

UAW Convention Faces Issue Of Political Crisis

All Questions Lead to Washington; Only Answer Is Labor's Own Party

By Joseph Andrews

Delegates to the 13th annual CIO United Auto Workers convention which convenes April 1 to 5 in Cleveland, meet at a time of political crisis for the American labor movement. They will weigh problems which involve no less than the whole future of the working class.

THE MAJOR ISSUE

The major question before the convention is this: how to protect the living standards, working conditions and organizations of labor against the Big Business-dictated policies of the Truman administration.

When the United Labor Policy Committee split with the Wage Stabilization Board, and then with all the war mobilization agencies, the labor leaders took a big step forward. Labor cannot fight against the wage freeze, runaway prices, soak-the-poor taxes, uncontrolled rent increases, threatened conscription of labor, inadequate housing, and government strikebreaking, while the union leaders serve as window-dressing for the Truman-Wilson anti-labor program.

The convening of a national labor conference of AFL, CIO and independent unions, lacking though it was in rank and file representation, was nevertheless a progressive step toward mobilizing the powerful forces of labor against the Big Business-government offensive.

But the break with government agencies and the labor conference in Washington still do not answer the question: where do we go from here?

It is necessary to face two facts squarely and to draw the correct conclusions.

MAIN PROBLEMS POLITICAL

First, the economic position of labor can no longer be protected by pure and simple trade union methods. Gains made in struggle against the corporations are stolen from the workers by legislation, and executive rulings in Washington. The greatest dangers to the workers are the destruction of their living standards and the weakening of the unions themselves, through the political domination of Big Business.

These are political issues. They can only be fought on the political plane.

Second, labor does not have a single genuine spokesman in Congress. Truman's 1948 "Fair Deal" promises have all been betrayed. Congress is completely

dominated by anti-labor elements. Truman's executive agencies are packed with corporation executives and financiers.

Thus, at the very time when all of labor's problems lead to Washington, the unions have no independent political voice. That is the end result, today so clearly demonstrated, of the policy of depending upon Democrat and Republican "friends of labor."

A LABOR PARTY

The burning need is the formation of an independent labor party, which can mobilize the potentially gigantic political strength of the working people.

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Howard Lerner Runs for Michigan Board of Regents

DETROIT — Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Regent of the University of Michigan, spoke March 18 at Budd local 306, Turnstedt Unit of local 174, and Dodge local 3, of the UAW-CIO. In his speech Lerner supported the recent labor walkout from the Wage Stabilization Board and its criticism of the "legalized robbery being perpetrated upon the American workers."

"Hand in hand with legal and illegal blackjacking of American workers," Lerner said, "has come a usurpation of democratic rights. Who has forgotten how war was started in violation of the constitution — which gives Congress the right to declare war. This not only violates the law, but tramples upon the sentiments of the people."

AGAINST KOREAN WAR

A recent public opinion poll showed that the great majority of Detroiters were against the Korean war and favored immediate withdrawal of troops.

The audiences at the local union meetings listened intently as Comrade Lerner said, "As regent of the University of Michigan I would teach the youth the basic right of American citizens to decide whether the country should go to war or not."

Workers of the World, Unite!

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United Labor Parley Blasts Profiteer-Rule in Washington

AUTO WORKERS CAN SHOW THE WAY

An Editorial

Delegates to the United Automobile Workers Cleveland convention should carefully estimate the run-off election results at Ford Local 600.

Joe Hogan, running for this local presidency for the first time, campaigned on a program whose two main points were: 1. End the Korean war. 2. Build a labor party. Against a well-oiled machine backed by the International officers, Hogan received 16,188 votes to incumbent Carl Stellato's 16,664. Only 239 votes determined Stellato's hairline victory.

The secret of Hogan's surprisingly strong showing is his program, which expresses both the needs and the wishes of the rank and file.

One out of two Ford workers showed he understands the connection between "Operation Slaughter" against the Korean people and "Operation Big Steal" against the American people. Big Business is behind both. It profits from both.

The Korean war was initiated without consultation of the Congress or the consent of the American people. Every poll recently conducted shows that the great majority want to stop the Korean war now, want the troops brought home.

American workers and the majority of the middle class on fixed incomes, are all suffering the consequences of Korea. The Truman-Wilson program preparing for all-out war is aimed at unloading the ever-increasing costs of militarization upon the backs of the people.

If labor wants to lead, as it must, the struggle of the people against the costs of war, it must oppose the war itself. The best means of expressing these anti-war sentiments is the demand for a national referendum on the use of U.S. troops on foreign fields. This demand would rally tens of millions behind labor. Let the people decide on the issue of peace and war.

A Program of Action

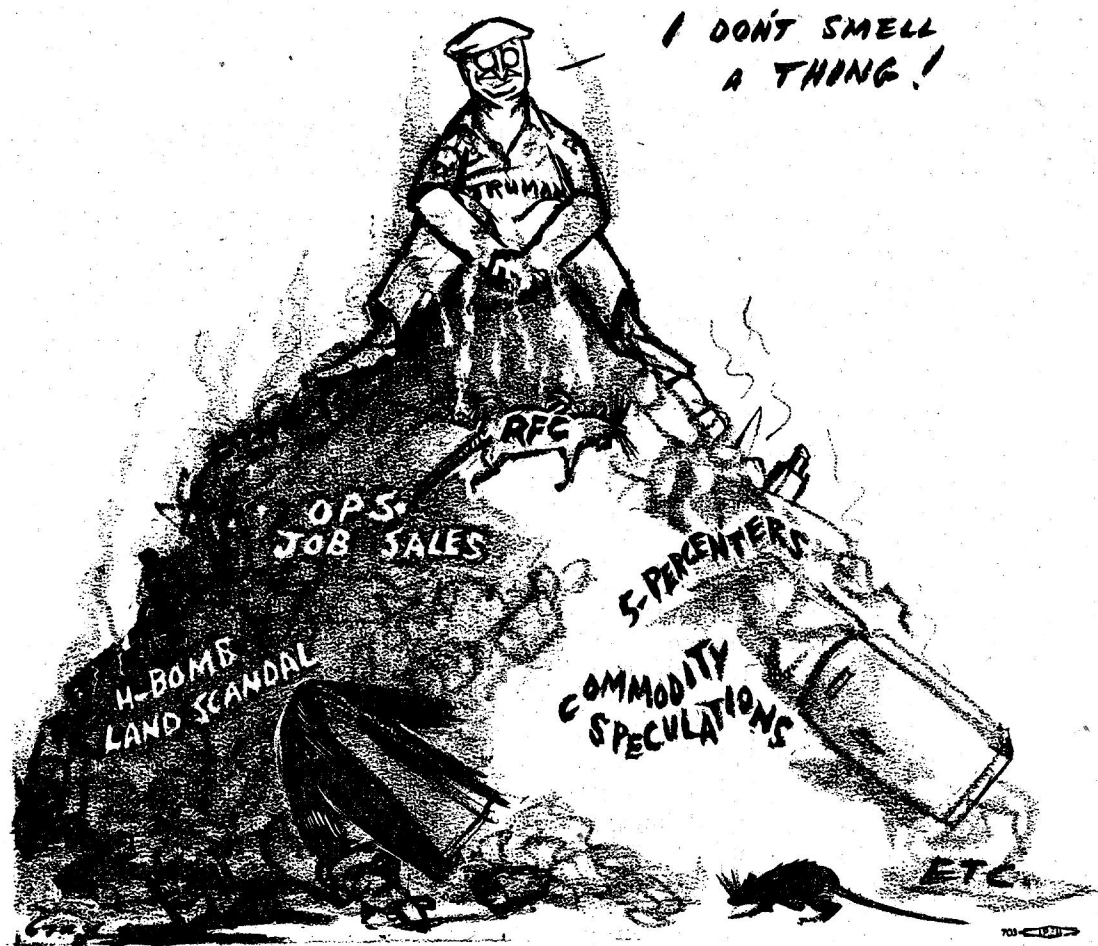
But a slogan alone is not enough. To show that labor is serious, concrete actions must be taken to give political leadership to the vast majority who oppose the Wall Street dominated administration and Congress program.

This requires an independent labor party — a demand which the Ford workers demonstrated in their recent election is one that will inspire the rank and file.

Mobilized on the political field as an independent force, armed with a militant anti-war program, labor could emerge as the undisputed leader of the American common people against the Big Business war lords.

This is the way to stop inflation, prevent unbridled profiteering, protect living standards and defend free labor from the threatening regimentation by the big brass and anti-labor politicians who dominate both the Democrat and Republican parties.

The auto workers can show the way! It is time to speak out boldly. For a national referendum on peace and war! For an independent labor party!



Mazey Hits Cover-up of Truman's Role

By George Lavan

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21 — American Labor met here today in unity and delivered a condemnation of Big Business control of government unprecedented in U.S. history. At the United Labor Conference were seven hundred delegates from city and state organizations and international unions of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the rail unions and the Machinists — practically all organized labor except the United Mine Workers and the operating rail unions. The conference voiced its unanimous determination to break the monopoly control by the corporations of the mobilization program.

INSPIRED BY UNITY

Delegates were obviously delighted with the AFL-CIO solidarity in the present struggle. They were not seated by organization but intermingled throughout the great auditorium. Every reference by speakers to the historic significance of the united meeting — the first since 1935 when labor split on AFL and CIO lines — evoked genuine enthusiasm.

Highlights of the conference were speeches by UAW International Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, and by Ed Wells of the Knoxville, Tennessee Central Labor Union.

BLAMES TRUMAN

"One phase of the problem has not been adequately covered here today," Mazey said. "Truman was elected on a fair deal program — I respectfully submit that the president has made but feeble attempts to put that program into effect. And we are getting a raw deal today. Truman has the responsibility of removing C. E. Wilson. The President can't escape his share of responsibility for the mess today."

Wells declared, "The speeches yesterday and today have been fine. But the big question that arises here today is what can we do to be effective about the information we are getting. I am not at all satisfied despite what has gone on here today that we have steered the labor movement to what it wants to accomplish. We've got to work on the government and on the Truman administration. The Truman administration is delicately balanced in its power in this country. It's in power by the skin of its teeth. If United Labor is going to walk out of the Truman administration and out of the Democratic Party then we are going to get somewhere. The least we can do is get the Central Labor Unions and the State Federations of Labor to pass resolutions for a Democratic Labor Party or a Farmer-Labor Party!"

LABOR PARTY
No sooner had the words "Labor Party" left the speaker's mouth than a loud voice cried out: "Mr. Chairman He's out of order! He's speaking about a Labor Party!"

To this, the Knoxville delegate belligerently shouted back: "So what? Are you a Republican?"

A Declaration of Principles, presented to the conference and unanimously adopted, states:

"We are shocked by the cruel disregard being shown for the interests of every-day American families. We are shocked by the privilege and favoritism bestowed upon a single group.

"This special privilege is apparent for all to see in the ineffective price control program, in the tight wage freeze, in credit controls, in the deterioration of rent control, in the misdirection of civilian manpower authority.

(Continued on page 3)

Joseph Hansen Flails Minnesota McCarthyite

By Harold Kent

MINNEAPOLIS, March 14 — A forum featuring Joseph Hansen and State Senator Fay Child was held on the University of Minnesota campus today. Before a large and interested audience of students and faculty members the representative of scientific socialism and Minnesota's own version of Senator Joe McCarthy took up the cudgels over "The Trend of Radical Thought in America." The spokesman for socialism carried off all the honors.

The audience laughed when Child reiterated all the absurd charges made by Senator Joe McCarthy that the Truman administration is harboring "radicals" in top government posts. Child named Sidney Hillman as the one man most responsible for this development. He named Frankfurter, Keyserling, Acheson and others as "radicals" leading the country toward socialism.

Child then trained his guns on "radical influence" on the campus. He named Isaac M. Kolthoff, chief of analytical chemistry, as one of the radicals, because Kolthoff has lent his support to the defense of civil liberties.

LITTLE SYMPATHY
Child, who is a renegade from the Farmer-Labor party, is making a frenzied attempt to blot out his "past" and to prove that he is the best red-baiter in the business. His witch-hunting found little sympathy among the students.

Brewer adds in another dispatch that "basically, the Barcelona situation has not changed... all the causes of the crisis remain... there is bound to be further trouble... the next time it may well be more serious."

One fact of greatest significance is that Franco did not dare to call out regular army troops. The commander in the area "confined his troops to their barracks saying the two-day strike was not an army matter," reported the Associated Press. Instead Franco had to send special marines in five warships and 13,000 special police and Civil Guards by train and plane to Barcelona from hundreds of miles away. It is evident that Franco does not consider his army conscripts reliable.

This bears out a report made almost two months ago, on Jan. 27, by C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the N. Y. Times. He revealed "unrest is growing in Spain's Army because of... low pay and rising prices" and that "an important Spanish general" said "that he could not be sure of the Army's loyalty if full mobilization involving all elements of the population were to be ordered."

Without a reliable army, Franco is vulnerable. The masses know it. The days of his regime are numbered. Only Washington's aid in money and arms can prolong his evil, brutal rule.

In sharp contrast to this, Joe Hansen's speech was received with quiet attentiveness. Hansen was introduced as a representative of radical thought. He lost no time in proclaiming his radical philosophy. Radicals are always in the forefront of social progress, he said. In the revolutionary days, the radicals led the fight for American freedom and independence and in the 1800's the radicals took the lead in the struggle to abolish slavery.

Today's radicals, he said, are "fighting the outmoded social system of capitalism. As long as it exists, we will continue to have depressions, wars and fascism."

GROWTH OF MCCARTHYISM
Hansen said that psychiatrists would advise us to humor the type of mentality represented by Child and McCarthy. "But we can't do that now," he said, "because that type of mentality is dominating our government at the present time. The power of the McCarthy's is growing bigger and bigger."

Hansen traced the dangerous (Continued on Page 2)

NO CRIES OF WELCOME FOR U.S. 'LIBERATORS'

After U.S. forces reentered the rubble of Seoul, South Korean capital, we were again treated to reports about how the populace "welcomed" their "liberators." An Associated Press dispatch claimed

"old men wept unashamed. Women hugged and kissed us... squealing children fought to touch us."

Another, opposite and more true-sounding report comes from Gordon Walker, Chief Far East Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor. "No more than a handful of the former population of 1,500,000 remains to comb over the ruins and search for lost homes and families," he wrote from Seoul. And when the first patrols entered the city on March 15, "there were no shots fired nor were there any cries of welcome."

GREETED BY SILENCE

"Instead, the advancing UN soldiers were greeted with silence by sullen and resentful knots of people who were tired of the war and of constant 'liberation' and who in many cases would even prefer Communist domination to the destruction and misery which have been their constant lot for more than eight months..."

Throughout the business and government quarters, Walker adds, "there is an atmosphere of gloom and depression which deprives the reconquering UN armies of any sense of victory or worthwhile achievement."

Barcelona--Foreshadow of Franco's Doom

By Art Preis

If we knew nothing more about the Barcelona events of March 12 than the bare fact that this largest industrial city in fascist Spain was paralyzed by huge mass demonstrations and a general strike of 300,000 workers, we would be justified in hailing this as the most inspiring news from Western Europe since the overthrow of Mussolini. The strike, which also affected at least four other industrial cities in Catalonia province, would be equivalent to a general walkout in the industrial heart of America from Pittsburgh to Detroit.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

Under conditions of fascism in Spain, where the workers have lived for 12 years under the most brutal armed terrorism and repression, the Barcelona upsurge has the greatest revolutionary implications. It reveals that the spirit of revolt has become so widespread and reached such a pitch that it dares to break into the open and that Dictator Franco's repressive apparatus has been cracked and weakened.

It is these very facts which have inspired a semi-blackout of the news about Barcelona in most of the U.S. press. The Truman administration and its State Department don't want the American people to know what is going on in Spain at the very moment Washington resumes "cordial" diplomatic relations with Bloody Franco, pours millions of our money into his coffers and tries to sell the American people on the "need" to make fascist Spain a pillar of U.S. imperialism's Atlantic Pact military machine.

The Militant, which headlined the Barcelona struggle last week, has since received reports from



A view of cobble-strewn street intersection Barcelona, Spain, just after fascist police killed two demonstrators during general strike on March 12. —Wide World Photo.

various parts of the country that many newspapers did not carry a line about the Barcelona strike or at most a buried paragraph or two. We are indebted to Sam Pope Brewer, N. Y. Times correspondent, for most of the available information.

FRANCO RETREATS

Brewer reports from Spain that far from crushing the Barcelona workers, Franco has been forced to make concessions. Originally, the Franco government had announced that all strikers would be fined and all those arrested, numbering more than a thousand, would be fired, if not sent to prison. Under threat of renewed

action by the workers, the government hastily announced that although workers would be docked for time lost "they would be allowed to make up the money by working overtime." (N. Y. Times, March 18.)

It was also announced, Brewer reports, that arrested workers "would not be automatically dismissed, as originally ordered." The original order directed the dismissal of everybody arrested and did not take into account the possibility of mistaken arrests in the heat of developments. "What it did not take into account actually was the workers' power to resist.

A further concession to the demands of the workers was Franco's order for the removal of the civil Governor of the province, Eduardo Baeza, whom the workers held responsible for the killing of three demonstrators and the injury to many others when Baeza sent his police to shoot and club them.

No fascist dictator can afford to make concessions under the pressure of the masses. Every such concession, even the smallest, emboldens the workers.

MOST SERIOUS BLOW

Brewer describes the Barcelona strike as "the most serious blow that the Franco regime has had to face since the civil war ended

Yugoslavia's Foreign Policy -- IV

Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country'

By John G. Wright

The material basis of Stalinism lies in the emergence and rise to power in the Soviet Union of a huge privileged bureaucratic caste, in deed and spirit Great-Russian, despotic and anti-socialist through and through.

the international workers' revolution, into an agency of imperialism within the world labor movement. This, too, has escaped the notice of the Yugoslav Communists who in their struggle against these agents of imperialism overlook or play down the imperialist principals.

country are enough — to this the history of our own revolution testifies. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like ours, are not enough — for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries."

of opportunism implanted in it. This is not a matter of hindsight. Back in 1924 Leon Trotsky, heading the genuine Leninist wing of the Russian party at the time, warned that Stalin's line of "socialism in one country" could lead only to opportunism, as it has. The gist of opportunism, as Lenin pointed out repeatedly, is the attempt to derive a program for the workers from the actual or imaginary conditions and tendencies within the narrow national framework.

hence its spirit of international solidarity.

Moreover, as the economics of imperialism have fully disclosed, private property is not the only fetter on the expansion of the productive forces. So are the national boundaries, the historic framework within which capitalist property has unfolded. The one is just as reactionary as the other.

The Yugoslav Communist leaders show national narrow-mindedness when they limit their horizons to the defense of Yugoslav national frontiers against the threat of Stalinism, and ignore the global reality of imperialism. By clinging to the illusion that they can build socialism in Yugoslavia without the aid of at least several advanced countries, they are repeating in their present foreign policy, in their own way and under new conditions, the opportunist course Stalin himself did not dare enter until after Lenin died.

Hansen Flails McCarthyite In Minnesota

(Continued from Page 1)

growth of the police state in America. Starting with the loyalty purges in 1945 against government employees, he showed how thought-control was next introduced into industry, and finally to institutions of higher learning. The culmination of this sinister development, Hansen stated, was the passage of the McCarran-Kilgore bill. "For the first time in American history," he said, "concentration camps have been legalized."

Drawing a parallel between the Mikado's theory of "dangerous thoughts" and the McCarran-Kilgore thought-control bill, Hansen declared: "We must defend the democratic rights of all political parties no matter how unpopular their views may be!" Loud applause greeted the speaker.

Hansen concluded that to assure these rights it is necessary to introduce a workers' and farmers' government: "Then we can assure world peace and really build a world worth living in."

The meeting, sponsored by the Student Group for Political Analysis, was held on the same campus where only a month ago the Militant was banned. In fact, Militant distributors had brisk sales before the doors of the auditorium.

Hansen Speaks at Minneapolis Forum

MINNEAPOLIS, March 18 — Pointing to socialism as the only way out for a war-torn world, Joseph Hansen, Business Manager of the Militant and Fourth International, declared in a talk here Friday night that America is rearming because the American ruling class fears revolution.

"The real conspiracy today is that of the American ruling class to plunge America into a Third World War — not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make it safe for America's '60 families' and their profit-making!" he continued.

Following the talk, the audience of workers, University students and housewives participated in a question period for nearly an hour, showing a great deal of interest in the program of the SWP.

The following is the schedule of the Hansen tour: Monday March 26 Seattle Tuesday 27 " Thursday 29 S. Francisco Oakland Friday 30 " Saturday 31 " Sunday Apr. 1 " Monday 2 " Tuesday 3 " Friday 6 Los Angeles

Fund Payments Up to Schedule; 2 Weeks to Go

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

With the looming deadline only two weeks away, branches of the Socialist Workers Party have put the Organization, Press and Defense Fund right on schedule.

Their payments this week totaled \$2,344. Through March 20 the grand total paid is \$15,214. This is 85% of the \$18,000 national quota assigned in the campaign — precisely what the schedule calls for at this point. That's calling the shot.

If this pace is held for the remaining two weeks of the campaign, the goal of the \$18,000 fund will be reached. But we will not consider the campaign a complete 100% success unless each and every branch is paid in full by the deadline, March 31.

The scoreboard shows that four more branches hit the goal line this week — Milwaukee, Buffalo, St. Paul-Minneapolis and Seattle — making a total of eight branches with 100% or better.

Comrade George of Milwaukee tells us how they went over the top to 100%. "Comrade Hansen's national speaking tour meeting here was very successful. During the collection many of our members paid up their fund pledges and several exceeded their pledges. Sympathizers also were generous. The appeal was for contributions to the Organization, Press and Defense Fund."

Comrade Charles speaks for St. Paul-Minneapolis: "At the conclusion of Comrade Hansen's inspiring speech and a lively question and discussion period, a motion was made that we dig up enough money right now to complete our quota in the Organization, Press and Defense Fund. The members present dug down,

and enough money was turned in to make our goal of \$1,000."

Comrade Frank of Seattle says: "The fund campaign here was a huge success. All who were financially able contributed something. We've reached 100%."

Four branches are on schedule with 85% or ahead — San Francisco, New York, Toledo and Flint. Eleven branches are still lagging, but we'll see from their letters that they are sure of completing their quotas in full and on time.

San Francisco: "Everyone here is confident that we will make our \$1,500 quota before March 31."

New York: "You can count on us. We'll reach the finish line by the end of the month."

Flint: "There need be no doubt at all that Flint will reach its quota on time."

Chicago: "We are sure of getting our quota in — at least by the 31st."

Detroit: "The balance will be in by March 31 without a doubt!"

Los Angeles: "We should make it despite our fears and worries. This means \$500 a week for the next two!"

Philadelphia: "After examining every aspect of our financial situation, including the possibility of some comrades making additional payments over and above their original pledges, we are certain that we will complete our quota in full and on time." (Only two more weeks to go!)

Washington's Korea War Plans

By Joseph Keller

The approach of the "U.S.-UN" forces once again to the 38 parallel, dividing line between South and North Korea, is inspiring widespread speculation about a truce or other arrangement to end the fighting in Korea. An impression, nourished on reports from official circles in Washington, Lake Success, Tokyo and Seoul, is being created that a withdrawal of the Chinese army north of the 38th Parallel lays the basis for some kind of deal.

As yet, there is no direct evidence that Peiping has tendered any proposal Washington is prepared to consider. Nor is there reliable evidence that the U.S. State Department and Pentagon are willing to make any compromise terms. The purpose of the rumor campaign might well be propaganda to justify continuation and extension of the Korea war into Manchuria and China proper.

Most of the UN allies of Washington are known to be opposed to the crossing of the 38th Parallel, fearing that such a move will not only prolong the war in Korea but increase the risk of an all-out war with China. But these countries went along last fall when MacArthur made his ill-fated drive through North Korea and threatened the Yalu River border of Manchuria, thus forcing the Chinese to act. What kind of resistance can they be expected to put up if Washington and the Pentagon again decide to push across the 38th? Truman has stated that the question is a "tactical" matter for the general in command — MacArthur — to decide.

MacArthur, of course, is pressing for all-out war on China. He has threatened that the Korean war will end in a "military stalemate" — an endless war of attrition without any possibility of a decision — unless he gets more soldiers and is given UN sanction to bomb Manchuria.

TWO OPPOSITE VIEWS
General Ridgway, 8th Army commander and field leader of the U.S. forces in Korea, has made a statement interpreted to be at variance with MacArthur's views. He said that if the war ended with the U.S. in control up to the Parallel, it would be a "tremendous victory for the United Nations. . . We didn't set out to conquer China. We set out to stop communism. . . If China fails to throw us into the sea, that is a defeat for her of incalculable proportions."

This is an advance alibi in the event military setbacks prevent the U.S. command from carrying its campaign back into North Korea. China did not enter the conflict until late in November when the U.S. army was poised on her border. The conquest of all Korea was the original objective of the U.S. campaign.

RESULTS OF BAD THEORY
This by no means exhausts the deceptions and fatal consequences of Stalin's super-Utopian and super-reactionary "theory" of constructing a socialist society in an isolated country. It has led to socialism neither inside the USSR nor anywhere else. How can this self-same course lead to socialism in Yugoslavia?

Stalin's brain-child of an isolated "socialist paradise" has resulted in the conversion of Stalinism into a mortal foe of

Moreover, there is no "tremendous victory" in the fact that the armed forces of the rich and technologically advanced U.S., with ground troops, including those of South Korea and other allies, now numbering close to 500,000, and with overwhelming superiority in tanks, artillery and air power, has been held by a scarcely larger force of Chinese and Korean peasants equipped for the most part only with light arms.

In the political sense, of course, the U.S. has already received a resounding defeat. Nowhere in the world, outside of the top circles of U.S. militarists, war profiteers and imperialist politicians, is there an iota of enthusiasm for the Korean war. On the contrary, even in this country the overwhelming majority of the people are for stopping the war immediately and withdrawing the troops without further delay.

WAR OF EXTERMINATION
As for the proclaimed U.S. mission of "liberating" the Koreans, that is a subject everywhere for derision when it does not evoke bitter indignation and outright horror. It is generally known that the U.S. military have waged a war of extermination against the whole of Korea and its people. Half the population of South Korea — the people the U.S. was supposed to be "liberating" from North Korean "aggression" — have been made homeless refugees

PEOPLE FREEZING
Ben C. Limb, Syngman Rhee's foreign minister and head of his mission to the UN, appealed for urgent action to provide relief for 10 million Korean refugees "before they all freeze to death." He added: "In the Korean viewpoint, the fight for democracy is important but human life is important also. If you lose all the lives what is the use of the democracy?"

As for the American casualties, they are now admittedly close to 56,000, although these official figures are weeks behind the actual toll and do not include thousands of casualties due to "non-combat" causes such as frostbite and disease. A continuation of the war, even on the present scale, will mean further U.S. casualties at a rate of 8,000 to 10,000 a month.

The American people should not slacken for a moment their opposition to the war and their demand for the withdrawal of the troops. No stock should be placed in the rumors about a settlement at the 38th Parallel. It may well be that all this talk is designed to get the people off guard and to use any Chinese and North Korean refusal to agree to U.S. terms as a pretext for continuing and extending U.S. intervention in the Far East.

Even should an agreement be reached, if it means a continuation of the division of Korea and its occupation by foreign armies, there can be no real peace. Any terms which leave the U.S. imperialist forces in Korea would be only a "breathing-spell" for preparation of renewed warfare when the U.S. high command feels more capable of waging a successful offensive.

There can be no peace or justice in Korea so long as the Korean people are not free to decide their own fate. They did not ask and have never welcomed U.S. intervention. They are fighting for national independence, for land reforms and basic social improvements against all foreign imperialist oppression, as well as the exploitation of their own capitalists and landlords. That was the fundamental issue in the civil war between North and South Korean regimes; that will remain the fundamental issue in any "peace" that leaves Korea the stamping ground of foreign occupiers.

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By U.S. bombings and "scorched earth" policy.

Korean civilians, particularly women and children, who have died as a result of being driven out in sub-zero weather onto the open roads without food or warm clothing, as well as from U.S. napalm bombs, explosives and bullets, must number in the millions. Even officials of the U.S.-sponsored brutal Syngman Rhee puppet government have complained about the catastrophic loss of life.

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There can be no peace or justice in Korea so long as the Korean people are not free to decide their own fate. They did not ask and have never welcomed U.S. intervention. They are fighting for national independence, for land reforms and basic social improvements against all foreign imperialist oppression, as well as the exploitation of their own capitalists and landlords. That was the fundamental issue in the civil war between North and South Korean regimes; that will remain the fundamental issue in any "peace" that leaves Korea the stamping ground of foreign occupiers.

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By Fred Hart

Only one witness in New York's Foley Square courtroom where the Senate crime probe hearings were in session last week is a man convicted of a crime. He is not a big-shot racketeer, not a politician or cop who took a fix, not a professional gunman or hood. He is Theodore Narushief, a picket captain in the CIO electrical workers 1946 strike at the Phelps-Dodge plant in Elizabeth, N. J., who was elected president of his local union a few months ago.

The week before the New York hearings of the Kefauver committee opened, Narushief was hauled to trial over in Union County, N. J., on a charge dating back to May 1946. After his recent election as union president, the case against him was suddenly reopened by the police. They said Narushief had assaulted a Phelps-Dodge supervisor on May 30, 1946. That was the day a bullet fired from the struck plant killed Mario Russo, a CIO striker. The police never did get around to arresting any suspect in Russo's murder. But they pounced on Narushief after nearly five years. The court took the cops' word for it and convicted him for alleged assault of a strikebreaker.

Narushief's presence in the Foley Square hearings of the Kefauver committee was entirely voluntary. He was finally given a few minutes to testify on the matter of one Anthony Anastasia, who was once held on \$100,000 bail in connection with the probe of Murder, Inc., and who was characterized by the Brooklyn District Attorney as "part and parcel of the mob" led by his famous brother, Albert Anastasia.

STRIKEBREAKER
Anthony Anastasia is now hiring boss at U.S. Steel's Isthmian Line's Erie Basin terminal in Brooklyn and making a good thing of it by all accounts. Narushief revealed that Anastasia is also the character who was hired by the Phelps-Dodge Cor-

poration to break the CIO's strike in 1946. Tony's "boys" did such a bang-up job with sawed-off billiard cues, iron chains and bullets that a number of strikers ended up in the hospital and one in the grave.

Narushief also disclosed that Anastasia, together with a waterfront union mediator, got him into a little private meeting where Anastasia explained that his strikebreaking job was worth a cool thousand per day to him and that Phelps-Dodge president Wylie Brown had authorized him to make any deal necessary to settle the strike. Anastasia boasted he had an "open door" to Brown's office.

Tony Anastasia was also an interested spectator and witness at the Kefauver hearings. He admitted arrests for homicide and other felonies, but always "beat the rap." He conceded it was "possible" that Phelps-Dodge paid him \$65,812 in 1946 — as a "stevedore-contractor." His brother Albert, who was six times arrested for murder and never convicted, was also thus engaged at a salary "of \$125 a week or \$90, I am not sure" and has a \$65,000 home.

Now, the "honest business" Mr. Campbell had reference to was a matter of lucrative contracts for scrap hauling and other services which companies like Briggs Manufacturing Corp., Ford Motor and the Michigan Stove Works gave to certain professional gangsters in remuneration for their extra-curricular activities as union-busters and strikebreakers.

BRIGGS DEAL
There was, for instance the \$1 1/2 million scrap-hauling contract Briggs gave to young Renda of the Renda-Perrone gang just prior to the time a number of militant members of Briggs Local 212 were brutally beaten up by "persons unknown," since identified by a former Briggs official as the gangster beneficiaries of Briggs Corporation. Some light

has also been shed on the gangster ties of Ford Motor, which since 1931 has bestowed the valuable hauling rights from its River Rouge plant on one Tony D'Anna, a former bootlegger who enjoys the reputation of being head of the Detroit Mafia.

The Kefauver committee's interesting beginnings investigating the relations between the "illegitimate" and the "legitimate" business men has somehow been sidetracked, although it is reported it may reopen hearings in Detroit soon. At any rate here is a broad and virtually unknown territory that invites exploration. There is an especially sinister aspect of the ties between Big Business and the underworld that would give a more intensive and extensive probe tremendous value. That is the role played by criminals and gangsters in providing the nucleus of the hoodlum squads and storm troopers in the rise of fascist dictators.

Big Business and the Underworld

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UNDERWORLD AND FASCISM
Wherever the Big Business interests have resorted to fascism to destroy organized labor, the underworld has been the chief source of recruitment for fascist gangs. Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Chiang Kai-shek — all mobilized the criminal scum as the "activist" core of their movements. There is real significance in the fact that Horst Wessel, the hero of the Nazi marching song, was a gangster-pimp who died in a knifing scrape over the division of the earnings of a prostitute.

In this country, and especially in the recent period of the upsurge of unionism, the hiring of gangsters by companies like Ford, Briggs, Phelps-Dodge and others for anti-labor activities points to the most likely source of fascist terrorists should the American capitalists decide to resort to the fascist mode of rule. In fact, the increasing use of gangsters by the industrial corporations is evidence that fascism is a real menace in America.

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various cities and their contributions to the fund.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The 14th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party said the circulation of the party press should have first place in party activity. This idea is now being effectively implemented by the national tour of our business manager, Joseph Hansen.

The tour of our business manager, inspired by the convention discussion of the press, is in itself a graphic illustration of the seriousness with which the decision of the convention is being taken both in the center and in the field.

This is the first time the circulation of the party press is being put on a high-powered organized basis involving the entire party.

The high point of interest along the route of the tour appears to be the projected all-out subscription campaign which is now being worked out in conferences between Comrade Hansen and the comrades of each branch he visits.

We cannot give details now, but can already let it be known that the central feature of the plan is the division of the party branches into three distinct leagues with three big prizes — one for the champion in each league — and perhaps other prizes for those who place and show.

Here are some extracts from Comrade Hansen's reports: New Haven: "Good discussion with comrades. They favor the idea of a sub campaign. The comrades think The Militant is right on the beam."

Buffalo: "I met with the leading comrades and discussed literature. They are enthusiastic about the idea of a well-rewarded contest and like Boston wanted to start immediately. As a compromise, one of the comrades suggested they get going right away in building sales to provide a base of operations for when the contest opens."

Cleveland: "The comrades think the proposal for a sub campaign excellent." Chicago: "The literature department here is self-sustaining and paid in a profit last month. At the literature meeting there was a real burst of enthusiasm at the idea of the campaign. It's the prize that does it, naturally; but it's wonderful to see how it immediately sharpens minds on ways and means of getting sales and subs. The literature meeting, which included the literature committee and leading activists in the branch, then went into what I thought was a fruitful discussion of 'The Militant.' Milwaukee: "They all went for the sub campaign idea. We went into a discussion of techniques and Milwaukee's peculiar problems as interest in the project and the difficulties to be overcome appeared to be high."

Oakland -- San Francisco hear JOSEPH HANSEN speak on "America and the World Crisis" Oakland Friday, March 30 8 PM 73rd Ave. nr. E. 14th St. Chairman FILOMENA GOELMAN SWP candidate for Councilman-at-Large San Francisco Saturday, March, 31 8 PM 1739 Fillmore St. 4th floor Admission Free

Gl's Lose Taste For Ice Cream Gl's who remain in Korea after May have been promised that ice cream will be added to their rations, reports a N.Y. Times dispatch from 8th Army headquarters. It adds: "Four enlisted men, asked what they thought of the prospect for having ice cream in Korea as a reward for remaining here until May, did not sound enthusiastic. Said one soldier: 'I'd rather take my chance on eating rat poison in the worst part of the States if I had the choice.'"

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

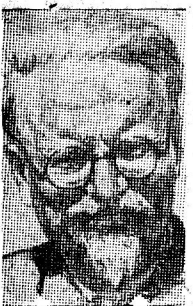
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Monday, March 26, 1951

Only the Truth Will Liberate Labor



"The liberation of the workers can come only through the workers themselves. There is, therefore, no greater crime than deceiving the masses, palming off defeats as victories, friends as enemies, bribing workers' leaders, fabricating legends, staging false trials, in a word doing what the Stalinists do.

"These means can serve only one end: lengthening the domination of a clique already condemned by history. But they cannot serve to liberate the masses."

— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, 1938.



LENIN

Criminals and Politicians

From the days of the Civil War on, capitalist political rule in this country has been notoriously corrupt. But the scandals of the Grant or the Harding regimes pale into insignificance compared to the utter corruption of government today. No administration has ever been so befouled with scandal as Truman's.

Most sinister of all are the disclosures of the connection between the political machines, national, state and local, and the vast criminal syndicates which are looting billions annually from the American people and whose influence has penetrated deeply into all levels of the government.

At the same time, it has been revealed that the Big Business corporations, which control these political machines and the government, have been hiring criminal elements — professional gangsters and murderers — to break strikes and destroy unions.

The whole rotten condition has been dramatically highlighted by the latest revelations of the Senate crime probe committee, headed by Senator Kefauver. It has just uncovered the fact that former Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City, who resigned just ahead of the police-gamblers tie-up exposure and was hast-

ily shipped across the border in the disguise of Ambassador to Mexico by Truman, demanded and took a \$10,000 cash pay-off from the Firemen's Association.

O'Dwyer, for all that he is a cheap grafter and bribe-taker, is no political small potatoes. As Mayor of New York City he wielded immense influence in the Democratic Party nationally and his machine was a chief prop of Truman. Is it possible to believe that Truman — himself an honor graduate of the Pendergast mob in Missouri — didn't know what he was doing when he foisted O'Dwyer on the Mexican people?

Of one thing we can be sure, Truman, the President of the United States, deliberately contrived this move in an effort to protect one of his chief henchmen. Truman himself is as guilty of fostering the alliance of the Democratic machine and the underworld as men like O'Dwyer who have been caught red-handed.

Is the word "traitors" too strong to characterize those labor leaders who still persist in trying to preserve a political alliance with capitalist parties and politicians so completely steeped in crime and corruption? It's time, indeed, for labor to sweep this putrid mess away with its own independent labor party.

Blackmailing Starving India

The Truman administration in combination with Congress has entered the fifth month of its deliberate stall to prevent shipments of grain to India where 100 million are slowly starving to death.

One month ago, Truman issued his "appeal" to Congress to extend aid to India. A ballyhoo ensued, amid which a "bi-partisan" Senate group introduced a special "Emergency Aid to India" Bill. It provides for the shipment of only one million tons of grain, clamps an economic noose on India's economic life, unloads all transportation costs on the Indian government, etc. But even this piece of "humanitarianism" has been stalled in the Senate since February 15.

In the House the shipment of grain "to famine stricken India is being secretly filibustered to death in the House Rules Committee," reported the columnist Robert S. Allen on March 13.

Meanwhile, the American Embassy in New Delhi is reportedly busy pressing the Nehru government to give "due publicity" to the "disinterested generosity of the United States." "The Indian gov-

ernment," cables Margaret Parton, Indian correspondent of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, "would probably also be asked to distribute an American-made documentary film on the subject to all Indian motion picture houses."

This pressure to say "thanks" for a "disinterested generosity" which has thus far consisted in keeping food from their mouths is naturally resented by the Indians. "If Americans expect an overwhelming show of gratitude on the part of articulate Indians for their contemplated gift of 2,000,000 tons of grain, they are in for a considerable disappointment," complains Miss Parton. How cynical can an apologist for American imperialism get?

These starving millions must have two million tons of American grain in order to maintain their present slow death ration of nine ounces a day for the next 60 days. They haven't got it. Nor will they get it until aroused labor and public opinion intervenes to put an end to this bestial stalling whose aim is to make the Indian government toe the foreign policy line of the American imperialists.

Ruining the Dollar

The U.S. dollar is being ruined — at a much faster pace than commonly realized. As of today, the dollar, taking its purchasing power at 100 cents in 1940, is worth a little over 40 cents. A worker earning \$50 a week is actually receiving \$20 in the currency of 10 years ago. Pensioners, old-age and others, insurance-policy holders, savings accounts, government bond holders etc. have already been bilked to the tune of six dollars out of ten they originally had. To many this is an economic disaster.

The biggest single chunk of the dollar's purchasing power has been sliced off by the Big Bankers' \$10-billion raid on the public pocket. By ballooning the credit system, the Big Bankers have debased the dollar by at least 10 percent in the first seven months since Korea. The extent to which the U.S. dollar has been damaged by this ballooning of credit (which still continues!) cannot be fully assessed as yet.

But ominous signals are already here. For the first time since the fiscal convulsions of the depression in the Thirties, the dollar has "softened" abroad. Capital is fleeing. Funds are being pulled out not alone by foreign capitalists but also by the native billionaires.

Since Korea, the Department of Commerce reported in Dec. 1950, there started an "unprecedented outflow of long and short-term U.S. private capital." In the first 90 days, more than half a bil-

lion fled abroad, primarily for speculative purposes, it is officially conceded. The outflow since then has not slackened as witnessed, among other things, by a record outpouring of gold from this country.

By the turn of this year gold was being taken out at an annual rate of two billion dollars; recently the rate has almost doubled. Gold prices have risen in European markets by 20 percent and more above the price pegged by the International Monetary Fund, which is primarily financed by the U.S. Treasury; in other markets, especially in Tangiers and Bombay, gold prices are much higher. International speculators are betting heavily that Washington's \$35-an-ounce gold price, frozen since 1934, will soon be raised.

Among other drastic measures that Washington is reportedly contemplating is to freeze all foreign assets. All this, amid galloping domestic and world inflation, naturally acts to spur the flight from the dollar and to undermine it further. But each step toward debasing the dollar is a step in debasing the living standards, as labor has learned.

This ruination of the dollar adds to the urgent need of the two really effective measures the working people have to fight inflation — the one, the escalator clause for wages; the other, the policing of prices by committees of labor, housewives, farmers and all the poor.

Stalinists Knife Labor, Attack Escalator Clause

By Michael Bartell

During the last war when the Communist Party backed Wall Street imperialism and its wage freeze, the Stalinists were the most malicious opponents of the escalator wage program advocated by the Socialist Workers Party. Now that most of organized labor has been forced to adopt the escalator wage policy as the most effective weapon to fight the wage freeze and defend living standards from inflation, the Stalinists are still continuing their reactionary attacks on this program.

At the recent national convention of the CP, John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, fumed against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" as the initiators of the escalator wage program. In his same special report, entitled "Sharpen the Fight Against Browderism," Titoism, Trotskyism," Gates also warned of the "dangerous increase of Trotskyist influence. We have been dangerously remiss in our struggle against Trotskyism," he confessed, noting with alarm that "in the recent N. Y. elections the Trotskyites increased their vote from 1,600 to 13,000."

A MAJOR ISSUE

Gates then revealed the formula for this struggle. The Stalinists must "expose" the Trotskyists for introducing the escalator clause! And this just when the escalator clause is becoming one of the major issues of the class struggle.

Gates explained that "we need to remind the labor movement that it was the Trotskyites who gave the employers the escalator clause which has become the pattern for the employers' wage freeze plans." This is a gem with but one flaw: Far from becoming a "pattern for the employers' wage freeze plans," the escalator clause is the biggest obstacle to the wage-freezers.

Yes, we Trotskyists pioneered the escalator clause in the fight against wartime inflation and we have every reason to be proud of it. It is one of the most powerful weapons in labor's arsenal today. The Stalinists, on the other hand, have every reason to conceal their special "contributions" to the labor movement, such as the treacherous wartime "permanent no-strike pledge," their advocacy of "incentive" pay, and their support of Roosevelt's forced labor proposal. Their contributions to the welfare of the corporations won them the deserved contempt and hatred of almost all workers everywhere.

It suffices to refute the "logic" of the American Stalinists' argument against the escalator clause to ask them why the Communist Parties of France and Italy and the great unions under their control have made the escalator wage a key demand and why the Mao Tse-tung regime in China not only supports the sliding wage scale but enforces it.

WHY THE CP OPPOSES

Their real motive in opposing this demand in this country is precisely because it is so identified with Trotskyism and the Socialist Workers Party in the minds of numerous thousands of trade union militants. The Stalinists do not dare to admit that such a good proposal emanated from those they slander as "this criminal counter-revolutionary

clique" (one of Gates' milder defamations of the SWP). This is a typical sample of how the unprincipled Stalinist bureaucrats are ready to sacrifice the workers' interests for the sake of factional aims.

Gates falsely claims that "the escalator clause ties wages to prices" and "not only prevents the workers from raising their standard of living but actually means a steady deterioration in their standards." Exactly the opposite is true. The escalator clause is the only way to safeguard the real wages already won and facilitate the struggle for higher basic wage scales. Without the sliding scale, every wage increase is turned into a hollow victory by price increases. But once a good escalator clause is won, this rat race is over. The way is cleared for an offensive to raise the basic wage scale and improve working conditions.

WHY ESCALATOR IS NEEDED

The war program of the Big Business profiteers demands a sharp reduction in labor's living standards. Government wage and price control agencies aim to siphon off "surplus" purchasing power by freezing wages while permitting prices to rise. The sliding scale of wages auto-

matically adjusted to rising prices frustrates this scheme. That is why all the employers' organizations are bitterly opposed to the escalator clause — as much opposed, in fact, as the Stalinists.

The workers are not likely to heed the Stalinist "advice" that they voluntarily surrender their potential weapon. Even the labor officialdom, who also opposed this Trotskyist slogan for many years, now serve notice that they will defend the escalator clause by strike action if necessary.

The Wage Stabilization Board (now minus its labor members) has met this issue — by sidestepping it. Those unions that have the clause are "permitted" to keep it, at least until June, when the question will be "reviewed." In other words, the united power of the unions has forced the government to postpone the showdown and guarantees that the conflict will assume a sharper form at a later date.

Where do the Stalinists stand in this struggle? They stand with the wage freezers — the discredited Wage Stabilization Board the ex-Chamber of Commerce President Eric Johnston and war mobilization czar, Charles E. Wilson. The Stalinists are trying to stab the American workers in the back.

AUTO UNION CONVENTION FACES POLITICAL ISSUE

(Continued from Page 1)

together with the millions of professional workers, small businessmen and farmers, all of whom suffer equally with labor the ruining effects of inflation.

The immediate need for independent political action is brought home by the threat still hanging over the escalator cost-of-living clause, which the UAW has established as a protection against rising prices.

DANGER AHEAD

Only by the walkout of the labor leaders from all government boards, and announcement by the UAW International executive board of intention to strike if necessary, have the auto workers managed to retain, if only temporarily, this protection against inflation. This represents but a fleeting victory; Big Business is simply biding its time to outlaw the escalator clause, and meanwhile will use higher taxes and uncontrolled inflation to drive down purchasing power.

While the fate of the escalator clause is still to be decided in the near future, the government has shown its intentions to drive down workers' real wages by Eric Johnston's unjust refusal to allow the wage increases won by the employers by the packinghouse and textile workers.

Truman has made very clear what he will do if labor strikes to defend its conditions. He has already broken more strikes, through the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction law, than any other president in history. This is the same Truman who promised to conduct a fight to repeal the slave labor law!

There is no future in continuing the alliance with the Democratic party. Under the rule of the two capitalist parties, Washington is a happy hunting

ground for the profiteers, and the base of operations of the union-haters.

A CONGRESS OF LABOR

The slogan of the UAW convention should be "Clean Big Business out of Washington." This cannot be done by crawling back into the Wage Stabilization Board through a compromise with Truman. The way to begin is to follow up the recently concluded National Labor Conference with a more representative National Congress of Labor, with delegates from all local unions of the AFL, CIO, and independent unions.

This Congress of Labor could then lay the groundwork for the organization of labor's own political party to challenge the Big Business monopoly in Washington.

Within the UAW no opposition group can rally decisive support on the basis of shop issues alone. Not under present conditions. It must provide an answer to the broader political issues.

A LEFT WING LEADERSHIP

By fighting for a broad left-wing political program aimed at wresting political power out of the hands of the Big Business gang in Washington, by electing representatives who will be responsible to a labor party, a progressive grouping can muster enthusiastic support from the militant membership.

The first step toward such a new leadership can be taken at this UAW convention. To do this, the opposition must conduct a determined struggle to reconstitute the traditional UAW democracy, which the Reuther administration has attempted to black out.

As the delegates at the UAW convention gather, all labor listens; it is time to speak out boldly for a new program!

UNITED LABOR CONFERENCE BLASTS BIG BUSINESS RULE IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from Page 1)

"We, the representatives of a united labor movement, protest the special privilege being granted to the wealthy, to big business, to greedy profiteers."

CONSUMERS COMMITTEES

Two points stood out in the conference's program to fight high prices: 1. "to enlist the cooperation and support from all community organizations..." and 2. "to help establish local consumer committees."

Preceding today's united meeting were yesterday's separate meetings of CIO, AFL and rail delegates. Those meetings heard reports from their members of the United Labor Policy Committee.

It is generally known that a divergence between CIO President Murray and Walter Reuther, president of the UAW, was made evident at the CIO meeting. Murray laid all blame on C. E. Wilson, Defense Mobilizer and on Congress. Not once did he indicate Truman's responsibility.

Reuther, it is reported, placed blame for the delivery of the

whole mobilization program into the hands of Big Business squarely on Truman and declared that labor must recognize this fact and deal with it accordingly.

At the AFL meeting, which was going on simultaneously in another part of the city, some discussion from the floor was permitted. One Southern delegate declared that on the basis of information supplied to the meeting "labor should take a walk out of the Democratic Party, whether we form our own Party, or not." A delegate from Virginia tried to present a resolution calling on Truman to remove C. E. Wilson. AFL President Green, chairman of the meeting, promptly squelched the motion as out of order. Green then stated that the meeting could not pass any resolutions but was called only for the purpose of receiving information from the ULPC.

REUTHER'S SPEECH

The most militant and applauded speech of today's conference was by Walter Reuther. Reuther, however, stayed within the political bounds set by Murray and

Green and did not attack the Truman administration as he did yesterday. Nonetheless those who were watching for it, could spot Reuther's differences with Murray and Green. For example, Murray in his opening speech had stated: "We come here, fundamentally, to seek peaceful redress of our grievances," and kept referring to the fight over labor's exclusion from the mobilization set-up as "labor's grievance." Reuther contradicted this formulation. Said Reuther in his speech: "It is not a grievance settlement but the negotiation of an entire new contract that we seek. Let's do the job right, let's negotiate a new contract and if we get one that's workable we can settle the grievances in accordance with it."

At the united conference speeches by top leaders of the ULPC consumed nine-tenths of the time. Discussion on the adoption of the Declaration of Principles and the Program of Action was limited to prepared list. Only Emil Mazyer, and Ed Wells of Knoxville managed to get the floor aside from those on the list.

HOOK RUSHES ADVICE TO U.S. IMPERIALISTS

By Harry Frankel

"Political warfare" against communism is expounded in detail in an article appearing in the March 11 *New York Times Magazine* by the turncoat radical Sidney Hook.

His central idea is stated as follows: "Necessary though social reforms are to eliminate... evils in the Western World, reform will not decisively beat propaganda. For social reform is an unending process, and there are always relative evils." Hook advises that the "democracies... take the offensive in political warfare" and elaborates a propaganda campaign "formulated differently for the different areas of conflict."

Professor Hook advises the imperialist masters of America that propaganda is the main pitch. "Reform," he says, "will not decisively beat propaganda." According to Hook, words speak louder than deeds.

U.S. PROBLEM OF PROPAGANDA

But what is the problem of propaganda warfare faced by the American capitalist class? Is it not precisely the inability of this class to permit any fundamental improvements in the living conditions of the oppressed masses throughout the world that repels the toiling masses everywhere from American imperialism?

U.S. imperialism has shown to the whole world, that it is inseparably wedded to archaic and reactionary property forms. This is the primary, the undeniable reason for the American-supported regimes of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Is not American imperialism the chief, if not the sole, remaining prop of big land-lordism and big business in Europe and Asia? And are these not the very institutions which stand in the way of a decent life for the European and Asian masses; the very institutions which these masses are accordingly striving to abolish? The oppressed peoples know this and words can't change their minds.

If anything is plain from the lessons of the past five years, it is this: that the failure of American imperialism is one of deeds, not of words. How can any campaign of words, no matter how "cleverly" designed by "deep students of Marxism" obscure the viciously reactionary nature of the American intervention into the social struggles of Europe and Asia? Let Hook pool his efforts with those of James Burnham, Lewis Corey, John Strachey and other such modern Marx-eaters, and let him seek additional assistance from Louis Budenz, Joseph Curran, Benjamin Gitlow and the other "organizational experts" on communism, and solve this question. They will sooner succeed in applying a coat of whitewash to the moon.

That a larger measure of civil

rights exists at the present moment in the U.S. than in Russia is cited by Hook to prove that the peoples of the world ought to support the U.S. and will be convinced to do so by a "clever" propaganda campaign. This is doubly false. It is false first of all because the status of civil rights in this country in no way affects the reactionary role played by the United States in the world social struggles. And it is secondly and most miserably false because it evades the central issue. The world is torn today by a struggle not primarily over civil rights, but over the property question.

What accounts for the popularity of the Soviet Union with such great masses of mankind? The masses are not in love with the bestialities of the Stalinist dictatorship, nor are they, as Hook snobbishly assumes, entirely unaware of this dictatorship. The answer is to be found in this: that the economic structure of the Soviet Union created by the 1917 Revolution remains to this day in harmony with the ultimate progressive solution of the property question.

This is why the initiative in the propaganda war remains in the hands of the Soviet bloc; not because of anything they say, but in spite of anything they say. A half-observant professor of philosophy would have noticed that the Soviet propaganda offensive suffers most when the stupid, incompetent, reactionary bureaucrat opens his mouth. In spite of all the crimes and stupidities of Stalin's diplomacy, the initiative remains his. The real propaganda war is first of all a war of facts, and the most stubborn facts of all, property facts.

WHAT ABOUT ASIAN PEOPLES?

Hook sketches out for the imperialists a propaganda campaign for every "area of conflict." It is significant to note, however, that of all "areas" the Asian region alone is unmentioned. Here is a problem that leaves even this "expert" speechless, and this is at present the most burning problem of all for the capitalist class.

Hook is very anxious that the "underground" of the satellite countries be supplied with "radio transmitters... portable printing presses of light metal alloy which they can easily transport from one hiding place to another."

But he neglects to specify one thing: What will the "rebels" say on their "radio transmitters" or print on their "portable printing presses"? Presumably, a printing press, even one of "light metal alloy" has a function to perform when not in motion "from one hiding place to another." Most important of all, what will the "rebels" say about the property question? Even an NYU professor should understand that a printing press in Europe today, whether light or heavy, has some functional utility for "rebels" only insofar as it can be used to print something about this all important matter.

For the Soviet Union itself, Hook has the most cunning scheme of all: "The theme song should be: What Marx (and even Lenin) proclaimed, Stalin has betrayed." This message he proposes to "pour in a constant stream over Stalin's cultural and political elite." The American capitalist class, while playing out the most reactionary role in history, is advised to attack Stalin from the left!

This ingenious trickery suffers from a fatal flaw. It is this: Everything that Marx and Lenin wrote is inextricably bound up with the communist solution to the property question. It calls for more than a Hook to transform Lenin into a common liberal. The writings of Marx and Lenin, when once set into motion, have a logic of their own, and it is a logic that Washington dares not risk. Only revolutionists can fight Stalin with Marx and Lenin.

Having had our own experiences with Sidney Hook, we American Marxists can offer the bourgeoisie some advice of our own. If his lectures to you are going to be of the same caliber as were his lectures to us, you had better leave him alone. He won't be worth a damn.

THEIR MORALS AND OURS

By Leon Trotsky

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Kefauver Group Urged to Probe Murder of Tresca

NEW YORK, Mar. 15 — Citing new important evidence on the murder of Carlo Tresca in this city in Jan. 1942, the Tresca Memorial Committee, headed by Norman Thomas, urged today that Sen. Kefauver and his colleagues on the Senate Crime Investigation Committee probe this killing, so long scandalously neglected by the local authorities.

The new evidence comes from France, where "a book was published which charges that Tresca was marked in 1939 for assassination by orders of someone in Moscow. The title of this volume is *Life and Death in the USSR*, and the author is General Valentin Gonzales, better known by his nom de guerre El Campesino (The Peasant)." (The Militant reported his revelations last week.)

DEATH LIST

El Campesino attests to seeing with his own eyes a list of 20 names which included "the names of Leon Trotsky, Carlo Tresca, Julian Gorkin, writer, and Hans Fahlé, veteran of the Spartakist movement in Germany. In August 1939 three Spanish agents of Stalin left Moscow for Mexico, with their leader (Martinez Carton) bearing this 'list with certain secret instructions to Carlos Contreras.'"

This same Contreras, known in this country in the Twenties as Sorementi and now operating as Stalinist chieftain in Trieste under the name of Vittorio Vidali, was denounced by Tresca in May 1942 as a "commandant of spies, thieves and assassins."

Carlo Tresca was also on a death list prepared by Mussolini. This justified request to the Kefauver committee goes on to point out that "it is a question which group got to him first."

The Women of Mendon

By Rose Karsner

On March 12, 1951, a little American village made history. Its name is Mendon, in the state of Michigan, housing 800 souls.

According to a March 13 report in the N. Y. Post a local election was held and a complete slate of women voted into office. As far as I know, it is the first instance in centuries of women being accorded such marked recognition.

"For years," says the report, "this has been a one-horse one-party town. The men always got together on a non-partisan 'Progressive' ticket and a few voters went to the polls to make it legal. But last month, the women got together and formed an all-woman 'Citizens' ticket. It didn't get the voters very aroused; only 195 persons bothered to register. The men figured they were safe, but when the votes were counted last night the women swept the board." Only one woman lost her race. She ran on the men's "Progressive" ticket.

As the report states, just a few of the inhabitants went to the polls. But that is not surprising, since this is according to Mendon tradition. What is noteworthy, is the smug, complacent confidence of the men. They did not trouble to electioneer or make efforts to turn out the vote, so sure were they in advance that the women's ticket would be defeated.

Mendon is only a pin-point in the vast area of the United States. Its parliamentary upset of the status quo would merit only a few lines of mention, were it not for the far-reaching implications embodied in this event.

The mere fact that the voters of a tiny village, where minds as a rule are rigid and tenacious in their adherence to old habits, did not recoil from an all-woman slate, is in itself important. It is a symptom of a revolutionary turn in the mass psychology on the social relations of the sexes. It is a manifestation of the changing

times — an augur of things to come, the outlines of which are already discernible on the horizon.

Furthermore, the Mendon election demonstrates in life Marx's thesis that social progress can be measured by the position of woman in society. It mirrors the transition stage we live in, when no part of the social organism is static.

Mendon elected the "Citizens' ticket" because it represented a change from the traditional "Progressive" ticket. Not because it was made up entirely of women. By this means the voters registered their protest against a government steeped in corruption, racketeering, patronage and looting of taxpayers' funds, as revealed by the Senate investigating committee.

In their simple way, the Mendon voters indicated by their act a desire for a social change, and a definite attitude of opposition to the present Democratic or Republican rulers who have proved unworthy of the people's trust. Unprepared as yet to generalize the problem into a conscious understanding that the source of the evil lies in the federal government in Washington, dominated by Big Business, these voters thought they could cure the ills on a local basis.

That is the true meaning of what took place in Mendon. It's the handwriting on the wall. And it plainly reads: Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. A new social order must take its place.

Mankind has steadily inched its way forward and upward toward higher levels of production and of culture. From the stage of savagery, humanity went to barbarism, and then to slavery; from that to feudalism, and next to capitalism. These transitions took place at ever-increasing speed. It took millions of years to get to feudalism. From that to capitalism took less than three centuries. It will take only a few more years to go to the next higher order of society — socialism.

Angry Farmers

By R. H. Monroe

One variant of the popular sentiment to get U.S. troops out of Korea was expressed recently among many farmers in Lapeer, Michigan, where in an eviction proceeding two brothers were thrown off their farm. Neighboring farmers interviewed by the Flint Journal stated that "certain forces" were becoming so powerful here that it seemed to them the boys should come home and do their fighting here."

These farmers had rallied to the cause of the Ziegenhardt brothers, evicted from their farm on March 13, and then promptly reinstated by their battling neighbors on March 14. The sheriff's comment on learning that the Ziegenhardts had returned to their home, was: "I am going to clean up this case, and that's all there is to it!"

The Ziegenhardt "case" stems from a \$300 judgment levied against them by a circuit court in connection with the bankruptcy of an insurance firm 17 years ago. Many farmers in Lapeer and neighboring areas have found themselves in the same predicament.

The Ziegenhardts' farm and home were auctioned off by court order. The brothers erected a large wooden barricade near the entrance, with a sign: "Fort Ziegenhardt." The sheriff enlisted the help of the State Police and by a combined surprise assault, dispossessed the occupants and installed the new tenants. The next day, however, the determined Ziegenhardts reoccupied their home at the head of a group of farmers.

The sheriff's vow to "clean up this case" was no doubt aggravated by the fact that he was unable to dig up enough "deputies" to evict the Ziegenhardt brothers. To counteract any further moves by the sheriff or State authorities, 500 farmers, representing practically all of the Lapeer farming community, attended a rally Friday, March 1.

Whatever may be its conclusion, this action demonstrates that the so-called conservatism of the American farmer is more fiction than fact. To fight for the preservation of their rights, in the face of brazen oppression, these farmers have organized, challenged the police, and generally have acted much like workers on strike.

The Lookout

By the Skipper

The rush of the elite to buy rural housing has been noted in all real estate journals. They hope, of course, to escape the results of A-bombing. We cannot agree that their position would be very secure. In the event that large American cities are struck by the Bomb, the exodus of metropolitan dwellers will be the most terrified and undisciplined movement of people that the world has ever seen. Hungry people roaming the countryside can even disturb the comfort of a country square.

Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin is publishing a new pamphlet on the question of disloyalty. His latest booklet will contain a list of people whom McCarthy does not consider to be communists. His publishers say it will be a short, concise work.

It is reported that the armed forces are going to ask for an additional one hundred billion dollars in June. This sum of money, when laid end to end, will flatten the taxpayers from coast to coast.

Want to get in trouble? Just get a soapbox, get up on any corner and recite the Bill of Rights.

Readers Forum

(Ed. Note: The Community Service Organization has become the spokesman of the residents of the Mexican community of Los Angeles' East Side. This community suffers the oppression of every such minority group. It was the CSO which was primarily responsible for the election of Representative Ed. Roybal, only member of a minority group in the Los Angeles City Council who voted "No" when the vicious "communist registration ordinance" was pushed through the L.A. City Council. The following letter from a member of the CSO describes the speech of Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Board of Education, presented before this organization.)

Editor: At the recent "Candidate's Night" held by the Community Service Organization, I had the privilege of hearing the Board of Education candidates present their views of this campaign. And it was something to hear!

One after another the candidates rose to tell us of what a hard time they had seen in this world. One "sold papers in the snow when I was a little boy," another "sold papers with holes in my shoes," another thought he would win our approval with his "wit" and he was very jolly and told us "Now I am 39 years old. That puts me in Jack Benny's class — we're having a birthday party, ha ha ha." We laughed, but we laughed at them, not with them.

Mrs. Gertrude Rounsaville, the incumbent in Office No. 5, and the opponent of the socialist candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, contributed to this fiasco by making the mistake of mentioning the scandal which she and her fellow-board members have been involved in, and which has reached the headlines and aroused the indignation of the parents and taxpayers.

The School Board, of which Mrs. Rounsaville has been an enthusiastic member, has been publicly accused of graft in a shady insurance deal, corruption and bribery in the hiring of teachers,

adulteration of school cafeteria food and a host of other indecencies.

Mrs. Rounsaville, who voted with both hands and both feet for the School Board's dirty deals, spoke of the accusations and told us that she has "only this to say — I can face my God with an untroubled mind." We wondered what sort of God Mrs. Rounsaville patronizes.

I was beginning to wish I'd stayed home so I could watch the television some more before they come and take it away.

But then our chairman, Tony Rios, introduced Myra Tanner Weiss, who, even in the little time allotted, came to grips with the problems in the campaign.

She spoke of the disastrous effect of a war economy on the life of every individual and pointed out that the school system, its students and teachers alike, are victims of the warmakers. We, who had just heard the other candidates describing with obvious pride their Anglo-Saxon parentage and their "fine old New England families," were gratified to learn that Mrs. Weiss would fight to place the School Board in the hands of the unions and organizations of the minorities, including the Mexican community.

She made it plain that prejudice and hatred of all the oppressed peoples is taught in the schools in order to produce regimented young people who will consider militarism glorious, and who will willingly become cannon-fodder for Wall Street's wars.

In the face of the stupidities which we heard from the other candidates, Mrs. Weiss spoke against the war and for a socialist program and explained that a real solution, even for problems so immediate as the school system, can be gained only by changing the government to a Workers and Farmers Government. A government that would truly represent the majority of the people! Lola Mendez Los Angeles

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THE MILITANT

SWP Candidates Ask Civil Rights In Mich. Education

DETROIT — "The youth of today can only be prepared for mass slaughter, and the schools are being used by the capitalists for this preparation." With these words Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the University of Michigan Regent, climaxes his statements on the Big Business influence in the educational institutions of the state.

He went on to say, "Michigan schools and colleges distort the truth to bolster Big Business propaganda. The youth must know the truth in order to defend themselves against the infringement of their rights as citizens."

GM INFLUENCE

Lerner recalled the furor created three years ago when the General Motors corporation interfered with the University of Michigan Extension Service to such an extent that the University had to drop certain portions of their workers' education program. An agent of the GM corporation had attended the classes, and was mortified to learn that the instructor was bold enough to say that there were two economies in this country — one for the upper class and one for the workers. "The thought that even a few workers would be exposed to the truth was too much for General Motors. They acted fast and the result was another victory for the industrialists and their lies."

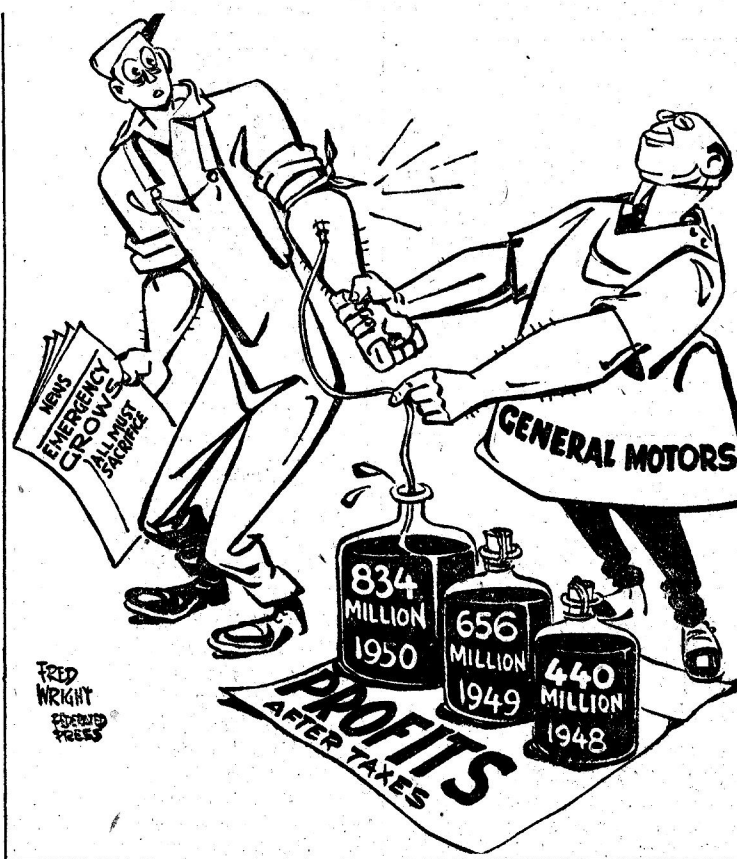
THE YOUTH

Alice Pollack, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the State Board of Education, voiced every mother's feelings in a public statement, "My children learn fairy tales in school that prepare them for an entirely different life than the one they will have to lead in the real world."

"They are taught to be good sports," she said, "and then look around them and see gangsters bribing their schoolmates, and politicians who wallow in bribery and hobnob with the underworld, as revealed in the Kefauver Senate Committee investigations."

LEGISLATION AGAINST IDEAS

The Kimball bill is legislation against ideas, legislation endorsed by politicians who can find no money for adequate pensions or schools, but who willingly appropriate hundreds of thousands of dollars for witch-hunting. (State funds are primarily derived from the retail sales tax, which falls heaviest on the workers. Demands through the years for a graduated income tax have been ignored by



WASH. STATE SOLONS OUTLAW FREE THOUGHT

By Clara Kaye

SEATTLE — A vicious anti-sedition act, clearly patterned after Maryland's infamous thought-control law, has been passed by the Washington State Legislature, currently nearing the close of its 1951 session in Olympia, Washington.

Senate Bill No. 379, the "Subversive Activities Act," introduced by State Senator Kimball of Seattle at the request of Governor Langlie, is an unbridled attack against the democratic and civil rights of the people of Washington. Ostensibly aimed at outlawing the Communist Party, in reality the bill could prevent thousands of workers and progressive individuals from belonging to or supporting clubs and organizations of their own choice, from voting or running for public office, and from voicing their honest convictions.

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Myra T. Weiss Runs in L.A. for Education Board

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 17 — Under the slogan "Elect a Socialist," Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers Party, is challenging Chamber of Commerce domination of Los Angeles schools in her campaign for election to the Board of Education.

In talks before minority and citizen groups, in an interview with the CIO Political Action Committee, Comrade Weiss has emphasized the intimate connection between regimentation and reaction in the schools and Washington's drive toward a police dictatorship and World War III.

Comrade Weiss has called for an end to thought-control and loyalty oaths, an end to discrimination in jobs and to segregation patterns in school districts, elimination of text-books which teach hatred of labor, distort the role of Negroes and other minorities in American history, and glorify imperialist greed.

She has also called for the right of teachers to organize into unions of their own choice, for the active participation of labor and minority committees in determining Board of Education policy, and for the opening of Board of Education meetings to the public.

The campaign will reach its climax on Sunday, April 1, two days before election, with a day-long appeal to voters to endorse the socialist solution to capitalist chaos by electing Myra Tanner Weiss to the Board of Education.

Deadline for Militant

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

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Youngstown CIO Calls for Local Joint Actions

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — The March 6 meeting of the Mahoning County CIO Council showed significant rank and file enthusiasm for the "labor revolt" against the Wilson-Truman mobilization boards. The council voiced unanimous approval of the action of the United Labor Policy Committee in breaking with government agencies.

There appeared to be a genuine desire on the part of the CIO Council delegates to keep labor completely free of governmental boards, and some delegates even stated the hope that labor would go further and strike out on an independent political road.

In the freest discussion since "thought control" was imposed after the Korean war, delegates voiced such ideas as these: That the CIO-AFL should back up the United Labor Policy Committee with a 24-hour general strike; That governmental efforts toward price control and profit control were a complete farce with the sole aim of enriching Big Business.

Delegates also stated that behind the scenes, Big Business and government agencies were laying plans for the complete regimentation of labor under Gen. Lucius B. Clay or some other brass hat.

Proposals for the formation of a local ULPC and a district-wide labor mobilization were also heard. The CIO Council settled on the use of publicity as the best immediate weapon, and intends to buy newspaper space to publicize the local Council's support of the ULPC as well as to answer some of the especially venomous anti-labor editorials of the Youngstown Vindicator.

Several locals of the United Steel Workers have wired sup-

port to CIO President Philip Murray, with the significant request that he continue the boycott of the mobilization boards rather than permit the CIO to re-enter the agencies under a compromise. The general tone of the unions in this steel center is one of suspicion and hostility toward both Washington and Wall Street's conduct today, as well as a notable lack of enthusiasm for the Korean war and the drum-beating for World War III.

Briggs Local 212 Files Assault Suit Against Company

DETROIT, March 17 — The Briggs Manufacturing Co. was formally accused of responsibility for the violent beatings of workers, in an unfair labor practices charge filed Monday with the Detroit office of the National Labor Relations Board.

The formal complaint was filed by George Edwards, attorney for Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO, and for Kenny Morris, president of the Local. "By the terms of the contract," the complaint stated, "the Briggs Manufacturing Co. paid \$150,000 a year to secure the services of Carl Renda and Santo Perrone, his father-in-law, and the group of gangsters and strikebreakers who worked for Perrone in previous strike-breaking activities."

"This contract resulted in at least five violent and potentially deadly assaults on well-known members of Local 212 and has created an atmosphere of terror and fear which has existed as a coercive influence from the inception of the contract down to this present date."

VIGOROUS UNIONISM

The complaint further stated that since the release of this information, every member of Local 212 is thoroughly aware that any vigorous union activity on his part may well mark him for the special attentions of the hired gangsters whose services have been bought by Briggs with the Briggs-Renda scrap contract.

Actions such as the one undertaken by Briggs Local 212 against the company must receive the fullest support of every union man. It is necessary, however, to recognize that activities of the same identical type as those undertaken by the beaten unionists are now opposed by the right wing union administration and smeared as "Communist" inspired.

Frequently newspapers carry condemnations by Reuther and Mazyer against precisely such "vigorous" union activity on the part of present-day opposition members. Progressive-minded delegates must fight for the right to assert freely their vigorous opposition to bad contracts and programs even when presented by the Reuther administration.

Irving Beinin Hits Witch-Hunt In Ill. Schools

CHICAGO, Mar. 15 — Irving Beinin, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent aldermanic elections, testified at a Board of Education public hearing today in opposition to a proposed rule barring "communists and other subversives" from employment in the Chicago school system.

"The proposed amendment to the Board of Education Rules," he stated, "should be rejected as a dangerous step toward the abolition of academic freedom and the introduction of thought control in the school system."

Beinin went on to show that the adoption of this amendment would further the technique of McCarthyism—slander and smear, the big lie told over and over again until it achieves its purpose.

He concluded by stating: "If you really want to protect the school system you should reject this reactionary amendment. . . You should lend the weight of your decision to the movement to stop the insidious growth of thought control laws and ordinances and rulings sprouting in various parts of the land."

FORMER UNION OFFICIAL LINKED TO GANGSTER IN DETROIT INVESTIGATION

Detroit detectives have revealed that they are digging into a connection between gangster Perrone, union busting hoodlum associate of the Briggs Manufacturing Company, and Melvin Bishop, a former regional director of the UAW-CIO, with jurisdiction over the Briggs Local 212.

Bishop, now a labor relations counselor, has been accused by union members of playing a part in the Briggs beatings in 1946-47, but was absolved by a union trial board in 1947.

Perrone was recently brought in by detectives for questioning about the Reuther shootings. Both Perrone and Bishop refused to take a lie-detector test.

The right wing in Briggs local 212 during the recent election campaign, had attempted to smear opposition members with Bishop. But they concealed many facts.

BISHOP AND REUTHER

During the World War II period, Bishop was the darling of both Walter Reuther and the so-called Adles group. The International trial board which exoner-

ated him rendered a unanimous verdict, shared by Walter Reuther. It now appears that this exoneration was in reality a whitewash.

Bishop received such backing from the entire UAW leadership because he carried out their wartime policy so enthusiastically. This called for peace at any price with the employers, even at the price of putting the finger on union men and women.

When Bishop was sent in as administrator of Briggs Local

212, it was done by the unanimous decision of the International Executive Board, which included Walter Reuther.

At the 1946 UAW convention Bishop was sponsored by Reuther as candidate for East side regional director against Emil Mazyer.

Now Bishop has completed the cycle travelled by Dick Frankenstein and ex-Stalinist John Anderson by becoming a company labor relations counselor. This is the fruit of the international policy during World War II.

Pamphlets by Joseph Hansen

- "The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is — What It Stands For" 32 pp. 10
- "American Workers Need a Labor Party" 48 pp. 15
- "Stalin's Frame-Up System", by Leon Trotsky with an introduction by Joseph Hansen 168 pp. 100

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