great peasant masses throughout the colonial world for land reform and freedom from landlordism. He believes that the U.S. can gain a dominant position in Asia and Africa only by playing the role of benevolence, supplementing armed might with a social program, particularly land reform. He wants what one commentator has called a "controlled revolution" — controlled with "skill and discretion" by Washington.

WILL NOT WAIT

But the hundreds of millions of poor peasants all over Asia, the Middle East and North Africa have not waited for Douglas' "American revolution of social justice." They have not asked by-your-leave of Washington, nor relied on the polite, gentle and



WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

ineffective kind of "revolution by consent" of imperialism that Douglas has in mind. They have unleashed gigantic revolutionary armed struggles in China, Korea, Indo-China, Malaya and the Philippines.

Where does Douglas stand on these real, live revolutions of the great peasantry? He opposes them.

The struggle in Korea, for instance, began as a civil war between the North Korean government, which offered land reform to the Korean peasant poor, and the Syngman Rhee government of South Korea, which the Wedemeyer report described as a regime of land-owners, bankers and mortgage holders who will "fight to the finish any attempt to better the lot of the average Korean." Douglas has

not denounced the U.S. invasion of Korea as an attempt to crush a peasants' revolution on behalf of a capitalist-landlord regime. He does not now call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea.

THE REAL TEST

The mightiest peasant revolution in all history has been underway in China. Douglas has opposed this revolution which drove out the bloody regime of Chiang Kai-shek, dictator-protector of the landlords, loansharks and mortgage holders. Nowhere that the peasants are waging actual revolutionary struggles — not in Indo-China, Malaya or the Philippines — do they find a defender in Douglas. He opposes all these real peasant revolutions as "communism."

But even if we accept Douglas' intentions as sincere and motivated by honest concern for the miserable masses in the colonial countries, his proposal for U.S.-controlled and directed "peasants' revolutions" is a fantastic and utopian conception. To the American capitalists, whose whole program and course is the exact opposite of what Douglas proposes, his "Point Five" is what the April 9 N. Y. Daily News called an "idiotic dream" and a "dangerous delusion."

Truman expressed this same fear when, through a paper read to the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, he claimed that the movement for economic and political reforms in Asia and Africa "has great dangers. Such a movement can be easily misled. Communists or reactionaries can exploit the hopes and aspirations

of these peoples for their own evil ends. Unscrupulous agitators can use these forces of change to bring disorder and bloodshed."

Hence, while Truman is willing to provide a little bit of window-dressing to imperialist aggression in Asia and Africa through the expenditure of a few million dollars on Point Four, on March 7 he proposed the expenditure of about \$1½ billion in 1953 for military aid to reactionary despots in Asia and Africa to put down the peasant masses.

"SCARE OUR FRIENDS"

American imperialism doesn't believe in any nonsense about "controlled" revolutions for its benefit. It is not in the business, as the April 9 Wall Street Journal put it, of stirring up "peasants' revolutions" to overthrow the existing orders, divide up the wealth and in general turn everything upside down." All Douglas and his likes do, says the Journal, is "to scare the wits out of our friends."

"Our friends" are the native capitalists and landlords and the western imperialist rulers of colonial territories. The whole policy of Washington is to defend and strengthen these rulers and the property relations which they represent. The imperialist politicians are out to destroy revolutions anywhere that threaten the established reactionary order.

In Korea, the U.S. government has resisted a civil war for social and economic reform, including land division, by deliberately wiping out the country almost to the last peasant hut and slaughtering millions. Washington openly supports Chiang Kai-shek and arms him for an invasion of

China to restore the control of the capitalists, landlords and usurers.

In Indo-China, U.S.-armed French mercenaries are visiting merciless reprisal upon the peasants. Tillman Durdin, reports from Saigon in the April 13 N. Y. Times, that "the type of mechanized warfare waged lately by the French-Vietnamese forces is tough on the rural inhabitants and gives the Vietminh rebels talking points for their propaganda. To combat the Vietminh groups in the villages the French-Vietnamese use artillery and napalm (flaming jellied gasoline) and civilian casualties are inevitable."

WANT CHEAP LABOR

U.S. capitalism has a material stake in maintaining the present exploitative order in colonial countries. It wants to reap benefits from cheap labor as part of its aims in dominating the colonial world. A hint of this is given in a March 16 dispatch from Tangier, Morocco, by Clyde Farnsworth to the Scripps-Howard newspapers. He tells how U.S. army engineers plan to reduce the cost of constructing U.S. bases in Morocco by replacing American workers "with cheap local laborers. This roughly is the difference between \$2.75 an hour and up for American skilled labor and 12½ cents for local workers."

There is reflected the true aim of U.S. imperialism. Douglas is practicing deception when he would have us believe that we can appeal successfully to the government of this imperialism to adopt a wholly different and opposite aim.

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

By John F. Petrone

The American Committee for Cultural Freedom sounds like it might be the name of an organization that is devoted to preserving traditional American liberties and defending the groups and individuals whose liberties are being destroyed by the current witch hunt.

But it isn't. It is the name of an outfit, headed by Professor Sidney Hook and other Social Democrats and H-Bomb liberals, which specializes in offering "sophisticated" reasons for NOT defending victims of the witch hunt.

The committee held a conference at the New York Waldorf-Astoria on March 29, attended by 600 teachers, writers and other intellectuals. The high point of the conference was a session on the subject, "Who Threatens Cultural Freedom in America?"

THE REAL MENACE

Most ordinary persons would have little difficulty in answering the question. The government and the forces in control of education and communications — the police-statesmen, the purgers, the persecutors of political parties, the "loyalty" boards, the congressional probes, the enforcers of conformity and orthodoxy, in short, those who have and wield the dominant political, economic and social power in this country — they are the ones who are threatening cultural freedom.

The answer of the leaders of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom is quite different. To them, the main danger to freedom in America comes from — Communism. They admit that there are other dangers, but for them Communism is the chief danger. And they have nothing but contempt and derision for anybody who thinks differently.

RICE'S POSITION

Elmer Rice, the playwright and prominent member of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke against the attacks on the Communist Party. He said Stalinists and fellow-travelers in Hollywood have "the right to be judged by their work as artists, and (should) not be dismissed simply for their beliefs." He also made the point that there are plenty of laws against espionage and sabotage and that these (rather than thought-control measures) can be used against illegal overt acts.

But Rice's viewpoint was apparently a small minority at the conference. The New Leader, which speaks for the leadership of the ACFU, denounced him for talking in "typical nineteenth-century libertarian terms" — meaning that such views may have been acceptable once upon a time, but now are old-fashioned and unacceptable. Rice, it complained, even fell into the horrible "error of stating that he knew nothing of the views of the Red Dean of Canterbury but would

defend his right to utter them." This, according to the New Leader, made Rice guilty of "know-nothing or Bourbon liberalism."

EASTMAN FOR MCCARTHY

Max Eastman, ex-radical, was applauded seven times by the conference, the N.Y. Times reported. Eastman denied that there is any such thing as a witch hunt in this country, complaining that the very term was invented by Communists and fellow-travelers as a "smear tactic." The real threat to freedom in this country comes from the Communists and the "fuzzy-minded" liberals who defend their policies or their civil liberties, he declared.

Up to this point, the Times said, Eastman seemed to carry a majority of the audience with him ("superbly incisive and well-informed," applauded the New Leader). But when he proceeded to defend Senator McCarthy, Counter-Attack and Red-Channels, he "left everyone gasping" and regretting that "the pioneer who had sounded one danger had now turned a deaf ear to the other," the New Leader mourned.

Despite this friendly criticism the Social Democrats had reason to be thankful to Eastman. For his extreme, pro-McCarthy presentation enabled them to palm their own position off as "middle of the road," although by every traditional, "old-fashioned" liberal standard the essence of their policy is as reactionary as his.

HOOK'S SUMMATION

Hook, summing up the discussion, said yes, there are some "excesses" in this country but nothing like the "reign of terror of hysterical anti-Communist fever" charged by some "fantastically absurd" and "irresponsible" people abroad. (This was a crack at Bertrand Russell, who has aroused the ire of the Social Democrats by pointing out that the witch hunt in the U.S. is getting worse and should be resisted.)

When they politely refer to "excesses" the Social Democrats have in mind McCarthyism (and not Trumanism with its "loyalty" purges and Smith Act trials).



SIDNEY HOOK

They don't like it, as the New Leader phrases it, because "McCarthyism, though a lesser danger, weakens by its presence our ability to resist the greater" (Communism). They are on the whole quite satisfied with the way Trumanism is handling "the greater danger." That is why, although they think Eastman and McCarthy go farther than is necessary, they are much closer to them than they are to Rice and his traditional liberalism.

Rice is genuinely disturbed by the attacks on civil liberties being committed by both the Trumanites and the McCarthyites in the guise of "anti-communism."

U.S. BLOCKS DISCUSSION OF TUNISIA ISSUE AT UN

By John G. Wright

On April 10 the American imperialists once again deliberately stymied the efforts of the Arab-Asian bloc to bring up the Tunisia issue for discussion in the United Nations. Seven affirmative votes are required to place an issue on the agenda of the Security Council. By abstaining, the U.S. suppressed a discussion in the UN of French crimes in Tunisia.

This abstention, as was correctly pointed out by Ahmed Bokhari, Pakistan delegate and spokesman for the Arab-Asian bloc, had exactly the same effect as a "no" vote. Bokhari said that this move laid the foundation "for the suppression of free discussion in the United Nations."

It further transpired that the Arab-Asian bloc was ready to accept such a flimsy, face-saving formula as having the Tunisian question "placed on the agenda and discussion then adjourned indefinitely." But, as the N. Y. Times reported, this idea "was put forward by one Western country, but apparently was not acceptable to others."

WHAT THEY ASK
What is so flagrant in the Tunisian situation is that the Tunisians are not demanding, as they have every right to demand, that the French get out and stay out, but only that the Tunisians be granted local autonomy, while the French remain masters of the country, and continue to dictate Tunisia's defense and foreign policy.

Some capitalist papers, like the N. Y. Daily News and the Scripps-Howard N. Y. Telegram and Sun, have editorially criticized this U.S. action, pretending to see in it merely another "blunder" of the Truman administration. There is no blundering here at all. It is dictated by the reactionary nature of U.S. foreign policy and its imperialist promoters.

The N. Y. Herald Tribune admitted on April 13 that by this action on Tunisia "the Americans broke with their tradition that any case presented to the (Security) Council — even a case against the United States or its friends — deserves a hearing," and guardedly hinted that because "the Americans let down the hopes of the eleven Asian-African sponsors," the latter can no longer "look to the United States as a champion of the downtrodden everywhere, as a leader in advocating the self-determination of peoples."

These annihilating admissions suffice by themselves to show how starkly American imperialism has been exposed as the mortal enemy of the colonial people.

SOURCE MATERIAL ON CHINESE REVOLUTION

By Rodney Bell

MAO'S CHINA: Party Reform Documents, 1942-44, by Boyd Compton, Univ. of Washington Press, 278 pp., \$4.50.

The Chinese revolution is the greatest historical event since the overthrow of Czarism in Russia and the establishment of the first Workers State in 1917. Yet, relatively few serious books have been published in this country dealing with the fundamental problems of this tremendous social upheaval.

What was the theory and program, the strategy and tactics, the organization methods, that enabled the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, to conquer power in China? Which was decisive at the historic juncture, the subjective factors — party, leadership, program — or the objective factors. What are the relations between Mao and Stalin, and the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Bureaucracy? These are only a few of the questions posed by the author.

"REFORM DOCUMENTS"

In his search for a clue to the riddle of the Chinese revolution, Boyd Compton has translated a number of speeches and articles by leaders of the CCP which have gone into the history of the party as the "Reform Documents." These documents are published in the volume together with a lengthy introduction. While the introduction attempts to summarize the events from the Anti-Japanese War to the capture of power, only a very few of the problems raised could be touched upon in so brief a span.

The "Reform" movement constituted a turning point in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. In effect, it cut the umbilical cord that so tightly bound the leadership of every creature of the CP to the bureaucrats in the Kremlin. "The Cheng Feng (Reform) Movement," says the author, "was a Chinese product. War in Europe and Asia shattered the lines of contact between China and Russia; Mao Tse-tung's Party had to stand alone. The message of the 1942 reform was that the Chinese

Party was not only willing, but determined, to plan and organize its own revolutionary activities."

The aim of the "Reform" movement was to consolidate the leadership of the Mao group in the CCP. The form it took was an attack on those who divorced "theory from practice." It was specifically directed at Kremlin-appointed Wang Ming, who had been sent from Moscow along with "27 young Bolsheviks" in the early thirties to take over the leadership of the CCP. Wang and his cohorts had been trained at the Lenin Institute, had not participated actively in the second Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and were the last of that school of "leaders" arbitrarily foisted on the Chinese Communist Party by the Kremlin bureaucrats.

MAO AND STALIN

In essence Mao's "theory" was little more than a justification for seeking and achieving greater independence from the Kremlin. The author asks, "does Maoism actually exist as a separate system? Or are its main tenets orthodox Stalinism in translation and nothing more?" In answer, he acknowledges Mao's adherence to Stalinist "Marxism-Leninism," but adds that there was more.

The CCP grew from 40,000 in 1937 to 1,200,000 in 1945. With only the most tenuous connection with Moscow the CCP was under the direct pressure of a volcanic revolutionary movement. Mao's "theory" consisted in the main in an adaptation of Stalinist "Marxism-Leninism" to the objective conditions in China. The weakness of the book is precisely in seeking a solution to the riddle of the Chinese revolution in the ideological sphere without sufficient regard for the objective factors. Yet, it is an important book. For to acquire an understanding of the motive forces of the Chinese revolution will require a close study of ALL the factors involved. The "Reform Documents" provide source material for a study of the revolution.

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By Jean Blake

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

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

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

Even with that increase, however, very little improvement in the lot of Negroes as a group took place, because 77.2 per cent of the Negro male population still earns between \$1.00 and \$2,499.00 per year. Only 5.5 per cent earn \$3,500.00 a year or better. But 39.8 per cent of the white males earn that much.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

Murderer of Negro Seaman Goes to Trial

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

COLD-BLOODED MURDER

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

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

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

CREW TELLS STORY

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

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

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

ONE WITNESS

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

Next Week

The Revolution In Bolivia

Reuther Rejects Ford Election; Stellato Group Issues New Paper

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

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

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

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

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

Scabs Beaten Back



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

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

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

ELECTION DEMANDED

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

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

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

REUTHER'S 'DEMOCRACY'

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

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

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

White Discusses Political Action At Toledo Rally

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

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

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

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

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

WHAT WORKERS THOUGHT ABOUT STEEL 'SEIZURE'

By Jack Wilson

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

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

FAVOR TIGHT SHUTDOWN

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

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

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

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

SOBER SECOND THOUGHT

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

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

Soviet Offer Shakes Trade-Hungry West

By Harry Frankel

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

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

THEIR DILEMMA

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

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

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

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

AN IMPORTANT ALLY

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

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

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

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

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

BANKRUPT ECONOMY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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

Los Angeles

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

MAY DAY RALLIES FOR SOCIALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party