

Washington's Rejection of Moscow's Offer

By Joseph Keller

Germany has become once more the key to the international situation. This is indicated by the notes regarding a German peace treaty exchanged between Moscow and Washington. Through these notes, the Stalin government and the Wall Street government reveal the real nature of their foreign policies and the direction of their aims for Germany.

The Kremlin initiated the exchange with a proposal, in effect, to establish a unified capitalist Germany. This Germany would be allowed fully to rearm and remilitarize itself and to grant "full civil and political rights" to all the militarists and former Nazis.

This Stalinist proposal placed only one condition on Germany's restoration as an independent, rearmament state: "Germany undertakes not to enter into any coalitions or military alliances directed against any power which participated with its armed forces in the war against Germany." It is clear that this refers specifically to German participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the "European" army.

REJECT STALIN PROPOSAL

After consultation with the British and French governments, the U.S. State Department issued a note rejecting Stalin's proposal. The most revealing point of the U.S. note was the section objecting to "imposing limitations on Germany's freedom to enter into association with other countries" because the U.S. supports "plans designed to secure the participation of Germany in a purely defensive European community." This "purely defensive European Community" refers to the U.S.-dominated western European military alliance under the initials of NATO.

In short, Washington is against a neutral Germany. It insists on a Germany linked economically, politically and, above all, militarily with the U.S.-controlled Western European alliance.

This is the interpretation placed on the U.S. note by James Reston, Washington correspondent, in the March 26 N. Y. Times. The U.S. note, he states, "said, in effect: 'We will not buy a German peace treaty or the unity of Germany at the expense of creating a German-controlled army under a neutralized Germany. . . . We are for an armed Germany, but only if it is part of an international force allied to, and under the control of Eisenhower's command.'"

HAS U.S. "WORRIED"

The March 26 Wall Street Journal reports that Stalin's proposal has "Truman's defense and diplomatic advisers really scared." "Key U.S. officials" are

worried that Stalin is "ready to really give Germany freedom (and give up his control over East Germany to do it)" and that for this "the Germans might well be willing to agree not to join any European army."

"One worried official" told the Journal: "If Stalin is really ready to have free elections in Germany and a free German government this could be a hard thing for us to swallow."

All the protestations of the White House and State Department that they want "free elections" and a "free Germany" revealed by the terms of the U.S. note as a smoke screen. They aren't interested in free elections or a free German people. They want a rearmament German state, just as Stalin proposes — but fully committed to the support of U.S. military aims in Europe and integrated into the U.S.-controlled war machine.

DIPLOMATS SCARED

The whole pretentious scheme for a U.S.-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization rests upon Germany as the foundation. The fate of the "European" army now under Eisenhower's command is at stake. That is what the Wall Street Journal means when it says that what has the U.S. diplomats and militarists "really scared" is the "implications of the Russian price for German unity — that the Germans must join the European army. American strategists think that without the Germans, there can be no effective practical defense of Western Europe against the Russians."

Germany, as the most highly developed and industrialized country of Europe, with its skilled working class and huge productive capacity, is decisive for the outcome of any war against the Soviet Union. How successfully could the U.S. attack the Soviet Union without the aid of a militarized Germany under U.S. direction? That is the question uppermost in Washington's mind.

Linked with the military aspect is the economic. Can U.S. Big Business stand the competition of a restored Germany permitted to compete freely in the world markets with the U.S.? Here too Washington finds ample reason to fear a Germany that is not completely under U.S. sway. U.S. Big Business wants a German capitalism integrated with and subordinated to American capitalism economically. This parallels

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REUTHER Praised by Labor Haters for Joining Witch Hunt Purge

Walter Reuther's sneak-attack on Ford Local 600 following the witch-hunt onslaught by the House Un-American Activities Committee has won the warm praise of the anti-labor Big Business press. Labor's enemies recognize that the CIO United Auto Workers president's imposition of a dictatorial administration over the River Rouge local is one of the most damaging blows ever dealt the auto union.

Business Week, a magazine widely circulated among corporate executives, on March 22 affirmed that the anti-labor, anti-Negro House committee, through its Detroit inquiry of Ford Local 600 members and leaders, "gave him (Reuther) the excuse to oust leaders (Local 600) accused of being Reds."

ACT LIKE TEAM

"Few unions have been more vociferous than CIO's United Auto Workers in denouncing the House Un-American Activities Committee as 'witch-hunters,'" relates Business Week. "And no non-Communist labor leader anywhere has equaled UAW President Walter Reuther in lambasting the committee. Yet this week Reuther and the committee were working together on the UAW like a well-rehearsed vaudeville team."

Business Week describes how Reuther plans to transform Local 600 into his docile captive through Jack Conway, chief administrator-dictator over the local, who "has never run for any office in UAW, holding the appointive post of president's assistant." If this hand-picked tool of Reuther's "can't find the right man to run against Stellato (Local 600 president), or make Stellato his cap-



REUTHER

tive, he may run for the presidency of the Ford local himself."

Not the least service Reuther did for the Dixiecrat-Republican controlled House committee, points out Business Week, is that he has given it a "labor" cover. "Reuther certainly gave the committee . . . new respect not only among its old friends, but among liberal groups as well."

SERVICE ACKNOWLEDGED

"This service was recognized and acknowledged by the House witch hunters themselves. On March 17, the House proceedings were interrupted so that Rep. Francis Walter could rise to compliment that great leader and labor statesman, Walter Reuther, for his courageous action in invading Ford Local 600 behind the stink-bomb barrage of the House smear-labor committee."

Reuther's action is regarded as a major blow against militant, democratic unionism and an invitation to bring the government witch hunt into all unions. This is indicated by the editorial cam-

SWP Assured Of Ballot Place In Two States

Petition Drive Near Completion in Mich.

The Pennsylvania Secretary of State has notified the Socialist Workers Party that three of its candidates have qualified for a place on the ballot in the November election. The three are Farrell Dobbs for President, Grace Carlson for Vice President, and Ann Chester for U.S. Senator, all appearing under the name Militant Workers Party in this state.

However, Clyde Turner, SWP candidate for State Treasurer, was ruled ineligible because she had failed to sign a "loyalty" oath. This new requirement for state candidates, which the SWP did not learn about until after the final date for filing petitions, went into effect on March 1. It is reported that state candidates of other minority parties were similarly barred from the ballot. The Secretary of State failed to notify these candidates about the new requirement until it was too late. The oath is not demanded of candidates for federal office.

In New Jersey the Secretary of State included among the list of candidates qualifying for the ballot the full ticket of the SWP. Besides Dobbs and Carlson, they are George Breitman for U.S. Senator and William E. Bohannon for U.S. Representative from the 11th District.

MICHIGAN FINISHING

Meanwhile, Michigan branches of the SWP had reached the final stages of their 1952 petition campaign. By last week they had collected 11,250 signatures and expected to finish off the job within another week.

Canvassers reported an improved reception from potential signers after the anti-labor, anti-Negro House Un-American Activities Committee left Detroit and the witch hunt hysteria began to subside a little. Fewer people hesitated to sign for fear of "getting into trouble." One young worker, asked to sign, voluntarily got 15 neighbors and friends to do the same, and promised twice as many more.

campaign in praise of Reuther in the New York press. The N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Republican paper, on March 19 hailed Reuther's "hearteningly vigorous response" to the House committee's smear of Ford Local 600. It also noted with pleasure that Reuther acted when "there was a lot of talk about returning to a peace-time economy, altering the long-term contracts which Reuther forces had signed . . . and fighting the decentralization of the Ford plants."

LABOR HATERS HAPPY

The labor-hating Scripps-Howard newspaper, the N. Y. World-Telegram, on March 14 patted Reuther on the back editorially because he "didn't waste much time getting on the job" after the House Un-American Activities hearings. In a March 14 editorial, the N. Y. Daily News, notorious for its fascist-like fulminations against labor, observed that Reuther's position "has been 100% sound for years." It commended Reuther for acting "as soon as this testimony (House committee's) was on record," welcomed it as "good news for Americans" and concluded, "we wish Mr. Reuther continued good hunting."

These comments from labor's implacable foes testify that Reuther is fast becoming the favorite darling of capitalist reaction within the unions. His role as chief labor lieutenant of American capitalism parallels his position as the loudest exponent among labor leaders of imperialism war against the Soviet Union, as evidenced by his being the only union official who contributed to Collier's war-inciting issue devoted to an imaginary atomic invasion and occupation of Russia.

Attack on Wage Award Angers Steelworkers

THEY Like Ike



Ford Local Heads Urge Fight On Dictatorship

DETROIT, March 23 — Ford workers responded angrily to Walter Reuther's move in clamping a dictatorship over their local union by packing Dearborn's Club Supino in the largest caucus meeting of Local 600's stormy history. More than a thousand workers jammed the hall to cheer defiant speeches by top officers of the local, packing the aisles twenty or thirty deep, despite the fact that the meeting was called on only a few days' notice.

Carl Stellato, President of Local 600, struck back hard at Reuther, demonstrating in detail that Reuther is not after "communists" in his attack on the local, but is interested in wiping out the leadership of the local because it is fighting him with a militant program. He contrasted the program of Local 600 with that of Reuther and Company. He pointed to Reuther's opposition to the demand for a 30 hour week with 40 hours pay — Local 600 remedy for unemployment in the auto centers. He mentioned Reuther's boycott of the 10th anniversary celebration of the vic-

torious 1941 strike at Ford, contrasting this with Reuther's attendance as an honored guest at the 100th anniversary celebration of the Studebaker Corporation. Stellato demanded to know why Reuther refused to join with Local 600 in the pending suit against the Ford Motor Co. on the runaway shop issue. He pointed to the huge profits of the corporations, to the mounting injustices against the workers, and explained the demand of the opposition leadership for an end to the Reuther-engineered 5 year contract immediately.

In outlining the program of struggle against Reuther's seizure of the local, Stellato reported on the formation of a publicity committee, an organizational committee, and a finance committee. He said that the struggle would be carried out within the confines of the UAW, along the lines of the constitution of the UAW. The central demand, as provided in the constitution, will be for an election of new officers within 60 days of the start of an administrative period. Stellato said that

there would be a constitutional committee to see to it that the International Executive Board of the UAW lived up to the provisions of the constitution. This committee, he said, is to be composed of the 48,000 Rouge workers.

The local President ended his report by challenging Reuther to permit presentation of both sides of the internal dispute to a mass membership meeting of the Ford local.

A collection of \$4,000 was taken at the meeting. Many individual pledges of \$100 each were made by workers at the meeting, some as high as \$150, and a great many \$50 and \$25 pledges were also received. This reaction is especially significant in view of the unemployment and threats of further layoffs in this auto center.

The meeting ended on an enthusiastic note as other top officers of the local, Pat Rice, W. T. Grant and William Hood made fiery speeches which clearly reflected the determined spirit of the Ford workers.

Defense Guards in 2 Calif. Cities

Bombed Home Protected by Friends Of Negro Family in Los Angeles

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, March 22 — Reaction was swift and impressive to attempts last Sunday of terrorists to put the Florida race relations pattern into operation in Los Angeles. The would-be assassins used the same tactics, but Los Angeles is not yet Miami, or Groveland or Mims, Fla.

Bombs were placed under two homes in a predominantly "white" neighborhood. Negro ownership was the issue in both cases. The bombs exploded within seconds of each other shortly after 4 a.m. on placid Dunsmuir Avenue. There were no casualties, but the living rooms of both houses were shattered. The blasts shook the neighborhood for blocks.

Awakened by the explosions, neighbors rushed to the scene. A stream of people, Negro and white, kept coming all day, mounting in mid-afternoon to about 1500. A spontaneous meeting was held. Money was collect-

NAACP Hires Guard for House Attacked by San Pablo Hooligans

By Lillian Russell

OAKLAND, March 22 — Because of the failure of police to protect the new home of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Gary from attacks by Jim Crow hooligans, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has hired a guard to defend the property and its occupants.

The Gary home, in the Rollingwood tract of San Pablo, California, was recently stoned by a mob in an effort to terrorize the owners into moving from the site. (See The Militant, March 17.)

Since the attack, a number of disturbing incidents have occurred which indicate the Garys will not be safe unless protection is provided. The police have failed to provide the necessary protection. Last Sunday, for example, a metal pellet was slung through the kitchen window and nearly hit Mrs. Gary. At the time it happened the police were nowhere to be found. When the Sheriff's

Wilson Backs Steel Industry Opposition to WSB Decision After Parley With Truman

By Harry Frankel

After having led the CIO United Steelworkers of America through a three month merry-go-round of delays, hearings and "deliberations," President Truman and

Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson threw the whole result out the window and told the union to start bargaining all over again, in a move that has angered steelworkers in mills across the country. That is the meaning of the Wilson statement after his Key West conference with Truman in which he said: "If the wage increases contemplated under the WSB recommendation are put into effect it would be a serious threat in our year-old effort to stabilize the economy."

Wilson, who was the head of General Electric Corporation before he entered his powerful government post, is collaborating with Truman in a campaign to keep the steelworkers' wages and working conditions frozen close to pre-Korea levels while prices and taxes skyrocket.

The first phase of that campaign took place last January, when Wilson and Truman pressured the steel workers into calling off their strike for wage and contract demands with the promise that their case would be given full and fair consideration by the Wage Stabilization Board. The campaign then continued with a rapid-fire barrage of statements by many top government officials against a steel strike and against granting the demands of the steel union.

BACK STEEL BARONS

Now that the Wage Stabilization Board has finally brought in its long-promised report, which whittles wage and contract improvements down well below the

demands of the steelworkers, Wilson, with Truman's apparent knowledge and consent, turns thumbs down on the report and gives full backing to the steel barons in their adamant anti-labor attitude.

This places the Steelworkers Union in a position similar to that which it has been forced to occupy twice since the end of the second World War. Twice before, the union agreed to submit its demands to government boards. Each time, these boards whittled down the union demands to the very minimum. In both previous cases, the union did not succeed in avoiding a strike. All that resulted from submitting the disputes to the board was that, when the strike did come, the union was forced to strike for the trimmed-down recommendations of the government board, instead of for its own fully justified original demands. The same pattern may be repeated in the present steel dispute.

Philip Murray's policy of giving political and election support to the Truman administration is thus "paying-off" in a throat-cutting administration attack against Murray's own union. It is noteworthy that even this attack, culminating in the latest knife-thrust, the Wilson statement, has not made Murray come out with any anti-Truman blast.

Instead, he continues to cover up for Truman's role. Murray has refused to meet with Wilson who, he says, is trying "to set aside

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SWP MOTION IS UPHELD IN ELECTION LAW CASE

CHICAGO, March 25 — The Socialist Workers Party today won the first round in its court fight against Illinois Law 1030. Over the objections of state officials, Federal Judge Igoe granted the SWP motion for a three-judge court to rule on the constitutionality of the law.

This law makes it a criminal offense for a solicitor to go outside his county of residence in petitioning to place a candidate for statewide office on the ballot. Such restriction of the right of free speech and the right to petition, the SWP contends, violates

the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the Federal Civil Rights Act.

THREE-JUDGE PANEL

Judges from both the U.S. District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals will sit on the three-judge panel scheduled for May 5. Their decision can be appealed direct to the U.S. Supreme Court. Assistant Attorney-General Ben Schwartz represented Governor Adlai Stevenson and other state and county officials against whom the SWP suit is directed.

Schwartz argued that the suit is a "purely political controversy" and that "the proceeding is inhibited by the doctrine of sovereign immunity," thereby implying that Governor Stevenson is above challenge in the federal courts on this undemocratic law for which he is principally responsible.

Schwartz contended there is no such thing as "constitutional right to substantial equality of electoral potential." He recited a long record of legal decisions against minority parties and urged the court to throw out the SWP suit without further hearings "to save the time of the court."

M. J. Myer, noted Chicago civil liberties attorney representing the SWP, demonstrated that Schwartz' arguments to have the case thrown out were just as false and biased as the vicious law which the suit attacks.

The ordering of a three-judge court will lend weight to the SWP proposal for a united front of minority parties in the fight against Law 1030.

This proposal has led to an ex-

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Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 13

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

General Wants Foreign Legion To Fight U.S. Colonial Wars

By Art Preis

Washington has started to set up a "foreign legion" of hired mercenaries, recruited from the fascist and criminal scum of Europe, Asia and Africa, to use in its global counter-revolution against colonial uprisings and working-class struggles for socialism.

On March 23, Truman disclosed the first announced step toward establishing this U.S. army of foreign hirelings. He allocated \$4,300,000 for the purpose, explained the March 24 N. Y. Times, of aiding "refugees from behind the Iron Curtain who would be enrolled in the defense system of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

TRUMAN'S FOREIGN LEGION

Truman, the Time article reports, was acting under terms of the Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act. This amendment provides \$100,000,000 for the "primary purpose . . . to assist able-bodied men who reject Soviet tyranny and wish to join NATO's fighting forces."

Political and military leaders in Washington are reticent in speaking of a "foreign legion" because the American people have been traditionally opposed to the use of mercenaries ever since King George III sent the Hessians

against the colonial revolutionists of 1776.

But some revealing information on why U.S. imperialism is seriously considering the formation of an American Foreign Legion and how such a body would function is published in the Blue Book magazine for Feb. 1952. This is contained in an article called "Why Not a Foreign Legion for America?" by Brig. Gen. Henry J. Reilly, U.S. Army, Retired.

GENERAL HAS PLAN

Gen. Reilly points out that the Korean war, "far from being just a minor skirmish . . . already has cost us more in American lives and revenue than our Indian Wars, the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Philippine Insurrection and the Boxer Rebellion put together!"

Such large U.S. military forces have been soaked up by the "little war" in Korea that "the military manpower situation . . . is one of the most alarming problems besetting official Washington." Even if a truce is signed in Korea, Reilly writes, large American forces would be kept in definitely on Korean soil at a time when the possibility is "looming ever large" that the U.S. may find itself "with similar

war on its hands" in other parts of Asia and Africa. "On top of this, the demand for more troops in Western Europe continues."

This shortage of military manpower for the defense of Wall Street's investments on a global scale is complicated by the reluctance of the American people to support such ventures as the Korean war. Gen. Reilly ruefully admits, for instance, that the "American citizen" being called unwillingly into action — an action he may not even support if he can't see its importance to the safety of his country. . .

CANNON FODDER WANTED

There would be no serious problem if "the safety of America is threatened," says Reilly, because every able-bodied person would be willing to fight. But the safety of America is not involved, he implies. "But since we would seem to have committed ourselves to police actions wherever they may break out, in all parts of the globe, and since manpower for such police actions simply isn't available under our peacetime economy, it is only common sense to start thinking about how and where we're going to get it."

For purposes of such "police actions" all over the world, Gen. Reilly says, foreign mercenaries may prove to be more useful "than the drafted GI, who can see

no sense to the 'police action' that will kill him just as quickly as the bomb that falls on his own home."

The general hastens to add that this is intended not as "a reflection on the American fighting man" because "given a cause which is dear to his countrymen, he will show you the best fighting machine in the world." But that's the trouble, he concedes — the "American citizen" being called unwillingly into action — an action he may not even support if he can't see its importance to the safety of his country. . .

OFFERS 'SOLUTION'

The solution, according to Gen. Reilly, is to tap "the really vast reservoir throughout the world, and in this country too, of adventurous men who would be only too glad to serve in our armed forces, if the conditions could be made such as to permit them to enlist."

These "adventurous" men, he says, should be "formed into an American Foreign Legion — or an International Foreign Legion, under the United Nations, if you're squeamish about paid troops of foreign origin fighting under the American flag."

Gen. Reilly himself is not so "squeamish" about using mercenaries under the American flag, although he admits it is "opposed to every American tradition." Moreover, he is a little more candid about the nature and purpose of such a foreign legion than Truman or the N. Y. Times. He doesn't represent these mercenaries as idealistic fighters for "democracy" against "communism."

LOW COST ARMY

In Europe today, he says, "there are thousands and thousands of professional fighting men, men who ask nothing more than to be given a gun and shown an enemy. Soldiers of fortune? Certainly!" Such professional "soldiers of fortune," including officers, "could be enlisted in the United States Army, and be made happy, on a buck private's pay. Give him this, and guarantee him a place to sleep, his clothing, three square meals a day and a war that needs to be won, and you've got a fighting man . . . everywhere there are thousands of men not only willing to indulge in war as a business but actually eager to take the chance. . . Mercenaries? Certainly. . ."

What are the models for this "American Foreign Legion . . . designed to serve . . . during the so-called periods of peace between major wars, a standing army whose business it is to fight on any soil to which it is assigned, and which is not being taken away from its peacetime pursuits, against its will, to do so?"

First and foremost "is the French Legion, made up entirely of foreigners, most of whom have been soldiers in another army. Many Germans have always been in it. . . This is the army of professional butchers which French imperialism has traditionally turned loose on its colonial subjects in Indo-China and North Africa, and who are the backbone of France's 'dirty war' today against the Indo-Chinese independence fighters."

THE GENERAL'S MODELS

"The British Empire (with) its native troops . . . under British officers," the "Spanish Foreign Legion" that Franco used as the spearhead of his fascist slaughter of two million Spanish workers and peasants — these are examples of other bodies of professional cut-throats traditionally employed by the cruel colonial imperialists that Gen. Reilly admiringly cites.

No doubt, American imperialism will be able to recruit all kinds of degenerated types who will be willing to do the dirtiest chores for "a good uniform, a regular pay check, and three square meals a day." But the American Revolution of 1776 long ago showed what a people in arms can do against mercenaries.

The number of mercenaries who can be recruited is greatly limited, while the revolutionary people today are numberless. Small bodies of highly-trained, heavily armed professional killers have been successful in the past against isolated struggles of poorly-trained, unarmed people. But hired mercenaries, able to terrorize poorly organized people by murder, rapine and torture, cannot stand up against the kind of revolutionary power unleashed today in Asia. If U.S. imperialism undertakes more "police actions," it will have a manpower problem so acute that no American Foreign Legion will solve it. It will demand the blood of millions of unwilling Americans.

Negro, Mexican Homes Bombed



Homes of Negro and Mexican families living in predominantly white Los Angeles neighborhood were shattered by simultaneous time bombs on March 16. Police inspect damage at home of Mr. and Mrs. William Bailey. No one was injured though both houses were occupied when blasts went off.

FRIENDS PROTECT HOME OF L. A. NEGRO FAMILY

(Continued from page 1)

at the scene shortly after the dynamiting, called a march protest rally for Sunday, March 23. The association sought — and quickly obtained — the cooperation of labor, minority, civic and liberal organizations.

Among the first to respond were the CIO, the American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League, Japanese-American Citizens League, American Civil Liberties Union, American Council on Human Rights and the National Urban League.

William Bailey, one of the veterans whose homes were bombed, a high school science teacher, was to tell his story at the meeting. Others invited to attend were city officials and police officers, who despite previous bombings and acts of intimidation and numer-

ous threats against Negroes have to date made no arrests.

The Socialist Workers Party is giving its full support to the NAACP meeting.

In calling for united protest, the NAACP again summoned into being the potentially invincible line-up of forces which first appeared here only a month ago as sponsors of a joint rally to protest the terror in Florida.

Need for united mass action, for defense guards, for protection of victims and threatened victims through the combined efforts of unions and minority groups, for establishment of a continuing committee of action of representatives of these groups — need for these is emphasized by the fact that the situation remains a threatening one.

A day after the bombings, vandals heaped garbage on the automobile of a Negro woman real estate agent who has listings in the Dunsuir Avenue area. The next night another woman, who lives in a different section of the city, was told over the phone to "Get out in 90 days or you'll be bombed out."

The day after the bombing delegations of neighbors — again a mixed group — went to the City Hall, visited the Mayor, the City Council, the District Attorney. "We Negroes want to know whether we can eat, live, sleep and work wherever we want in the United States and in your city, Mr. Mayor. Will you make a statement giving us that assurance?" asked a Negro woman of Mayor Bowron. The Mayor, apparently fearing a "communist plot," was cagey but promised to make a statement to the press at a time of his own choosing, in his own words.

CONDEMN BRUTALITY

On Friday night the Socialist Workers Party held a meeting at its headquarters, at which Murray Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles local, linked the terrorist bombings on Dunsuir Avenue with the sickening brutality against minorities by policemen, whose bloody Christmas beating on a round-the-clock schedule of seven Mexican-Americans is now being investigated by the Grand Jury.

Weiss pointed out that the police, who habitually day in and day out punch, "knee," kick and club members of minority groups who fall into their hands, can hardly be relied upon to protect these same people from murderers' bombs.

He stated that last July when two other homes on the same street were bombed, one of which was owned by a Japanese doctor, little notice was taken of it, especially by the police, but also by labor and minority organizations. "Today, after the Moore killings in Florida, the Shrine meeting last month, on the background of the expose of police brutality, the city is seething with indignation and the demand for action," he said.

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The American Way of Life

A Cold-Blooded Murder

An ex-cop murdered two Negroes outside a Yonkers, N. Y., tavern on the night of March 19. He had never seen the Negroes before, and they had never even spoken to him, but he shot them down in cold blood.

There is no mystery about the facts. Stanley Labensky, who retired from the police force last month after 24 years of service, saw some Negroes at the Yale Bar and Grill in Yonkers and asked the bartender: "Do you serve Negroes — and do you wash the glasses?" The bartender replied that he served everybody and that all glasses were washed as a matter of course.

JIM CROW KILLER

Labensky left after one drink. A few minutes later three Negro brothers — Wyatt, James and William Blacknall — left too. Outside, Labensky shoved a pistol into Wyatt's stomach. "I suppose you don't think I'd shoot?" he demanded, according to the police report. When Wyatt backed away, Labensky shot him dead. William ran back into the tavern to call police; when he returned, his brother James also lay on the ground, dying. Labensky's pistol jammed, or William would have been murdered too.

The facts also supply the motive. Labensky thinks Negroes are "inferior" and don't have the same right as other people to be served in public places. He had no particular grudge against the Blacknall brothers, but in his mind they became personifications of the Negro people as a whole and of their determination to win equality in all spheres of life. The police emphasized that he was not drunk. They should have added — with liquor. Because he obviously was drunk with the fumes of white supremacy.

Maybe the courts will decide that he is crazy and send him away to a mental institution. But that would not clear up the really basic issues in this case:

Who taught Labensky to hate.

despise and fear Negroes? Where did he acquire his murderous prejudices? What conditioned him to believe that he was authorized to kill?

Such questions would probably be ruled out of order at his trial, but they go to the heart of the matter and they must be understood if other Negroes are not to be murdered for buying a beer.

EDUCATED THAT WAY

Labensky's finger pulled the trigger because he was educated that way — by the prejudices he breathed in from the school he went to as a boy, the daily paper he read, the movies he saw, and above all from the contempt and hostility that are manifested toward Negroes by the authorities everywhere. Maybe Labensky is crazy. But he is crazy in this particular form because of the example set for him by the ideas, practices and morality of the Jim Crow capitalist system. A lot of editors, educators and government officials belong in the dock with him for the murder of the Blacknall brothers.

And a lot of cops too. Because Labensky only carried to an extreme what many men in police uniform do as a matter of daily routine. It doesn't take 24 years to infect any cop with the poison of white supremacy; they learn in a few weeks that they are supposed to treat Negroes rough and that no superior officer will punish them for beating defenseless Negroes "back into their place."

Whatever happens to Labensky, who has been indicted for second degree murder, Negroes in the United States will never be safe as long as capitalism is permitted to keep on breeding murderous prejudices.

— John F. Petrone

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chicago, New York, Newark, and Oakland announce plans this week for some intensified spring subscription work.

Newark has successfully completed their petition work to place the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot, and finds this an ideal time to follow up with The Militant, New York plans to get in

several months of extra sub work before their petition campaign begins late in the summer; and Anne C. reports that Philadelphia is finishing up their renewal work, now that the Pennsylvania primaries are over, and that they expect to finish their list soon.

Literature Agent Frank K. writes, "Well, it looks like Oakland is really getting out on its sub renewals. This past Sunday we got five more. Special commendation is due Lill and Bill K. who never seem to forget that The Militant is our top recruiter and the best way of getting directly to the workers. They never go anywhere without a Militant sub blank, and Bill always has a pocketful of literature to sell even at 3:00 or 4:00 A. M."

Literature Agent T. S. writes this week to increase Seattle's Militant bundle, and to report that good sales of recent issues in the Negro neighborhoods account for part of their success in selling out each week's bundle. If sales continue as good, he writes, Seattle expects to increase their bundle again in the near future.

Ethel Swanson reports a lively week for New York in Militant sales. She writes, "Johnny and Bernie had a good sale at a debate between Corliss Lamont and an SDP'er at the Rand School. They sold 20 papers, one copy of 'The Road to Peace,' and one World Congress issue of Fourth International. Among others, Lamont himself bought a Militant. Beth and Donald continue their good work at CCNY. This time they sold nine papers and one FI."

At the Citizens' Emergency Defense Conference on Sunday, three Youth comrades sold 11 Militants. At the New School, Carmen and Elaine sold 10 papers, and one FI on Wednesday, and Ethel B. sold six papers there on Thursday. At the Community Church, Johnny's regular beat, a debate was held on the question of co-existence. Johnny made another fine sale of 15 papers and two copies of 'The Road to Peace.' The CP'ers there, he reports, were amazed to hear that The Militant supported the Chinese revolution and the North Korean struggle in Asia. One 80-year-old said he keeps young reading literature like ours."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

* ARRON — For information, write P. O. Box 1345.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 South St., Open Tues., 6:30-8 P.M. Social list Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 622 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3 900.

CHICAGO — 734 N. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12:30-5 PM. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — 10090 Superior Ave., DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT 2-2901.

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LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANtelus 9-4553.

MILWAUKEE — 817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-8 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 4-3523.

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

NEWARK — 425 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY — 116 University Place. Phone AL 8-7852.

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ST. PAUL — Phone State headquarters, Main 7781.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1726 Fillmore St. 424 N. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm. 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meetings every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 8-978.

TOUNGSTOWN — 264 E. Federal St.

Social Democrats Do Hatchet-Job on Douglas

By George Breitman

New readers of the New Leader, the Social Democratic magazine, probably have a hard time estimating what political tendency it represents. One of its regular columnists is Victor Riesel, whose reputation in the labor movement is so smelly that the liberal N. Y. Post was glad to have him transfer to the Hearst press. Another is William Henry Chamberlin, writer for the Wall Street Journal.

These new readers must be further bewildered by the New Leader's policy on the witch hunt. It does not openly embrace the McCarthyism and McGarrans, and on occasion even chides them a little for their "extremism" and "irresponsibility" — but it centers its main fire on those liberal and conservative elements who condemn thought-control and demand preservation of democratic liberties and traditions.

"Is this really a magazine that represents Social Democracy?" they must ask themselves. "Is this a spokesman for a movement that is used to proclaim its adherence to 'democratic socialism' and that still claims to stand for 'a democratic policy'?"

REPRESENT REACTION

The answer is yes. For many years the Social Democrats represented the extreme right wing of the labor movement. Today their policy on some questions is so reactionary that they make many conservative capitalist editors seem like radicals by comparison.

Last week we showed what a smear job the New Leader had perpetrated on Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, because he insisted that the witch hunt was destroying democracy in the United States and should be resisted. This, it must be stressed, is not an isolated incident, but part and parcel of a calculated campaign by the Social Democrats to discredit and terrorize all opponents of the witch hunt, Stalinist or anti-Stalinist. Omitting further examples from the hundreds that abound in the columns of the New Leader, we can demonstrate this by examining the line and behavior of some of the Social Democrats in the labor movement.

Take J. C. Rich, for example. He is the former editor of the Hat Worker, paper of the AFL United Hatters, whose president is Alex Rose, one of the bosses of the New York Liberal Party. Rich still writes prolifically for

the Hat Worker and frequently for the New Leader. His chief distinction is that he leads the field in the competition for the title "Westbrook Pegler of the labor press."

THE RICH SPECIALTY

Rich's specialty is attacking anybody and every body in and around labor and liberal circles who opposes the witch hunt. He recently denounced the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action and American Civil Liberties Union for showing "utter irresponsibility . . . moral inertia . . . the old frigidities of ersatz-liberalism." Why? Because they called for repeal of the Smith Act.

But his "masterpiece" was unquestionably an article in the Feb. 15 Hat Worker attacking Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas with a venom that no Hearst journalist, not even Pegler himself, could surpass. This was brought on by the publication in the N. Y. Times magazine of Douglas' widely-quoted warning against the witch hunt, entitled "The Black Silence of Fear." (See Jan. 28 Militant.)

Rich dislikes people like Douglas — "bleeding hearts" with "wounded souls" and "weepy eyes" who are "wracked by a crying jag on the sad state of the Union" and who dare to "call us arrogant, intolerant and fearful of new ideas" — "an outrageous calumny against our nation and our people."

Wasn't Douglas himself allowed to take his place on the bench after writing this article? "Is the Republican Party fearful of dissolution by the FBI?" Then by what right, asks Rich, does Douglas utter such "calumnious nonsense?"

TWISTS STATEMENT

When Douglas noted that "fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar," citing the refusal of many lawyers to represent Stalinist defendants, Rich twists it into an attack on the integrity of lawyers and urges them to "demand an apology from the Associate Justice for the aspersion on their calling."

Douglas warned that the student youth were being gagged and mentally regimented by the witch hunt. Rich sneers at such "built-in fatuousness" (although surveys by the N. Y. Times and educational groups fully confirm Douglas' contention). On the one hand Rich denies that this makes any difference. ("The herd instinct is nowhere so strong as

among the young. The preponderant majority of young people have not yet developed their thinking faculties.") On the other, he insists that the trouble today is not with "the kids" but with "those educators and leaders who signed communist petitions. . . Mr. Justice Douglas' pleading in their behalf cannot absolve them of their guilt."

And so — just as the New Leader did with Bertrand Russell and as McCarthy does with all his opponents — Rich rebuffs the critics of the witch hunt. For him a protest against thought-control becomes "calumny and vilification that the Soviet propaganda apparatus has spread against us with artful malice all over the world. Now, not unlike the 'neutralists' in France, the ignorant intellectuals in Nehru's government, and the Soviet appeasers in the British Labor Party, Justice Douglas sops it up and exudes it as his own."

HATCHET-JOB

This hatchet job was so highly regarded in Social Democratic circles that it was reprinted in the March 17 New Leader after some of the choicer bits of invective were expurgated.

Another journalistic gem that warmed Social Democratic hearts was a long letter on the Feinberg Law written in the March 14 N. Y. Times by Max D. Danish, former editor of Justice, the paper of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Danish hails the Supreme Court decision upholding the Feinberg Law as "a pointed gesture toward mobilization for national survival at a tough time in our history" — the argument that is used by the ultra-conservative majority of the court to justify any outrage against the Bill of Rights.

What is more, Danish reproves the editors of the N. Y. Times for taking "a gloomy view of this decision." The Times opposed the law when it was passed, and expressed regret that the court had upheld it. Little did it expect to find itself to the left of the Social Democrats on this issue!

REUTHER THEIR IDOL

Besides apologizing for the witch hunt and striving to silence the critics of the witch hunters, the Social Democrats also imitate the police-statesmen inside the labor movement in order to gain factional advantages for themselves at the expense of union democracy (which they pretend they are defending against "totalitarianism").

The most notable recent example is Walter Reuther, a product and idol of the Social Democratic school, who leaped at the chance given him by the House Un-American Activities Committee to clamp a dictatorship on Ford Local 600, which has led the opposition against his policies inside the CIO United Auto Workers.

By entering the service of capitalism in World War I, the Social Democrats became virulent enemies of socialist ideas and struggles. Now they are equally virulent enemies of elementary democratic rights and traditions. This is a sign of the degeneration not only of Social Democracy but of the capitalist system it serves.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
\$2 for 6 months. Single Copies (5 or more copies): 30¢ each in U.S.,
40¢ each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-
itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVI - No. 13

Monday, March 31, 1952

The Eisenhower Campaign

Eisenhower in the White House has become a real possibility. The heavy write in vote he received in the Minnesota primary revealed very wide support among Republican voters and is attracting to his side many previously uncommitted and vacillating elements in the GOP machine. The odds now seem to favor his winning the Republican nomination in July.

It is not hard to explain the strong appeal Eisenhower has for Republican voters, who are mainly middle class. Many of them have been sold on the militarization program to fight "communism" and want a professional militarist to carry it through. In addition, large numbers are fed up with the graft and corruption that have tainted all wings of both capitalist parties and with the uncertainty and doubts generated in Washington by the enormous problems facing imperialism all over the world today. These people are looking for a change, and they are drawn to a figure of "authority" who appears to be independent of the professional politicians whom they hold responsible for the "present mess."

Actually, Eisenhower has from the start had the unconditional support of the Wall Street financiers and Big Business interests who make the real decisions in Washington, and of the most influential capitalist newspapers and propagandists for the bipartisan foreign policy that is at the bottom of the "mess." In addition, his campaign has been managed by the Dewey section of the Republican machine, and not by "a bunch of amateurs," as they would like to have it believed.

The backing of decisive sections of Big Business and middle class Republicans, added to the likelihood of support later on from middle class Democrats and the Dixiecrats, makes the Eisenhower candidacy a formidable danger to the American working class. His election would mean a continuation of all the reactionary policies now dominant in Washington — war preparations, suppression of civil liberties, defense of Jim Crow, crushing tax and inflationary burdens on the mass of the people — and a strengthening of the drive to turn the country into a military-police state ruled along the same lines as an army barracks.

On all questions of policy in which the labor movement concerns itself Eisenhower is so conservative that not even Taft can attack him from the right (and Taft has been the No. 1 horrible example and target of the union leaders since World War II). And yet it is the labor leaders above all who bear responsibility for the growth of the Eisenhower menace.

At a time when even the middle class is beginning to reject traditional political leadership and to cast about for something new, the leaders of the powerful labor movement continue to tag along like flunkies behind the despised and discredited Truman administration. At a time when a great majority of the American people, working and middle class, are against the Korean war, the Murays and Greens remain attached to the Democratic regime responsible for that war. At a time when a brass hat is able to fill the political vacuum for the benefit of Big Business, the labor leaders have nothing to offer but a continuation of the political status quo that is instinctively spurned by most Americans.

The people are hunting about for an alternative to present conditions and prospects, and if the leaders of the labor movement don't present them with one then there is a very strong danger that Eisenhower will be elected — with terrible consequences for the working class more than anyone else.

For many years *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have pointed out that there is an alternative, a real alternative — an independent Labor Party willing and able to mobilize the workers, farmers, Negroes, youth and middle classes, in a common struggle to take political power away from the capitalist and militarist masters who are leading them to disaster.

We will continue to make the Labor Party an issue in the 1952 election campaign, even if the cowardly union leaders succeed in staving off its formation this year. Because the need for such a party will not disappear after election day but on the contrary will grow greater.

The way for the labor movement to promote its own interests and to prevent the middle classes from falling under the influence of reaction is by a clean break with capitalist politics and the initiation of genuinely independent labor political action. That is one of the main lessons that will be stressed in the 1952 campaign by the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, headed by Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President.

Illinois Court Upholds SWP Motion In Election Dispute

(Continued from Page 1)

change of correspondence between William H. Miller, State Director of the Progressive Party and Irving Beinin, State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

At the suggestion of the Progressives the SWP has joined with them in asking the American Civil Liberties Union to call a broad conference to devise ways and means to fight Law 1030. The PP has not yet replied to the SWP proposal that representatives of the two organizations meet to discuss practical co-

operation on the common problems they face in the fight.

BACK SWP FIGHT

The Roosevelt College chapter of the Young Progressives has unanimously endorsed the Campus Committee Against 1030 which is supporting the SWP's court action. However, Progressive Party officials have declined the Socialist Workers Party's invitation to participate in the suit in Federal Court.

A separate suit against Law 1030 in the state court in Lake County was recently announced by the Progressive Party. The SWP has offered to support this action, but the offer has been declined.

The Road to Revolution in Ceylon

By John G. Wright

An exceptional revolutionary situation is unfolding in Ceylon. The native capitalist regime is discredited and tottering, opening up the possibility of the passage of power to a revolutionary regime of workers and peasants in the coming parliamentary elections.

The mass of the people are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in their moods, and are tending more and more toward the most radical social solutions and changes, as the all-island campaigns of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party continue to report. The LSSP is a revolutionary socialist party, affiliated to the Fourth International. It is the largest mass party of the Left, holding more than a score of seats in the Ceylon Parliament and powerful in the municipali-

ties and localities. It has issued a call for the election of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, offering a 14-point program as the basis for a united front, and addressing an appeal in particular to the Ceylon Communist Party.

RULING PARTY SPLIT

The chances of the UNP, the ruling capitalist party, remaining in power are dim. It is badly split. Bandaranaike, a former influential UNP Minister, has resigned and formed the "Sri Lanka Freedom Party" whose perspectives lie wholly within the framework of capitalism. Another "Anti-UNP" party has been also formed by other former prominent UNP'ers. Still other defections from the UNP appear quite likely.

Bandaranaike's party is the only party other than the LSSP

that has announced as its aim the formation of a new government. "It is clear that Mr. Bandaranaike is thinking in definite terms of a coalition of various parties with himself as Prime Minister. To the LSSP this prospect is not attractive as an aim, because the basis of such a coalition can only be the maintenance of the capitalist system in one form or another," pointed out the Samasamajist on Dec. 20, 1951. But the Ceylon Stalinists are working with might and main for exactly this sort of coalition government.

The 14-point LSSP program, as the basis for a united Left bid for power, includes the following: 1) Withdrawal from the British Commonwealth and "establishment of an independent republic." 2) Abrogation of all imperialist treaties, especially of "defense agreements." 3) "Use of the national languages with immediate effect in all spheres of the administration." 4) Granting of citizen rights to all "who desire to be permanent residents." 5) Repeal of all repressive laws and the granting of full civil and trade-union rights to government employees and of "full tenancy rights for estate workers."

OTHER PLANKS

6) Confiscation of all plantations "with acreage of 250 acres and above;" nationalization of banks and the transport system, and a state monopoly of foreign trade. 7) A ceiling of Rs. 2000 (\$420.) a month "on all personal incomes," and the abolition of taxes "on people's necessities." 8) The institution of a 40-hour week, with an escalator clause to meet rising living costs, along with "guarantee of work or maintenance; old age pensions."

9) Drastic land reform, starting with the abolition of feudal land rights and the transfer to the peasants of "all alienable Crown rights" and ending with "guaranteed prices for peasant produce." 10) Pledges to scrap the existing "reactionary Soudbury Constitution" and to summon "a Constituent Assembly to decide Ceylon's Constitution."

The remaining planks — 11 to 14 — outline a foreign policy completely free of imperialist domination and intervention, favoring "mutual friendship" pacts with India, Burma, Pakistan, Free Vietnam, Indonesia and China, and pledging "no aid whatever to, or entanglement in the war plans of the Anglo-American imperialists against the Soviet Union, China and their allies."

There is nothing in this Samasamajist program which any honest "Left party" could possibly oppose. This program is meeting with marked response among broad sections of the people, even among the jungle dwellers, the Vedda tribesmen (see report in

Feb. 25 issue of *The Militant*). But this offer of a united Left bid for power on the basis of the above program has been flatly rejected by the Ceylonese Stalinists.

The Stalinists are opposed to the very idea of forming an anti-capitalist government by "the Left parties alone." What they propose instead is simply another, "more progressive" capitalist government. "The Communist Party proposes instead," correctly writes the Samasamajist, English weekly of LSSP, on Jan. 10, "that the Left parties should join with other non-Left parties, which happen to be anti-UNP today in order to replace the UNP government with a coalition or a Popular Front government on the basis of an 'acceptable minimum program.'"

The Stalinists do not specify the content of this "minimum program." However it "must necessarily be a program that does not attack the capitalist system, for the perspectives of ALL anti-UNP forces certainly do not go beyond the framework of capitalism." (Samasamajist, Jan. 5.)

This analysis of the Ceylonese Trotskyists has been fully borne out by the subsequent agitation of the Stalinists. The Ceylon CP has proclaimed that the native capitalists fall into two categories: on the one hand "the bureaucratic capitalists" which includes the UNP and all its supporters; and on the other, the "progressive capitalists" which includes all the opponents of the UNP and even those UNP'ers who come out against the Anglo-American foreign policy and give lip-service to the Kremlin's foreign diplomacy.

WANT 'POPULAR FRONT'

The main line of the Ceylonese Stalinists was clearly laid down by the Indian CP whose General Secretary A. K. Ghosh declared at a Jan. 9 press conference that the Indian CP "would not form a one-party government even if they were returned with a sufficient majority, but would try to form coalition governments with the support of other progressive parties which were prepared to carry out a democratic program." Ghosh made it clear that this did not exclude even members of the ruling Congress Party of India.

There is no prospect of a CP majority in the immediate future either in India or in Ceylon. But the prospect of a Samasamajist majority in Ceylon is by no means far-fetched. The Stalinist policy in Ceylon is to stab in the back the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle in this strategic area of South East Asia. By the same token the Stalinists are affording aid and comfort to the demoralized and badly frightened Ceylonese bourgeoisie.

Washington's Rejection of Moscow's Offer on Germany

(Continued from page 1)

the scheme to integrate and subordinate Germany militarily in the U.S.-dominated NATO.

That Washington doesn't grab Stalin's offer with both hands, however, is a clear indication of the extremely aggressive attitude of the U.S. rulers. For Stalin has clearly made the most basic concession to the U.S. demands, when he offers to restore the whole of Germany to the control of the German capitalists and to guarantee that the old masters of Germany, the cartelists, militarists and former Nazi officials, will be in the saddle.

Stalin has said, in effect: "I will guarantee that Germany — the industrial heart of Europe and the key to the international situation — will be entirely capitalist. I will use my 'communist' parties to help enforce the deal and prevent the German workers from overthrowing capitalism. All I ask is your assurance that you will not make an alliance against me with a rearmament capitalist Germany."

Stalin is willing to risk the security of the Soviet Union on such an assurance from U.S. imperialism — and on the word of the German capitalists, militarists and Nazi agents that they will stay "neutral." The Stalin-Hitler pact has demonstrated that the word of the latter is worth. For the German capitalists would continue to be the implacable class enemies of the Soviet Union. Rejuvenated and rearmament, they would be ready sooner or later to join with U.S. imperialism to re-attempt the job that Hitler failed at.

Stalin's proposals on Germany prove once again not only that he has no revolutionary aims for Germany, let alone the whole world, as the imperialist propagandists claim, but that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, far from seeking to

provoke war, is ready to make considerable concessions to avoid it.

WASHINGTON AGGRESSOR

It is Washington which is the aggressor. The voracious appetite of U.S. imperialism has only been whetted by the plan offered by Stalin. It wants more than the full restoration of a capitalist Germany. It wants a Germany lined up economically and militarily with the U.S. and ready to wage war on the Soviet Union whenever the U.S. bids. It has rejected Stalin's offer even though the mere fact of a reunited, rearmament capitalist Germany would, in itself, be a long step toward the goal Washington desires.

To the masses of Germany, the propositions of both Moscow and Washington are intolerable. The German workers hate capitalism and aspire to socialism. They fear nothing more than a return to capitalist militarism and the domination of the old Prussian officer caste and the Nazis. They want neither a rearmament "neutral" German capitalism, nor a rearmament capitalist Germany dedicated to the aims of the NATO. They want an end to capitalism and all its works. And they will fight bitterly any deal that would keep them chained to capitalist exploitation, militarism and war.

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Labor Left Wing Organizes to Oust the Tories

LONDON — The Socialist Outlook's conference, held here at Holborn Hall on Feb. 24, was a real shot in the arm for the left wing forces in the British Labor Party.

Organized under the slogan, "Force the Tories Out!", the conference was attended by delegates representing 100,000 organized workers in the London area, who voted unanimously, with only four abstentions, for the following resolution:

CONFERENCE RESOLUTION
"This Conference of the Labor Movement in the London area calls upon the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party to organize the full political and industrial strength of the Movement to bring down the present Tory Government."

"To do this successfully the Conference believes that the Labor Party must resist all attempts to worsen living standards; vigorously oppose all war preparations; declare itself in favor of immediate freedom for the colonial peoples — and thus place Labor in the forefront of the struggle against the Tories and for the socialist society."

The main speech was made by John Lawrence, editor of *Socialist Outlook*. He urged the delegates to reject the policy followed by right wing Labor Party leaders Herbert Morrison and Arthur Downkin, which consists of "letting the Tories exercise their constitutional right to attack the workers."

Lawrence appealed for greater activity by militants inside the Labor Party to get their party

to go all-out "in an immediate and organized counter-attack against the Tory cuts in living standards."

BROAD DISCUSSION

Jack Stanley, general secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union, also supporting a militant policy, described how the rearmament program was making building workers unemployed at a time when workers are in desperate need of housing.

Other speakers included Alderman F. Brown of the Dagenham Labor Party and ex-member of Parliament Tom Braddock, who served as chairman. Half the conference time was taken up with discussion from the floor, in which 18 delegates participated.

Braddock announced at the end of the conference that the *Socialist Outlook* editorial board would organize a national conference in June to build its circulation as the organ of the left wing forces inside the Labor Party. The *Socialist Outlook* is now making plans to change from monthly to fortnightly publication in May.

The 342 delegates who attended the conference represented 9 Constituency Labor Parties, 18 Ward Labor Parties, 11 Labor Leagues of Youth, 6 cooperative organizations, 5 Trade Union District Committees, 6 Trade Councils, 73 Trade Union branches and 4 factory committees.

ANTI-NEGRO SLANDERS REVIVED IN NEW BOOK

By George Lavan
THE NEGRO FREEDMAN by Henderson H. Donald, Henry Schuman Inc., 1952. 270 pp., \$4.

Early histories of the Great French Revolution were principally based on the memoirs of exiled aristocrats, the propaganda of imperial Britain and other nations fighting against revolutionary France and the falsifications of the usurping Bonapartist Empire and later the restored Bourbon regime. It was not, therefore, surprising that these histories pictured the Revolution as a senseless orgy of mass sadism and destruction. Later historians forsook the memoirs of the dukes, duchesses, counts, etc. and went to the archives and to the actual deeds and words of the period and a comprehensive picture emerged.

This book on the Reconstruction period in American history suffers from the defects of those early histories of the French Revolution. Its subtitle is "Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years after Emancipation." It has fifteen chapters covering such subjects as the freedman's reaction to freedom, habits, food, clothing, shelter, superstitions, education, religion, health, criminality, attitude toward whites, and politics. Almost every paragraph in the book is documented by at least one reference to a source.

BIASED SOURCES

But 90 per cent of the sources are of that mass of anti-Negro propaganda literature that has made the history of Reconstruction the most falsified period in U.S. history. During Reconstruction — which was that period when an attempt was made to destroy Jim Crow in the South — the white supremacists of the period started their literary barrage about the "excesses" of "Negro rule," the incapacity of the Negro to vote intelligently, his laziness, dishonesty, childishness, etc. This propaganda continued and increased in the period when naked force was being used to prevent the Negroes in the South from participating in politics. Northern visitors to the Reconstruction South were usually taken in by the views of their white hosts.

When Northern industry decided that labor and the Populist farmers were a greater threat to its dominance than the former slavocracy, it embraced the latter's theory of Negro "failure" during Reconstruction to justify its shameful sell out of equal rights. Then history departments of Northern Universities like Columbia and Johns Hopkins became mills like the history de-

partments of the "redeemed" Southern colleges for turning out studies of Reconstruction on the level of the movie, "Birth of a Nation."

Only with the publication in 1935 of W. E. B. DuBois' *Black Reconstruction* was the output of the Southern propagandists and their dupes directly challenged and refuted. This was the first time that the chief witness on Reconstruction — the emancipated slave, himself — was brought onto the pages of history and allowed to testify on his own behalf.

SERIOUS OMISSION

Yet, Mr. Donald draws the overwhelming portion of his material from the old anti-Negro school of Reconstruction history. Such bitterly anti-Negro historians as Fleming are among the most cited sources. On the other hand the author's bibliography doesn't even contain *Black Reconstruction* (though it lists Claude G. Bower's hysterically white supremacist *The Tragic Era* published six years earlier).

Nor does the author winnow the facts from the biased value judgments of his material when he paraphrases (the principal method he uses for presenting information) his sources. Thus we are told of Negroes living in squalor around Southern cities: "There was an absence of desire to improve their condition. They apparently did not care for better houses." Or that the initial friendliness of the freedmen to their former masters was destroyed by Northerners and Negro soldiers who "fomented trouble between the races." We also read of "Negro impudence" — without being warned that acting as a free man was considered the height of impudence by many Southern whites then (as it still is today by white supremacists).

All the old libels are included by this scrupulous but not discriminating document. For example we read that in the state legislatures Negro politicians were "far more venal" than the white. Even the old chestnut that has been used about Irish, Russian, etc., women that they seemed to love their husbands more after they had been beaten is solemnly recorded about the newly freed Negro women.

Surely the author can't believe all of his material. Yet he rarely demurs or warns the reader against the bias incorporated in the "observations" of his sources of which the above examples are but a tiny fraction.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for *The Militant* is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

Africa In No Exception

By Albert Parker

The Jim Crow system in the Union of South Africa has produced a deep-going crisis in that police state. On March 20 the South African Supreme Court ruled that the Malan government's new Jim Crow voting law was unconstitutional; this immediately led to huge demonstrations demanding the government resign and arrange new elections.

On April 6 a national campaign of civil disobedience to the country's discriminatory laws will be launched by representative organizations of the oppressed Africans, Cape Colored and Indians. Africa is no exception — the tide of struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination is rising there as well as in the rest of the colonial world.

The Nationalist Party headed by Premier Daniel Malan has a slim majority in Parliament, holding 86 out of 159 seats. In order to increase their grip on the government, the Nationalists pushed through a law last year that would in effect disfranchise 50,000 Cape Colored voters who hold the electoral balance of power and who vote against the ruling party. The Supreme Court ruled the law invalid because it had not been passed by a two-thirds majority as required by the constitution.

The South African apartheid system is one of the few in the world that is even worse than Jim Crow in the United States. Political power is vested in the hands of about 2½ million whites, a small minority of the population. The others — 8½ million Africans, one million Colored (descendants of Europeans, Africans and Asians), and over 300,000 Indians — suffer from extreme political, social and economic oppression. The Jim Crow laws are brutal and savage enough to make American Dixiecrats turn green with envy.

Only whites can run for Parliament; the Africans have no vote at all; and only a tiny proportion of the Colored have a legal right to vote in the regular parliamentary elections. Malan's law would have taken this right away from them

in about 13 electoral districts and confined them to "voting" for four white men to "represent" them in Parliament. In these disputed districts the Colored have voted for and helped to elect deputies of the opposition United and Labor parties, not because these parties are opposed to white supremacy but because they are considered a lesser evil. These parties feel Malan is going too far and courting danger for the system itself when he seeks to make it even more oppressive.

Malan proposes to defy the Supreme Court and to curb its powers; the opposition parties propose to increase pressure and agitation for the downfall of the Malan government. This split among the whites will not be cured easily or soon, and creates conditions for the non-white masses to strike blows in their own behalf.

The April 6 civil disobedience campaign promises to be one of the most militant and united struggles against racial oppression in the history of the country. The African National Congress, endorsing this campaign on Dec. 17, called for "mass action" by the non-whites to defy the Jim Crow laws "deliberately and in an organized manner," regardless of the consequences. The purpose of the movement is to secure repeal of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas (Ghetto) Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act as well as the Separate Representation of Voters' Act.

This is a revolutionary development that will have explosive consequences. "Civil disobedience" under such tense conditions as exist in South Africa is a threat to the stability of the entire system and when Malan meets it with the savage repression that he promises, it will go far beyond any turn-your-other-cheek pacifist limits that may be set by its leaders in the beginning.

South Africa, like French North Africa, Asia and the Middle East, is no exception. The fires of revolt are burning furiously in all the outposts of the colonial world and imperialism does not have enough firemen to put them out.

Police Brutality in L. A.

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, March 22 — Reading like a saga of barbarous medieval tortures, testimony has been given during the last three days before the Los Angeles County Grand Jury which is investigating police brutality.

The first called to testify were some of the seven youths who were savagely beaten following an altercation in a beer parlor last Christmas Eve.

Two policemen had gotten into a scuffle with the youths after an argument over the identification of one of them, a Marine on leave. The cops had ordered them to go home, which they did. Within a few minutes after reaching the house of one of them, a number of cops burst in with sawed-off shot guns and hauled five of the men off to jail.

The treatment meted out to one, Danny Rodela, is typical. He had not gone into the house with the others, feeling dizzy from a blow on the head by one of the two cops. He returned after his friends were taken and retired with his wife, an expectant mother.

At about 4:30 a.m. two policemen crashed in his door, beat him in front of his terrified wife and then shoved him into a police car with one of the cops beside him. Rodela, age 23, weight 114, said,

"He really started working me over then. They took me somewhere . . . and one officer kept beating me until his partner said, 'Give me a little of that, my turn.' When the cops tired of this they took him to a police station where, in a big room, five or six other policemen renewed the torture.

"Two of them held me and two or three of them punched me in the stomach.

"They broke my cheek bone and my nose was shoved away over to one side of my face.

"One of the officers said, 'Look out, you're going to kill him.' They thought I was unconscious and they threw water in my face to bring me to."

Feigning unconsciousness he was dragged out by the hair and taken to the prison ward of General hospital, where he was given two blood transfusions. After two days, fearing the cops would return and beat him, his father took him to French hospital. After three days he left there against the advice of his doctor and hid out with relatives.

Notes from the News

THE STRIKEBREAKING INJUNCTION used by the government to stop the railroad strike this month was challenged in the courts by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Order of Railway Conductors. The unions denied that they were government employees because: 1. they do not bargain collectively with the government, which "seized" the roads in August, 1950, to break a strike; 2. the profits on these roads continue to go to the private owners and not the government. Profits on Class I railroads, after taxes, were \$1,660,000,000 since August, 1950. The unions argued that if they are working for the government, the government has no right to make them work for private profit and should keep the profits after paying the workers "just compensation."

ANOTHER JIM CROW MURDER by a cop was committed in Hackensack, N. J., on March 23. Policeman Reedy Evans ordered "ten noisy men" to move away from the vicinity of a club, and when one of them, Simon Parker, talked back, Evans began to beat him with his nightstick until Parker was dead.

THE NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE is feeling triumphantly excited: "There are cheers along the Potomac today as the cherry-buds swell," it writes. "The low-rent public housing program (which NHC supports) was defeated by the House of Representatives last Friday night by only 24 votes — the score 192 to 168. It was the best showing made by any agency in defense of its program before the meat-ax, economy Congress that is doing everything in its power to . . . make public service something to be shunned." Things must be pretty bad when cheers are raised over defeats.

THE ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH in Harlem has voted to withdraw from the National Council of the Churches in Christ because the Council's general board by a vote of 27 to 15

had postponed action on a statement against racial segregation until next June. The Abyssinian Baptist Church, with 12,000 members, charged that the general board was "yielding to the minority voices of those who represent the reactionary churches of the South."

A SHERIFF and four deputies in Jackson, Miss., were acquitted in 49 minutes by a federal jury trying them on charges of having violated a Negro's civil rights by beating him up in order to make him confess a robbery. The Negro, Corporal Murry Gray, flew here from Korea to testify that when he heard the sheriff wanted him he had surrendered voluntarily. Then the sheriff and his henchmen took him out into the woods, handcuffed him to a tree and beat him mercilessly with a leather strap.

SQUARE BULLETIN, student paper at Washington Square College of New York University, editorially protests the practice of rating students on their "loyalty" at the request of the New York City Board of Education's Division of Licensing (of teachers). Instructors are directed to check a form which indicates whether students have an "improper attitude toward American ideals and the government." The paper asks every teacher "to not only ignore it but to request its removal."

WALTER REUTHER considered himself to be honored when he was invited to the recent centennial dinner of Studebaker Corporation. He went and gave a talk too, but not on the subject: Why does a corporation like a labor leader?

THE PENTAGON is responsible for the "dislocation and unemployment" in the unionized areas of the clothing and textile industries, charges Amalgamated Clothing Workers President Jacob Potofsky. Despite pleas from the unions, the brass hats keep on awarding more and more contracts to the low-paying, non-union sections of these industries.

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1952

NUMBER 13

Reutherites at Briggs Are Redbaited

DETROIT — Positions were reversed in Briggs Local 212 here recently when the Reutherite administration headed by Ken Morris found itself the target of a proposal to the House Un-American Activities Committee "that they not only investigate the left-wing elements, but the right-wing as well."

AIMS AT RIGHT-WING

This proposal that the "right-wing" be checked for "subversive affiliations" was made in a letter appearing in the Public Letter Box of a Detroit daily newspaper. The letter was signed by Edward Chciuk, chairman of the Outer Drive Plant Shop Committee of Briggs Local 212, United Auto Workers (CIO). Chciuk has been an elected representative of the Briggs Outer Drive workers for many years, and has won the respect of hundreds of workers by his militant fight in their behalf. It is common knowledge in the Detroit labor movement that, under his leadership, conditions in the Outer Drive plant have become the best in the Briggs setup.

The fact that Chciuk could forget his duty to the labor movement to such an extent that he could call upon the House witch hunt Committee to "investigate" his opponents indicates the damage already done to the UAW by the Reuther policy of collaboration with the Congressional reactionaries. Things have come to the point where militant auto workers accept the idea that a committee of the worst labor-haters of the country be permitted to pass on the "eligibility" of contenders for office within the union!

One widespread reaction to the incident on the part of Briggs workers was that the Reutherite Ken Morris leadership in Briggs was getting a well-deserved dose of its own medicine. Plant workers are fed up with the wild and malicious red-baiting attacks of the Morris administration that have been going on for five years. They are further confused by the fact that the UAW leadership has not conducted any campaign against the House Un-American Activities Committee. This confusion is so widespread that many workers have been taken in by the union-busting drive of the Committee.

The House Committee, which visited Detroit recently in an effort to divide the ranks of the auto union and terrorize militant auto workers with the cry "communist," has had an anti-labor and anti-Negro role from its very formation. This was so clearly recognized by the whole labor movement that both the UAW and the national CIO have repeatedly condemned the Committee and demanded that Congress abolish it. Despite this, Walter Reuther made no protest when this Committee injected itself into the internal affairs of the UAW.

ANTI-LABOR GANG

Virtually every member of the House Un-American Activities Committee has a consistently anti-labor voting record. This was shown by one of the witnesses before the committee, who pointed out that Committee chairman Woods (D., Ga.) and other members of the Committee had voted against the 75c. per hour minimum wage bill. Undoubtedly, this was "communism" in the eyes of Committee members.

The fact that Ken Morris, like other Reuther apparitions and like Reuther himself, was once a "parlor-pink" socialist was used by Chciuk to peg his request that the Reuther wing of the union be "investigated." It is clear that this trend can only lead to complete disruption of the union, with the corporations or their reactionary Congressmen being given the say-so on the internal affairs of the unions.

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Dictator Returns



Gen. Fulgencio Batista, shown addressing the army at Camp Colombia, outside Havana, shortly after he set up a military dictatorship over Cuba, was backed by the U.S. banking interests who control Cuba's economy. Officials of the Prio Socarras administration overthrown by Batista claim that "the United States had a hand in the military coup" against a constitutionally elected government.

JUDGES RAPS VOTING LAW IN OHIO BUT UPHOLDS IT

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, March 24 — Two developments here last week indicated growing recognition of the violation of civil rights by the Ohio election law revisions passed by the state legislature last year and the importance of repealing them.

Paul Shearer, secretary of the Ohio CIO Civil Rights Committee, reporting on a panel discussion at a CIO civil rights conference last Friday, said that the election law was a "difficult and undemocratic thing. Something must be done about it, not only by the CIO-PAC, but by all groups interested in the democratic process."

SUIT THROWN OUT

Earlier in the week, Common Pleas Judge Joseph H. Silbert threw out of court on technical grounds a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the new ballot restrictions but made it clear he considers unconstitutional the election law revisions which practically bar independent candidates and parties other than the Democrats and Republicans from the ballot.

The new requirements, which raise the number of nominating petition signatures from 1% of the last gubernatorial vote to

Ohio Conference Urges Defense Of Civil Liberties

By Bob Kingsley

CLEVELAND, March 21 — A joint labor-community conference on civil rights sponsored by the Ohio CIO Council and Cleveland Industrial Union Council was held here today as the first of a series in this city and state. 250 delegates from local unions and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Jewish Community Federation and the Urban League attended.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, cited the many acts of violence on Negroes both South and North and attacked Attorney General McGrath's "investigations." He scoffed at the progress made in civil liberties for Negroes. "We have barely moved in the high principles of the 15th Amendment since the Civil War," Discrimination and segregation have "never been a Southern question" and Negroes are "only tolerated in Cleveland and the rest of the North," he reminded the conference. The Negroes down South "don't need pity," he said. "They have a lot more courage than a damn sight more people up here."

During a PAC panel discussion, a delegate from a UAW local managed to put the political issue of civil rights squarely. "Time after time I urge the workers in my plant to vote and they tell me the same story, 'Why should I vote for a politician recommended by the PAC like Truman, who in 1948 promised to repeal the Taft-Hartley law and then turns around after the election and stabs us in the back.'"

The conference was more fruitful in presenting the need for action on civil rights than in producing a program for action. The only concrete proposal was announcement of a Cleveland Civil Rights Clearing House to be set up soon to handle all local civil liberties cases.

Flint Invitation To Witch Hunters Stirs Protests

By Emmett Moore

FLINT — The spotlight of the witch hunt was turned on Flint after leaders of the Reuther caucus in the Buick Local succeeded in passing a resolution calling upon the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate red activities in this huge GM local. The State Attorney General announced immediately that State officials would conduct a hearing in Flint.

Within twenty-four hours several union officials gave testimony before an assistant to the Attorney General. The first to testify was Regional Director Robert Carter who challenged the State representative to declare the intentions of the investigation. The investigating committee attempted to swear those giving testimony to secrecy. Carter refused to comply with this request. In a statement to the press and radio the Regional Director indicated the hearings were a put-up job to further the political ambitions of the Attorney General.

TRANSPARENT SMEAR

The red-baiting Reutherite charges in Buick were intended as a follow-up on Reuther's treacherous attack on the Ford Local. The Buick Reutherites hoped to duplicate the Reuther smear technique in Flint. However, the attempt was so transparent, since everyone knows the conservative character of the Buick leadership, that it has opened the way for a serious counter-attack on the witch hunters. Up to now union officials have dragged their feet inasmuch as they have become compromised by their previous red-baiting.

Only a few days ago, Burt Moore, president of the Buick Local, wrote the Flint Journal dissociating himself from the leaders of the sitdown strike who are well known as Socialists, Trotskyists and Stalinists. This act didn't save him from the tar and feather lash of the junior Reutherites of Buick. The sit-downers could have warned Moore in advance that the price of red-baiting labor militants is to invite the same treatment from unscrupulous opportunists who, emboldened by Reuther's actions in Detroit, act like dope addicts hopped up with the bosses' witch hunt opium.

The labor movement is already paying heavily for Reuther's treacherous policy. In the Chevrolet local, and the same holds true for the other locals in Flint, hundreds of officers in district and local posts are busily engaged smearing their opponents as "communists." With three con-

tending groups at each others' throats just prior to union elections the smearing of individuals has reached such a tragic-comedy pitch that Catholics and Masons alike are kept busy making denials.

ATTACK UNEMPLOYED

While the unions are temporarily split asunder by the witch hunt, the boss press has taken advantage of this opportunity to attack and cast suspicion upon the unemployed organizations set up by the local unions. The Flint Journal flung its red herring at the unemployed for signing petitions calling for increased unemployment compensation. The union leaders were terror stricken at the thought of defending the activities of the unemployed committees because of a few Stalinists who were among them. Instead they turned on the committees who were carrying out official policy of the union.

Even more disgraceful was the silence of the union leaders when the Flint Journal, spokesman for General Motors, smeared the National Negro Labor Council's picketing of small stores to force the hiring of Negroes. Only a few months ago the unions requested an FEPC ordinance. The Flint Journal campaigned bitterly against it. With unemployment among Negroes in Flint numbering in the thousands it was only natural for the Negroes to demand jobs, especially from stores in the predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Here was a good opportunity to throw in the Journal's teeth its deceitful propaganda against FEPC. Unfortunately the union leaders once again chose to duck.

However, after the Buick incident, some union leaders have stopped running long enough to take stock of the effects of the witch hunt. Of course, prospects of imminent defeat in the local elections are helping them out in this respect. These leaders realize that the bosses can always stir some reactionary scissorbait out of the bottom of the barrel willing to run a red-baiting campaign.

The question that confronts the union leaders is, can they confine the witch hunt to the Stalinists? The answer from all that has happened in Flint is quite obviously no. To end the witch hunt the union movement must make up its mind that the civil rights of all must be defended.

CIO UNITED RUBBER WORKERS DEFY INJUNCTION; SUPPORT OFFICE STRIKE

By L. Cooper

AKRON, March 22 — A new attempt to destroy the effectiveness of the three week old office workers strike at the B. F. Goodrich plants was underway this morning in Common Pleas Court. President Bass and eight other leading unionists of Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers are charged with violating Judge Roetz's "reinforced" injunction order forbidding any picketing in the vicinity of trains or trucks entering or leaving the Goodrich plants. (The office workers on strike are a unit of the Goodrich CIO Local 5. The original injunction order forbade mass picketing.)

COMPANY IN COURT

The complainant in court this morning, the B. F. Goodrich Co., precipitated the strike on Feb. 26 by declaring in a letter to all employees that the Local 5 office unit is no longer recognized (after eight years) as a bargaining agent. This lock-out of the office unit occurred after eight months of company stalling on negotiations for a new contract.

Now the company is crying in court this morning. You see Judge, these little office girls held back the freight trains attempting to enter the premises of our plants. Yes, we admit there was no violence, but with the help of other union men, they kept picketing the tracks.

According to the reinforced injunction of the judge and the interpretation of the capitalist Beacon-Journal newspaper, picketing is O. K. as long as it's

not near the B. F. Goodrich plants. All experienced union men and women in Akron are asking, are they trying to end picketing rights altogether?

Obviously B. F. Goodrich thinks it's all right for trucks to knock down pickets or union men standing by. Ten days ago a seamy truck driver went through the red light at Jackson St. and knocked down the tire division chairman, James Lesieur, sending him to the hospital for a few days. The company is fully supporting the lying tale of this moronic driver who claims that Lesieur tried to grab his gasoline tank and his back view mirror at the same time. Actually, both Lesieur and another unionist, Johnson, escaped serious injury only because they jumped away as soon as they saw this truck coming at them.

WORKERS INDIGNANT

A vast wave of indignation is sweeping through the rubber plants of Akron and especially among the production workers at the Goodrich plants. If Local 5 president Bass or the others are imprisoned (or even fined) a spontaneous protest movement may take place. The CIO Council has given full moral support to the strike. The production workers at Goodrich showed their deep sympathy for the strikers by refusing to cross the picket lines from March 1 to 5th. Only the decision of the Local 5 production workers meeting of March 4th, pressed for by President Bass, to return to work in order "to avoid suit," finally compelled the production workers to cross the picket lines.

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