

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE KOREAN WAR

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THE MILITANT

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Why Capitalists Like War



This time last year the U.S. monopolists were glumly scanning the economic horizon for storm-clouds of depression. Then Truman's "police action" in Korea changed their gloom to joy overnight. These past couple of weeks the financial sections of the newspapers have carried headlines like those in the photo-montage above with monotonous regularity. Profits at an all-time high!

Korea War 'Unpopular,' New Gallup Poll Shows

The Korean war is "not a popular war" with the overwhelming majority of the American people, concludes George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, on the basis of the results of the Gallup Poll's latest nation-wide survey.

COTTON KINGS FORCE GOV'T SURRENDER ON PRICE CEILING

Early in February the Cotton Exchange shut down. This was because cotton merchants and shippers combined to stop doing business until the Office of Price Stabilization came through with a price ceiling so high that it would not interfere with speculation and price-gouging.

Millions in Korea Flee U.S. Bombs

Gen. MacArthur sees the flight of North Korean civilians to "sanctuary" behind the U.S. lines as "possibly of greatest political significance." In his March 1 report, the General claims that when millions fled with the retreating U.S. Army last December, they "made clear their complete aversion to Communist rule."

of March in many newspapers, Gallup this time did not include any survey on the attitude of the voters on the question of whether the U.S. troops should be immediately withdrawn from Korea.

PULL OUT OF KOREA Last January 23, Gallup released the results of a poll on this question, showing 66 per cent want to "pull out of Korea" and only 25 per cent to "stay there."

This time, the voters were given a "loaded" question which did not permit them to give an unequivocal answer and designed to give the impression that the people want the troops withdrawn only under certain conditions.

There is no doubt, on the basis of the previous poll and of the general attitude revealed in the latest one, that the majority of the American people want the U.S. troops withdrawn immediately. Perhaps, Gallup did not dare ask the question again for fear the percentage for withdrawal would embarrass U.S. imperialism.

MORAL VICTORIES We have further confirmation of these facts that we have repeatedly reported, in two recent dispatches by N. Y. Times correspondent George Barrett. In a Feb. 20 dispatch from Taegu, Barrett reported that "when the Koreans saw that the Communists had left their homes and schools standing in retreat while United Nations troops fighting with much more destructive tools, left only blackened spots where towns once stood, the Communists even in retreat chalked up moral victories."

As for the North Koreans fleeing in fear of "Communist rule," Barrett reports, "the explanation is being heard now... that many Korean civilians... are fleeing in great numbers not so much to get away from the Communists but to get out of the path of the shelling and bombing."

American Labor Must Break Tie with Truman

A Sign of Bigger Things to Come

By Murry Weiss

The walkout of the labor representatives from all government war agencies has ushered in a new stage in the crisis of American capitalism. This crisis, beginning with the reverses of the imperialist adventure in Korea, became aggravated in the "Great Debate" over foreign policy and has now reached its sharpest expression in the rift between the labor leadership and the Truman administration.

The labor bureaucracy did not want this crisis. These "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" did everything to avoid a political showdown with their capitalist superiors. But the break came despite their wishes, and it has drawn a sharp line between labor and capital on the political field. Only the most compelling pressure of working class discontent forced them to challenge the exclusive domination of Big Business in the war mobilization set-up.

No Partnership

The last question the labor officials want to raise is the right of Big Business to dominate the capitalist state apparatus; what they are objecting to is exclusive domination. The most striking feature of the labor officials' statements is their demand for "real partnership." The bureaucracy demands a "real" coalition on the model of the Social-Democratic governments that used to flourish in Europe in the heyday of capitalism, with security for labor officials, stable unionism, and a "real" partnership between capital and "labor," that is with the labor bureaucrats.

But this is no longer the heyday of capitalism, but the epoch of its death agony. The American capitalists dream of world empire in the grand style of Nineteenth Century Great Britain whose ruling class was able to amass huge super-profits from its colonial possessions all over the globe. The American labor officials want nothing more than to participate in such an enterprise as privileged beneficiaries; they yearn to become "top-policy level" partners in the imperialist state. Too late! Too late for both imperialism and the labor bureaucracy.

The capitalist world since 1914 has been suffocating in a shrinking world market. Two imperialist wars were fought to seize and dominate this market. The richer the imperialist nation, the bigger its productive capacity, all the greater its need for foreign markets and outlets for capital investment, all the more catastrophic the consequences of this contracting world market.

American capitalism must have the entire globe as its sphere of exploitation, or perish. It came out of the Second World War as the victor ruthlessly determined to achieve the goal of world mastery. But this victory is turning into a tantalizing mockery. The world market has become even more constricted. The Soviet Union remains inaccessible to imperialist penetration. In addition,

the Kremlin has been able to shut off large areas of Eastern and Central Europe from imperialist exploitation. Western Europe is a bottomless drain on American capitalism. Europe's militant proletariat continues to be a threat to capitalism. Asia has been swept by an irresistible independence revolution which has ignited the colonial world and inflamed the downtrodden everywhere.

This is the world "victorious" American imperialism aspires to dominate. Can they live in peace with this world — and calmly accept the doom of their capitalist system? Impossible! They must take the road of bloody imperialism war. They must undertake the fantastic program of crushing the European proletariat, reshaping the colonial peoples, and the settling of accounts with the Soviet Union.

There is an inescapable contradiction between the execution of this monstrous program and the maintenance of class peace at home. This is the point the labor bureaucracy cannot and will not understand. American capitalists, goaded by the unforeseen catastrophe in Korea, have unleashed a program that aims at and imperatively requires the reduction of American living standards.

This is the course dictated to them by the whole world crisis of capitalism. They are being driven not only by greed, but by the eruption to the surface of all the fatal contradictions of the world imperialist system.

The old equilibrium of U.S. capitalism is receiving the first of a series of violent shocks. The political equilibrium of capitalist rule in America has rested upon the alliance of the labor bureaucracy with the capitalist state. But the labor bureaucracy rests upon the organized might of 15 million workers who are in no mood to accept the program Big Business is cooking up. Seething discontent and anger mount. Herein lies the main reason for the current crisis and the more profound crises that will inevitably follow.

Sharp Struggles Ahead

The labor bureaucracy will be caught between its fundamental allegiance to capitalist foreign policy and its mass union base. Every serious clash between the workers and the capitalists will direct hammer blows at the already shaky political structure and introduce new deep-going contradictions into the relations of the bureaucracy with the capitalist state, and within the bureaucracy itself. This in turn will deepen and sharpen the crisis within America's ruling class.

The historical signpost reads: "Sharper Class Struggles Ahead in America." For Truman the walkout may represent a "disagreement"; the union officials may delude themselves with the ridiculous idea that it is only a temporary rift which can easily be patched up. But for the workers it is a milestone in their awakening to consciousness and the realization of their historic mission through independent political action.

Reuther Suffers Setback In UAW Local Elections

The Reuther machine suffered setbacks in the February election of local union officers and delegates to the UAW April convention. In the Flint GM locals and in Ford River Rouge Local 600, the Reutherites did not succeed in winning either control of the locals or majority of delegates to the coming Cleveland convention.

run-off. Tommy Thompson, former local president, received only 7,784. Hogan's showing came as a big surprise. The Stalinists had supported Thompson. Hogan was relatively unknown outside of his own unit.

A MILITANT PROGRAM The program upon which Hogan ran his surprisingly effective campaign was a progressive one:

- 1. An end to the Korean war. 2. Full employment based on civilian production. 3. Repeal the McCarran and Taft-Hartley laws. 4. Formation of a new party of labor and farmers, while rejecting Reuther's proposal of a merger of the Republican and Democratic parties. 5. Solution of the speed-up problem as well as an end to discrimination in the hiring of Negroes. An FEPC and anti-lynch law.

Hogan won his big vote on this program despite efforts by the Ford Motor Company to insure Stellato's victory. The company effort granted a supplementary agreement giving Ford workers area-wide seniority. The company yielded on this point in time for Stellato to announce it on the first day of the elections. Union militants feel that Hogan has an even chance to defeat Stellato in the run-offs. The overwhelming majority of the Thompson vote will probably go to Hogan, since this vote represents a protest against Stellato's policies. The run-off elections will be held March 13, 14 and 15.

CONVENTION DELEGATES Pat Rice, anti-Reuther candidate who ran on both opposition slates, won a majority in the primary. In the race for convention delegates, the opposition to Reuther won a slim majority.

The five building officers who had been put on trial by the Reuther-Stellato administration in a red-baiting drive against opposi-

NEXT WEEK MORE SPECIAL ARTICLES ON LABOR CRISIS Don't miss our next issue. Information and analyses not given by any other newspaper.

Another Deal Cannot Solve Grave Crisis

By Joseph Andrews

MARCH 8 — The breach between the United Labor Policy Committee, representing 15 million AFL, CIO and independent union members, and the Truman-Wilson war mobilization set-up has thus far brought no major concessions from the Truman administration.

After a conference with Truman in Key West, Florida, mobilization czar Wilson stated, "Nothing and nobody must interfere with the development of the mobilization program." That was the sum and substance of his reply to the long list of accusations made by labor that the whole war program is Big Business-dominated, enriching the big corporations, allowing prices to run away while wages are frozen.

See Editorial on Page 3 "Where Does U.S. Labor Go From Here?"

Wilson followed his arrogant dismissal of labor's protests with a contemptuous, "I'm damned if I know what they want."

TRUMAN COVERED UP

While the labor officials centered their fire on Wilson, carefully omitting any reference to the responsibility of President Truman for the mobilization program, Wilson made it clear in public statements that Truman is backing him.

Philip Murray, CIO President, speaking on a nationwide radio broadcast, first of a series by the ULPC, tried to cover up for Truman by placing the blame for the pro-Wall Street policies of the government upon a "bloc of Southern Democrats and Republicans." He named the Big Business figures who control the various government economic agencies as equally responsible. He failed to mention that Truman

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HANSEN HITS U.S. WAR AIMS IN BUFFALO TALK

BUFFALO, March 3 — A large and eager audience greeted Joseph Hansen last evening at the Buffalo headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Workers from

for the social part of the evening, Comrade Hansen spent at least an hour answering the many questions put to him by youth and workers to whom the socialist program opened up new perspectives. Several of them had never attended a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party before.

Following is the schedule of Comrade Hansen's meetings in the immediate future:

HANSEN TOUR SCHEDULE Table with columns for Day, Date, and Location. Includes dates from Tuesday Mar. 13 to Friday Apr. 6, with locations like Minneapolis, St. Paul, Montana, Seattle, S. Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles.



WALTER REUTHER

Yugoslavia's Foreign Policy -- II

Belgrade and the Imperialist Threat

By John G. Wright

(This is the second of a series on Yugoslavia.)

The Yugoslav leaders apparently take as their point of departure in foreign policy that the sole danger to the Yugoslav revolution flows from the Kremlin, its power and its hostility. This is a narrow, lop-sided approach because it ignores the role of imperialism in the realities of the international situation today.

Such a distorted view of world politics is fraught with dangers and if consistently pursued can lead to catastrophe. For, on the one side, it strengthens imperialism; and, on the other, it helps weaken Yugoslavia's defense against Stalin, to whom such a policy renders political aid and comfort.

The threat from the Kremlin is at the moment undeniable and most acute; and this justifies any and all practical measures of self-defense. Belgrade is not alone entitled but is duty-bound to procure material aid from any source whatever. Only doctrinaires or scoundrels of the Stalinist stripe would challenge this right of the Yugoslav Communists to take into account the immediate danger and guard against it; carefully weigh the existing relation of forces and exploit to the maximum the antagonisms between the imperialists and the Kremlin, which now induce the former to don a mask of "helpfulness" toward Yugoslavia.

With such blind or dishonest "criticism" the genuine defenders of Yugoslavia have nothing whatever in common. Their criticism centers upon what the imperialists demand — and receive — in return for any "aid" grudgingly doled out — not because of any abstract love for peace, for democracy, or for the rights of small nations, etc., but exclusively in order to serve their own interests and aims. Within limits, certain concessions to the imperialists cannot be avoided.

LENIN'S METHOD
However, it is impermissible, for example, to paint up agreements, treaties and the like with the imperialists as victories or "safeguards" for the revolution. This is the course which Stalin has consistently followed. Lenin, on the other hand, never failed to explain what dictated every maneuver with the imperialists or even retreats before them. He never hid that it was weakness and not strength that dictated each move of this type. Most important of all, Lenin taught how impermissible it is to trade away basic principles in exchange for any aid whatever or buckle under the pressure of capitalist reaction.

The Belgrade leaders, from Tito down, have themselves previously recognized this. What they fail to see is that a policy of trading principles of international solidarity in return for immediate gains in foreign affairs is the hallmark not of Leninism but of Stalinism.

The antagonism between the Yugoslav revolution and the imperialist encirclement is no less fundamental and irreversible than the antagonism between the Yugoslav Communists and the Stalinist bureaucracy. But these two fundamental and irreconcilable antagonisms are of an entirely different order.

What is the nature of the antagonism with the Kremlin? It may assume a military form but it remains political in essence. Stalinism cannot tolerate the independence of any section of the labor movement, least of all, of a ruling party, like the Yugoslav CP, on its frontiers. The Kremlin places no limits on its own unprincipled maneuvers with the imperialists and will force its satellites and parties to sacrifice anything for that purpose. Where Stalin cannot rule, he is ready to ruin. As the Fourth International warned in 1948 before Belgrade itself recognized the fact, he was prepared to drown the Yugoslav revolution in blood.

To avert the grave political danger which Stalinism represents, great care must therefore be taken to keep the political issues in the Yugoslav struggle as clear as possible at all times. In this sense, the Yugoslav struggle against the Stalinists falls by and large within the framework

of the political struggle which Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks had to conduct against such enemies of the socialist revolution as the classical reformists, the Kautskians and revisionists of all shades. It is above all a struggle to win the minds and allegiance of class conscious workers and of insurgent colonial peoples.

STICK TO PRINCIPLES
Such a struggle cannot be conducted except on the firmest and most consistent Leninist basis and without transgressing the framework of the world labor and colonial movements. No substitutes for Leninism and its unwavering adherence to principle can succeed against Stalinism. On the contrary, any departure from Leninism would spell disaster.

On the other hand, the conflict between imperialism and the Yugoslav revolution and its in-

spiring conquests is both political and economic. Imperialism can tolerate, under duress and for a time, certain concessions to Belgrade; but it cannot long tolerate a workers' revolution which shuts off spheres of private investment, deprives it of sources of raw materials and markets, not to mention a strategically important area like Yugoslavia. They regard the "aid" not only as a springboard against the Soviet Union but also against the Yugoslav revolution.

This conflict with imperialism which is rooted in the international class struggle cannot be properly approached from the narrow, nationally-limited standpoint of a single country, least of all, one so vulnerably situated as Yugoslavia. Here salvation for Yugoslavia lies only in a consistent Leninist outlook.

The Yugoslav leaders need only think back on their own experiences of several years ago

when they were engaged in maneuvers with the British imperialists. Through the combined pressure of the Kremlin and Western imperialism they became involved in a coalition government with their own bourgeoisie, Subasic and his gang. They quickly came into a head-on clash which could be resolved only by a complete break. This involved considerable heat and friction at that time, and risk too. So did the break with the Kremlin in 1948.

What the Yugoslav leaders apparently still fail to understand is that it is also necessary, and even unavoidable, to incur certain risks in 1951 on the international arena as well as the national arena. For there is no other way of preparing to avert the greatest risk of all, namely, the deadly, if delayed, threat from imperialism.

Lenin did not hesitate to follow such a course, when circumstances dictated, nor to call upon the

Russian workers to put international considerations first. To cite only one instance, in October 1918 when the revolution in Germany appeared imminent Lenin called upon the Russian workers to "realize that it will soon be necessary to make great sacrifices in the cause of internationalism." "Let us," he said, "begin to prepare at once. Let us show that the Russian workers can work much more energetically, make greater sacrifices, and die more bravely when fighting for the cause of the international proletarian revolution."

This call is not revolutionary romanticism, as the Yugoslav leaders now pretend. This is sober revolutionary realism. Without Lenin's policy of internationalism, there is not only no real safety, but rather the danger of ever graver risks. Unfortunately, the Yugoslav leaders are still so emmeshed in Stalin's theory "of socialism in one country" that the

language and spirit of Lenin's internationalism appears to them as romanticism.

There is no more revolutionary realism in placing reliance on the "democratic" imperialists against the Kremlin than in relying upon the Cominformists do. Real revolutionary policy consists in veering and maneuvering between the imperialists and the Kremlin as Lenin maneuvered in his day between the rival imperialists without sacrificing the real independence of either the Soviet government or the Russian Communist Party.

Actually, the Yugoslav Communists would incur little risk at this stage by pursuing a foreign policy independent of U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, they would gain nothing less than the sympathies of the revolutionary workers of other countries and the insurgent millions of Chinese and other Asian peoples. And the stronger they are in this respect, all the more imperative would it become for the imperialists to extend Yugoslav material aid against the Kremlin. By their unprincipled maneuvers on the international arena, the Belgrade leaders are actually accomplishing just the reverse of this object. For what greater risk can there be, if not that of isolating the Yugoslav revolution from its working class supporters in the West and the colonial people of Asia? What greater guarantee for Yugoslav independence can there be if not the appearance of other and "new Yugoslavians" both in Europe and Asia?

"To wait until the toiling masses bring about the revolution on an international scale," wrote Lenin in May 1918, "is to condemn oneself to a state of inactivity and mere waiting. This is nonsense." The Yugoslav leaders have understood this.

But Lenin did not stop there. He went on: "The difficulties of revolution are well known. Having started as a spectacular success in one country, revolution may have to go through periods of trial because the final victory is possible only on a world scale and through the united efforts of workers of all countries. Our task is to exercise tact and caution; we must maneuver and retreat until reinforcements come to our aid." This has not been understood.

This Leninist exercise of "tact and caution" and this ability to maneuver, to retreat, or, conversely, to take the offensive on the international arena when necessary — all with the aim of promoting and speeding the arrival of "reinforcements" on a world scale — this is what the Yugoslav Communists, above all, their leaders, are failing to assimilate and apply.

Branches Speed Fund Payments; 4 Weeks To Go

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party for an \$18,000 Organization, Press and Defense fund reached the two-thirds mark this week. Payments from the branches for the week totaled \$1,168 — an increase of \$467 over the previous week. The scoreboard through March 6 shows \$11,275 paid, or 63% of the national quota assigned. The campaign still lags behind schedule — 4% at this point. With only four weeks to go, we look for a whirlwind of payments between now and March 31.

Pittsburgh stepped way out in front this week with 121%. Freddie writes: "Here is \$20, which is about as many pounds as Carl, our Fund Campaign Manager, has gained from seeing us go way over the top — with the help of some sympathizers. So even in this witch-hunting capital the voice of socialism continues strong."

Buffalo is pounding toward the goal at a fast clip. A check for \$92.50 puts them in third place with 88%. With a "\$25 donation from an old-time sympathizer" plus \$60 from the branch comrades, Cleveland shot ahead to tie St. Paul-Minneapolis. Cleveland is "sure that the remainder of our quota will be in by March 31."

Milwaukee and Newark are running neck and neck with 87% of their quotas. Comrade George says that Milwaukee's "collections during the past two days have been very good and we hope to keep on schedule."

New Haven's steady pace keeps them among the "on-schedulers." Pearl sent in \$11. She is "sure

we will meet our quota in full and on time."

West Virginia is making up for time lost at the beginning of the campaign. "It goes without saying," writes Frank, "that we will not only make our quota, but expect to pass it. Goes without saying because we still feel awfully bad about that zero."

Seattle scored a \$65 gain this week to hit 69% of its quota; Allentown zipped from 33 to 67%; Boston sent a \$23 payment; Akron \$32.

The flu has hit Philadelphia but in spite of this the branch chalked up a \$43 gain. Comrade Alma says: "We will make the deadline just as we always have."

Comrade Mike sent \$50 for Chicago with this note: "We hope to step up payments and make our quota on time." Marietta rushed in a \$95 check for Detroit, and a payment of \$332 from Los Angeles Local increased its percentage to 47.

The group of staunch Socialist Workers Party supporters near the Mason-Dixon Line, who pledged \$250 to the fund, dashed over the finish line to 107%. "More to come," they say.

M. M. of Minneapolis contributed \$1 "for the fund." Ruth J. of New Orleans sent \$5 which totals 75% of her \$20 pledge. She wants "to keep up with the scoreboard."

Masses Topple Cabinets in Europe

By Charles Hanley

The big military effort asked for by American imperialism is bound to further reduce the living standards of the Western European masses. Popular resentment

brought about by higher prices, heavier taxation, and — in France and Belgium — by longer military service, is serious enough to be taken into account by reformist leaders who cannot afford to lose any mass influence. These bureaucrats basically remain the allies of imperialism, expressing the popular demands in a distorted form.

IN FRANCE
In recent months, the socialist members of the French Parliament did not always vote with the "socialist" cabinet ministers, and the reformist controlled unions of "Force Ouvriere" (CGT-FO) wanted to appear bold and independent in their demands. Now the reformist leader Guy Mollet, who has never before been a minister, and therefore did not compromise himself as much as

the unpopular Moch, Moutet, and other particularly cynical collaborators of the capitalists, is attempting to form a new coalition cabinet.

The task of forming this new French cabinet is not an easy one, since the present government crisis has revealed considerable tension even between the two moderate capitalist parties.

During the year 1950, the Gaullists suffered several setbacks and the coalition between the moderate capitalist parties and the reformists maintained itself in power. Hoping to get American support, de Gaulle points out that he is the only one to sincerely stand for complete military and political cooperation with Washington.

Gaullism still represents a great danger to the French work-

ingclass, with many adherents among the middle classes as well as among the big capitalists.

ITALIAN CRISIS
In Italy, unity talks between the centrist movement headed by Romita and Silone, and the reformist group around Saragat, seem to be difficult. The centrist are "neutralists" while the reformists support the government's Atlantic Pact policy.

A crisis exists in Italy among the Christian Democrats themselves. Premier de Gasperi is busy trying to silence discontented elements in his party who are afraid Rome is being tied too closely with Washington, and think that the Italian economy cannot stand a rearmament effort.

BEELGIAN CRISIS
The Belgian Socialists have voted against the government decision to send a troop contingent to Korea. Spaak explained this vote by the Socialists' general lack of trust in the all-Catholic

government, making it appear that the Socialist opposition had no principled stand against support of the imperialist "UN" war.

Yet, despite Spaak's cowardly and embarrassed declaration, the Socialist parliamentarians all voted "No" instead of simply abstaining, on the question of sending troops to Korea. To a certain extent, they have adapted themselves to the workers' anti-war feelings.

The Belgian Socialist press is complaining about Syngman Rhee's atrocities and asking for negotiations with China. The Belgian Socialist Party sharply criticizes the U.S. State Department's Far Eastern policy.

DUTCH LABOR PARTY
In Holland, a crisis inside the Dutch Labor Party opposes proletarian socialist to right wing middle class elements. Many socialists would like openly to oppose the government rather than continue to share government responsibility for the increasing cost of living. Only by getting support from the Labor Party has the Dutch ruling class been able to avoid big strikes since 1946.

The German masses' opposition to remilitarization is well known; the American press has to admit that it will hardly be possible to speedily set up a new German Wehrmacht.

Despite Washington's official optimism, "Western Unity" is a myth. Even the non-Stalinist part of the European working class is uneasy about rearmament and opposed to any imperialist adventures. The European workers know what "defensive" rearmament means. They want butter, not guns.

AMERICAN LABOR MUST BREAK TIES WITH TRUMAN, BUILD OWN PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)
appointed these representatives of the monopolies.
Obviously Murray wants to leave the door open to re-establish the coalition with the Democratic Party.

COMPROMISE PROPOSAL
Murray Kempton, labor editor of the N. Y. Post, stated Mar. 7 that the ULPC told Eric Johnston, Economic Stabilization Director, that they would return to the board if granted three concessions. These concessions, according to Kempton, are:

1. Reconstruction of the board as an 18-member panel with power to decide disputes as well as set wage policies; 2. a regular three-month boost in the wage formula to cover increases in the cost of living; 3. special treatment for 'hardship' or low-wage industry unions, and exemption from the wage ceiling of 'fringe' benefits, like paid holidays and night differentials.

The demand for a quarterly wage review and increases based on living costs is an application of the escalator clause to all labor. This in itself is a very progressive and necessary proposal.

But it is coupled with a proposal to reconstitute the board on the same essential basis as before: increasing the size to 18 members would not change the Big Business control, since there would still be equal representation from labor, industry . . . and the so-called "neutral" public. The big gimmick in all such boards is that the "public" members are always recruited from among corporation lawyers and professional groups whose vote goes to industry.

The top labor leaders know that such boards are stacked

against labor. In 1941, when Roosevelt asked labor support of the National Defense Mediation Board, Philip Murray stated, "The set-up of the proposed board carries strong anti-labor possibilities . . . on the three members supposed to represent the public. It has been the experience of labor that representatives from the public are usually taken from the ranks of retired business men." (CIO News, March 10, 1941.)

But Murray shortly after that and ever since has supported such boards, knowing full well that they are Big Business-dominated. Doubling the size of the WSB will not change its character.

The danger confronting American workers is that instead of following through with their withdrawal from the government agencies, the labor leaders will retreat and make a dirty compromise.

DOUBLE PRESSURE
The union officials are torn between two pressures: on the one hand they fear the anti-labor drive of the industrialists who are in the saddle in Washington, and on the other hand they fear the rising resentment of the workers to the economic set-backs they are suffering.

To carry out a fight that will satisfy the union members requires an independent struggle against the administration and its domestic policy. But the labor leaders, who still hold their posts as State Department agents all over the world, are unquestioning supporters of the U.S. imperialist program for world domination. To fight for labor's rights would mean a head-on conflict with the interests of the capitalist class and its war plans.

MEMBERSHIP DEMANDS
The union heads have attempted to satisfy the demands of their membership by calling a nationwide conference of 700 representatives of local central bodies, to publicize labor's grievances and mobilize support from the farmers, housewives, and small business men, as well as labor, in a fight against the price steal.

The strategy of the Truman administration seems to be to let the union leaders sweat it out for a few days, and count upon their servility to prompt the

ULPC to crawl back into the war mobilization agencies.

POLITICAL BREAK
Only a complete political break with the Democratic and Republican parties, and the launching of an independent labor party can lead to a victory for labor in this struggle. Any compromise will only result in the same labor "window dressing" for Wall Streets war program.

RAIL WORKERS BEGIN MOVE TO UNITE OPERATING CRAFTS

The ranks of the operating railroad workers are seething with revolt against the antiquated division of their strength into five craft and dual unions. The temper

union declare that after an organizing campaign they will ask for elections on the railroads. The UROC is reported to be opening offices in Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Chicago.

A movement called the United Railroad Operating Crafts recently sprang up on the West Coast and has rapidly spread eastward. At present it is apparently winning many converts in the middle western rail centers.

A leaflet issued by the newly founded UROC describes how other unions have surpassed the rail-brotherhoods in economic gains — the 40-hour week with premium pay for overtime, paid holidays and wage increases.

UROK spokesmen proclaim their intent is to unify the operating crafts not to split them. They condemn raiding and dual unionism.

The operating rail workers at present are divided among the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen (210,624 members), Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (79,667 members), Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers (102,392 members), Order of Railway Conductors (87,562 members) and the AFL Switchmen's Union of North America (8,900 members). Many of these unions are dual, claiming jurisdiction over each other's members. Thus the BLE and the BLFE are rivals for engine crew members, the BRT and ORC both claim conductors and brakemen, while the BRT and the SUNA compete for the switchmen.

Spokesmen for the new railroad

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	\$ 150	\$ 181	121
Youngstown	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,000	845	85
Cleveland	200	231	77
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	773	77
Toledo	50	38	76
Milwaukee	150	110	73
Newark	700	513	73
New Haven	100	72	72
West Virginia	25	18	72
Seattle	400	276	69
New York	5,000	3,422	68
Allentown	75	50	67
Flint	375	232	62
Boston	550	316	58
Akron	150	84	56
Philadelphia	600	334	56
Chicago	700	371	53
Detroit	1,750	828	47
Los Angeles	2,600	1,227	47
Oakland	250	90	36
San Francisco	1,500	450	30
St. Louis	100	20	20
General		294	—
Total through March 6	\$18,000	\$11,275	63

THE MILITANT ARMY

The latest issue of The Militant featuring Marshall's report on army victimization of Negro GI's and covering the latest action in the case of John Derrick, Negro veteran murdered by Harlem police, was received with tremendous interest in New York's Negro community.

Literature Agent Cathy D. reports an enthusiastic response in door-to-door and street sales of this issue in Harlem. A total of 605 copies were sold. "George Rock and Lucille V. accounted for an impressive slice of that total. Their scores to date on this issue are 129 for Lucille and 102 for George," Cathy writes, "while Lucille set an all-time high of 78 copies at one sale."

"When a policeman stood close to George and tried to intimidate passers-by, George answered with the slogan, 'Killer-cops get away with Harlem murder!' Militant buyers encouraged George to 'keep up the good work,' and many added small contributions to their nickel for the paper. A young couple remarked to Lucille, 'Poor people are always discriminated against, one way or another.' Another comment was 'You don't have to be colored to have trouble. When you have nothing, that's when to watch out.'"

Other high-scorers were Lou of Harlem, who sold 20 Militants at a meeting of the Lenox Fifth Ave. Tenant's League where he was guest speaker, and who achieved a total of 40; Beezie, 32;

Ethel B., 27; and Fred and Ben who sold 25 each.

Boston Literature Agent Marcus reports good results in subscriptions and single copy sales of The Militant in Salem this week. "Our reception was friendly," Marcus writes. "Militant salesman, M., reports two of her subscribers eager to get that 'working-class paper.' Among those who took papers we found the majority alert to the differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism. With some the name, Trotsky, rang a bell, which seemed to aid in closing the sale."

"The Chicago branch has just concluded a successful election campaign," writes Manny Stone. "Almost everyone in the branch sold Militants or pamphlets, and this resulted in a very good score of 88 Militants, 61 pamphlets, and 22 copies of Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, sold during the campaign. These were sold mostly in door-to-door work."

Lillian reports an encouraging response in Oakland to the Feb. 26 issue of The Militant. "With the help of some San Francisco comrades we held a sale of The Militant and FI at the Oakland Auditorium last week," she writes. "A meeting was held there by Thurgood Marshall on his recent trip to Korea to investigate Jim Crow in the armed forces and the victimization of the Negro soldiers. With slogans such as 'Bring the boys home,' and 'End segregation in the armed forces!' we competed very successfully with Stalinist salesmen, and sold a total of 34 Militants and 2 FI's."

TWIN CITIES
"America and the World Crisis"
JOSEPH HANSEN, speaker
 Friday, March 16, 8:00 P. M.
 10 S. 4th Street, Minneapolis
 Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Subscriptions: \$2 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.

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Vol. XV - No. 11

Monday, March 12, 1951

On Marxism in the United States



TROTSKY

"Now dawns the new epoch of an independent class movement of the proletariat and at the same time of — genuine Marxism. In this, too, America, will in a few jumps catch up with Europe and outdistance it. Progressive technique and a progressive social structure will pave their own way in the sphere of doctrine. The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers."

— Leon Trotsky, *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*, 1939



LENIN

Where Does U.S. Labor Go From Here?

Provoked by the unyielding arrogance of the corporation executives who run Truman's war agencies and pressed by the union ranks who demand a defense of their living standards, the labor leaders have been forced in a new direction. They have moved away from their routine path of docile collaboration with and dependence upon the White House with pangs and doubts — but they have moved. The question is: How far will they travel?

No blows—and they came heavy and often—could pry them loose from this wage-freezing agency of compulsory arbitration. Yet today, the terrific impact of events since the start of the Korean war has torn them away from Truman's wage board and from every other post they held in his war set-up.

Now they have taken two further steps which they long resisted. They have called a national united labor conference of 700 delegates from state and local central bodies to convene in Washington on March 20. The announced purpose of this conference is to organize mass "policing" of prices and to mobilize support for labor's position against the Big Business-government policies.

Few of these union leaders may admit it — some may not even know it — but both these proposals, for the national labor conference and consumers' enforcement of price ceilings, are adaptations of proposals advanced by the Trotskyists and The Militant over the past decade at every stage of the developing labor struggle under war conditions. The union officials, it is true, have distorted and narrowed what the Trotskyists proposed and are trying to confine these measures within a bureaucratically-limited frame-work. But the fact that they have accepted even the form, if not the substance, of these proposals represents a marked departure from their past policies.

They have already gone farther along the new road than they would have dreamed possible a couple of months ago. Dizzied by the speed with which events have carried them, they themselves do not fully realize the distance they have covered. But in the last few weeks they have taken a whole series of far-reaching steps against which they had fought stubbornly for many years.

ESCALATOR CLAUSE ADOPTED
As recently as three months ago, every leading union official, with the exception of Walter Reuther, opposed the cost-of-living escalator wage program. Even Reuther assailed it up until less than two years ago, when only the Socialist Workers Party and the most advanced union militants advocated it. Today, the escalator clause is the central issue of the struggle over the wage freeze. The United Labor Policy Committee has made acceptance of the escalator wage principle one of the three major conditions for labor's return to the wage stabilization board.

The United Labor Policy Committee itself is an unprecedented development. For many years the AFL chiefs had insisted they would engage in no joint defensive action with the CIO short of merger into one organization under the AFL's terms. But today they are united in joint action with the CIO leaders through the United Labor Policy Committee.

Throughout the last war and early postwar period the labor leaders clung like barnacles to the War Labor Board.

Break with Capitalist Politics!

The union leaders, dragging their feet and resisting all the way, have belatedly and one by one adopted in their own fashion these measures. But they do not grasp the real basis for them. They have indicated they desire nothing more than to retrace their steps and go back to where they were before. They are badly frightened at the "boldness" of their own recent moves.

We Trotskyists are not possessed of prophetic vision. We did not advocate all these measures and foresee their adoption in some form by the union movement through any special mental powers. What we do possess is a clear understanding of the irreconcilable struggle between capital and labor and the irrefragable drive of American imperialism to a new world war. From this we derived our recognition of the fact that American labor faces a terrible offensive against its rights and living standards and could formulate the program necessary to counter this offensive.

To all appearances all this has to do exclusively with special problems of credit, interest rates, government bond issues, and other items of capitalist high finance. But the payoff on the whole dirty business has been kept carefully hidden from the public, although it has already deeply affected every man, woman and child.

LOOTING THE PUBLIC
Behind this Treasury-Reserve squabble is one of the quickest and most ruthless robberies on record — by big-time bankers operating hand in glove with the big-time speculators (in most cases, one and the same gang, related to one another, financially, if not otherwise).

This Big Bankers' Raid makes all the current scandals from the RFC fix through the Hell-Bomb land scandal down to the OPS jobs sale in Mississippi seem petty by comparison. For these top-level thieves stole billions where the small-time pick-nockets in other fields got only millions. The RFC crooks raided the public treasury; the financial tycoons hit the biggest game of all — the average family. And they hit where it really hurts, right in the bread basket.

Let us explain. Do you know why there has been inflation since Korea? Not because the government has been pumping money into the economy to pay for its arms program. No; this still lies ahead. Since Korea and up to this very day, the government has actually been taking money out of the economy, to the tune of almost two billion dollars.

According to Truman's own economic report of Jan. 1 this year, in the second half of 1950 the federal government received cash receipts of 21.9 billion dollars and made cash payments of 19.95 billions leaving a balance of 1.95 billions. Who then has been pumping dollars into the market to compete with the housewife's meager pocketbook and drive prices up to the moon? You and I may not have suspected it, but it's out now. Yes, it's the bankers.

It is not commonly known that the bankers make money in more ways than one — only, unlike the

They may get such terms. But they would be deceiving themselves — and worse, deceiving the workers — if they believe this will settle the matter and all will be restored as before. This is not simply the issue of the composition and powers of a government board, of a wage formula, of more or less representation in government agencies.

WILL NOT SHARE RULE WITH LABOR

The American capitalists are determined to make labor pay for this war. The insufferable arrogance of Charles E. Wilson toward labor is not some personal shortcoming. He reflects the attitude of his whole class. They think of themselves as the rulers of America by natural and divine right. They monopolize its productive resources, its government, its major political parties. They do not intend to share their rule in the slightest with labor.

In the struggle that has developed be-

The Negro People and Korea

By J. Blake

American Negroes share the general opposition of workingmen and women to the imperialist slaughter in Korea, plus a special lack of enthusiasm for shouldering "the white man's burden."

The Negro press clearly reveals this sentiment. Negro America knows from its own segregated existence how hollow and hypocritical is the government's talk of democratic aims. Moreover, they are not impressed by the labeling of colonial revolutions as Kremlin maneuvers. They have maintained stronger ties than the rest of the population with the colonial peoples and sympathized with their aspirations for freedom from imperialist domination when Stalin opposed their struggle, as well as when he approved it. Besides, American Negroes, too, have been called communist merely for demanding their democratic rights.

In their news columns Negro publications usually reprint the handouts of the government propaganda mills and the cautious formulations of correspondents in Korea or Washington. But the editorial writers, columnists and letters to the editors reflect the thinking of the masses on whom the papers depend for their existence.

In many cases Negro writers, fearful of reprisals by the thought-control agencies of the American government, waited for openings like the speeches of Hoover and Taft and the "Great Debate" on foreign policy.

P. L. Prattis, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, said as much: "Senator Taft's . . . foreign policy speech opens the way to much freer discussion, by the people, of the foreign relations behavior of our Government." But, dissociating himself from the reactionary senator, Prattis said:

EFFECT OF CENSORSHIP
"Led by the nose into this Korean fiasco since June, the American people are now being denied by censorship the right to know the ugly, tragic facts. I hope Senator Taft can turn the searchlight of truth upon the entire mess."

Another columnist, J. A. Rogers, was less cautious than Prattis, didn't wait for Taft. On Dec. 16 Rogers wrote in the Courier: "Western civilization is in a hell of a mess any way you look at it." And in the issue of Jan. 20: "Asia is on the March with oppressed Africa soon to follow. . . . America is at the crossroads. Political ruts and bulldozedness no longer lead to safety. The hand-writing on the wall is clear, and it's too strong for America and the UN to tackle."

And Horace Cayton in the same paper on Dec. 30: "The atom bomb will not conquer the world. Nor can our enormous capacity for production of material things make up for the millions of men willing to die for their freedom." Sharply to the point is opposition of the St. Louis American, published in Truman's jimcrow state of Missouri. In an editorial on Feb. 15 entitled "Just to Kill as Many as Possible!" the editors had this to say:

"The radio and news from the battle front via Tokyo have boldly repeated that our purpose is to 'kill as many of the Chinese as possible with the smallest loss.'"

"What a tragic era this is turning out to be. Here with an 'expanding and rich material world in sight,' where man can provide energy, raise the temperature, and increase the food supply — when the large mass of mankind which lives half-frozen and half-starved, can be clothed and fed out of the common elements of this earth, from salt water to sun's heat, we turn to creating wholesale destroyers of mankind, and find ourselves obeying the military men who give orders to kill, kill, kill regardless of immediate military objective. . . ."

Another protest against the slaughter is voiced by the same paper in its lead editorial of Jan. 11, which hits at the murder of defenseless youth sent into "this barbarous Korean conflict which yet has not officially been called a 'war' with inadequate military training."

"How did it happen that so many, many very green and young Negro GIs got into the fighting in such a quick time?" ask the editors.

LITTLE TRAINING
"Was it an urgent need for troops? Or was it a part of the plan to throw as many 'dark skin Americans' in the fight in order to off-set the Asiatic propaganda"

that it was a 'white man's war' of aggression on the 'Colored races? Either explanation we accept as a part of our burden of defending our Country when called. Yet the unspeakable voices of Private Curtis Daniels and his many 'missing' and dead buddies will be incessant until answered. 'Why were we sent against such a hardened, ruthless foe with so little time for training?'

Finally, this was the view expressed by a Boston reader of the Pittsburgh Courier in a letter to the editor:

"No Negro who has done any thinking would desire to go overseas and kill people, who, like himself, have been exploited for centuries. . . . our biggest fight is within this country. We have more enemies here than we have in Europe or Korea."

"We should re-emphasize the fact that our definite goal is unequivocal equality. Until that goal is reached, we cannot afford to abandon one ounce of our pressure to join the cry of colony holding nations and professional propagandists. Indeed, the fight that we are waging and the one being waged by colonial lands should be carried on in direct relationships."

THE "FIX" AND CAPITALIST MORALITY

By Fred Hart

My breakfast was spoiled a few mornings ago by the N. Y. Daily Mirror. What upset me was a red-hot editorial on the basketball scandal in New York City. The reason why all these college stars took fixes from a gambler to spoil the betting odds by mugging a few easy shots, I learned from the Mirror, was in their "characters." The cause of this corruption, as in all corruption of people, lies in weak character, it said, and strong moral qualities must be developed first in the home, the school and the church.

This is not a new point of view. But it always sends me running for the bicarb of soda when I read it expressed in sheets like the Mirror, Or in the N. Y. Post, for that matter, where Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the Harvard historian and liberal, bent down from the rarified atmosphere of international anti-communist politics to opine sanctimoniously that he isn't impressed by the argument that most of these college fellows who took a fix come from poor homes and were sorely tempted by what seemed big money. A lot of people are poor but resist temptation, he tells us, and there's no getting away from the factor of weak character.

When I read such papers and such people talking about "moral qualities" and "character" I feel like answering, "Look who's talking!" But that's not satisfying for Militant readers, who like to delve into these matters a little more deeply.

Is Character to Blame?

The first thing that comes to my mind is that if the reason why these college athletes took a fix lies in their inner moral weakness, in some inherent personal defect, then we have to face the fact that there's a lot of weak characters in this world and all the preaching and teaching that's been going on for the past couple of thousand years, at least, haven't seemed to penetrate very far.

These fellows are supposed to be the pick of the colleges, star athletes, quick of body and mind. College sports, as you have no doubt read, build men and character, fair play and the old school spirit. So if these boys have weak characters, imagine the general level of the student bodies.

Besides, these basketball players come from average decent homes and their home training is as good as anyone's. They received the same dose of religion, went to the same kind of schools as the average person. Their characters are no worse and no "weaker" than most people's.

What all these basketball players have in common is that they come from poor families or at least their folks don't have it easy making a living. And they have a special skill that's in demand and worth money to a lot of people.

A substitute player — not involved in the fix — put the matter honestly in an interview: "It was a lot of money. The temptation was too big. If I had been made an offer, I don't think I could have resisted." And, he added significantly, "Besides, it was in the air."

It was "in the air." The atmosphere of the country is corrupt; the spirit of the fix is everywhere in capitalist America.

You can hear some smart well-heeled gambler putting it to one of these boys: "Whatsamatter — you got rocks in your head? Everybody from the ushers to the big shots running Madison Square Garden Corporation is getting a slice. Everybody you win a game — the college president's salary goes up and the coach's. Crooked? Look kid — you wanna place a bet with a bookie, just look for the cops in the stands at the Garden. There's a bookie collecting right under the nose of every cop. They don't see nothin' — they're paid not to see, too."

"Don't give me the boloney you're an amateur either. You're a professional, kid — you're just low paid. They give you that 'athletic scholarship' for your brains? How'd you get that soft job in that rich boys' fraternity house? What's the fin here and the sawbuck there you were slipping off the traveling expenses? You think that rich grad gave you that 'personal loan' because he likes your character?"

"You think those punks out there screaming their heads off for you, love you? One off-night and they wouldn't even give you bus-fare home. They all got their bets in and you're money in the bank for them, that's all. Break your leg, pull your arm out of socket, catch a rupture — you think they'll do anything for you then? Look kid, what I'm offering you is just a little bit of what's owed you. You ain't doing nothing nobody else wouldn't do — if they got the chance. So be smart. Look out for yourself — nobody else will."

There's no answer to this argument — the smug moralizing of papers like the Mirror and of self-righteous commentators like Prof. Schlesinger notwithstanding. There's no answer, that is, if you fix your moral standards by the capitalist system's.

Capitalist Moral Standards

Basketball players don't read only the sports pages. They don't miss front-page stories like the report of Kefauver's Senate Crime Investigation Committee, after hearing five hundred witnesses, which begins: "The most shocking revelation. . . is the extent of official corruption and connivance in facilitating and promoting organized crime. The committee has found evidence of corruption and connivance at all levels of Government — Federal, state and local."

They have read the exposure by the Senate Banking Committee's subcommittee, headed by Senator Fulbright, about the corruption in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation — corruption leading into the White House itself. And they have read, too, Fulbright's declaration that what is needed is an investigation into "the general moral level" of the whole executive branch of the government with its "double standard of morality for public office and private life."

Maybe some of them read the heartfelt commentary of Charles (Lucky) Luciano, now operating from Milan, Italy, who was named by the Kefauver committee as the overlord of U.S. vice and crime. Asked what he thought of U.S. politics he answered: "Politics? I don't want to talk about politics. It's too dirty." Even the "honest thieves" like Luciano have contempt for capitalist political morals.

And maybe some of the basketball players have read the articles on the "Washington Gold Rush" by William V. Shannon in the N. Y. Post, telling how the Big Business representatives have taken over Washington and "the business climate of opinion and the business way of looking at things have settled over the capital" so that "Washington today is like a Chamber of Commerce convention that seems never to end. . . . Everybody is out to get that fat, that extra reserve in the form of contracts and orders. . . . connections in the right places that will be useful. . . . Everybody is frankly just out to get whatever is going."

Do you expect college athletes to have any stronger characters than the industrialists, bankers, politicians at the highest levels? It's not in the character but the system that molds the character — there's the weakness.

Big Bankers Steal Ten Billions from the People

By Tom Conlan

The Big Bankers have since Korea taken \$66 from the pocket of every man, woman and child in the U.S., or \$264 for a family of four. Their total take thus far is more than 10 billion dollars — and this is only the first installment on the entire transaction.

The Big Bankers' Raid on the public pocket has come out of the so-called "disagreement" on fiscal policy between the U.S. Treasury, its Secretary Snyder and the Big Bankers' monopoly, known as the Federal Reserve System. Congressmen and editors have taken sides; a Congressional investigation into the whole U.S. Treasury-Federal Reserve set-up has been threatened; Truman has, as usual, blustered and then agreed to a miserable compromise, itself now under attack.

To all appearances all this has to do exclusively with special problems of credit, interest rates, government bond issues, and other items of capitalist high finance. But the payoff on the whole dirty business has been kept carefully hidden from the public, although it has already deeply affected every man, woman and child.

Behind this Treasury-Reserve squabble is one of the quickest and most ruthless robberies on record — by big-time bankers operating hand in glove with the big-time speculators (in most cases, one and the same gang, related to one another, financially, if not otherwise).

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According to Truman's own economic report of Jan. 1 this year, in the second half of 1950 the federal government received cash receipts of 21.9 billion dollars and made cash payments of 19.95 billions leaving a balance of 1.95 billions. Who then has been pumping dollars into the market to compete with the housewife's meager pocketbook and drive prices up to the moon? You and I may not have suspected it, but it's out now. Yes, it's the bankers.

It is not commonly known that the bankers make money in more ways than one — only, unlike the

counterfeiters, they are both expected to do so and, besides, protected by law. One way bankers do it is by manufacturing CREDIT MONEY at will. And the government helps them do this by rigging the bond market and the interest rates.

To increase their power to pour more CREDIT DOLLARS into the economy, all the bankers have to do is to unload government bonds. These must be bought at rigged prices by the Federal Reserve (the same gang of bankers under a different firm-name). Looks innocent like pouring water from one bottle into another, but it isn't. For here's the joker. The bigger the reserves of government bonds of the Federal Reserve System, the bigger proportionately the reserves of its member banks, the more they can borrow from it and — the more they can lend out. The smallest ratio of what banks can lend as against their reserves is 6 to 1.

According to an Associated Press dispatch of Mar. 6 the banks themselves now hold "only 2 percent of the bonds figuring in the government's plans." That's how thorough has been the bankers' job of unloading. Now how well have they loaded up at the other end in the meantime? We yield the floor to Sen. Douglas of Illinois, a recognized financial authority:

"Since June 17 (1950) . . . the

Federal Reserve have purchased about \$3.5 billion of government securities and the reserves of the member banks," pointed out the Senator, "have risen by \$3 billion. . . . Bank loans in this period have increased by \$8 billion."

And where did these manufactured credit billions go? "A recent Federal Reserve survey," grudgingly revealed Douglas, "shows that three-fifths of the expansion of business loans went to commodity dealers and to processors, with loans to cotton dealers predominating. So the speculators and dealers have been . . . permitted . . . to bid up prices. . . ."

You don't have to be a financial expert to figure this one out. The bankers grabbed the chance when the opportunity offered. Every banker is obliged by law to specify the purposes for which he advances every loan. When they themselves admit that three dollars out of every five they lent since last June have been to speculators in basic necessities, what must the whole truth be? Mr. and Mrs. Average American have already paid these thieves 10 billion. In addition, it has already cost the government another estimated \$6 billion in the increased costs for armaments already on order. One Senator has remarked that the hike in arms prices has already cost more planes than were lost in the last war. Who will pay through the nose for that? Yes, you've guessed it. It's you and me and all of us, over and over again.

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New "Monroe Doctrines"

By George Lavan

The Monroe Doctrine is back in the news. Several months ago there was talk of a Chinese Monroe Doctrine for Asia. On Feb. 16 at Lake Success the U.S. announced its proposed "Pacific (Ocean, not intent—Ed.) Monroe Doctrine." State Department spokesmen said the origin of this military alliance of the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Japan could be found in James Monroe's message to Congress in 1823. Then Gov. Dewey's proposals to include Greece and Turkey in the Atlantic Arms Pact and give military guarantees to Iran, Iraq, Israel and Saudi Arabia were headlined as a "World Monroe Doctrine." As if to add to the confusion the N.Y. Times argues editorially that the U.S.-proposed Pacific Monroe Doctrine is "quite different from the spurious Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' with its slogan of 'Asia for the Asiatics.'"

Since the public is being bombarded with Monroe Doctrines it is worth looking at the original Monroe Doctrine. In brief, it was the young U.S. Republic's warning to the Holy Alliance. The latter, a combination of European powers, was attempting to undo all the work of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era by restoring European monarchs to their thrones and it had turned its eyes to Latin America where the colonial peoples had revolted from Spain and were establishing republics. At this point the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, stating that European nations should mind European affairs and the New World would mind its affairs; that the Americas were no longer open to colonization or intervention and that the U.S. would consider any attempt to overthrow its sister republics to the south as an unfriendly act.

In its origin the Monroe Doctrine was completely progressive. It was received enthusiastically by the struggling Latin American revolutionists and by the U.S. people for whom colonial rule and monarchy anywhere were hateful and who saw in republicanism the progress of mankind.

In less than a century the Monroe Doctrine, which had been proclaimed to prevent foreign intervention in Latin American countries, had been perverted into an instrument for foreign — this time exclusively U.S. — intervention in these same Latin American countries.

Using its "new interpretation" of the Monroe Doctrine as a cover, Wall Street imperialism set up or overturned regimes throughout Latin America. U.S. marines took over small nations. Territory was seized. Dictators were propped

up at the request of U.S. fruit, mining, oil, and shipping companies or bankers.

The Monroe Doctrine, originally hailed by the peoples of Latin America, became the most hated expression of Yankee Imperialism. And so it remains to this day.

Thus we see there are two Monroe Doctrines, or more exactly the original and its perversion. Where do the current Monroe Doctrines stand in the light of history?

In its slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" the Japanese "Monroe Doctrine" followed the original which had said in essence: "The Americas for the Americans." In practice, however, it followed the perversion of the Monroe Doctrine with imperialist exploitation and puppet regimes.

The State Department attempt to label its proposed military alliance in the Pacific a Monroe Doctrine is a burlesque on history. Not only are there three continents with different interests represented, but three imperialisms — U.S., the British Empire, of which Australia and New Zealand are parts, and the occupied Japanese Empire — are linked with the semi-colonial Philippines ruled by a U.S. puppet regime. The Australian leaders fear a revival of Japanese military and naval power. The U.S. has made a deal with the Japanese monopolists to rebuild their power. At the same time Australia and New Zealand are being dragged by the State Department to join the pact as their best defense against revived Japanese imperialism. The shaky puppet government of the Philippines will sign anything that Washington orders it to. Its leaders' only concern is to enrich themselves as much as possible before the enraged peasantry, led by the Hukbalahaps, sends them fleeing.

Out of this alliance of discordant elements U.S. imperialism hopes for a number of things. First, a cloak for its own maneuvers in the Orient. Then the manpower and resources of these countries in the event of all-out war with China. Also the help of Australian and New Zealand troops to put down a revolution in Japan, should the masses there follow the pattern of the rest of turbulent Asia. In the event of the rise to power of the Hukbalahap movement in the Philippines the job of subjecting the peasants and occupying the country would be expedited by the use of Japanese troops, who have already had the valuable experience of one occupation there.

This sort of "Monroe Doctrine" would be quite foreign to the mind of James Monroe but it would be quite to the taste of Czar Alexander and Metetrnich of the Holy Alliance.

Reuther and the Dues Hike

By Emmett Moore

If there is anything that pains Walter Reuther deeply it is the stubborn, almost fanatical resistance of the auto worker to an increase in dues. Over the last fourteen years there has been only one increase. It went up from a dollar to a dollar and a half a month. To this day auto union dues are among the lowest in the labor movement.

The way Walter Reuther tells it, the auto worker is a cheapskate, a tightwad, a miser who wouldn't part with a red cent.

When it comes to a dues hike the auto worker is all that and a lot more besides. His elected delegates at convention clutch their wallets whenever dues hikes are on the agenda. It doesn't matter whether Reuther asks for a small or a large dues increase. The very mention of the word sends chills up and down the delegates' backs.

This is driving Reuther mad. He knows auto workers are pretty good in striking and picket line fighting. He knows the Assembly Line Jobs spend their money freely and liberally in aiding sister locals out on strike. He sees them rush to help other sections of the labor movement. As a matter of fact auto workers are known as a soft touch for any good cause.

But when it comes to a dues hike the auto worker has a one-track mind. He demands to know what his money is needed for. Since he can't talk to Reuther he will pick on one of the small battalion of International representatives who hang around local unions all day like a bunch of characters in a pool hall. One look at

them convinces the auto worker they haven't done an honest day's work in years. Assembly Line Joe is convinced the best thing he could do for one of Reuther's representatives is to get him back in the shop, on the line, so the company can sweat a hundred pounds off his middle.

But the auto worker listens to Reuther's arguments which are handed down from one International man to another like hand-me-down clothes. When all the facts are in, it all boils down to one: The union can do more good if it has more money to spend. It's an old song sung to a new tune every convention year. And it doesn't make a hit with UAW members who remember the Thirties, when the union had little or no finances, but did a lot more for them than it is doing today.

This being convention time for the auto union the music is going round and round. And from the way things are shaping up Reuther will have trouble getting a dues raise. Even his best friends in the locals are afraid to campaign for a dues increase because it is the kiss of death for any candidate running for convention.

No wonder Reuther has so much trouble selling a dues increase. Even his best friends in the locals don't think a dues hike is necessary.

No one believes him and the more he repeats his plea the more convinced the worker is that Reuther wants a dues hike for reasons other than he gives. The auto worker suspects Reuther needs more money to keep his machine in office. The worker's instinct is rightly sensitive to this.

Short Subjects

INDIA STARVES — Food rations in India have been cut down to nine ounces per adult per day, according to the Socialist newspaper Janata, organ of the Indian Socialist Party. "This fresh cut of 25 percent has reduced our consumption of food grains by 50 percent of what is needed for healthy and efficient life. We live under statutory semi-starvation," the newspaper stated. Famine stalks India. But still the Truman administration and the Congress refuse to send the grain which has been promised India.

LIVING STANDARDS — According to the Bureau of the Census, 10,500,000 families in this country have incomes under \$2,000 a year. That is half what the Department of Labor states is necessary for an "adequate" standard of living.

TAXING THE POOR — The Farmers Union Herald points out that the tax increase, supposed to be an "equal" boost on all individuals would work this way: "A person making less than \$2,000 is boosted 20 percent; That of the person making \$10,000 is boosted only a little over 10 percent and the tax on a person earning \$50,000 is only increased five percent." That is what Truman meant when he said he was going to tax "those who could afford to pay."

WHAT SIZE, HARRY? — U.S. News and World Report states that "President Truman has commented of late on what he thinks is the shortage of really good presidential timber. He doesn't see many individuals on the horizon who he feels could fill his shoes."

WELFARE FOR BIG BUSINESS — Secretary of the Interior Chapman has a plan to take the risk out of new mining developments. Business Week reports that Chapman already has funds available for explorations. "If the projects pay off, they'll return the money out of royalties. If not, the government will share the losses." We thought that the capitalists took all the risks under "free enterprise."

RENTS AND HOUSING — The UE Washington Economic Notes of Jan. 1951, reports,

"The public housing program authorized by the 1949 Housing Act has broken down completely. This act authorized construction of 135,000 low-cost units per year. Since July, 1949, only 11,000 units have been started! The so-called "cost-of-living" index of the BLS utterly fails to reflect the cost of housing to the American people. For example, when Census figures indicated that average city rents had risen nearly 30 percent from April 1940 to April 1947, the BLS index showed a rise of only four percent!"

PROFIT GRAB — Manufacturing profits after taxes are currently about 17 percent of investment, according to the UE research report. At peak of Hoover prosperity, the rate was only 8.5 percent. Manufacturing corporations are looting about 53 cents in profits for every dollar they pay out in wages. This profit take amounts to \$1700 per worker.

A NEW ANTI-LABOR BILL — Representative Howard Smith, of Virginia, author of the "Gag Law" has introduced a new bill in Congress that would deny seniority and job protection to any worker who stays out on strike after the President decrees that a strike is "imperiling the national defense."

GERMAN WORKERS — The American Chamber of Commerce is fearful of the future in Germany, as a result of the victory of the German unions on the issue of "Co-determination." Economic Intelligence, organ of the Chamber, says, "This (equal voice for labor) will extend not only to matters of wages, hours and working conditions, but will also include the day-to-day operations, including business policy, production, quantities, methods, buying, selling, sale or shut-down of plants, and perhaps, most interesting of all, in the actual selection of management." The businessmen's spokesmen continues, "This development raises questions of the highest order in terms of the American proposals to rearm and unite Europe. . . it does not speak well for . . . the future." It certainly doesn't . . . not for the capitalists.

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THE MILITANT

SWP Anti-War Candidates Campaign in Calif. and N.J.

Breitman Calls For Repeal Of Strike Law.

NEWARK, March 5 — Immediate repeal by the State Legislature of the New Jersey Utilities Anti-Strike Law was asked today by George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for General Assembly from Essex County.

"The Supreme Court, in invalidating a similar statute last week, took the position that Congress alone has jurisdiction over anti-strike legislation in the utilities field," Breitman declared. "Governor Driscoll, on the other hand, hysterically contends that the states must retain the power to prohibit strikes, or else 'the birthright of our republic' will be destroyed."

RIGHT TO STRIKE

In opposition to both these viewpoints, Breitman insisted that "no one, in Washington or in Trenton, has the right to deprive American workers of their right to strike."

Failure of the State Legislature to repeal the law, he predicted, would "hasten the formation of an independent labor party that will kick both the Republican and Democratic defenders of this outrageous law out of office. And that would be the best thing that ever happened in New Jersey."

Workers' Incomes Hit Hardest by Food Price Rise

Prices of basic foods continue to skyrocket from week to week, as the wages of the overwhelming majority of the wage workers are held back.

The Dun and Bradstreet wholesale food index this week went up two cents to \$7.27, compared with \$7.08 just before the phony "prize freeze" announced Jan. 26.

The food index shows a rise of almost 25 percent from the price level one year ago. This index is based upon the wholesale price of 31 foods in most general use.

Commenting on this price rise in the basic necessity of life, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan stated that food prices have not risen in proportion to other products, such as lead, aluminum and textiles.

This is small consolation to the American housewife when she goes to the grocery store. Congressman Dollinger of New York stated last week in Congress, ". . . The truth of the matter is that the vast majority of housewives can no longer afford to buy meat of any kind, where they have a low budget and many mouths to feed."

"Wages have not increased," he said, "in proportion to runaway prices, and for the average housewife feeding her family today is a heartbreaking undertaking."

The Wage Stabilization Board formula would allow wages to rise 10% above the January, 1950 level, leaving a 15 percent lag between wages and rising prices.

Seattle JOSEPH HANSEN

"Why Is the U.S. in South Korea?"

FRYE HOTEL Parlor A 3rd and Yesler

Friday, March 23 8 PM

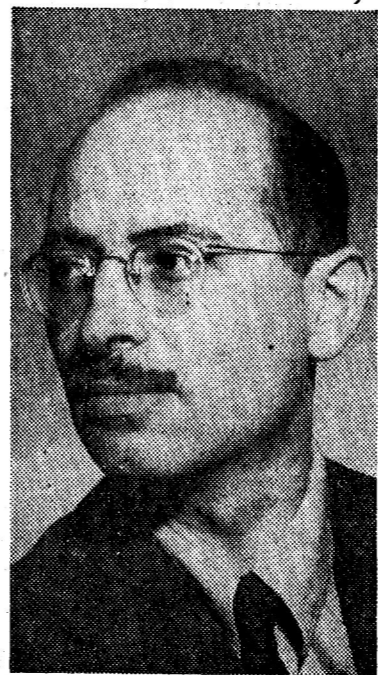
"The Great Events in China and Their Relation to Moscow"

Forum of Church of the People

4033 University Way

Sun., March 25 - 1 PM

Run on Anti-War Program



George Breitman (l.), SWP candidate for New Jersey state assemblyman from Newark, and Filomena Goelman (r.), SWP candidate for City Council in Oakland, Calif.

UAW PROMISES ACTION TO BRIGGS CO. VICTIM

In a letter to Genora Dollinger, UAW-CIO militant and Socialist Workers Party member, Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO Auto Workers, stated: "I wish to advise you that we are taking many steps, including a number of legal steps, to bring about a complete solution to the Briggs beatings as well as the Reuther shootings. I am certain that the aggressive campaign that we have mapped out in this connection will ultimately lead to the solution of these crimes."

Mazey's letter was in response to Genora Dollinger's letter to the International Executive Board of the UAW and to her own local, Briggs 212. (This letter was printed in last week's Militant.)

Mrs. Dollinger, famous for her role in the great sit-down strike in Flint, which built the UAW, was one of the victims of the brutal beatings in 1945-46 of leading members of the Briggs local. These beatings remained a mystery until last month's hearings of the Senate Crime Committee in Detroit. It was brought out before this committee that the powerful Briggs Manufacturing Co. had given racketeers million dollar scrap contracts.

In her letter, Mrs. Dollinger suggested that the union demand the indictment of the officials of the Briggs Co. for the beatings of union members; that the union institute personal damage law suits against the corporation on behalf of the beating victims; that an overall educational program be undertaken to expose the use of gangsters by the auto barons and that the Reuther shootings investigation be reopened.

UAW-sponsored radio commentator Guy Nunn, who has been

making further exposures of the Briggs gangster tie-up, revealed that both he and radio station CKLW have been warned by Carl Rendra of the Detroit Rendaro gang, to continue his revelations at his "own peril." Big Business pressure has also been brought on the radio station to stop his program.

Nunn disclosed a deal between Briggs, the Manufacturers' Association and the Ku Klux Klan.

Nunn also read a letter from the son of W. J. Cleary, deceased Briggs executive, who knew a great deal about the scrap iron deal. Cleary's son stated that his father had died mysteriously and that the family had been unable to find out what he had died of.

Emil Mazey UAW-CIO Secretary-Treasurer has called for an autopsy of Cleary's body and that of two other Briggs under-executives who all died within a year of the secret grand jury hearings.

Detroit prosecutor O'Brien has backed the UAW's demand that the Senate Crime Commission return to Detroit for further hearings.

Michigan SWP Lists Candidates For State Office

DETROIT, Mich. — A statewide convention is being held here March 11 for the purpose of discussing campaign issues and problems of the forthcoming spring election. The Socialist Workers Party candidates for the posts of Regents of the University of Michigan are Howard Lerner and William Yancey; for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Genora Dollinger and for the State Board of Education, Alice Pollack.

Due to a recent ruling concerning Michigan's voting laws the Socialist Workers Party can participate in this election because sufficient signatures were obtained in the last general election to place the party on the ballot. Therefore, the branches can devote their full time to publicizing their campaign platform and literature.

Oakland SWP Is On Ballot: Plans Aggressive Campaign

OAKLAND, Calif., March 3, 1951 — Filomena M. Goelman, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Councilman-at-Large, was notified today by the Oakland City

Clerk that she was officially on the ballot in the Oakland City Elections of April 17th. Mrs. Goelman's opponents in this election are McCaslin and York, two real estate agents and avowed enemies of public housing, and Joseph E. Smith, former Mayor of Oakland, a Truman Democrat.

The first and highly successful public meeting of the campaign, was held by the SWP, Sunday night, Feb. 25th. Filomena Goelman spoke on "The Real Issues in the Coming City Elections." She set the tone of her campaign in the following words:

"Never in the history of the United States, and the history of the wars in which the United States has fought, has there been such a lack of genuine mass response, mass approval or interest as there is in this Korean War. The mass of workers are not interested and are not moved by the reasons given for this war in Korea."

"Congress, the press, the films and the radio have failed thus far in mobilizing the workers in general behind the imperialist aims of the American rulers. You have got to give a man a good reason to go out and get his head blown off. You can't just mouth empty phrases about American democracy and American security and scare people with the bugaboo of Communism."

LABOR CRISIS

Turning to the growing domestic social crisis, typified by the railroad strike and the departure of the labor leaders from the government agencies, Mrs. Goelman continued:

"The labor bureaucracy cannot lead the workers in any genuine struggle for the class. They are organically tied to the ruling class of America. They are looking out for government posts. Their loyalty is not to the workers but to the American capitalist government."

"We of the SWP are loyal to the workers. We base all our ideas and actions only on the workers.

We believe nothing good can come from Truman in Washington or Stalin in the Kremlin. We have no connection with the Kremlin, our political line doesn't zigzag with the Kremlin's political aims.

"The SWP believes that out of the coming critical developments there will develop a new leadership out of the working class itself, a leadership which as yet has hardly been heard from. We will hear from the working class in all its sections, the housewives, the Negroes and Mexicans, the youth and the GIs. To all of these people the SWP puts forward the idea that the only solution to this American and world crisis is workers' control of the factories, the mines, the mills, the railroads, the housing projects — in short, a Workers and Farmers Government."

The other speaker at this first election campaign meeting was Frank Lovell, well known maritime unionist, who spoke on "America's Foreign Policy." In a well-documented and organized sequence, Lovell showed the world-scale ambitions of the American employing class, how they originated and how they are presently meeting the growing resistance of peoples at home and abroad. As an example of how working people are trying to enter "The Great Debate" among the American upper-class circles, Lovell read a sampling of letters which have been appearing from readers of the daily press. These and other opinions expressed everyday by American workers herald the doom of American imperialism and the fulfilled freedom of the colonial peoples.

The collection taken from this meeting, together with the proceeds of a Sunday "Spaghetti Dinner" held at the home of the candidate, have given a strong boost to the Election Campaign Fund. The Oakland Campaign Committee is planning a full program of Campaign activity which will bring the name and the ideas of the SWP to tens of thousands of Oakland workers.

Letters from Readers

Describes Woes Of Housewives

EDITOR: I was feeling pretty low, as I stood before the meat counter with my friends Shirley and Sylvia. They weren't feeling too cheerful either.

"Gee," Sylvia said, "all I've got left is two dollars to buy supper with. At these prices I can't get enough meat to feed my two boys, my husband, and myself. Yet, when I substitute something else, they feel hungry an hour after supper is over."

"I'm in just the same kind of fix," Shirley added. "I borrowed from my rent money to have enough to buy food for supper this week. I made Hamburg, Stew, Fish, and Hash, trying to make my money stretch, but I just can't do it! I used to walk into the Chain Store and get two cans of tomatoes or peas for 25c., but now even these 'come on' items are two for 29c. or 15c. apiece. I used to buy two dozen eggs a week, now I try not to use more than a dozen and a half."

I said, "Well I guess I can make it unanimous. I looked into my food closet, hoping I had a can of something left to help toward supper, and all I could find was a half a package of rice. Gosh, I used to be able to buy some canned goods ahead to help out in a pinch, and now it's impossible."

Sylvia added "Yes, I know I've a good mind to tell my husband, to make his boss, just pay all the bills instead of passing him his weekly excuse for a pay check. He was forced to give the men a 12c. an hour increase, for cost of living expenses, but now the men can't buy curtains direct, at wholesale prices any more. When taxes and expenses came out of his check, my husband handed me only 90c. more, which isn't worth a hill of beans when

I have to pay 98c. for meat that used to cost 59c. a lb. Then his boss raised the price of curtains a dollar. There's something rotten in Denmark when my husband comes home with a week's pay, and it can't buy enough good food to keep a decent standard of living. I'm buying more starches every week, gosh we're just going to get fat, and it won't be because we're living in the lap of luxury," she ended angrily.

We walked along passing the push carts, trying to weigh the prices against what we had to spend, when I thought. The richest country in the world and with my husband's entire pay check I can't manage to give him a treat of a steak once a week. Or, on a Sunday afternoon, one of those roasts that he's so fond of.

As if reading my thoughts Sylvia piped up, "It sure is no cinch. First we had that depression when my Father, and my husband if he was lucky, worked 2 or 3 days a week. Then my husband was drafted, and I either lived on \$50.00 a month, or put my kids in a nursery and worked. And now our men are home, but we still can't make ends meet. I can't listen to those news commentators, anymore. All I want is a decent life, good food and peace." And on we walked with the other women looking and hoping for a food bargain to bring home to our families.

Louise Mann
New York

Detroit Branch Sends Suggestions

EDITOR: A short while ago the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party had a discussion about the Militant. It's a credit to the paper's staff that the comrades had to think twice and even three times before they could find

anything to criticize. There was some sentiment for more human interest sidelights on the important news features to further point up the effect of strikes, drafts, etc. on the thinking and action of the American people. Another comrade would like to see more attention paid to labor history and traditions in the United States.

A comment was made about greater cooperation between the Militant and various SWP branches. It was clearly understood that the problem lies in the local branches themselves, not in the staff of the paper, and it is hoped that comrades throughout the country would apply themselves in the same manner as those in Detroit, New York and Chicago to let others get a more rounded picture of the situation in America today and to establish closer bonds between all the comrades. For example, the Kefauver committee should prove interesting and illuminating material for Militant readers.

There was hearty agreement with one comrade who said, "The Militant is our best organizer!" This expresses in six words just how the comrades regard their newspaper.

Patricia Stall
Detroit

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Militant Headquarters
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