

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Stop the Murder Of Koje PW's! Get Out of Korea

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

The killing of helpless prisoners of war by U.N. forces at Koje has shocked the world.

The brass hats in charge of the prisoners claimed they took a poll and found that 100,000 out of 170,000 would "forcibly resist" being sent home.

An iron censorship hid the real opinion of the prisoners. Even representatives of the American press were barred from the compounds.

Then the prisoners put on a demonstration to show who was telling the truth and who was lying at Panmunjom.

And even as they were finally smashed and broken up into smaller sections, only a few hundred prisoners out of the 170,000 came out of the compounds to the U.N. side.

The facts are now clear for all of us to see. On the basis of these facts, I charge that the Truman administration used the screening as a pretext to prevent a truce in Korea.

As presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party I demand that reprisals against the demonstrators cease at once and that the prisoners be returned unharmed to their homes.

The Koje prisoners have raised their voices above the rattling of machine guns and the explosion of napalm bombs in Korea.

Every American who believes in peace and in freedom and resistance to tyranny must respond to the voice of these heroic prisoners.

Let the Pentagon stop stalling. Let the fighting cease in tortured Korea. End this agonizing slaughter of civilians, of women and children and the aged and the unarmed.

Get the troops out of Korea. Let the Korean people work out their own fate in peace and freedom!

12,000 Petitioners Sign to Put Beinin On Chicago Ballot

CHICAGO, June 17. - Irving Beinin, Illinois state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, will be a candidate for Congress from the 2nd Illinois District in the November elections.

Workers responded willingly to the SWP petition campaign for Beinin, with 12,000 signatures to put the anti-war candidate on the ballot signed in a ten-day drive.

The petitions for Beinin will be filed in August. Although restrictive election laws will keep the SWP off the Presidential ballot, Illinois will hear the SWP program for 1952 through the Beinin campaign.

Soldier Calls Koje Killings A New Dachau

A young sergeant, C. Dean Chase of Salt Lake City, recently summoned the courage to send a personal letter to Gen. Mark Clark, protesting the cynical repudiation of the no-further-bloodshed agreement with Koje prisoners of war.

Here is the full text of Sergeant Chase's letter to Clark, for which he has been ordered court-martialed:

INFAMY OF KOJE

When an officer in the military service proclaims himself God and invokes an amoral privilege of reneging on the sworn word of someone else, the state of the union, the state of the world, is indeed precarious.

Whereas the commencement of the Koje incident involved activity on the part of prisoners which might be considered treacherous, nevertheless when an agreement is made it must be kept.

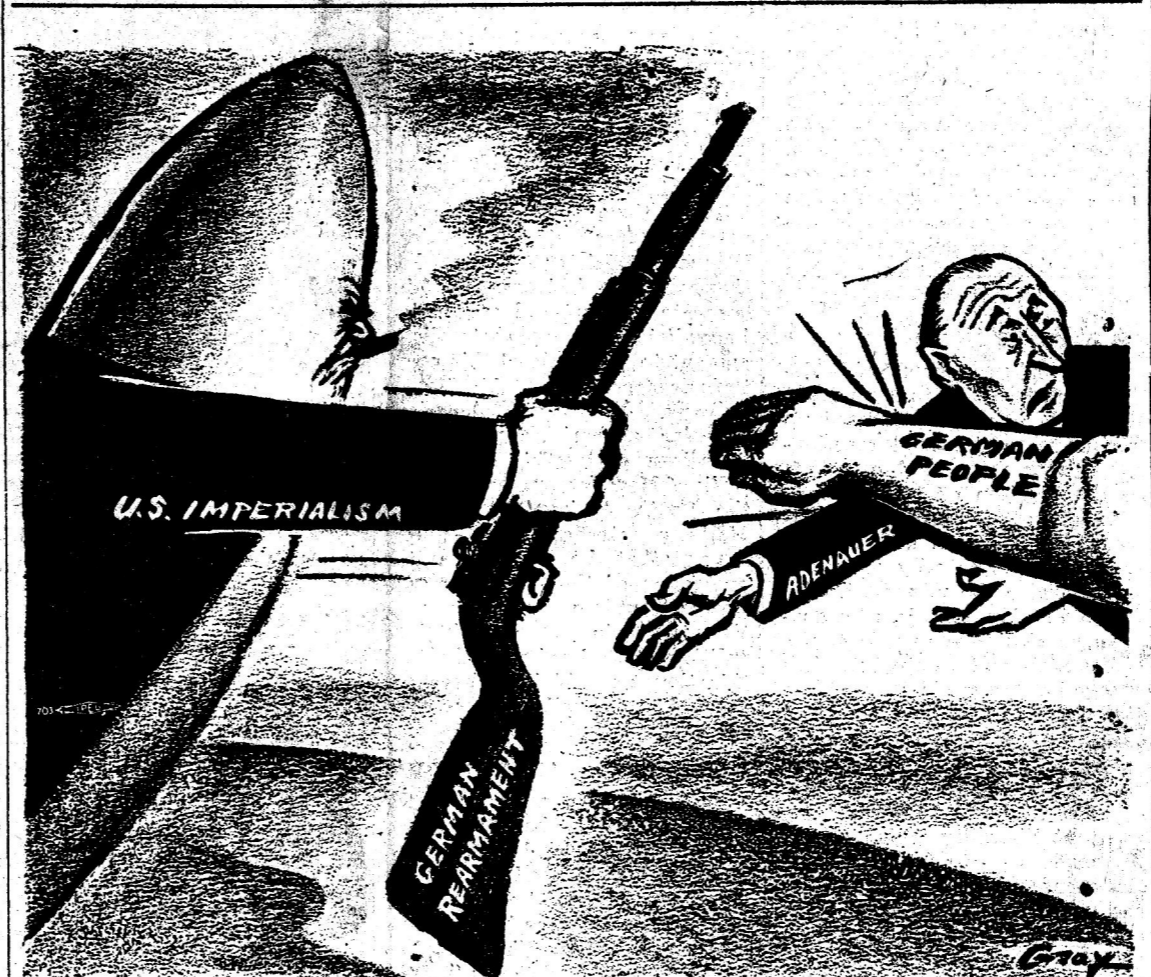
Your action is among the most repugnant and disgraceful acts to be committed (in name of nationalism and militarism) against the decency of man.

Why have you succumbed to the decadent philosophy of an eye for an eye? As a citizen, I simply cannot understand how you can still hold up your head to mankind.

A similar action by all the powerful unions in the CIO and AFL would do much to strengthen the position of the steel strikers and assure their victory.

American labor, banded together and in solid support of the striking steel workers, could muster such overwhelming power as to break the stubborn arrogance of the steel industrialists.

Solid Steel Strike Faces Threat of Gov't Action



Democrats and Republicans Make a Political Football Of Steel Dispute Issues

While Republicans and Democrats maneuver for political advantage in the handling of the strike of 650,000 steel workers, the picket lines have held firm, refusing to back down an inch on union demands since the strike began over two weeks ago.

But the steelworkers' struggle is entering a crucial stage. What CIO President Philip Murray correctly branded as "making a political football" of the steel dispute can only result in either a Democratic-Truman or a Republican-Taft blow against the union's right to strike.

This strike illustrates the fact, evident especially since the end of the war, that the powerful labor movement will not be allowed to use its economic power unfettered by government intervention.

ELECTION FOOTBALL

Preparations for the 1952 elections further complicate the problem for the strikers. On the one hand Truman, seeking to win labor support, refuses to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction law.

Companies To Get Bigger Price Hike

JUNE 18 - Economic Stabilizer Roger L. Putnam dangled a price boost before the steel magnates today as he made a promise of "friendly and sympathetic" consideration of a hike in steel prices.

Previously the position of government had been that all the steel industry was entitled to was \$3 a ton price hike under the law. Now, Putnam reported, a \$4.50 price increase was under discussion.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans will intervene on the side of the strikers. Illusions as to Truman's role now can only serve to weaken the union's struggle and end in a betrayal.

FACE FORCED RETURN Philip Murray was absolutely correct when he stated at a meeting of strike leaders in Pittsburgh June 13 that no group or individual is "big enough to whip this union."

Mich. CIO Papers Call For Trucks Act Fight

Official CIO publications in Michigan clearly indicate both awareness of the threat to labor represented by the Trucks Act and the determination to resolutely fight against it.

"We must not forget," the editorial continues, "that the Trucks Act was passed in Lansing after the proper atmosphere had been created by the hysteria whipped up by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"State officials are restrained from enforcing the law under an order issued over a month ago by the U.S. federal court.

NO TRUCK WITH TRUCKS ACT The Searchlight, official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, CIO, carried in its June 12

issue a hard-hitting editorial, "No Truck with the Trucks Act." After citing the resolution adopted at the Steelworkers Convention, May 13-16, against "the anti-labor legislation pouring out of Congress and State legislatures," the Searchlight singles out the Trucks law.

The June 13 Flint Weekly Review, official publication of the Greater Flint CIO Council, also carried an article calling attention to the May 22 editorial of the Michigan CIO News against the Trucks law.

Atomic Weapons Ready In Korea, General Says Gen. James Van Fleet admitted June 11 that tactical atomic weapons are ready for almost immediate use in Korea.

LEWIS SUPPORTS STEEL STRIKE WITH HARD CASH

In a magnificent move of solidarity with the beleaguered steel strikers, the United Mine Workers headed by John L. Lewis pledged a \$10 million strike fund on June 18 to the United Steelworkers of America.

"We are conscious of the strength of the vast array of adversaries which confront you. Rarely has a union membership faced such a formidable grouping of financial and corporate interests as now oppose the steelworkers of the nation in their long standing struggle to achieve their rightful aims and objectives in the industry.

"Any attempt to crush your strike, through the device of the Taft-Hartley machinery, for the benefit of the rapacious and predatory interests that oppose you, would be a heinous crime against American labor, anti-social in concept, and perilously destructive of confidence in the principles of our American republic.

"It would be equivalent to the creation of a neo-fascist movement in America, of which R. Alphonso Taft, with his jackboots

and velvet pants, would be the willing tool and symbol. "Our union is in this fight with you. Indicative of this fact and as a preliminary step, United Mine Workers of America has today established financial credit for the United Steelworkers of America in the National Bank of Washington, D. C. in the amount of \$10,000,000 subject to your draft and order, as your need warrants and circumstances require.

"The men in the mining industry and those of our membership in associated industries salute the men in the steel industry and commend their brave hearts. Our full support is ever with you."

A similar action by all the powerful unions in the CIO and AFL would do much to strengthen the position of the steel strikers and assure their victory.

Senate Rushes to Ratify German War "Contract"

By Joseph Hansen

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee began hearings June 10 on the "contract" signed with the Adenauer government of West Germany. First witness was Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He demanded quick ratification by the Senate. He also demanded quick ratification of a proposal to include the German satellite power in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Thus, Democrats and Republicans committed to the bipartisan policy of a plunge into World War III are speeding rubber-stamp approval of this giant step toward atomic destruction.

The argument pressed in favor of hasty ratification is the alleged danger of imminent assault by the Soviet Union. The argument

is false. The truth is that the Soviet Union, because of its economic structure, is under no compulsion to expand like countries driven by capitalist economic forces.

DAMAZING ADMISSION General Eisenhower apparently had this mind when he admitted June 3 upon his return to the U.S. that "The chance of a deliberately provoked war is not great." He meant, of course, a war provoked by Moscow.

conquest planned by Big Business. Thus there is every reason to oppose Acheson's demand for shot-gun ratification. The only segment of America interested in greasing the "contract" through the Senate is Big Business and its assorted brass, machine politicians, bureaucrats, propagandists and flunkies.

OPPOSITION IN FRANCE In France, it appears that ratification will not have easy sledding. The French government, apparently without consulting in advance either Washington or London, has proposed another effort at "talks" with Moscow.

geoisie who fear another war may be their last one. And it is a form of recognition of the deep-going opposition among the French working people to the headlong rush of the Truman administration toward another global conflict.

The British government, too, appears to be taking its time about ratifying. Like its French counterpart, the Churchill government undoubtedly sees an opportunity for putting the squeeze on Truman for more economic assistance; but, as in France, the opposition to Wall Street's early war perspective is also widespread and profound.

ment expressed confidence in the possibility of a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union and called for a four-power meeting to arrange for free elections throughout Germany as a prelude to unification.

In Germany itself, with the unseemly alacrity with which Adenauer signed on the dotted line is offset by the difficulty he faces in getting it approved by the Bonn parliament.

Let us now turn to the Kremlin's position. This was stated most recently in the May 24 note to the United States. The "contract" is held to be a "separate treaty" that flagrantly violates the Potsdam agreement, preserving "a regime of virtual military occupation" and leaving Western Germany dependent on and subordinate to the U.S. government as well as Britain and France.

TRUMAN'S PHONY CIVIL RIGHTS CLAIM EXPOSED

By Jean Blake

President Truman renewed his lip service to his civil rights promises of 1948, without explaining why they were not kept, in a commencement day address at Howard University June 13. He cited the last five years as "the best years in race relations this country has ever had," but failed to mention the murder of Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP leader, or the wave of bombings and dynamiting of Negro homes.

Truman's so-called record of progress includes the following: 1. Political rights. Elimination of the poll tax in two states, Tennessee and So. Carolina. There are now five poll-tax states. The facts are that not Truman's efforts, but the struggles and sacrifice of thousands of Negroes won these legal gains in court fights.

2. Education. "The principle of no discrimination" said Truman, "is the law of this country today in institutions of learning supported by public funds." But one glaring fact exposing this claim was the issuing on Feb. 7 of warrants for the arrest of six local NAACP officials for attempting by peaceful, legal means to end segregation in the Cairo, Illinois, schools.

3. Housing. Truman cited the Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive covenants, and action by nine states against segregation in public housing. But despite these crumbs, the housing restrictions remain in effect, and extra-legal methods are used to keep Negroes out of "illy white" communities, with dynamite enforcing segregation in Florida, Georgia, California, etc.

4. Protection of citizens from mob violence. Truman cited

Notebook of an Agitator

THE INFORMER'S MESSAGE

In these days of wholesale renegacy under watch-hunt pressure, one more convert to the side of the ruling powers, laying one more bone of information at their feet, couldn't expect to cause a sensation or raise more than a small stick of type in the daily press. Such news has grown stale by too much repetition of the same thing.

If Whittaker Chambers had done nothing more than that he could not have attained his present status as a modern oracle. His services as an informer, of course, would have been appreciated by those whom they serve, and like the less-favored of his dreary brethren, he would have been paid off, dismissed and told to wait on call for possible use in another case.

But Chambers is an exception who has been blown up into a celebrity because he went beyond the familiar routine of peddling information for immunity and bearing false witness against Communism. Chambers has written a book (Witness, Random House) with a message to the effect that, to his personal knowledge, God has taken a definite position against Communism and all revolutions past, present and future. That is a message which the instigators and beneficiaries of the current hysteria want to hear and have proclaimed far and wide.

Powerful agencies, monopolizing the mediums of information and publicity, consciously strive to mold public opinion in a reactionary pattern. Chambers' revelation, wrapped up in 800 pages of Time-style literary trimmings, fits perfectly into this design and fills a special need. It puts an intellectual and spiritual gloss upon the crude and brutal operations of the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee, the loyalty boards, and all the various McCarrans, McCarrans and other vigilantes, national and local. The extraordinary build-up of the book and the author is well motivated.

America No Longer the Same

Our country is not what it used to be. Within the space of a single generation, a remarkable transformation has taken place in America's position in the world. Political thinking has changed correspondingly. For more than a century the United States, with a whole continent of its own to exploit, developed into a mighty industrial power in comparative self-sufficiency behind ocean barriers and tariff walls. This geographical security found its political expression in the doctrine of isolationism. Washington's warning against foreign entanglements was the popular creed.

All that is changed for good. The material basis for the doctrine of isolationism has long been outlived, and the doctrine itself has of necessity been relegated to the past. American capitalism is involved in the world, and there it is running up against all kinds of economic dislocations and the rising tide of social revolution and colonial insurgency. Bourgeois America is in a jam which its deepest thinkers never foresaw or bargained for. Even the thickest heads on the shoulders of our lords and masters have begun to ache from worry and apprehension over the problem.

They are confronted with the alternative: dominate the world or perish. This dilemma is pretty well recognized by all the factions in the ruling circles. Counsels are divided only about the policies and means whereby American capitalism can survive and establish its world domination. The division, however, is not really serious. The necessary decision has already been made.

Pious Talk About Welfare State

There is still a faction, more articulate than effective, which talks piously about maintaining all the material benefits of a Welfare State in the United States and, at the same time, scattering these peculiarly American blessings among the hungry and benighted people of other lands. This program expresses itself in the New Deal within the country and the blather about Point 4 abroad. The proponents of this paper program say we can outbid Communism and win peoples' minds to a better faith, a faith in democracy and universal prosperity as exemplified in the USA.

The other, more realistic, faction — the faction that is in the saddle whether in office or not — recognizes that this program, as a program for American capitalism, is impractical. They have no further use for the New Deal or

other welfare measures. And they don't intend to build any TVAs on foreign rivers either, American capitalism, they are convinced, can save itself and conquer the world only with force and not with largesse, which anyway it can't afford.

This is precisely the program that American capitalism needs — if it is to remain what it is. Moreover, it is the program that is actually being put into effect.

Domestic and foreign policy in practice are of one piece. At home there is the progressive destruction of civil rights; the thickening atmosphere of police-state terror and suppression of dissenting thought; the increasingly vicious anti-labor laws and the preparation for an all-out assault on the trade union movement. The aim of this domestic policy, bluntly put, is to beat down the standards of the American working people and make them pay for the impending war. From the standpoint of capitalism this is a simple necessity. The costs of a total war, high wages and a Welfare State don't go together; any bookkeeper can tell you that. Those who say otherwise are liars or muddle-heads.

Abroad, despite all the tongue-in-cheek palaver about democracy, national independence, Point 4, etc., the same policy is extended. The world sees America everywhere in alliance with the most reactionary elements — capitalists, landlords and usurers — who exploit and oppress the people. Imperialist America's foreign policy has, and can have, only one counter-revolutionary aim: to support capitalism wherever it is threatened and to restore it wherever it has been overthrown.

Religion to Fit a Police State

But such a program and practice, frankly declared, couldn't be very attractive to its present and intended victims. It has to be dressed up and disguised. Even the most stupid reactionaries realize that a war for world conquest, necessitating the mobilization of tens of millions, requires some kind of ideological justification, some sort of "faith" — all the better if it doesn't cost anything. That is why they are inclining more and more to the promotion of a revival of religion; a religion, that is, of a special kind, a religion which fits the needs of the trend toward a police state and eventual fascism — which will surely be America's fate if the workers' revolution doesn't arrive in time.

The religion they want is none of the easy-going, love-thy-neighbor Christianity which many humble rank and file followers of the gospels believe and practice to the best of their ability; none of the protestant liberality which allows a person — more or less — to form his own idea of religion as a code of ethics and worship God in his own way; and certainly none of the freedom of thought and inquiry and reliance on human reason bequeathed by the Enlightenment of the 18th Century. No, the rulers of America who want to rule the world want an authoritarian religion with an iron-fisted God who decides what's good for people and has a temporal power to enforce his decisions.

That is why the Catholic hierarchy, which aims at totalitarian rule over the minds of men, gets more and more favor and support and thrives accordingly. That is also the reason why Chambers' book, with its formula of God standing above human reason and against it — God against revolution and even against New Deal social reform — has met such an enthusiastic response in reactionary circles as a literary weapon in their fight.

New Deal Clothes Don't Fit

Where do the New Dealers, the liberals, the literate ex-radicals and the rest of the literary gentry who want to support an unreasonable social system without renouncing human reason — where do they come in? Chambers' book upsets them — they like it and they don't like it. They support 20th Century American imperialism just as he does. But they want to dress it up in the ideological clothes of the 18th Century.

They are out of date. The clothes they offer don't fit any more. That's why their reviews of Chambers' book produce such a comic effect. Chambers is a far more authentic ideologist for imperialists trending toward fascism, because he offers a spiritual justification of the only program they can have, the program they are already carrying out — at home and abroad.

U.S. Future Mirrored in South African Witch Hunt

By Charles Hanley

The South African regime of Daniel F. Malan has become a model for witch hunters and race chauvinists everywhere. The Malan government is the picture of the future for the United States of Washington and Wall Street continue on their present path of extending the witch hunt and refusing equal rights to the Negro people.

The white supremacists of the southern States and the red-baiters throughout the nation admire Daniel F. Malan. Their ideas are not very different from Malan's views on segregation, civil rights, communism and unions.

The U.S. State department's sympathy for the Malan government is obvious. Not only has it given aid to the South African reactionaries in the United Nations, but it also forbids American citizens in South Africa to criticize them publicly. For example, after South African Finance Minister Louw had charged that "adverse and inaccurate reports by foreign journalists of government policies amount to sabotage of the country's economy" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, May 19), American consular authorities warned an American cartoonist, Bob Connolly of New Jersey, employed by the South African Rand Daily Mail, a strongly anti-Malan paper, that he may lose the protection of the American government unless he stops participating in South African politics. It is hardly likely that this threat would have been addressed to Connolly if he worked for a pro-Malan paper.

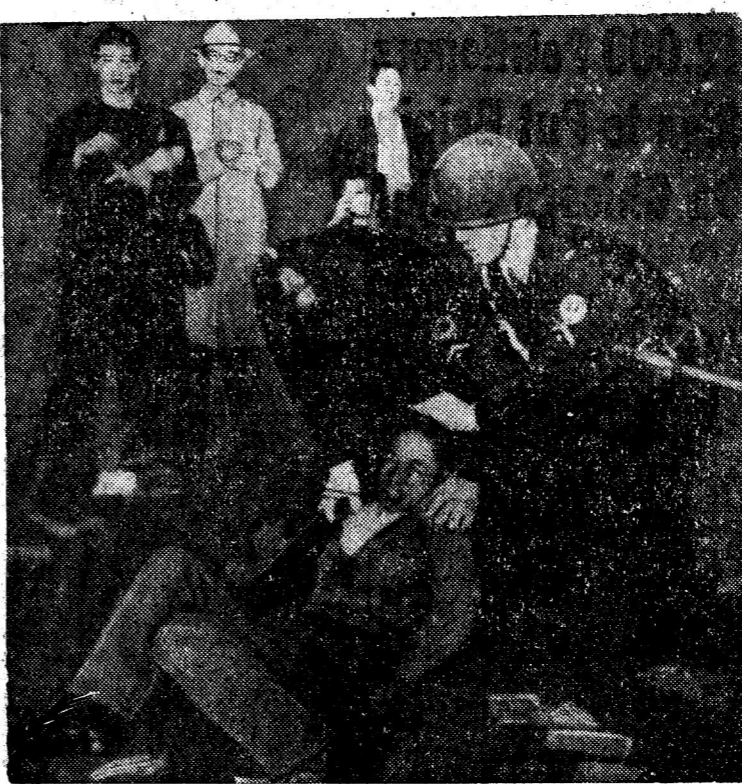
DISGRACES MALAN POLICY

Emil S. Sachs, a leader of the South African Labor Party and for 24 years general secretary of the Garment Workers Union of the Malan regime in his forthcoming book "The Choice Before South Africa," as follows: "...the entire population is divided into three main racial groups, white, native and colored. The Minister of the Interior is given arbitrary powers for the establishment of 'immovable property' and for allowing or prohibiting the occupation of land and premises by members of various racial groups in those areas.

"In effect, the Minister will be able to dictate to all individual persons and to entire racial groups where they shall reside, work or own property.

"Non-Europeans will be segregated from the urban areas where approximately 90% of the wealth of the country is concentrated, and relegated to areas already overcrowded and impoverished." Recently Malan practically disfranchised one million colored people of the Cape province who had previously won a few elementary rights. South Africa's highest tribunal, the Appeals Court, declared this measure to be illegal. But Malan, determined to liquidate the 1909 constitution, had a bill passed by Parliament setting up a new "parliamentary court," as the court of last resort for constitutional questions. Thus the appeals court

Police Attack Tokyo Workers



Japanese police beat demonstrators after breaking up labor demonstrations in Tokyo. Similar parades and rallies against the war plans of the Japanese vassals of American imperialism occurred in four large Japanese cities and smaller communities. Three persons were killed and 80 injured.

is to be by-passed by the regime, the new court being Malan's obedient tool.

Under the new Malan law, the mulattoes can only elect four white representatives to Parliament, but are not permitted to participate in the election of the other 150 members of Parliament. The 1909 constitution stipulates that the fundamental laws of the country cannot be changed without a two-thirds majority, which Malan's Nationalist Party does not have. However, Malan has proceeded despite the fact that his acts are unconstitutional.

Under Malan's "Suppression of Communism Act," Minister of Justice Swart is empowered to limit the personal freedom of anyone on his subversive list. Every person named by him is ordered to resign from political and other organizations and prohibited from attending any meetings or gatherings whatever, except church meetings and social gatherings. Blacklisted persons are restricted to a certain territory which they cannot leave for two years. This really is Senator McCarthy's dream come true! The law is being used to label as "communists" any opponents of Malan.

Sam Kahn, a member of the Communist Party and a member of Parliament for the Cape Western region, has been ousted from Parliament. Fred Carneson has been thrown out of the Cape Provincial Council. Sam Kahn's native interpreter, Johnson Nnewela, has also received one of Mr. Swart's letters, and was given 30 days to resign as an officer and member of the Franchise Action Council and the Cape Town Peace Council, and is barred from becoming a member of or participating in the activities of the African National Congress. He

The American Way of Life

A Horseshoe in One Glove

Bob Hope, the eminent American humorist, once said that his studios did not type-cast him in his pictures; in one picture, he said, he was given the role of an honest man, and in another he was a politician.

We do not know whether Bob Hope has been called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities yet for this slurring remark, but at any rate this quip, accurately describes capitalist politics.

Eisenhower and Taft, both "outspoken" and "courageous" opponents of corruption in government, are now locked in a knock-down, no-holds-barred scramble for votes. Their double-dealing, vote-stealing, bribery, and chicanery are a match for Truman and Pendergast's methods in everything but skill.

In Texas, as usual, they're doing things in a big way. There, the Eisenhower forces pulled a fast one by corraling a big Democrat-campbagger vote in the Republican primaries, thereby winning a majority of the delegates for the general. In political primaries under the two-party system, this is the equivalent of going into the ring with a horseshoe on one glove and a load of shot in the other.

This, says Taft, is fraud. And you've got to admit, that's exactly what it is. But the Ohio Senator, is hell-bent for election. He moved right in on the Texas machine, and got the State Republican committee to unseat the Eisenhower delegates, and arbitrarily name some of the boys who will vote right.

This, says Eisenhower, is "corruption." And, no matter how

you see it, that's exactly what it is. Truman, an old professional at the game, probably looks upon the Texas vote-rustling episode as an inept display of amateur politics. After all, trained as he was in the Kansas City vote-theft-hustling school, Truman was able to get through a couple of terms before they caught up with his tax-fraud and deep-freeze racket.

There are three key men whose influence can probably decide the Republican convention outcome, Governor Pine of Pennsylvania, and McKeldin of Maryland, and Mich. State GOP chairman Summerfield. The Christian Science Monitor, looking upon these office-hungry jackals with pious revulsion, predicts that these three men might "unite their strength, accept competitive bids from either camp, drive the hardest bargain in patronage and prestige, and name the next candidate — and possibly the next President."

So if Eisenhower makes it, you can put down his victory to the fact that he had a bigger bucket of gold to hand out to the boys in the back room. And ditto if Taft is the "banner-bearer."

So if you want your boy to grow up to be president, teach him how to rabbit punch in the clinches, and then to make sure, settle a few million dollars on him so he can get in there with the high bidders when the vote-peddlers put their wares on sale.

— Joseph Andrews

THE MILITANT ARMY

WEST COAST SCOREBOARD

City	Points
San Francisco	2,204
Eastside Los Angeles	1,626
Oakland	1,434
Seattle	1,398
San Pedro	1,171
Westside Los Angeles	1,068
Southside Los Angeles	808

The West Coast Militant subscription campaign ended June 8 with excellent results. Militant subscribers sold a total of 215 six-month and one-year subs and almost 1,500 single copies. The five-week campaign netted over half the amount of subs gained by the same branches in last year's ten-week campaign.

The winning branch by nearly 600 points is San Francisco, which also gained the most in new subs. West Coast high scorer is Frank K. of Oakland, a veteran subgetter whose spirit and enthusiasm have well earned him top honors in the campaign. Frank's score of 1,031 wins the first prize given by the participating branches of one week's free vacation in New York.

Dave, of the Eastside Los Angeles branch, piled up 767 points, taking West Coast second place honors; and John of San Pedro is third with 488 points. Other high scorers are Ed Harris, San Francisco, 350 points; Tiby, Southside Los Angeles, 312; Jackie, San Francisco, 194; Frank, Seattle, 184; Frank B., San Francisco, 187; Clara, Seattle, 178; and Bill K., Oakland, 164.

Dan reports that Seattle wants to continue their sub campaign for two more weeks. They have already gained six subs in addition to those counted in their campaign score. Dan writes, "Although the West Coast campaign is over Mary and Sally went out house to house yesterday and sold three subscriptions, including a one year one. The high spot of the campaign was the number of subs that Frank got from workers in Bethlehem Steel. We also made a number of new friends as a result of the campaign. We hope to wind up with a total of 50 subs."

The Minneapolis Militant subscription campaign ended with a bang this week. Literature Agent Helen S. sends in a final "avalanche" of 40 subs and reports the results. "The most enthusiastic, most successful Minneapolis sub campaign to 'Make More Minnesota Militants' was officially completed last Sunday. The enclosed 40 subs are the result of the final week's work, and subs are still coming in — too late to count for the campaign. We exceeded our greatest expectations with a total of 112 Militant subs, 35% of which are new! All of this in a five-week period! It is very gratifying to have the

Militant spread so widely here in preparation for the election campaign and all relative activities. "The Minneapolis campaign, scoring one point for each six month sub, totaled 178 points. This amounts to 4,628 sub points, as other campaigns score, and does not include our sales of individual copies. The winning team to be royally honored at the Militant Cabaret on June 14 is the Lavender Hill Mob with 52 points. Other team results: Debbs Banner Bearers, 41; Northside Tornados, 33; Camibus Campaigners, 28; and the Portland Promoters, 26. Larry, steward of the Debbs Banner Bearers, is the top individual scorer with 16 points. Wally, steward of the Mob, and Harry, 'brezies' one of the Tornados, were a close second, with 14 points each. The wide, enthusiastic participation of all team members to make the sub campaign a success will guarantee for us a real celebration at the Militant Cabaret. "In addition to sub getting, Militant salesmen are on the job. Last week, Jack, Donald, and Mike sold 22 copies at the AFL Hall; 25 papers were sold on the campus; and Donald regularly sells the paper in his neighborhood."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON**—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON**—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd Fl. Open every 2nd and 4th Sunday. Phone Madison 5390.
- CHICAGO**—724 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-8:00 PM. Phone Harrison 7-0433.
- CLEVELAND**—10609 Superior Ave.
- DETROIT**—6108 E. Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-2857.
- FLINT**—SWP, 1507 Oak Street, Phone 224-06.
- LOS ANGELES**—1702 East 4th St. Phone AN 2-2455.
- MILWAUKEE**—817 N. 2nd St., 2nd Fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 1781.
- NEW HAVEN**—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK**—423 Springfield Avenue.
- NEW YORK CITY**—75, 114 University Street, Phone AL 5-7252.
- BROOKLYN**—18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.
- OAKLAND**—Cal. — For information write P.O. Box 3465.
- PHILADELPHIA**—1363-65 W. Girard Ave., 2nd Fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone BAY 4-5620.
- ST. LOUIS**—For information, Phone MO 7194.
- ST. PAUL**—Phone State headquarters, MAIn 7781.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—1735 Fillmore St. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-6410.
- SEATTLE**—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., 50, and Washington, RM 201, Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278.
- TOLEDO**—For information, write P.O. Box 1502.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—224 E. Federal St.

Senate Rushes to Ratify German War "Contract"

(Continued from page 1)

on support of the revanchist (revengful) aspirations of the Bonn Adenauer government, which is preparing to unleash a new war in Europe. The reviving West Germany Army, headed by fascist Hitlerite generals can only serve the aggressive aims of the German revanchists. On the other hand, the incorporation of this West German Army in the so-called European army and consequently in the army of the North Atlantic bloc re-emphasizes the aggressive character of the whole North Atlantic group."

Those who damn everything out of Moscow will, of course,

simply dismiss all this as propaganda. It is wiser, however, to recognize facts no matter where they appear.

KREMLIN AIMS

Moscow's response to the heightened war threat to the Soviet Union, only too evident in the Bonn "contract," is to try to frighten the western capitalists with the specter of intensified class struggle and even civil war wherever it has mass parties in countries dominated by the Atlantic powers. Hence the demonstrations centered around General Ridgway and the belligerent declarations of the Stalinist heads of Eastern Germany.

At the same time, through diplomatic means Moscow seeks a positive approach to the war fears of the capitalists of western Europe and the anti-war sentiments of the people. The Kremlin may even still have hopes of reaching some kind of agreement with U.S. capitalism that will permit "co-existence" on the basis of the status quo or at least postponement of the projected assault on the Soviet Union. Who, looking objectively at the Soviet government's fear of an imperialist assault, can deny it is justified? But the big questions are, can the diplomatic road indicated by Stalinism bring enduring peace? Or even achieve the immediate intended aims?

WASHINGTON OFFENSIVE

The threat of intensified class struggle is apparently being discounted by Washington. The tide of revolutionary upsurge in post-war Europe was pushed back by the Stalinists and it cannot be summoned again on telegraphic notice from Moscow. On this field, Washington has now taken the initiative and has launched its own counter-revolutionary offensive, above all in France. That means the perspective for a deal narrows down considerably unless the Kremlin is prepared to make new far-reaching concessions. Outside of a revolutionary upsurge in Europe that would upset all calculations, the balance of

forces can be altered drastically in favor of peace only through a persistent policy of revolutionary socialism. There is no other hope in this epoch of the death agony of capitalism. But here the Kremlin fails and fails abysmally.

THE MAY 24 OFFERS

Take the offers of the May 24 note. It reiterates agreement with the U.S. proposal "to examine the conditions for holding general elections," but insists it be done by a four-power commission, not a UN commission as demanded by Washington. More important, Moscow proposes "direct talks" with the U.S., France and Britain "to undertake joint examination" of the "issues" of a peace treaty for the whole of Germany. But these are to be "guided by the provisions of the Potsdam agreement." The note specifies that this applies "for one thing, in the matter of Germany's frontiers," also in the powers of the proposed central government.

The Potsdam agreement, which Moscow still demands the German people approve, was the infamous 1945 deal between Truman, Churchill and Stalin that carved up Germany, permitted the mass expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, agreed to the transfer of Koenigsburg and adjacent territory to the Soviet Union, moved

the Polish border westward to the Oder river, imposed occupation troops and puppet regimes, placed enormous reparations upon the German people, permitted plunder by the victorious powers including sacking of factories and destruction of industries, etc. Thus the Kremlin proposal for unification under Potsdam provisions means limited unification. Unification of German territory now within Polish borders, for instance, would be "revanchist" (revengful).

It was the ruthless application of the savage terms of the Potsdam agreement that destroyed Stalinist influence among the working people of Western Germany. The fresh reminder about the Potsdam provisions is scarcely calculated to assuage the bitter feelings of those who made the error of welcoming the plundering Stalin regime as the banner bearer of socialism.

HARSH IRONY

The May 24 note concedes that the German people have an "indefeasible right" to "national armed forces of their own for the country's defense." What harsh irony this must be to the German people living in the rubble of World War II who need another 40 years, according to some estimates, simply to rebuild Germany's cities.

This recognition of an abstract right needs to be put in the con-

crete setting — Wall Street's drive for world conquest. Who will control these proposed armed forces? German cartels responsive to Pentagon push buttons? Does the right to armed forces mean the right to modern arms, including atomic and bacteriological weapons? Clearly, the Kremlin would balk at this, since it proposes disarmament to the U.S. and the outlawing of atomic and bacteriological weapons. Therefore, we must conclude that Moscow's recognition that Germany should have its own armed forces is as limited as the concession on unification.

The first touch of analysis reveals how illusory Kremlin policy is, what a blind alley it lands in, and how little it has in common with revolutionary socialism.

WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS

For American labor the problem is to give every possible aid to the German people in their opposition to ratification of the "contract." We can best do that by opposing Senate ratification of the "contract" and by demanding that all troops now occupying Germany be withdrawn. This would give the German people a free hand to deal with the puppet Adenauer government and to begin the process of uniting Germany on the basis of a socialist program, which alone can open the road to enduring peace.

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Your Rights Under Fifth Amendment

The constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, incorporated in the Fifth Amendment, is explained by Eugene Grossman, Washington, D. C., attorney, in the June 9 issue of New Republic.

McGRANERY



The new Attorney General, J. P. McGranery, whose first statement before Congress assured the witch-hunters that he would not only continue the thought-control offensive, but extend it.

Advocate of the Hell-Bomb

Senator McMahon of Connecticut, who is campaigning for nomination as presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, has hit the headlines as the advocate of total destruction. In our times this is favorable publicity, at least according to the standards of the Democrats and Republicans. The Democratic Senator has taken as the main plank in his platform the demand for a thousand Hell-bombs. Thus he hopes to outshine Truman, who did not spell it out, but only asked for \$4,200,000,000 more for production of the hydrogen bomb.

As a recommendation to American voters, McMahon can point out these possibilities for cleaning up our cities with this instrument: One such bomb could level all the buildings on Manhattan Island, killing every human being within 100 square miles and thoroughly sterilizing the entire area.

Within the radius of the next 80 square miles the bomb's cleaning capacity is somewhat lowered, although it would devastate homes and buildings, killing and maiming those trapped in the explosion. However, these deficiencies of McMahon's atomic sweeper will very likely be overcome. Scientists say that we are only at the beginning.

Properly placed, McMahon's thousand bombs could wipe out all the major capitals on earth with all their teeming millions of human beings. That is the prospect even before the opening of the third world war toward which American big business is dragging the country. After the outbreak of hostilities, the incentive for stepping up quality and quantity will of course heighten accordingly, as is usual under capitalism.

Does this seem like a nightmare perspective? Unfortunately it is the reality that faces us in this fateful election year.

From the infancy of civilization men of science have searched for the answer to the riddles of matter and energy. Now that the walls of the atom have been breached and the first great secrets have become the property of mankind, an outmoded economic order, capitalism, is turning them against civilization, threatening its utter doom.

What greater proof is needed that capitalism has outlived its progressive stage? That its giant productive capacities have become stultified and turned toward destruction? Must McMahon's thousand H-Bombs actually be produced and used before America wakes up to the fact that capitalism can only wreak havoc and smash what human labor and genius has thus far created?

Socialism has long urged that civilization can no longer progress until we bring our economic order in line with the times. Now McMahon is adding arguments that should convince all but the deaf, dumb, blind and suicidally inclined. We must take from the capitalist rulers their power to destroy. Otherwise in their insane drive for profit and world domination, they will raze the globe.

The Need for a Fresh Approach

The kind of political thinking that is being done in leading labor circles was illustrated by a poll reported in the June 14 Nation, a liberal weekly, which sent out a questionnaire "to AFL and CIO leaders in ten states, representing almost all sections of the country."

Of those who replied, only a minority thought it important enough to deal with foreign policy. Not a single reply posed the need of breaking with Washington's foreign policy. No one suggested that labor adopt an independent foreign policy of its own. There was no mention of Korea; no reference to the upsurge of the colonial people.

Ray W. Atkinson of the Washington State CIO Council found it sufficient to say: "We are opposed to universal military training and to military control of atomic energy, and we support full cooperation with the United Nations."

Of the minority who considered foreign policy, none opposed the "cold war" and the arms race. Paul C. Sparks, secretary of the Texas AFL, underwrote support of "the United Nations (and) the mutual security program."

John M. Eklund of the Colorado AFL Teachers plumped for "a foreign policy based on continuation and expansion of Point Four and the full functioning of the United Nations and its agencies."

Frank Rosenblum of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers called for "positive efforts toward a resolution of the basic issues involved in international tensions," without bothering to specify just what are these "positive efforts" which would, as he claims, avert world war.

This representative poll shows that the labor leaders are perfectly content to let the capitalist politicians and the militarists decide U.S. foreign policy. It never enters their heads that the American workers and the mass of the people should have their say in a nationwide referendum on whether there shall be war or peace.

The abject dependence of labor leaders on capitalist politicians is likewise fully expressed on domestic issues. The Nation's questionnaire takes it for granted that "labor planks," foreign and domestic alike, fall exclusively within the province of the Democratic Party; and all the replies tacitly or explicitly accepted this continued tie-up between labor and the Trumanites. That labor should strike out on its own independent road with its own independent labor party, seems inconceivable to all these labor "statesmen."

The widening gap between the primitive, servile thinking of these labor leaders and the vital needs of the labor movement underscores the long-existing political crisis of the American working class. This crisis will not be resolved, but, on the contrary, will grow more acute until American labor, in the interests of its self-preservation, finally breaks irrevocably with the foreign and domestic policies of Big Business.

The framers of the Bill of Rights, Grossman writes, "reflecting the overwhelming public demand of the Revolutionary period, took the view that compelling a person to convict himself of crime is contrary to the principles of a free government."

The Supreme Court has stated that to compel testimony of an incriminating character "may suit the purposes of despotic power, but it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom."

Thus, this important protective privilege is "there for the use of witnesses before House committees, as well as persons summoned before other official inquiries," Grossman states.

At hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or Federal Grand Juries, the inquisitors consistently attempt to intimidate the witnesses who use the Fifth Amendment. Standard tactics are to imply that the witness who refuses to answer certain questions is thereby admitting guilt. But, the fact is that this is the only way to avoid self-incrimination or being forced to stonewall by giving testimony about others.

The Fifth Amendment states, "nor shall (any person) be com-

elled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The moment a witness answers a question which might tend to provide evidence in a prosecution under the Smith Act, he is voluntarily discarding the protective umbrella offered by the Constitution.

Through the intimidation of witnesses, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has compiled "far more than one million names neatly indexed and cross-referenced" in its files.

Grossman discusses the reactions of a so-called "un-cooperative" witness called before the federal inquisitors. "He knows the brutal aim of the committee . . . of prime significance is his awareness of the committee's mania for names. He shudders at the thought of becoming an informer as to his friends and associates, who would thereby lose their privacy."

Thus, Grossman says, "the witness tends to look to the Fifth Amendment as the only possible means of preserving his self-respect."

But, the attorney explains in his article, "Having made the moral choice of refusing to answer the committee's crucial questions, the . . . witness is then confronted with a variety of legal conundrums. He must know what questions may and may not properly call forth use of the privilege against self-incrimination."

Moreover, the witness must be on guard against answering seemingly innocuous questions which later may be held to have constituted a waiver of the constitutional privilege. If certain kinds of questions are answered it automatically will have the effect of the witness voluntarily

giving up the right to protect himself under the Fifth Amendment.

DOES NOT HAVE TO PROVE IT

The Amendment permits a witness to refuse to answer questions "only if the answers actually would tend to incriminate him criminally." But he does not have to prove to the committee or to the judge before whom he is cited for contempt that the answer to any question would in fact incriminate him. He need only show that his answers "are likely to be dangerous to him."

In Grossman's opinion "if it is reasonable to infer the possibility of incrimination from the answers the witness might give" the constitutional privilege will hold.

Since the Smith Act, for example, is extremely broad, and has been interpreted to include as evidence against a victim the loosest kind of connection with the advocacy of socialist ideas, any testimony which would link a witness with any kind of activity or opinion critical of the government, would be incriminating testimony.

DANGERS IN ANSWERING

As a matter of fact, about the only thing a witness is safe in giving is his name and address. Anything that provides a link in a chain of evidence may incriminate a witness. Thus, anything which the witness thinks might furnish a clue later to be used against him constitutes

evidence that he may legally refuse to give.

"Once he admits or denies his own party activities or sympathies," says Grossman, "the privilege has been waived. He has opened the door, and he must answer any and all questions about himself and his friends." This applies to any admission of past or present membership or sympathy.

Thus, the article points out, "the witness who is anxious to protect his friends from the perils of the House committee must assert the privilege as to himself in the first instance if he is to have any chance of accomplishing his aim." This would apply as well to Grand Jury hearings.

The privilege has been used to date without challenge by witnesses who refuse to answer questions which might provide even remote or nonexistent links

with activity that could be interpreted in such a way as to incriminate.

MAY BE A TRAP

For example, if a witness is asked, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" — and he has never been a member of that organization, or sympathetic to it, if he replies "No," this might be used to show he has waived his constitutional privilege against incriminating himself, and he would be constrained to answer all other questions, to stool on his friends, to give evidence that could later be used to frame him up and send him to prison.

Under conditions of the current witch-hunt more and more victims of the smear campaign are turning to the Fifth Amendment as their best guarantee to protect their civil rights.

WHAT SHALL TAKE THE PLACE OF FEAR?

British socialists take a critical view of Aneurin Bevan's recently-published book, *In Place of Fear* (Simon and Schuster, 1952, 213 pp., \$3). They fail to find in the

book any satisfying answer to the main question raised by Bevan. This opinion is well expressed in the following review by John Lawrence, left-wing leader in the British Labor Party and editor of *Socialist Outlook*, which we reprint in part from the May 16 issue of the British socialist newspaper.

This is an exasperating book. It promises so much and it gives so very little. It is full of excellent ideas which lead nowhere. The very title — clear, simple and challenging — encourages one to expect an equally bold and clear description of what the author thinks should "take the place of fear." But it doesn't happen.

You will find excellent descriptions of the material basis of the socialist ideology. (Mr. Bevan has certainly not forgotten his early life as a South Wales miner.) And you will come across passages which effectively expose the jungle nature of capitalist society. None of it is very original (except in the high-flown style employed) but it is all very stimulating and guaranteed to whet the appetite for the ultimate conclusion, the program of action which you feel is bound to follow.

Hopefully you read on to the end, but the great question posed in the title remains unanswered . . . what is to take the place of fear?

"DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM?"

Perhaps it is "democratic socialism"? If so, the author's explanation of that much-abused term doesn't help us much. Judge for yourselves (on page 170). "Democratic Socialism is the child of modern society. It seeks the truth in any given situation knowing all the time that if this is pushed too far it falls into error." You don't understand? Perhaps the next passage will explain?

"It struggles against all the evils which flow from private property yet realizes that all forms of private property are not necessarily evil."

Now either Mr. Bevan is here restating (in an extraordinarily pompous manner) the simple socialist truth that we seek to abolish all forms of private property in the means of wealth production (my old shoes, though private property, are certainly "not necessarily evil") — or, his double-talk is meant to justify the theories of "mixed economy" so beloved of the Right Wing leaders of the Labor Party.

I incline to the latter belief, having a vivid recollection of Aneurin Bevan at the 1949 Annual (Labor Party) Conference eloquently defending what he called "healthy competition between private and public enterprise."

Other passages in the book appear to contradict what I have written above. On page 117, for example, we read "To steer a wholly private enterprise economy in a given direction . . . is practically impossible." But the book

Press Hides Steel Strike Issues

By Harry Frankel

In its public announcements since the breakdown of steel negotiations, the steel industry has tried to make it appear as though the union shop issue were the sole remaining point of disagreement between the companies and the union. Big advertisements have appeared in the newspapers, and the press in general has assisted this campaign by concentrating attention, both in its news columns and in editorials, on the union shop.

The companies hope, by thus focussing on a "no-wage" item, to weaken support among the workers for the steel union's fight, and to add substance to their charges of union "dictatorship."

The union, while not inclined to minimize the union shop demand, points out that there are other important issues upon which a "complete deadlock" still exists. The union shop is important to the steelworkers because of their wish to strengthen the union against continual company attacks. The workers are particularly resentful of the handful of men in each mill who hide behind company protection and "freeload" on the union; that is, accept all union-welfare benefits but refuse to help strengthen the union with dues payments and support of union activities.

OTHER ISSUES

Foremost among the other disputed issues are the "job-classification" and "management rights" issue, and the "incentive pay" issue. Although the press is silent on these, they represent important company demands on the union. For two or three years before the present contract dispute opened, these matters gave rise to bitter guerrilla warfare in important mills across the nation, involving hundreds of firings, strikes, stoppages and penalizations of workers. In addition, when negotiations started in the present dispute about 6 months ago, these issues were very bitterly contested in union-company talks.

The incentive pay dispute involves many workers in production departments in the mills. The union favors incentive pay plans which would give workers added earnings above their regular rate, increased earnings to depend on increased production. The companies, a couple of years ago, began installing incentive plans

based on the "effort" expended by the men. These plans, worked out in the American Iron and Steel Institute, the big steel employers' association, were set up in many cases against union opposition, despite union company agreements that no new plans would be installed without joint agreement of both parties.

MORE STEEL, LESS LABOR

This "incentive" controversy took on great importance because most mills have undergone extensive modernization in the recent period, enabling them to turn out more steel with, in many cases, fewer men. The workers want some of the benefit of this, and the companies reply: We will not give you any more money because, despite the fact that you are turning out more steel, you are not working any harder.

The "job-classification" and "management rights" issue is really the speed-up issue in the steel mills. Its background is this: During the war, the steel union tried to straighten out the fantastic muddle of jobs and job rates, with almost as many rates of pay. Different pay was given for the same work, job duties were unclear, and the pay that a man got and the work that he did were almost entirely at the discretion of his "superiors."

Government intervention helped the companies stall the union, and committees were set up to study the problem. These committees, representing the union and the companies, spent years working on this project, employed firms of industrial consultants, and finally, in 1947, arrived at a setup that was agreeable in basic respects to both sides. Under the new job-classification, the duties of all workers were clearly defined, and were graded according to skill, responsibility, etc. These gradings were then used to establish pay rates.

In the years that followed, the companies began to find that this agreement, to which they had affixed their signatures, was irksome. Workers stood on their rights they had established through years of struggle, refusing to undertake work outside their defined job duties, demanding higher-rate pay for higher-rate jobs, etc.

Now, in the present negotia-

tions, the companies want the management prerogative clause of the contract changed so that they have absolute power to shift workers to any work. They want to throw much of the job-classification setup out the window in other words, and be free to speed up the men to any pace, or fill in "spare minutes," all of which were accounted for in the original job study, with floor sweeping, etc.

COMPANY OFFENSIVE

Thus the incentive and job-classification disputes are a company offensive to take away from the workers conditions which they now have. Despite this, the nation's steel-collared press has tried to picture the negotiations break-down as purely over a union demand, the union shop!

The seniority issue is also still deadlocked, according to President Philip Murray's report to the June 13 meeting of top officers of the United Steelworkers of America. Seniority is at present mainly on a department basis. Workers must be laid off,

or promoted, in accordance with seniority within each department. This has a very important bearing on the fight to eliminate Jim-Crow discrimination in the mills.

JIM-CROW PROBLEM

It has been very easy for the companies to establish Jim-Crow departments in the mills. The present seniority plan, as company-interpreted, gives the union a basis for a fight to upgrade Negroes within specific departments. However, in the main, Negroes are kept in departments having the hardest work and the lowest pay, like the blast-furnace or coke-oven departments. The company interprets the present seniority clauses in such a way that new men are hired right off the street into better departments, while men with 10 and 20 years seniority keep slaving away in the hot-spots.

The union wants to change this so that it will be in a better position to put up a stiffer fight on the Jim-Crow and other seniority issues.

STEEL STRIKERS FACE ACTION BY GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 1)

that confront them from the government they face a forced return to work without a contract. This would mean another long stall.

For months the government has sidetracked and stalled the steel workers demands. While the WSB took its good old time and whittled down their demands, the steel workers cooled their heels. They did the same while the nine old men on the Supreme Court decided the issue of presidential powers.

Now what do the steel strikers face as possible alternatives? Political maneuvering with the fate of the workers, their wives and children, their wages and working conditions, can only result in some form of back-to-work order from the government; this may come in the form of a Taft-Hartley injunction.

Or, the back-to-work order may come after Truman is authorized by Congress to seize the mills, and then demands that the workers return to their jobs.

WILL NOT GRANT DEMANDS

After such a move forcing an end to the strike, the government will not grant any of the contract demands of the union, but will once again put the union through the rigmarole of government mediation, long and drawn out.

Another possibility is that the union will either have to face a long period of working without a contract, like the railroad workers did, or retreat on their demands and settle for less than the WSB formula.

How in all this does Truman fit in as a "friend of labor"? The whole record shows that he wants to save the skin of the Democratic Party, not the United Steelworkers.

representation in Congress, it must face the fact that the government is its enemy. In such a situation, the steel strikers have only their economic strength upon which to rely.

THE RIGHT POLICY

Some key locals of the steel union have demanded that the union defy any Taft-Hartley injunction. Some leaders opposed opening mills for war production. This is the kind of policy that will bring the steel barons to their knees.

The only way the steel workers can win their demands is to keep the mills shut down tight. The steel moguls are taking full advantage of the fact that the unions have no genuine representation in Washington. They can afford to maneuver politically, knowing full well that no matter what happens they will win by government action.

The steel companies could afford to go through the Supreme Court test of Truman's authority, in order to give a boost to the Republicans. They had on their side, a backlog of steel, and a knowledge that win or lose in court, the government would not move in such a way as to force them to accede to labor's demands.

But soon the steel backlog will be gone. The real pinch will begin to be felt. Then labor faces two alternatives; either stand tough and fight, or give in to government intervention which is sure to come.

It is true that no one can bust the steel strike. But the steel workers can be maneuvered out of their deserved victory, by a weak-kneed policy toward the government. "No contract, no work" is still the best program for the steel strikers.

MINNEAPOLIS BANQUET HAILS "MILITANT" SUB CHAMPIONS

MINNEAPOLIS, June 14 — The Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party wound up its successful Militant campaign here tonight with a gala affair. Headquarters were converted into a cabaret for the occasion and appropriately decorated to emphasize the importance of the Militant in the struggle for socialism.

The winning team, the Lender Hill Mob — properly designated with badges of honor — sat at the head table and enjoyed free of charge a delicious smorgasbord supper. In addition they received a toast with sparkling burgundy.

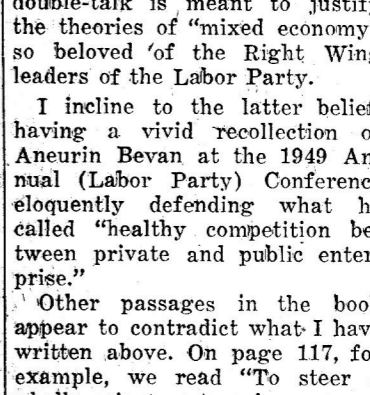
V. R. Dunne, as M.C. and a member of the winning team, expressed his satisfaction with the results of the campaign and, irrepressible as always, lent an extra note of gaiety to the occasion. Helen, in a brief talk, summed up the record of the campaign. Larry, top sub-getter, was presented with a copy of I. F. Stone's latest book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*.

Truman Says Taxes Will Go Up Not Down

In reply to the campaign promise of presidential candidate Taft that he would reduce taxes by 15%, Truman stated on June 20 that the truth was taxes would have to be increased.

Revolution in Bolivia To Be Discussed at Los Angeles Forum

An interesting talk is promised on "Revolution in Bolivia and the Role of American Imperialism" at the Los Angeles Socialist forum, June 27, 8 p.m., 1702 East 4th St. Myra Tanner Weiss will act as chairman.



ANEURIN BEVAN

Negro Youth and Marxism

By Jean Blake

This month brings graduation and commencement day to youth in grammar schools, high schools and colleges throughout the nation. That means an extra dose of speeches and editorials full of advice, exhortations, flattery and cautioning.

patterns of our increasingly regimented life, but are also filled with the insidious philosophy that "In America it is bad enough to be black without also being red."

Guns Against PW's



Rifles poised, U.S. troops stand over North Korean prisoners of war as they sit outside one of large compounds on Kojia Island. Forty prisoners were killed and many more injured when American soldiers, armed with tear gas, bayonets, grenades and flame-throwers were commanded to break up compound.

Consumer Slump Shows War Basis of Economy

By Tom Conlan

With the year 1952 at its halfway mark, the economic experts, as is the custom, have donned their conjuring robes, and have gazed into their assorted magic mirrors and crystal balls to discover what lies ahead.

no notable increases in total production have been recorded in recent months, an alarming symptom. In this situation the capitalist economists are talking quite incautiously, telling a few truths for a change.

Smith Act Called Illegal by ACLU; Aims at Repeal

By James Walcott

In 1940 the Smith "Gag" Law was passed by Congress. Since that time 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted under its provisions and 18 convicted and sentenced to prison terms; 61 leaders and members of the Communist Party have been indicted, with 11 of these already convicted and 50 still on trial.

One-Tenth of Malaya

By Thomas Raymond

The British Government reports from Kuala Lumpur in the Malay Federation that the "rural resettlement" program, part of the campaign to defeat the Communist and Malayan nationalists in their anti-British uprising for freedom, is nearing completion.

To this date, the Kuala Lumpur report says, about 500,000 persons have been "resettled." Since the Malayan population is not much over 5 million, this means that 10% of the people have been put into these stockade-villages.

Conference Issues Amnesty Call for Smith Act Victims

NEW YORK, June 15 — A national conference was held here today at St. Nicholas Arena to launch a movement to secure amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act.

Most of the time of the conference was devoted to speeches by the wives of the 11 Communist Party leaders now imprisoned under the law. Other speeches were delivered by John Abt, attorney for the CP in the current McCarran board hearings in Washington, who gave a vivid description of the physical persecution to which John Gates, Stalinist leader, had been subjected in transporting him from Atlanta penitentiary to the Washington hearings where he is appearing as a defense witness.

Notes from the News

SENATOR MORSE OF OREGON, a Republican, made a speech on the Senate floor against the arbitrary refusal of the State Department to give passports to citizens for political reasons. He was called on the phone by the writers of "Red Underground" a column in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, and questioned as to who "told him" to make this speech. The senator placed in the record his denunciation of this smear, pointing out that because he objected to violation of the Constitution by the Passport Division, he was branded a "Communist."

getting \$15 and \$20 a week rent from occupants of the firetrap. TWO THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE are suffering from hunger, according to the Manchester Guardian. How imperialism exploits colonial lands is clearly shown by figures on incomes; the 19 richest countries, with only 16% of the population, enjoy over 66% of the world's income; the 15 poorest countries, with over half the world's population, have to live on less than 9% of the total income.

RENT HOGS SPREAD LIES TO DEFEAT L.A. HOUSING

By Louise Manning

The bitter Los Angeles housing controversy, which has occupied the City Council for months, shows how the democratic processes under capitalism are subverted by the wealthy for their own enrichment instead of acting as a free expression of the will of the people.

This means, if it goes through, that the people will have to bear an additional tax burden to repay the loan of \$13,000,000. Legally the vote cannot repudiate the contract, which has been upheld by the State Supreme Court, but on the basis of the vote, the anti-public housing forces are now trying to get Congress to agree to break the contract.

PLAN JULY FOURTH WEEKEND AT MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, N. J., is preparing a big Fourth of July weekend celebration. Besides the regular attractions of swimming, hiking, fishing, etc., that make the camp such a pleasant retreat from the hot city, special recreations will include baseball, volleyball, campfires and square dancing.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS in New York state medical schools is practised in almost every medical college, according to a survey made by the American Jewish Congress.

A DOCTOR UNWORTHY OF THE NAME refused to continue caring for an 80-year-old patient in New York recently, because he didn't like his patient's politics. The patient is a retired Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Elliot White, who had participated in the N. Y. May Day parade. "I advise you to go to one of Stalin's ophthalmologists (eye specialists) to look after you," the doctor told White.