

# THE MILITANT

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## Labor Leaders' Retreat Will Not Resolve Dispute

An Editorial

The United Labor Policy Committee's participation in the newly constituted National Advisory Mobilization Board does not change any of the grievances which brought about the withdrawal of the labor leaders from government posts. None of the demands of the labor movement have been met by Truman.

Only a few weeks ago the ULPC stated "Mr. Wilson... would now accept window dressing supplied by labor to cover the back room activities of the leaders of industry... He will get no such window dressing from the men and women of American labor." But today Philip Murray, William Green, George Meany and Walter Reuther serve under Charles E. Wilson on the new board.

While this action constitutes a retreat, it cannot put an end to the labor crisis. It is only another stage in the struggle; the basically conservative bureaucracy seeks a compromise, but all the conditions which led to their split with the administration not only still exist but have become worse in recent weeks.

Three important reasons prompted the labor officials to withdraw from government agencies.

First, they feared the Big Business domination of government as a threat to their union base. They were given no guarantees that, in exchange for support to the militarization plans, they would be assured stable unions and a chance to organize the unorganized. On the contrary, the anti-labor drive was stepped up, with Truman acting as strikebreaker No. 1.

Second, the economic program of the administration was so flagrantly operating in the interests of the profiteers and against the common people, that the union heads feared growing unrest among the workers against the consequences of the wage freeze while inflation raged uncontrolled. The discriminatory tax program which favored the rich at the expense of the poor, lack of genuine rent control, and the dumping of the whole "welfare state" program promised in 1948, put the labor leaders in a position of sharing responsibility for policies which could not fail to arouse the angry resentment of the working class.

Third, since 1948 the union leaders considered themselves political powers, since they felt that Truman owed his re-election to them. Yet, they had been given no recognition or posts of power. On the contrary they were insulted, kicked around, and ignored on all important policy matters.

None of this has changed by their return. The Big-Business dollar-a-year men remain in complete charge of every major board in Washington, and the policies are the same. The crevice through which the labor leaders have crawled back into the government set-up was provided by the fact that the new board is empowered to "advise" Truman directly. Under the new board the labor leaders will have no policy-making power; they are still advisors, whose advice can be studiously ignored as in the past.

Having broken with the administration and castigated its policies in the sharpest terms, the ULPC had only two roads open. Either to retreat — or draw the logical conclusions about Big Business domination of Washington and take steps to launch an independent political party of labor. The labor officials have chosen to retreat.

But their act of protest against the anti-labor offensive of Wall Street and the government has set powerful forces in motion. The forceful publicity campaign which followed their withdrawal from the government boards has aroused the American workers. Their demands that inflation be stopped, that wages be allowed to keep pace with living costs through nationwide escalator clauses, that Big Business domination of various boards be broken, that profiteering be stopped, etc., have developed a rising anger among the workers who back these demands to the hilt.

The same reasons which motivated the retreat of the leaders will not impel the rank and file to accept a rotten compromise.

The labor leadership is unable to fight against the war mobilization program effectively, and seeks a compromise, because it has enlisted in the imperialist war of U.S. capitalism. The workers will continue to protest bitterly the ever-increasing economic burdens of a war which they do not want.

The newly constituted mobilization board may make an attempt to reconcile the needs and consequences of imperialist war makers with the demands of the labor leaders. This cannot be done. The labor bureaucracy will be asked to accept a new version of the same Big Business program. Further capitulation on their part is bound to arouse loud and powerful opposition in the ranks of the union movement.

By making the new board responsible to him, Truman takes personal responsibility for the mobilization program from now on. It will not be so easy for the labor leaders, after they present their program through the board to Truman, to cover up his identification with the whole anti-labor character of the war plans.

Thus, the new board lays the groundwork, not for a durable "peace" between labor and Big Business in Washington, but for a renewal of their conflict. The rank and file must be on guard to see that this retreat by the union leaders is not converted into a more sweeping surrender of labor's demands.

The organized workers must press the leaders for a full and decisive break with the Truman administration. Such a complete political break necessitates an alternative political road. Unionists everywhere should rally to the proposal of a sizeable minority at the recent convention of the United Automobile Workers, which called for a National Congress of Labor to lay the foundations for the organization of an independent Labor Party. That is the need of the hour.

## Battle of the Spanish Underground

More information showing the strength and the internationalist character of the great general strike last month in Barcelona has reached the outside world despite the censorship of the Franco dictatorship.

Leaflets distributed two days before the strike by the underground Federación Anarquista Iberica (FAI), political arm of the trade union federation (CNT), which was the strongest party in Catalonia before fascism came to power, contained the following paragraphs:

"The Franco regime, hated by all the Spanish people, is today benefiting from the diplomatic recognition and economic support of countries which pretend to be democratic and which have need of Franco's military co-operation to parry the threat of the Kremlin. While completely sacrificing the interests of Spain, the West's capitalist policy claims to guarantee the defense of a civilization based on principles of liberty. We must immediately and energetically demonstrate against such a pretension. The General Strike in Barcelona set for Monday, March 12, must constitute the first stage of our action. By our firmness we shall show the

world that military and diplomatic calculations aimed at using Franco and his regime are insane for the present and can result, in the future, only in catastrophes.

"The strike will signify the unanimous repudiation by the Spanish people of Falangism (Spanish fascism — ed.). Despite the support which international capitalism can offer, Falangism is condemned to bite the dust."

The CNT distributed leaflets condemning the Franco terror and the high cost of living; other underground organizations, including youth organizations, also distributed leaflets.

### UNITED COMMITTEE

According to Le Libertaire, French anarchist newspaper from which the above information has been drawn, a United Resistance Committee, representing various underground organizations, set the strike date and made careful preparations.

The extent to which Franco found himself unable to depend upon his troops to put down the Barcelona upsurge is being further documented. While it was known that the army, riddled with disaffection, remained "neutral" during the strike and the fleet had to be sent to Bar-

## Myra Weiss Wins Votes on Anti-War Stand

LOS ANGELES, April 8 — Myra Tanner Weiss received 18,569 votes in the April 5 election for the Los Angeles Board of Education. This is the highest vote ever recorded for any Socialist Workers Party candidate in California, and is almost two-and-a-half times as high as Comrade Weiss received when she ran for the House of Representatives in 1950.

Comrade Weiss conducted a strong anti-war, pro-Socialist campaign. The unexpectedly high vote accorded her is interpreted as a significant expression of the anti-war sentiment spreading throughout the country.

Of special interest is the fact that in 15 precincts, Comrade Weiss received the highest vote cast for any of the six candidates running for the office for which she was contending. Her vote in these precincts, composed largely of Mexican-American and Jewish citizens, ranged from 28 percent of the total to 42.2 percent. Approximately half of these precincts were in an area where Stalinist influence has long been dominant.

In another section, one in which Comrade Weiss had conducted a street-corner meeting in Spanish during the campaign, she received votes ranging from 22 percent to 27.7 percent of the total.

All of these precincts are located in areas in which consistent political work has been carried on for the past three years by the Socialist Workers Party, where the party platform has been widely publicized and where Comrade Weiss has made numerous public speeches.

Interpretation of Comrade Weiss' vote as on the whole a conscious, anti-war vote on the basis of her program appears buttressed by an examination of the campaign. Repeatedly over the radio and in the daily papers, Comrade Weiss was identified as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a socialist or a "radical."

In addition, there were five other candidates in the field — the conservative incumbent; a "liberal," Arthur Gardner, who was endorsed by both the AFL and the CIO; a Republican; a member of Americans for Democratic Action; and a business man. Voters, therefore, had their choice of various political shadings.

Gardner, with both labor and liberal backing, received approximately 82,000 votes, against 140,000 for Mrs. Getrude Rounseville, the incumbent.

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Special 6-Page  
MAY DAY  
ISSUE

## Truman Fires M'Arthur, Pushes Own War Plans

### Window-Dressing



## Labor Party Sentiment Strong at UAW Parley

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, April 6 — Overwhelming sentiment in favor of an independent labor party was expressed last night by the delegates to the CIO United Automobile Workers convention, in its fifth day at the huge Public Hall here. But President Walter Reuther intervened at the end of the debate on political action with an impassioned speech in which he claimed that the pro-labor party resolution, introduced by three members of the Resolutions Committee, would "wreck" the United Labor Policy Committee.

His prestige and tricky argument, which falsely countered labor unity to official UAW support for a labor party program at this time, swung the convention majority to a resolution, introduced by the Resolutions Committee majority, that made no reference to a new party. It

calls upon the United Labor Policy Committee to convoke a representative Congress of Labor to take steps for the speedy formation of an independent Labor Party in preparation for the 1952 elections.

The Reutherite resolution continued to put primary blame for labor's present plight on "the unholy alliance of reactionary Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats." The minority resolution declared: "These so-called Fair Dealers have turned out to be fake dealers. Their fair deal has become a raw deal. Truman has ceased giving even lip-service to social legislation. The fight for a real Fair Deal now depends upon labor and the party it must and will create."

### Rhee's Soldiers Massacre Entire So. Korea Village

In the heart of Korea's southwest, far behind the battle fronts, has been committed one of the ghastliest atrocities in the already countless list of which the bloody Truman-backed Syngman Rhee regime has been guilty.

On Mar. 6 the entire population of a thatched-roof hamlet of Shim-Um Mium, 1,400 children, women and men, were slaughtered by Rhee's National Police and the Third Battalion of the Eleventh Division of the So. Korean Army. This "top-secret" news was revealed on Apr. 10 by George Barrett, N. Y. Times Korea correspondent.

Like so many other villages in So. Korea, Shim-Um had been subjected to raids by guerrillas foraging for supplies. Three such raids in the last six months made "some police and Army authorities... suspect that the villagers were Communist sympathizers." This "suspicion," never verified, was the signal for the massacre.

According to the Times correspondent, "the troops of the battalion surrounded the hamlet and closed in slowly... began firing as they marched into the town, killing methodically men, women and children as they tried to get out of the way of bullets." No official estimates of the number killed were ever made. According to "some sources... virtually the whole hamlet was wiped out." The So. Korean papers are permitted to say nothing about the "case itself or the Assembly's (secret) debate over it."

Note: Reports from the Spanish underground which we carried in our April 2 issue as a reprint from the French weekly La Verite were transmitted to that publication by the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity). We have just learned that this is the source of the information included in our article.

## Both Sides in Foreign Policy Conflict Ignore Demands of People to Stop the War Now

By John G. Wright

The nationwide controversy precipitated by President Truman's kicking out MacArthur on Apr. 4, opens a new phase in the crisis of Washington's imperialist foreign policy, which has been dragging our country step by step into World War III and about which the people have been permitted no say whatever.

Charges and counter-charges are flying thick and fast and the rift among the capitalist ruling circles is growing more embittered. By this the people can only benefit. For they are now in a position to learn more of the truth. And they must demand to learn the whole truth. Especially about the extent to which the gravest decisions have been made, as they still are, behind their backs, in contemptuous disregard of all basic Constitutional safeguards and of the people's wishes and interests.

Truman has launched the most serious of charges against MacArthur. He declared that the MacArthur course would lead immediately to World War III and that this "Caesar of the Pacific" has been guilty of usurping prerogatives specifically barred to him by the Constitution.

The White House has already released sufficient documentary evidence, hitherto pigeonholed as "top secret," to bear out this second charge to the hilt. MacArthur's Tokyo office continues shamelessly to deny it.

### SECRETS KEPT FROM PEOPLE

Two facts stand out in this connection. The first is that MacArthur's "defiance" does not date back merely to recent days. He has been pursuing the same course for at least the last nine months, that is, ever since the outbreak of the Korean war. If his course leads to war today, it also did nine months ago.

According to James Reston, one of N. Y. Times' political experts, there is "plenty more" in "the voluminous MacArthur file" which Truman can fire "if the General and the Republicans insist on carrying the issue to the country." Correspondent Reston was obviously allowed to "leak" this information by the White House. This threat to expose the full extent of MacArthur's "insubordination," thus provides at the same time proof that all this while Truman has covered up for the Tokyo warlord, acting as his tacit accomplice.

Who has the right to know about such unheard of dictatorial conduct as this General is unquestionably guilty of, if not the people of this country? Why aren't they being told? One reason is that if MacArthur is to be condemned, as he surely deserves, then no less reprehensible is Truman, officially MacArthur's "superior officer."

TRUMAN'S GUILT

But Truman's responsibility goes much beyond this. Truman usurped power by plunging into the Korean adventure without even bothering to consult Congress, let alone the people. Truman ordered the seizure of Formosa, which is Chinese territory and in no way connected with Korea. By whose authority can such seizure be possibly sanctioned? When his superior usurps powers, is it so surprising that one of his subordinates should feel free to act in the same dictatorial manner?

The Militant has repeatedly warned how arrogant and arbitrary the power-drunk military caste has become in this country. The MacArthur case is only the most glaring evidence of it.

MacArthur would have been allowed to continue in his own sweet way, if it were not for sharp tactical disagreements which now divide the ruling circles. They are divided over the timing and the choice of the place and the occasion for launching World War III.

TWO TACTICAL VIEWS

MacArthur and those associated with him want to wage it right away and with Asia as the central arena for military operations. The administration course is to stall for time and, under more favorable circumstances, to

(Continued on Page 2)

### Because She Saw No Way Out

BOSTON, April 8 — The terrible impact of the American war crisis on the daily life of the people was revealed in a pitiful murder and suicide. Mrs. Mary L. Niles, 29, deserted by her husband three years ago, killed her six-year-old son and herself by gas.

Mrs. Niles left a letter that sums up the agonized feelings of mothers living in this age of the atom bomb: "I have been pushed from pillar to post and can't take it any more. I know this is a coward's way out, so I guess I must be a coward as I am taking Robert Paul with me. I do not want him to grow up and be slaughtered in another war."

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# Italian Stalinists Prepare a New Betrayal Letter from China Tells Of Life Under Mao Rule

By Charles Hanley

On Apr. 3 Italian Communist Party leader, Palmiro Togliatti flatly offered a deal to Premier de Gasperi and the Italian bourgeoisie at the Stalinist national convention in Rome. The convention then went on record unanimously for a resolution which assured the capitalist rulers of Italy full support in return for a change in foreign policy.

Prior to Togliatti's trip to Moscow the CP had demanded the replacement of the Vatican-sponsored de Gasperi regime by a "democratic" coalition. The Premier was subjected to an increasingly violent campaign by the Stalinist propaganda machine. The regime has been teetering because of universal discontent and is still far from secure.

### A TURN TO THE RIGHT

Precisely at this moment, the Stalinist line is completely reversed. Instead of opposing de Gasperi, the CP now offers him unqualified support. It will enter his cabinet, on the sole condition that de Gasperi "renounce" the Atlantic Pact policy and adopt the policy of "neutrality" instead. This move was made, naturally,

upon a signal from the Kremlin. It represents a bid not alone to the Italian bourgeoisie but to the French and English as well. More than this, it is an offer to Washington. For Italian capitalism, like the rest of Western Europe, is firmly tied to American imperialism and depends on Wall Street's support.

Stalin chose Italy as the trial ground for his latest diplomatic maneuver because of the strength of the CP there and because of the unstable position of the regime and the existence of a neutralist minority in de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party. Nevertheless, Washington would have to underwrite the deal, because the Italian capitalists are perhaps the least able in Europe to afford to slap their American protectors in the face.

### AIMED AT DEAL

The political importance of the Stalin-Togliatti offer can hardly be exaggerated. It underscores the lengths to which the Kremlin is prepared to go to arrange a deal with the American imperialists, bartering away, as usual, the vital interests of the working class in any and every country.

Those who pretend to discern in Stalinism, a dynamic and even

"revolutionary" force aiming to conquer all of Europe, as a preliminary to world domination, have once again received their irrefutable answer. Stalinism remains what it always has been. A conservative, narrow-minded Great-Russian bureaucracy concerned exclusively with its own privileges and power.

Far from being sincere about, or even seriously committed to, their "left" program of social demands, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Italy as elsewhere are as eager as ever to discard them not alone for an agreement with their respective ruling class, but even for a chance of a deal.

### SAVED CAPITALISM

This was made amply clear in Western Europe directly following the war, when the Stalinists were powerful enough, certainly in 1944-45, to topple the completely bankrupt capitalist systems in both France and Italy. Instead they were the foremost assistants in helping capitalism to survive, acting as strikebreakers and as the most zealous partisans of the native capitalists, for the sake of the then existing alliance between the Kremlin and Western imperialism, an alliance which

shortly thereafter blew up in Stalin's face.

Today, in Italy, we see Togliatti announcing his readiness for a repeated performance of this treachery. The asking price, this time, is not even a treaty with the USSR plus some hollow promises of reform, but "neutrality" pure and simple.

### MASSES PUT ON BLOCK

Almost everywhere in Western Europe, the Stalinist "peace" campaign is now being aimed to win over the capitalists to a neutralist policy. This line has been drawn to its conclusion in Italy.

The workers of Milan and Turin and other industrial centers, the slum dwellers of Naples and Rome, in brief, the mass of the people are again to be utilized as so much small change by the Stalinist bureaucrats. The mass interests and needs — land reform, a living wage, job security, full employment, etc. — all these are to be thrown overboard. Unless, of course, the mass discontent obliges the CP to retain a demagogic platform of social demands in order not to lose its following.

The Italian CP convention, the first in three years, was as tightly controlled as any on record. Yet even in this gathering of hand-picked bureaucrats, there was a feeling of uneasiness about the new coalition offer. "Speakers discussing the proposal gave the impression that they were concerned lest Italy's rank-and-file Communists be troubled over the prospect that their agitation for improved wage and work conditions may be suspended in payment for an Italian foreign policy more pleasing to the Soviet Union," reports the N. Y. Herald-Tribune's Rome correspondent.

Stalin and all his Togliattis have nothing but contempt for the masses. But there is a new air blowing over Italy and the rest of Europe. It is by no means assured that the Stalinists will be able to repeat their treachery with the same impunity as in the past.

There is slim likelihood, as matters now stand, of a temporary deal being consummated such as Togliatti has advertised and the CP convention has "unanimously endorsed." But the likelihood of repercussions among the masses of Italy and the rest of Western Europe against Stalinism is an actual one.

# Truman Fires M'Arthur, Pushes Own War Plans

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unleash the general war with the European continent as the main theater.

By publicly disclosing the meaning and consequences of MacArthur's course, Truman tells only part of the truth. He is trying to hide that his own course is likewise exclusively designed to promote war.

For this purpose he has used the shameless pretense that the large-scale war the administration is continuing to wage in Korea — with Ridgway in place of MacArthur — is designed — to assure peace!

Nine months ago this guardian of peace announced that what the U.S. was doing in Korea was a mere "police action." This was intended to lull public fears as

well as to cover up his usurpation of war powers. Now Truman has the gall to announce that "in simplest terms what we are doing is this: We are trying to prevent a third world war."

One would have to be simple-minded to swallow this latest explanation. It is on par with the alibi of an arsonist, caught in the act of pouring gasoline into the roaring flames, who said that he was just trying to put the fire out.

Truman is obviously banking on the shortness of human memory. He expects that people have forgotten his previous explanations, such as the need to defend the "democratic" Syngman Rhee regime. Above all, he hopes that everybody has forgotten his own threat to drop the atom-bomb.

In the midst of his "peace-loving" radio speech, he actually made a thinly veiled threat to bomb Chinese bases on the mainland, if this is deemed necessary "to conduct our military activities so as to ensure the security of our forces." In claiming success in Korea, there is little to choose between MacArthur's arrogant boasts and Truman's: "We have taught the enemy a lesson."

The concern, if not dismay, in the ruling circles is best expressed by the editors of the N. Y. Times, the daily which now plays the role of semi-official mouthpiece of the administration. While solidarizing with Truman, the Times' editors bewail the MacArthur incident as a "calamity" in many ways a great calamity. They go on to explain this under three headings.

### MILITARY CASTE

First, it bemoans the "personal calamity" of MacArthur. For the American people, far from being a misfortune, the public disgrace of MacArthur is a boon. It deals a blow to the prestige of the military caste and will help awaken the public to the danger of military dictatorship that has grown in proportion as the power of the militarists has increased. How dangerously this power has grown is illustrated by the insolence of MacArthur.

Second, the Times editors fear the "potential calamity of a deep and bitter... division of American public opinion." By this they mean the deepening of the tactical rift between the group in the ruling circles that is for launching the general war in Asia now as against those who favor doing it in Europe a little later. Again, the people stand only to benefit from the squabbling since it helps expose both contending sides for the warmakers they really are.

Thirdly, the same editors fear the "potential calamity" of a "bandwagon rush" in the United Nations for a peaceful settlement in the Far East. The same fear of a "negotiated peace in Korea" is giving the stock market "a fit of nerves," the press reported on April 12.

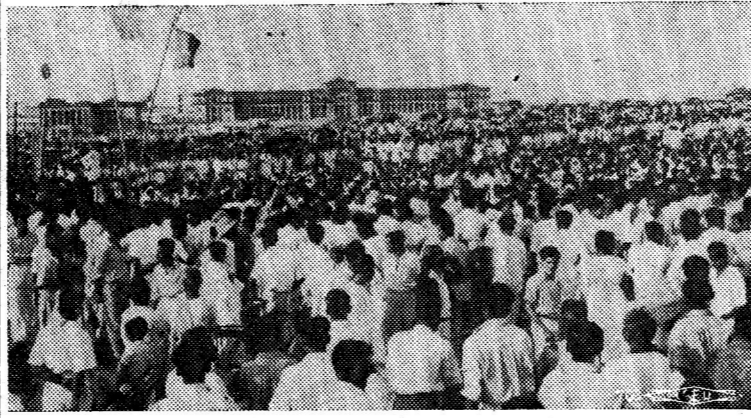
### BRING GIs HOME

Like Truman, all these editors and Wall Street profiteers, prefer to pass over in silence the confirmed desire of the American people to end the Korean adventure and bring the U.S. troops back home. Poll after poll has shown that the anti-war sentiment in this country is overwhelming. In trying to resolve the tactical differences between his administration and the MacArthur "Fight Asia" gang, Truman seeks to exploit this mass anti-war sentiment for the benefit of the rival "Fight It Out in Europe" gang.

Truman merits no more confidence than MacArthur. Both are guilty, each in his own way, of seeking to propel our people deeper into the cataclysm of war. Safeguards are imperatively needed against both of them.

One immediate safeguard against this terrible war danger is to refer the issue of War and Peace directly to the American people. Let the issue of war and peace be decided in a NATIONAL REFERENDUM! Bring the U.S. troops back home! Stop the Korean war now!

## Ceylon Workers' Meeting



Part of a crowd of 30,000 Ceylonese who attended a rally last year in Colombo called by the Trotskyists to celebrate their unification into one mass party.

## CEYLON SOCIALIST YOUTH IN HUGE DEMONSTRATION

COLOMBO, Ceylon — The Annual Conference of the All-Ceylon Samasamaja Youth Leagues was held here Sunday, March 4 at the Colombo Town Hall. Delegates of 175 Youth Leagues from all parts of this island participated; about 3,000 jammed the big hall, with the overflow filling the corridors. Robert Gunawardene presided over the sessions.

Among the resolutions adopted was that endorsing a recent Lanka Samasamaja (Ceylonese Trotskyists) resolution calling for the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Samasamaja Government.

The influence of the party is growing steadily. Among the interesting sidelights of its increasing influence is a recent action by the children of Colombo who suddenly decided to organize a procession by themselves in behalf of Lanka Samasamaja. Five and six-year olds shouted slogans and waved red banners for the greater part of a day.

The awakening has penetrated even into the jungles. Among the Veddas (whom capitalist anthropologists classify as "lower savages") socialist ideas are meeting with enthusiastic response. They are joining the Youth Leagues, despite the efforts of the Premier who sought to woo them away by himself undertaking a tour of the jungles.

The experience of the Youth Conference has posed the problem before the organization of accommodating future assemblies. It will apparently be necessary to construct a temporary camp to take care of all the delegates, since no permanent building in Ceylon would suffice.

## NEW YORK SWP ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR MAY DAY RALLY

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party is planning an unusually impressive program for its May Day celebration this year.

The principal speaker of the evening will be Joseph Hansen, former secretary to the late Leon Trotsky, whose arrival in New York for the meeting will mark the wind-up of his current coast to coast speaking tour. James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the party, will preside at the celebration.

Additional features of the program will be a colorful dramatic presentation, "The March of American Labor," and a chorus singing American and Chinese songs of revolt. The celebration will be held on Tuesday night, May 1, at the Hotel Capitol, 8th Ave. and 51st Street.

### HANSEN TOUR SCHEDULE

Saturday	Apr. 14	Salt Lake City
Sunday	15	"
Monday	16	"
Tuesday	17	"
Friday	20	St. Louis
Saturday	22	Detroit
Monday	23	"
Tuesday	24	Flint
Wednesday	25	Detroit
Thursday	26	Youngstown
Friday	27	"
Saturday	28	Pittsburgh
Sunday	29	"
Tuesday	May 1	New York (May Day)
Friday	4	Newark
Sunday	6	Baltimore
Saturday	12	Phila.

(We reprint below a letter sent to La Verite, French Trotskyist weekly, by a Chinese militant. It is an eyewitness report of the major developments in China since the beginning of the Korean war. Ed.)

By Tehen

Ever since the departure of Chinese volunteers for Korea a mobilization of all the forces in the entire country has taken place. In all factories, schools and organizations, a very effective campaign of agitation against American imperialism has been launched. While before the outbreak of the war in Korea, the masses and even some of the Communist Party members thought war impossible, believing that imperialism would retreat before the power of the masses, today they all understand that as long as imperialism remains the danger of war must also remain.

### WORKERS' QUESTIONS

Nevertheless, this propaganda has encountered several difficulties. In the trade unions, for example, and in almost all factory meetings the same question has been posed: "It is true that American imperialism must be defeated, but why doesn't the Soviet Union send troops? Why must we be the ones to intervene in this war?" The answers given by the leaders have not satisfied the workers at all on this point.

Moreover, the anti-American campaign of the government is translated for the workers into a campaign to increase production which is not met with very great enthusiasm. On Feb. 6, 1950, the government decided to lower wages due to the bad financial situation, but promised to raise them as soon as there was an improvement in the situation. By Dec. 1950, the financial situation had improved greatly as against the beginning of the year. The workers therefore expected raises, but these were postponed on the pretext of the costs imposed by the Korean war. Under these conditions the Stakhanovite propaganda cannot have too much effect. In many places the workers declare that they are prepared to increase production in support of the war in Korea but on condition that wages also be increased. This explains the great number of strikes which have recently taken place in Shanghai.

NEED WORKERS Although this attitude is an obstacle to its policy, the government does not want a head-on

Allentown Branch Completes Quota in Fund Campaign  
By Reba Aubrey

Allentown, one of the only two Socialist Workers Party branches that did not complete its quota in the \$18,000 Organization, Press and Defense fund by the March 31 campaign deadline, sent in the balance of its pledge April 4. "Better late than never!" writes Comrade John, "I am sorry that we didn't make the deadline, but I am glad that we made our quota."

To summarize the results of the \$18,000 Organization, Press and Defense fund for the benefit of those who have missed last week's issue: The total fund called for was \$18,000 and quotas were assigned to the respective branches. The contributions from the branches kept the campaign on schedule almost to the percentage point from week to week throughout the campaign. At the end of the campaign, March 31, \$18,668 had been contributed, oversubscribing the fund by a final score of 104%. Only two branches failed to score 100% or better. These were Allentown and St. Louis. As noted above, Allentown came through a few days late, leaving St. Louis Branch as the only hold-out.

"I think there was general agreement that one of the keys to success is the revival of the crusading spirit of the socialists of Debs' day. The habit of always carrying a prepaid subscription blank to The Militant and a few sample copies in case you meet someone who can profit from a little socialist education.

"All those present from both Oakland and San Francisco are convinced that the subscription and sales campaign will do much to lift circulation of The Militant, Fourth International, and pamphlets on socialism to its right level. The enthusiasm of the Bay Area activists was heartening and an augur of the success of the campaign."

Comrade Bob K. reports for the Cleveland Branch the results of a distribution of Militants to the delegates at the recent UAW Convention. "About 1000 Militants were distributed to the Sunday afternoon session of the convention," he writes. "Distributors were encouraged by the friendly comments and recognition The Militant got. They were sure that while many 'Daily Workers' were thrown away very few Militants were seen on the floor.

"This is a real socialist paper," is the way one delegate expressed himself. Many others greeted the distributors with the comment, "We've got to read both sides of the question." Judging from the convention debates, we are sure they did."

Leon Trotsky's THE LESSON OF SPAIN -- The Last Warning! with an introduction by V. KARALASINGHAM  
This pamphlet, written in 1937 when the Spanish Civil War was at its height, is a withering exposure of the politics of Stalinism that paved the way for the ultimate military triumph of Franco.  
Price 25c (send stamps or coin)  
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collision with the workers since it needs their support. In fact the intervention in Korea marked a stiffening attitude toward the national bourgeoisie which found itself obliged to participate in a forced loan for the purchase of war material. Also the government is obliged to obtain wider support among the working class masses and must take their demands partially into consideration: consultative committees consisting of the representatives of the workers and employers were created to discuss conflicts arising over salaries but the power of decision belongs to the Labor Office, a government organization. These very limited concessions cannot hinder the workers from their struggle to improve their living conditions; a number of times at Shanghai the workers by their direct action succeeded in imposing their demands without passing through the Labor Office. What will be the attitude of the government toward these phenomena? It has not yet determined its attitude and it will evidently depend upon the evolution of the relationship of forces inside and outside of China in the months to come.

### LENGTHY WAR

The government is preparing itself for a lengthy war effort: It appears determined to carry through to the end its aid to Korea, even to the point of a war with the U.S.A. A military school was created in each large city for the usage of members of the C.C.P. in order to form the future cadre elements of a reinforced army. The Minister of National Education made an appeal in all the secondary schools and universities to incite the students to devote their free time to propaganda work and to volunteer entry into the military schools. The trade unions encourage the workers and particularly the un-

employed to enter these schools. The doctors and technicians have been mobilized for Korea. All signs show the resolute will of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to conduct the war in Korea to its very end, a war that it entered independently of all Soviet pressure.

### AGRARIAN REFORM

In the South, the problem of agrarian reform is added to the problem of the direct struggle against American imperialism. Agrarian reform was not applied to the southern part of the country but its extension is now rendered more necessary than ever before by a strong rebirth of banditry in this region. According to official information there are a half million bandits in the southern provinces who conduct their activity principally in Kwangsi and Yunnan. These bands are formed by former Kuomintang soldiers who hid themselves in the mountains when Chiang Kai-shek was crushed. Not only do they hinder communications between regions, but they terrorize the peasants who have organized committees to realize the agrarian reform program. In reality these bands are in direct or indirect liaison with the southern landowners whose power would be broken by land reform.

The peasants, reduced to a very precarious level of existence by the extreme concentration of property ownership, are extremely discontented and will only give support to the government in its struggle against banditry if they have a direct interest in doing so; that is to say, if agrarian reform is accomplished. That is why the agrarian reform program's application is a more important preoccupation of the people of the South than the anti-American struggle and brings forth more enthusiasm.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

In this, the final week of preparation for the "Big League Militant Circulation Campaign," all the branches are getting on the mark and set to go. Orders for additional Militants have been pouring in from the branches in the past weeks and literature agents have been testing the possibilities of increasing sales in new areas.

Akron has more than doubled its regular bundle order; while Oakland, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Newark wrote in for extra copies of the April 9 issue.

Our report this week from Comrade Joseph Hansen, Militant Business Manager, who is on a nation-wide speaking tour, describes the literature meeting of activists in the Bay Area.

He writes, "The literature meeting of the Oakland and San Francisco branches was one of the best of the tour. For more than two hours we had a most lively discussion of the general problems of building the circulation of the socialist press and their specific application to this area."

"I think there was general agreement that one of the keys to success is the revival of the crusading spirit of the socialists of Debs' day. The habit of always carrying a prepaid subscription blank to The Militant and a few sample copies in case you meet someone who can profit from a little socialist education.

"All those present from both Oakland and San Francisco are convinced that the subscription and sales campaign will do much to lift circulation of The Militant, Fourth International, and pamphlets on socialism to its right level. The enthusiasm of the Bay Area activists was heartening and an augur of the success of the campaign."

Comrade Bob K. reports for the Cleveland Branch the results of a distribution of Militants to the delegates at the recent UAW Convention. "About 1000 Militants were distributed to the Sunday afternoon session of the convention," he writes. "Distributors were encouraged by the friendly comments and recognition The Militant got. They were sure that while many 'Daily Workers' were thrown away very few Militants were seen on the floor.

"This is a real socialist paper," is the way one delegate expressed himself. Many others greeted the distributors with the comment, "We've got to read both sides of the question." Judging from the convention debates, we are sure they did."

Five Detroit comrades went out with Militants for an hour after work last week and sold 53 copies. B. Allen sends in the individual scores as follows: Chuck sold 15; Bill, 11; B. 11; Lee, 10; and Cynthia, 6. Comrade B. comments, "All of us felt it is a wonderful experience to be able to just go out in the evening for an hour after work and be able to sell 53 copies of the paper." This is a good example of the week sales can be very rewarding and as successful as week-end sales.

M. and F. G. of Oakland sent in a thoughtful extra 50 cents with their Militant renewal to make up for any trouble their delay in renewing may have caused.

We also want to thank friends in Ontario who sent in a contribution of \$5 with their Militant renewal, and J. R. of Toronto who enclosed an extra \$1.50 with his renewal to The Militant and Fourth International. We appreciate these expressions of the high value placed on our press by friends in Canada.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — For information, write P. O. Box 1342.  
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.  
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd Fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 2-900.  
CHICAGO — 166 W. Washington St., Rm. 313-314. Phone DEARBORN 2-4757.  
CLEVELAND — Crosstown Home, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.  
DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TX 7-0297.  
FLINT — SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22406.  
LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANELUS 9-4953.  
MILWAUKEE — 217 N. 3rd St. 3rd Fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.  
MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone MAIN 7781.  
NEW HAVEN — For information, write P.O. Box 1019.  
NEWARK — 423 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY — 116 University Place. Phone AL 5-7852.  
BROOKLYN — De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.  
HARLEM — 103 W. 110th St., Rm. 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M. OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953, or call TEmplebar 2-8728.  
PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd Fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone STEVENSON 4-8620.  
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ST. LOUIS — For information, Phone MO 7194.  
SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore St. 4th Fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0419.  
SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm. 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone MAIN 9278.  
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Monday, April 16, 1951

Miners Speak Out on War

One voice among the official labor movement has finally responded to the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the American workers by demanding that the Truman administration stop the Korean war.

The United Mine Workers Journal has done this in an editorial entitled "Stalemate in Korea — And at Home" in its April 1 issue.

To the everlasting shame of the union leadership, not one of them has dared to speak such plain and blunt words in the name of labor.

What the Mine Workers Journal says is true enough as far as it goes. But its

position still remains inconsistent and inadequate. "The people just can't come to understand that our leaders were just plain dubs in the first place," explains John L. Lewis' periodical, and yet it itself goes on to leave the decision to these same "plain dubs."

It is false to the core to blame the people for the crimes of the capitalist rulers, whether these rulers happen to be "plain dubs" or fancy shysters.

The people have already shown they know the Korean war is unjustified in every poll taken on the subject. Now it is necessary to fight for this majority opinion to express itself.

What the Mine Workers Journal says is true enough as far as it goes. But its

The Church and Franco

On March 11, 1951 the Pope made his speech to the Spanish workers "warning" them against the social revolution, just as he did on June 13, 1943 when he started making speeches to the Italian workers, "warning" them that they would only be enchained if they overthrew Mussolini.

Now comes news that "Roman Catholic leaders" in Spain are giving "powerful moral support to the workers in their demands for better living conditions."

What this "powerful support" amounts to thus far are two editorials, one published in March and the other unpublished in April. In March, an editorial against inflation appeared in Ecclesia, organ of the Catholic Action movement, intimately allied with the Falangists.

The authorities refused to permit such "comment." So the hierarchy, instead of demonstratively challenging the ban, meekly suspended publication.

The hierarchy, explains N. Y. Times' Madrid correspondent, has suddenly become "uneasy" and "anxious" over the

"close ties between church and the regime" and wants to make it clear "that the church does not accept responsibility for these shortcomings" of Franco's bestial rule.

This, too, is precisely what happened in Italy eight years ago when fearful of Mussolini's downfall, the hierarchy began criticizing the "shortcomings" — in order to salvage the Vatican's fabulous wealth in the country.

The same maneuver is today being applied in Spain. But with this difference: Mussolini's regime was never so closely identified with the Vatican as Franco's. Mussolini was never so deeply indebted to the hierarchy for his rise to power as is Franco, who had the Vatican's full support during the Civil War, and whose regime has been, as it is, exclusively Roman Catholic in character.

Moreover, the hierarchy, the biggest single landowner in Spain, holds far more wealth here than in Italy. Fearing Franco's downfall, the Vatican wants to safeguard its riches and get out from under as unscathed as possible.

Its conduct is an excellent gauge of how shaky Franco's regime really is, despite Truman and Wall Street working might and main to prop it up.

Trends in UAW Convention

By Art Preis

Observers in and outside the labor movement have been trying to write off the CIO United Automobile Workers as just another, if larger, union of the more conservative and bureaucratized type in the CIO and even the AFL.

NOT A PLIANT TOOL

The 13th Convention of the UAW, held in Cleveland from April 1 to 6, revealed that this largest and most powerful union in America is not the completely pliant tool of Walter Reuther and his faction.

The Reuther machine itself disclosed some serious cracks in the convention. This was notable in the most heated struggle of the convention, the debate over Reuther's proposed dues increase, in the regional elections for executive board members and in the significant full-scale discussion on the question of forming a labor party.

It is hard to imagine the leadership of any other union confronting so much opposition and having to put up such a battle in order to push through a dues increase of \$1 a month to bring the total to \$2.50.

In order to put over the dues increase at this convention, Reuther had to put on an all-out campaign for months in advance, to focus the entire convention on this issue, to use every form of argument and pressure on the delegates, and even to bring in CIO President Philip Murray to plead for more money.

If the opposition to the dues increase was as strong as it was, that was not because the auto workers are "cheap-skates." Their generosity and spirit of sacrifice is noteworthy. But the floor discussion at the convention showed that wide layers of the auto workers — particularly the larger, older, more experienced and militant locals — do not trust the Reuther leadership and have no real confidence in it.

The chief argument of the opposition — which included the



Scene at the 13th Convention of the CIO United Auto Workers in Cleveland, April 1-6, 1951.

powerful Ford Local 600, the General Motors locals in Flint and many other big locals that have been counted in Reuther's camp in the past — was that Reuther did not intend to use the increased dues to fight for the interests of the auto workers but to "play politics" within the union — that is, to strengthen his personal machine.

That delegates whose actual voting strength represented nearly half the UAW membership opposed the dues increase is clear evidence of the deep-seated mistrust and dissatisfaction that exists against the leadership.

On other organizational issues, the leadership had to satisfy itself with nibbling gains and even to retreat. It put over the proposal for bi-annual conventions, but this represented only a three-months extension over the previous period. It backed down on the proposal for an increase in initiation fees. In everything, it proceeded gingerly and cautiously, always with a weather-eye open for signs of a storm from the delegates.

While Reuther and Secretary-

Treasurer Emil Mazey ran unopposed for re-election, some sign of the opposition strength was indicated in the elections for vice presidents and executive board members. The opposition, neither well-organized nor homogeneous, got up a full slate at the last moment and then withdrew it. But Walter Rogowski, of Dodge Local 8, running for vice president without an campaign against Reuther's incumbent lieutenant, Richard Gosser and John W. Livingston, secured over 12 percent of the votes.

UPSET IN FLINT

A big upset was suffered by the Reutherites in the very heart of the General Motors set-up when the opposition Flint delegates in Region 1C elected Robert Carter, long an opponent of Reuther, as Regional Director and Interregional Executive Board member, with the incumbent Donnell Chapman refusing to run and another Reutherite candidate, Elsworth S. Patterson, withdrawing rather than face severe defeat.

In West Side Detroit Region 1A — largest in the union — an

opposition Negro candidate, William H. Johnson, former recording secretary of Ford Local 600, secured a surprisingly large minority vote of 417 against 815 for the incumbent Joseph McCusker. This was a demonstration not only of the growing strength of the opposition in Reuther's own halliwick, where his home local, Amalgamated Local 174, is located, but of the increasing resentment against his lily-white policy of keeping Negroes out of the top leadership.

Reuther's strength at the convention lay not alone in the machine he has been able to build. Of equal, if not greater importance, was his emphasis on program. He based his demands for higher dues on the need to raise a fighting fund to secure new demands for a guaranteed annual wage, \$200-a-month retirement pensions, etc. Of course, he soft-pedaled the fact that this fight would be deferred at least four years — until the five-year contracts expire.

At the same time, Reuther and his chief lieutenant Mazey played the role of "militants" in their

denunciation of the Truman administration, their declarations of political "independence" and their sharp criticisms of Big Business in the government war agencies.

The opposition had an almost perfect opportunity to expose Reuther and Mazey on the most important issue—political action. But its weakness lay precisely in its lack of a fully worked-out program on the economic and political issues. It failed to campaign on the labor party question — the issue which most clearly exposed Reuther — although the votes for the labor party resolution were primarily oppositionist.

The chance to show up Reuther's social demagogy — his lack of a real program of action — was when he personally attacked the labor party resolution and swung the convention majority against it. But the fact that fully 20 per cent of the delegates voted for the labor party shows what the opposition could have done on this principled issue if it had made it a major plank of its program and fought openly as a bloc for it.

Auto Union Debates Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

Ken Morris, president of Briggs Local 212, first read the majority resolution, which was very long and took up a good bit of the remaining time of the night session. Robert J. Winters, of Bristol, Conn., GM New Departure Local 626, read the pro-labor party resolution, which was also sponsored by Bert Foster, Cleveland Fisher Body Local 45, and James Schuetz, Buffalo Bell Aircraft Local 501. The sentiment of the delegates was revealed by loud and prolonged applause for the minority statement.

Morris then spoke for the committee majority, laying out the line of argument that all the majority speakers were to follow. He said that "only a few short days ago we passed a resolution for labor unity" but the "minority report ignores that situation." He claimed that for the UAW to go on record for a labor party would be "to ignore the other sections of labor" and to act "without consultation" with them.

MINORITY REPORT

Bert Foster, speaking for the committee minority, charged that Morris had "not even read the minority report or is trying to mislead the people." He pointed out that the minority resolution did not propose that the UAW attempt to launch a party on its own, but to urge "all labor to go out and do this job." He said: "We have heard a lot of talk in this convention about the rape of the Korean people and the Czechoslovakian people by the Communists, but it's time to talk about the rape of the American people by the Democrats and Republicans." His remarks were greeted by big applause.

At this point, Reutherite delegates attempted to cut off debate without any floor discussion by calling the "question." This aroused a storm of protest. Reuther put the question on closing debate. It was voted down overwhelmingly. Due to shortness of time, the convention then

voted to hear just three speakers for each side.

The delegate who opened for the majority stated that he was "all for a labor party" but that "we have to use common sense" because the "ULPC is only in its infancy and we must give it a chance to see what it can do." He argued that "organizations with so many differences of opinion" might be divided over the labor party question, that he favored the majority resolution, but he still hoped the minority resolution would "get strong support too." This brought a howl of delight from the delegates and complaints from some that the speaker was actually speaking for the minority.

Reuther deliberately followed the policy of picking "unknown" delegates to speak for the minority in hopes of keeping the best labor party speakers from the floor. It didn't work so well, because these "unknowns" did a good job.

"GOD HELP LABOR"

The first minority speaker Reuther recognized was Herman Rebhan, of GM Electro-Motive Local 719, LaGrange, Ill. Recalling how labor worked for Truman and "captured a victory" in the 1948 elections, he cried, "A few more victories like that, and God help the labor movement. We must face the facts, Truman and all his phoney liberals have sold us down the river." He urged labor to build a labor party and "fix it so that Brother Reuther doesn't have to knock at the back door of the White House."

CHARLES SCHULLER

The next minority speaker was Charles Schuller, of the Geometric Stamping unit of Cleveland Amalgamated Local 70. He said, that "back in 1948 after the elections a number of people in my plant came to me and said they guessed the Taft-Hartley Act won't be on the books much longer. Well, it's still on the books and we also have a McCarran Act." Reciting other reactionary measures of Congress, Schuller concluded that after two years of broken promises by the Democrats, "it's time the UAW took the initiative to launch the

movement for a labor party." Bigger applause than ever met his speech.

The majority speakers, who evoked little response, repeated the theme that for the UAW to advocate a labor party would "wreck" labor unity. One even pleaded that "we are going to step into something that one little organization like the UAW is not going to be able to handle."

When it came time to pick the last minority speaker, Reuther pointed in the direction of John Anderson, of Fleetwood Local 15, who had earlier made a powerful attack on the Truman administration's policy in Korea. As Anderson approached the mike, Reuther waved him aside and said, "Not you, Brother Anderson, but that other delegate next to you whose name I don't know. I promised some delegates who came up here and complained I was only picking 'name' delegates that I would not pick 'name' delegates and would pick unknowns."

YIELDS TO ANDERSON

The "unknown," a tall lanky fellow, came up to the mike and waited for silence. Then he said in a Southern drawl, "Charles Carmack, Local 15. I yield the floor to Brother Anderson." The convention roared with laughter at how Reuther had been "outfoxed." He turned red and grinning to cover his chagrin, said, "I admit it, I've been tricked. But I'll never fall for that again. Go ahead, Brother Anderson."

Anderson, a clear, forceful speaker, opened up by saying that it is "regrettable that we don't have several hours to debate on this question" and that he personally had been speaking for a labor party since 1939 "on every possible occasion." He charged that it "seems those in power don't want it discussed," because "every time it comes up at a UAW convention it is put as a point on the agenda when we can get little time." The UAW leaders fear discussion, he said, because "they know there is great sentiment for a labor party."

NOW IS THE TIME

Whenever the labor party question is raised, Anderson said, "we

are told now is not the time. This is the same old dodge I have heard for the last 14 years." Every resolution of this convention "depends on political action," he said. "I say now is the right time to form a labor party. We've been boasting all week here that we're a million and a quarter strong and now we've suddenly become so small and weak when the labor party is being discussed." He answered that if the American workers form a labor party, "we will win national elections, we will win state elections, we will win city elections."

By the end of his talk, the applause was terrific and it appeared certain that if a vote were taken then, the minority resolution would carry. At this point, Reuther insisted on the last word from the chair to "explain the position of the officers and executive board." Although the debate was formally closed by vote of the convention, he delivered a long harangue playing on the delegates' fears about the effect of the labor party resolution on "labor unity."

DIFFERENCE OF STRATEGY

Reuther claimed that "all agree on the sentiments of both resolutions. Both criticize both political parties and that criticism is justified." But, he argued, the difference was "not a matter of political principles" but a "division in strategy and tactics." He shouted, "If you want to make it impossible to further exploit the possibilities of the United Labor Policy Committee, then support the minority resolution." He pleaded, "Don't isolate this movement of ours" and said of the minority that "their sentiment is fine, but their judgment is bad, their timing is bad."

Immediately following his wind-up appeal, Reuther took the vote. A quarter of the convention showed by their vote that they didn't fall for his words. And, even if the majority resolution was shoved through, the convention had clearly demonstrated its sentiments in favor of a labor party, however much Reuther confused the delegates on the matter of "timing."

I've Been Working on the Railroad

By a Railroad Fireman

You have no idea how many bartenders, truck drivers and factory workers have confided in me that if they were not tied down to their present jobs, they would get into railroad work and reap the benefits they are sure we enjoy.

They compare our work with the civil service positions in the Pentagon, where all that is necessary is to settle back in a comfortable rut of some simple routine and watch the checks roll in. Quite certainly they believe that we live through some romantic adventure: danger at every curve and glory at the end of each successful run.

Casey Jones becomes the average engineer, and every conductor wears an impressive, blue uniform with gold buttons. They fail to see the monotony of going over the same stretch of track for 40 years, or the work and worry of coaxing speed from an engine so broken down it should have been in the scrap yards years ago.

ment and the management have "created" for us out of the tenderness of their hearts and for our interest. They speak of the high pay of some engineers, but forget to mention that it took 45 years of his life (a life of drudgery) to hold such a job.

With four years' rights as a locomotive fireman, I can hold a regular job only four months out of a year, and I must expect another three years at least of periodic unemployment before my problem of steady work is solved.

However, this is the least of my worries. To last that long becomes a problem, and not all economic either. As a young fireman, I am beset by 1,000 trials. How can I save enough money to tide me over the periods of lay-off? How, when I am working, can I find the time to study for the three mechanical tests on the book of rules which I must pass to be an engineer? How am I to keep my home, with my wife constantly complaining about my small checks and the fact that I am away from home 50 percent of the time? She claims I am a stranger in my own home.

As a rail worker, I am subjected to the brow-beating and intimidation of arrogant officials. We have 1,100 rules. These rules are supposed to promote safety, but their real purpose is to keep a sword suspended over the heads

of the workers. What are the safety obligations of the company? Only the loose regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and even these are often overlooked or ignored. Why not, when you have one inspector for God knows how many engines! There is an old saying that the railroad believes in safety first if it doesn't cost a cent. And what is cheaper than to dump the responsibility on the shoulders of the men?

The Pennsylvania Railroad has proved this better than I ever could. They have slaughtered 236 men, women and children in one year. Can we blame this on manpower failure? The attitude taken by the officials after the slaughter of the 84 recently is history. The company hangs the engineer! — or some other R.R. worker.

Let's see how the book of rules works against the men. Should any man show some degree of independence beyond the framework of the Grand Lodge, he may expect to be called out of service for some minor rule violation, and to get in line or suffer the displeasure of the company. Picture a man with a family and a few years' rights, called before an investigation committee. He sees the whole hierarchy of his railroad against him; for his defense, a steward representing a union so weak they must beg hat

in hand for years for a small increase in pay. You can see the result! "I am sorry, sir, I promise it won't happen again." It is impossible to tell how many good men have been beaten into submission by this treatment.

Let's talk cold cash. For the year of 1950, I received \$3360. This is for working all available jobs including Xmas, New Year's, Sundays, etc. Out of this I must pay income tax, and by my tax table, I am sure I have bought an interest in the big Mo. On top of this, I pay three percent toward my pension and I must carry my own insurance. Let's take an average two week pay period — not the smallest by far. I earned \$199.78 for a 15-day period in 1949; \$17.10 went for income tax; my railroad retirement, \$11.99. There is an item marked, "Misc. — \$13." Ten dollars of this is for meal tickets I bought on credit when my money which I took along would not stretch. This leaves me \$157.00 for two weeks, and to break this down into one seven-day week, it means \$78.86 for working all days, Saturday and Sunday included. Double time is unheard of and time and a half only after eight hours. We have no pay differential for night work and one week's vacation for men with less than five years seniority. Will you trade me contracts?

## Majority Doesn't Rule

By Joan Farr

If there is anyone who needs proof that majority opinion does not prevail as far as government representatives are concerned, he should consider the recent attempt in New York City to block the passage of the three percent sales tax. Usually, the people are made to feel that lack of good government is all their fault because they don't use their voting privileges fully. They are berated by righteous lectures and articles telling them that if they weren't so lazy and indifferent they could make the politicians do what they wanted.

Well, this time there is no doubt about their protest being heard. Walter Hoving, the president of a large department store, threw a lot of energy into the campaign to put pressure on the Governor and the state legislature. Not that Hoving is thinking of the interests of the average citizen — but a high sales tax is bad for business.

Among other things, Hoving and his Anti-Sales Tax Committee took full page ads in the New York newspapers, pointing out that the increased tax wasn't necessary, and urging everyone to write and telegraph to Albany. The newspapers carried all of the arguments he advanced in prominent news stories. Civic organizations, trade unions, consumers' committees, and thousands of ordinary citizens were aroused into a telegram-sending, letter-writing campaign. Republican Governor Dewey of New York in a long speech which made the headlines, berated the city administration for its lack of economy, and then signed the enabling law. In doing so, he disregarded a flood of protests, and the whole thing points to a deal between him and the Democrats.

The Anti-Sales Tax Committee then concentrated on the public hearing before the N. Y. City Council held on April 6. Once again, full page ads appeared, giving name, address and telephone number of each and every Councilman. The public was urged to make itself heard. Thoroughly aroused citizens jammed the switchboards with telephone calls to the homes of the Councilmen; a shower of telegrams also rained down on these "representatives of the people." The committee had 1,000 posters printed per Councilman, and placed them in store windows

throughout his district. On the day of the hearing, 500 persons jammed into the small City Hall chamber (requests for a larger meeting place were ignored) while 4,000 pickets marched up and down outside. As usual, the police were out in force, since any attempt at expression of public grievance always calls forth extra cops. The meeting was stormy and the opponents of the tax were overwhelmingly in the majority. In spite of which, the "representatives of the people," that is to say, the Councilmen, after sitting through four hours of hearing what their constituents thought of the bill before them, announced that they were going to vote for the tax!

Furthermore, to show how much consideration they had for the intelligence of the voting public, these gentlemen had the nerve to tell quite frankly why they refused to have the proceedings televised. "The public in general wouldn't understand the figures," said Frederick Schick, Chairman of the Finance Committee. Other Councilmen said, "Television would make the same circus out of it as the Kefauver hearings."

The average citizen is pretty dazed by now, if he really thought his opinion carried any weight. Hoving admits that the sales tax increase is sure to be passed. But he has some advice to give; he says that all the officials concerned will be defeated at the next election, and then the public will get its revenge. But there's one thing that isn't clear. What party is the average citizen going to vote for? If he replaces the Republicans in Albany with Democrats, and the Democrats in the N. Y. City Council with Republicans, will he be any better off? Should he send Democratic Mayor Impellitteri to the Governor's Mansion in Albany and bring Republican Tom Dewey to the Mayor's Mansion in New York City?

Riding this Democratic-Republican merry-go-round is not going to stop such measures as the three percent sales tax. But there is an alternative by which the average citizen can really exercise his voting rights.

The people of New York and all the rest of the country will have real representation at last when they form a labor party that will act in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

## Oath Outlawed, Profs. Rehired In Calif. Fight

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, April 8 — Branding the anti-Communist loyalty oath demanded of University of California employees as a "forerunner of tyranny and oppression," the State Appellate Court at Sacramento Friday unanimously declared the pledge invalid.

The court ordered the Board of Regents to rehire 18 professors who were fired for refusing to sign the special non-Communist statement.

This action raises doubt as to the fate of other "loyalty" laws now being enacted in California, particularly the Burns bill, a sweeping measure demanding special pledges from all professional people licensed by the state, including doctors and nurses.

### EXCEEDED AUTHORITY

The court found the regents had exceeded their authority in demanding any oath other than the 100-year-old one taken by all state officers.

The opinion stated: "We are keenly aware that equal to the danger of subversion from without by means of force and violence is the danger of subversion from within by the gradual whittling away and the resulting disintegration of the very pillars of our freedom."

"We conclude that the people of California intended, at least, that no one could be subjected, as a condition to holding office, to any test of political or religious beliefs other than this pledge to support the Constitution of this State and of the United States..."

"Any other conclusion would be to approve that which from the beginning of our government has been denounced as the most effective means by which one special brand of political or economic philosophy can entrench and perpetuate itself to the eventual exclusion of all others; the imposition of any more inclusive test would be the forerunner of tyranny and oppression..."

"Our great institution now dedicated to learning and the search for truth (would be) reduced to an organ for the propagation of the ephemeral political, religious, social and economic philosophies, whatever they may be, of the majority of the Board of Regents at that moment."

The opinion brings to a climax the first court test of the loyalty oath issue as applied to the University. The dispute, which commenced a little over a year ago when the regents first demanded the pledge, has spread to academic circles throughout the country.

Last June the regents discharged 157 employees for failure to sign the oath. There has yet been no indication whether or not the regents will carry the case to the State Supreme Court.

## Pickets at Franco Consulate Shout Solidarity With Barcelona Strikers

### Anti-Franco Pickets



Above are the pickets representing organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist Youth, which formed a demonstration at Spanish Consulate.

## Demand No More U.S. Arms Or Financial Aid to Franco

"No dough, no guns for Franco!" "American labor must support Spanish labor!" "Spanish workers will destroy Franco!" Shouting a score of slogans expressing their solidarity with the resurgent workers of Spain and protesting U.S. aid in guns and gold to the butcher Franco, a picket line of 200 strong marched at noon last Saturday in front of the Spanish consulate in New York.

Onlookers gathered in large numbers as the banners of the picketers were rhythmically raised and lowered to the cry, "Up with Freedom, Down with Franco!" In unison, the demands were voiced, "Open the Prison Gates of Spain!" and "Franco Agents — Get Out!" Eleven working class and student organizations marched on the picket line. They organized a united front for this action in response to the call from the underground organizations of the Spanish workers for international working class support.

It was a stirring reminder to the people of this city that the spirit of the 1936 Spanish Revolution was alive. The great general strike of Barcelona and the heroic student demonstrations of Madrid found an echo in the shouting, singing workers and students who walked the New York picket line. All were conscious of the tremendous import of the news from Spain. After 13 bitter years of hunger and barbarism, the anti-fascist people of Spain once again have taken up the battle.

In preparing for the action, the Socialist Workers Party distributed thousands of leaflets calling upon all labor and anti-fascist groups in the city to join the line. Spanish language leaflets also were handed out. Especially active were the student and youth groups. They had a contingent of more than 50 on the line and had passed out leaflets on the campus pointing out the great role played by the students of Madrid in initiating the street car demonstrations that rocked the city. They called upon all youth to "Help Fight Fascism!"

The organizations participating were, The Socialist Workers Party, Independent Socialist League, Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista, Libertarian Socialist League and The Catholic Worker. Student groups were, Internationalist Socialist Youth, Spartacus Club of New York University, Socialist Youth League, N. Y. Student Federation Against War, Students' Union to Resist War (C.C.N.Y.), and the Students' Left Unity Group.

At 1:15 p.m. the picketers, their numbers constantly growing, marched off singing the stirring workers' battle hymn, "Solidarity Forever."

## Robbing the Unemployed

By Milton Matthews

New Deal, Fair Deal and Welfare State are now words of interest only to the students of history. By means of a few reforms, concessions and benefits the capitalist rulers of America were able to stagger through two terrible decades of depression and war. Today with the very existence of the profit system threatened on a world scale as never before, big business has launched a national offensive to beat down the living standards of the American workers, destroy hard-won reforms and undermine their organizations.

New York, where the air hangs heavy with the stench of newly uncovered graft, fixes and corruption, is a good spot from which to observe the ugly show.

The N. Y. legislature, with Dewey and Wall Street guidance, murdered rent control, raised phone and utility rates, tightened the loyalty purge of state and city employees. But the bill that sneaked through with the least publicity, one that will hurt thousands now but will scald millions of workers when the boom is over and the bust begins, is the Hughes-Brees unemployment insurance bill.

Standard Oil, General Motors, the utility, banking and huge insurance companies pushed through this bill. When Dewey signs it, they will legally steal \$600 million from the workers of New York. This money will be theirs out of the \$900 million now in the State Unemployment Insurance Reserve Fund.

Heretofore, this fund which belongs to the workers has been pooled in one big state-controlled trust fund. The bill destroys the fund and divides the major part of it among "selected" employers. The bulk of it will go to the largest corporations.

A checking system will be substituted for the fund whereby every benefit check a worker gets will be charged against his boss's individual account with the state. Each employer will be taxed according to how much unemployment

benefits are paid to his workers. The lower the benefits, the lower the employer's tax. Can you see how this is going to work? Every boss will be opposed to every single claim filed by his workers. Workers will now get hearings instead of benefits.

An employer's victory is practically guaranteed in another provision of the bill. It states that before a worker gets any benefits he must have 20 weeks of employment in a base period and he must have "average weekly earnings" of \$15. Raising the benefits to a \$30 per week top, the one feature of this anti-labor bill publicized widely in the capitalist press, becomes meaningless. The above provision will drive thousands out of the unemployment insurance system, especially during economic decline. The use of an "average weekly earnings" formula is certain to lower benefits. An employer will try to call in a worker for a few hours work solely to drive down the workers' average and lower his benefit rate and in that way lower the tax.

The giant corporations haven't dared to kill unemployment insurance directly. They are slaughtering it piecemeal, making sure of its total ineffectiveness.

The New York State CIO Council and the State Federation of Labor have united to expose and fight the Hughes-Brees bill. The Wall Street offensive has driven labor together locally as well as nationally. Their program for leading the struggle against the bill must be sharply criticized however. Worker support limited to upholding the past unemployment insurance system will be at the most unenthusiastic. They are aware of the inadequacy of that system; the long hungry wait before payments begin, the pitiful low benefits during a raging inflation and the short period of payments. To rally labor in a counter-offensive this program must be replaced by the one proposed by the Socialist Workers Party: trade union wages for all workers for as long as unemployment lasts!

## The Lookout

By the Skipper

The Time has come, MacArthur said  
With scholarly aplomb  
To say this cursed Korean deal  
Has shaken up my calm.  
It's either plan a neat retreat  
Or drop an atom bomb.

The American capitalists love India, but not as the popular song goes, "A bushel and a peck." Of wheat, that is.

Senator Fulbright said just the other day that "the U.S. is more likely to be destroyed by perversion or abandonment of its moral principles than by armed attack." Careful, Senator, you are getting pretty close to quoting Karl Marx.

A new development in gold smelting processes has made it possible to work over dumps and tailings of old western gold mines. Many of these ancient workings will be reopened to get low grade ores unprofitable to mine under the old smelting methods. Gold is again going to be mined in the western mountains so it can be hurried to Fort Knox and be re-buried. It really doesn't make sense unless you know something about that little six-letter word — profit.

Food administrator DiSalle doesn't do much about cutting prices, but he can sure slice the baloney.

## Short Subjects

**CODETERMINATION** — Despite the vicious opposition of the American monopolists, who threatened to withdraw all U.S. investments from Germany, the Bundestag (lower house of the West German Parliament) on April 10 passed the law which gives German unions "an equal voice in the direction of the heavy industries of the Ruhr."

**STARVING INDIA** — The deliberate stalling of American grain shipments to famine-stricken India has sent "to a new high" the wave of "anti-

Reading war dispatches that filter through the MacArthur censorship has become something of an art. One must not only learn to read between the lines, but also have the ability to translate the military double-talk into something that makes sense to the American reader.

Double Talk	Translation
Planned withdrawal to strengthen position	We're running
Fleeing in confusion	They're running
Bursting close alongside, doing considerable damage	We missed
Exploded far astern, no damage	They missed
Courageous charge in face of bitter enemy resistance	We're advancing
Suicide attack by crazed orientals	They're advancing
Captured two major railheads	We took two villages
Withdrawn from two minor villages	They took them back
Rallied in thousands to their country's defense	Your draft number is up
Interrogates the prisoners	U.S. Intelligence blacks an eye
Tortured helpless captives	Other side does, too

American" feelings in that country. "It seemed obvious," reports a United Press dispatch, Apr. 3, "that the (Nehru) government was making no effort to control the feeling..."

**NO FREEZE ON PROFITS** — The GE monopoly which annually rakes in profits by the hundred million has just reported hitting a new profits-peak. In case you have forgotten, GE's one-time head is now busy telling all of us to pull in our belts, or else!

## NAACP Refuses Invitation to Civil Defense Parley

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has turned down a government invitation to participate in an important civil defense conference in Washington. The NAACP refusal holds "unless and until" Millard F. Caldwell, white-supremacist head of the federal defense administration, repudiates his advocacy of racial discrimination and segregation.

The Washington conference will be addressed by Truman and "other distinguished speakers."

When Truman appointed Millard F. Caldwell Civil Defense Administrator, the NAACP vigorously protested. While governor of Florida, Caldwell brazenly preached evasion of the Supreme Court ruling ordering southern tax-supported colleges to admit Negro students without discrimination. NAACP spokesmen claimed that Caldwell's white supremacy could logically lead to Negroes, in the event of air raids, not being allowed to enter the nearest air-raid shelter but forced to find one marked "For Colored Only."

### Deadline for Militant

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

## HANSEN TELLS VIEWS IN TELEVISION SHOW

SAN FRANCISCO, April 4 — "We are opposed to all tyranny" commented Joseph Hansen in his television interview with Marjorie Trumbull on station KRON-TV. When asked if tyranny existed in this country Hansen replied that "It is beginning here when Congress passes thought control, police state laws."

"Taft has stated," continued Hansen, "that the President has usurped the powers of the people. If he were serious he would begin impeachment proceedings. But since he is not we can conclude that all Taft wants is to make some political capital."

This statement had the effect of flustering Miss Trumbull while raising considerable interest from the audience viewing the interview as well as from the technical staff. Other audience reports indicated the same effect.

This interview over a major San Francisco station covered the field of politics. Beginning with the differences between the Socialist Workers Party and other parties it dealt with the crimes of Stalin, Trotsky's role in history, Hansen's experiences while

he was secretary to Leon Trotsky and the necessity to fight tyranny at home and abroad. Afterwards a woman who viewed the broadcast approached Hansen and congratulated him on his very unusual and interesting interview.

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## H. Chatterji

The Militant learns with regret of the death of a leading Indian comrade, Haradhan Chatterji, in Calcutta. Comrade Haradhan became a Trotskyist during the last imperialist war and soon played an important role in the Indian revolutionary movement.

He first came into prominence in the organizing of Calcutta longshoremen. He pioneered in the unionization of city employees, in the course of which he led a famous strike — the first of municipal workers in Calcutta. Later he led the strike of the Calcutta firemen — the city's first successful strike of public utility workers.

Comrade Haradhan was also one of the recognized leaders of Calcutta's 20,000 paper mill workers and led a number of their struggles. Lately, despite failing health, he was active in organizing the miners of the Bengal coal fields.

Comrade Haradhan died in the service of the working class at the youthful age of thirty. The workers of India have lost a great fighter, a great revolutionist, an incomparable agitator. Revolutionary socialists in America, though they never met Comrade Haradhan, mourn his loss as that of a brother and send condolences to his family and his fellow fighters in India.

<p><b>Detroit</b> A timely lecture... <b>America and the World Crisis</b> Speaker <b>JOSEPH HANSEN</b> former Candidate for U. S. Senate SUNDAY, APRIL 22 3:00 PM Socialist Workers Party Hall 6108 Linwood — Donation 25c —</p>	<p><b>Chicago</b> May Day <b>Banquet Jubilee</b> Speaker <b>FARRELL DOBBS</b> Chairman of Socialist Workers Party "Socialism Marches Forward" <b>M.C. ARNE SWABECK</b> International Smorgasbord (all the food you can eat!) APRIL 28, 7 PM Entertainment :: Dancing Singing :: Music FUN FOR ALL New Chicago Hdqtrs. 734 S. Wabash — Donation \$1.25 —</p>
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## Trenton Six Attorneys Demolish "Confessions"

room. Why don't you stop killing innocent people while boys are dying on the battlefield? It's a shame before God! You should all rot in hell!"

After her brother had been carried out, three courtroom attendants hurried sobbing and hysterical Mrs. Mitchell to the corridor. There she fainted and collapsed on the stone floor. When her sobbing, 64 years old mother saw her daughter prostrate she clutched her heart and also fainted.

When court resumed this morning there was a padded chair in place for Collis English. As he entered with the other defendants his lawyers attempted to cheer him up with jokes about his special chair. To these he responded with a sickly grin. Joking, understandably, seems to have lost its flavor for these innocent men who for three years have been living in the shadow of the electric chair.

Argument on the defense motion not to accept the defendants' "confession" into evidence is reaching a conclusion. Early this week the prosecution finished putting its witnesses on the stand. Even though the prosecution refused to produce Dr. Moore, Lieut. Stanley or Chief of County Detectives, Naples, key figures in the arrest and extortion of the fear and drug-induced "confessions," cross-examination of those witnesses produced great damage to the state's case.

Most damaging was the testimony of Dr. J. Minor Sullivan, a Negro physician and prosecution witness. Sullivan, a newcomer to Trenton, was called in by the police late one night. He had never done medical work for the police before. His assignment was to watch the signing of "confessions" by the defendants and to give them a quick physical examination. He had been called by the police to give window dressing to the "signing ceremony" which had been prepared by five days and four nights of grilling, mental terror and use of drugs. He made the examination and established the men had no marks of beatings on them. The district attorney listed him as suitable for a prosecution witness and by coincidence he was put on the city payroll a week later.

At this, the second trial, Dr. Sullivan admitted on cross-examination that three of the defendants seemed to be under the influence of drugs. Other evidence discrediting the "confessions" was that before signing, James Thorpe, whose arm was amputated eight days before the crime for which he was framed,

declared the "confession" was false and refused to sign. Then he stated that he would get a short sentence if he signed and put his name to the document.

In the climax of his speech asking that the "confessions" be thrown out, Defense Attorney George Pelletier described the plight of Thorpe in pain from his arm stump, crying out to his tormentors that he was innocent. "This boy was crying out for help. His cry went unheeded by the police, by the doctors, by two men of his own race." When he got no help he gave in and signed the false confession.

The defense put seven witnesses on the stand in an attempt to bring out the anti-Negro reign of terror that prevailed in Trenton at the time. Two of these witnesses were subpoenaed officials of Trenton newspapers which built circulation by a campaign holding Negroes responsible for a "crime wave" and demanding that the police produce victims. Though backed up with files of the newspapers of the period, the line of questioning was ruled out by the judge. The newspapers in question dramatically reveal the anti-Negro hysteria of January-February 1948. In addition to inflammatory news stories, violent editorials like one from the Trenton Times entitled, "The Empty Electric Chair," and demanding that it be filled, galvanized the corrupt Trenton politicians into anti-Negro action. To appease the press the city set up a special "Crime Crusher" squad. Machine gun details patrolled the Negro neighborhood. Negro men were searched on the street and had to explain their reasons for being cut. The defense contends that the police wanted any six Negro victims they could get as scapegoats to take the heat off themselves.

Judge Smalley has reserved judgment on the motion to throw out the "confessions." Should he throw them out of evidence, the state will be left with no case. Since the Moscow Trials there has probably not been a case where the prosecution has so little evidence aside from "confessions." The state has one witness, whose testimony is very shaky. This is the wife of the murdered man. When first brought to identify the defendants she failed to do so. Only afterwards, with the police helping did she "identify" them from photographs. Other witnesses give descriptions which in no way fit the defendants. On such "evidence" the court would undoubtedly have to direct an acquittal.