

## THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE KOREAN WAR

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# 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!

Almost a billion dollars profit for General Motors alone! More than a billion when profits hidden as "reserve funds" are counted in one year for one corporation. GM has more than \$3 billion in war orders to increase the golden flood.

And American youth bleed and die in Korea!

## 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.

Half (50 per cent) of all representative voters interviewed in all parts of the country replied, "Yes," to the question "Do you think the United States made a mistake in going into the war in Korea or not?" Only 39% said, "No, we did not." 11 per cent had no opinion.

The vast majority "want to avoid getting into an all-out war

in the series of three reports published during the first week

## COTTON KINGS FORCE GOVT 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.

The Cotton Exchange remained shut down; no cotton was sold. All this in the period when the official propaganda was "everything for the mobilization effort." In this same period the railroad strikers were accused of "acting like Russians" by Truman, and their strike broken by the army. But neither Truman, C. E. Wilson, DiSalle or the Big Business press got excited over cotton shut

down, although cotton is obviously used in the mobilization program. The "get-tough" and "you're holding up the war effort" policies are reserved exclusively for use against labor. For Big Business men, bankers and cotton brokers there is hardly a word of remonstrance.

On March 4 the story came to an end. The OPS surrendered unconditionally. A "ceiling," exactly 40% higher than the high pre-Korean price for raw cotton has been set.

## Millions in Korea Flee U.S. Bombs

By Art Preis

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." He asserts the North Koreans "welcomed our forces as liberators when we went in and sought to withdraw with us when we withdrew."

By now we are used to MacArthur's exaggerated, not to say lying, claims. But, in some respects, this is the biggest lie of all. The millions who are wandering the roads in sub-zero weather without adequate clothing or food fled not because of "aversion to Communist rule," but because it was the only chance to escape certain death from U.S. high-explosive and jellied gasoline bombs.

The U.S. high command has officially boasted of its "scorched earth" policy and the scope of its "strategic bombing" since the start of the Korean intervention.

Scores of U.S. war correspondents have described the systematic total devastation the U.S. forces, in advance and retreat, have inflicted on both North and South Korea. The Militant of Jan. 29 devoted an entire page to the documented evidence of the great atrocity perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in Korea.

### 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."

Barrett's latest dispatch, dated

lined "On The Central Front, in Korea, March 1," reports: "Large-scale destruction in Korea, most of it resulting from the tremendous fire-power of the planes and guns used against the Communist troops, is robbing the United Nations of some of the goodwill it had won with the Koreans."

Since the Koreans, outside of the capitalists and landlords who support the Syngman Rhee despotism, never had any goodwill towards the U.S. invaders to begin with, it can be gathered that their attitude today is one of uncompromising hatred and hostility.

### PILE OF ASHES

"As Korean civilians return north now in the wake of the advancing forces of the UN and see what has happened in their villages, they stare in numb disbelief at the ghostly piles of ashes that were once their homes, schools and shops. . . (They) are

asking bitterly just to be let alone to rebuild their bamboo and straw huts," says Barrett.

"The United Nations apparently is getting most of the blame because its concentrated fire power is doing the damage," Barrett adds. There is a "growing feeling among the Koreans that much of the destruction has been unnecessary." Barrett, covering up for the U.S. high command's official "scorched earth" policy, blames the "unnecessary destruction" on a misinterpretation by the troops of the orders to destroy "military-usable equipment and facilities." The troops, he says, "have been, leaving blackened paths of their own whenever they have been forced to withdraw. . ."

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 . . . so much to get away from the Communists but to get out of the path of the shelling and bombing."

### 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-

### FLINT GOES ANTI-REUTHER

In Flint, the anti-Reuther Rank and File caucus made serious inroads against the conservative pro-Reuther machine, taking half

Buick Local 599's convention delegates.

At the Flint Fisher Body No.

1 plant the incumbent anti-Reuther administration headed by

Dave McDonald and Financial

(Continued on page 2)

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### THE SOVIET UNION

He pointed out that the Soviet Union, owing to its planned economy, has nothing to gain from entering the world conflict, but that the need for markets and sources of raw materials is the great compulsion in Wall Street's drive to war. Comrade Hansen led his audience to the socialist solution to the world crisis, and drew a graphic picture of the abundant life in a socialist society.

When the meeting adjourned

## 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 ULP, 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 (Continued on Page 2)

## Reuther Suffers Setback In UAW Local Elections

NEXT WEEK  
MORE SPECIAL ARTICLES ON LABOR CRISIS

Don't miss our next issue.  
Information and analyses not given by any other newspaper.

## 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

Tuesday	Mar. 13	Minneapolis-St. Paul
Wednesday	14	"
Thursday	15	"
Friday	16	"
Monday	19	Montana
Tuesday	20	"
Thursday	22	Seattle
Friday	23	"
Saturday	24	"
Sunday	25	"
Monday	26	"
Tuesday	27	"
Thursday	29	S. Francisco-Oakland
Friday	30	"
Saturday	31	"
Sunday	Apr. 1	"
Monday	2	"
Tuesday	3	"
Wednesday	4	"
Friday	6	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 Kautskyans 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 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 nationalism, 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 enmeshed 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 Kremlin against imperialism, as 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, 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 of isolating the Yugoslav revolution from its working class supporters in the West and the colonial peoples of Asia? What greater guarantees for Yugoslav independence can there be if not the appearance of other and "new Yugoslavias" both in Europe and Asia?

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.

## 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.

## 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. Doubting 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

Spokesmen for the new railroad

ULPC to crawl back into the war mobilization agencies.

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## COLUMBUS RAILS

Simultaneous with the development of UROC in the middle west another movement to unify the operating rail workers was reported from Columbus, Ohio by the N. Y. Times. According to this report an organization called the United Railroad Workers has come into existence. It claims to have already heard from thousands of rail workers. The URW considers these as potential members and is planning to issue charters. Spokesmen for the URW state that the basis of their movement is dissatisfaction with the present leadership of the operating railroads.

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 (37,562 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.

The operating rail workers have

shown great determination and militancy in their recent struggles for demands that the rest of the labor movement has long had — such as the 40-hour week with no reduction in take home pay. Their just demands have been thwarted by the strikebreaking of the government and the phone "seizure" of the railroads by the army. If they had had a united union and officials with one-half the militancy of the rank and file, their demands would have been won. It was inevitable after their recent defeat that the rail workers would attempt to overhaul their antiquated organizations in preparation for future struggles.

Spokesmen for the new railroad

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## COLUMBUS RAILS

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Monday, March 12, 1951

## On Marxism in the United States

"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

TROTSKY

## 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?

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.

They want nothing more than to reestablish their political collaboration and alliance with the Trumanites and the Democratic Party machine on the old basis. Their terms are the most meager — in reality, nothing more than the reestablishment of the same corporation-dominated wage stabilization board, with the industrialists, the "public" and labor each to have six, instead of three, representatives. If the union leaders can have their way, labor would remain an ineffectual minority, mere window-dressing.

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-

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.

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 irrepressible 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.

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.

They want nothing more than to reestablish their political collaboration and alliance with the Trumanites and the Democratic Party machine on the old basis. Their terms are the most meager — in reality, nothing more than the reestablishment of the same corporation-dominated wage stabilization board, with the industrialists, the "public" and labor each to have six, instead of three, representatives. If the union leaders can have their way, labor would remain an ineffectual minority, mere window-dressing.

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.

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# The Negro People and Korea

## By J. Blake

American Negroes share the general opposition of working-men 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 communists 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 bullheadedness 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 to off-set the Asiatic propaganda

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

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 County when called. Yet the unsuppressible 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 basket-ball scandal in New York City. The reason why all these college stars took fixes from a gambler to spoil the betting odds by muffing 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 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: "What'samatter — you got rocks in your head? Everybody from the ushers to the big shots running Madison Square Garden Corporation is getting a slice. Everytime 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 been slipping off the traveling expenses? You think that rich grad gave you that 'personal loan' because they liked 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'd 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 and private life."

Maybe some of them read the heartfelt commentary of Charles (Lucky) Luciano, now operating from Milan, Italy, who was named by 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.

## NEW YORK

### Public Forum

#### "U.S. Labor and the World Crisis"

Speaker

Joseph Andrews

Associate Editor

THE MILITANT

Wednesday, March 14 8 PM

ADELPHI HALL

74 Fifth Ave. (off 14th St.)

Questions . . . Discussions

### Internationalist Socialist Youth

#### SHOW NITE!

JEANNE & FRANC

in

## 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 "Pacifc (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 overthrew 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 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 dragooned 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 Hukbalahaps movement in the Philippines the job of subjugating 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 Metternich of the Holy Alliance.

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 Joes 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 on 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!"

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**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 8.3 percent. Manufacturing corporations are looting 53 cents in profits for every dollar they pay out in wages. This profit take amounts to \$1700 per worker.

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**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."

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**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 shutdown of plants, and perhaps, most interesting of all, in the actual selection of management." The businessman's spokesman 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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**RENTS AND HOUSING** — The UE Washington Economic Notes of Jan. 1951, reports,

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1951

NUMBER 11

## 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 phoney "price 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 S. and Yesler

Friday, March 23 8 PM

—also—

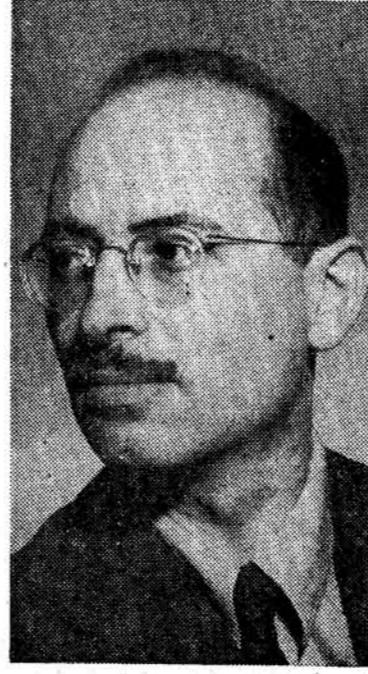
"The Great Events in China and Their Relation to Moscow"

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, Cal.

### 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*.)

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