

# Industry's Stand Deepens National Labor Crisis

## Eric Johnston Refuses Wage Gains To Packing and Textile Workers

By Joseph Andrews

MARCH 14 — All efforts to patch up the break between the labor leaders and the Truman administration have failed, as industry members of the Wage Stabilization Board refused to accept a peace formula proposed by Economic Stabilization Director Eric Johnston.

At the same time, the situation was aggravated by Johnston's rejection of the proposed wage agreement between the AFL and CIO Packinghouse unions and the meat packing companies. This agreement provided an 11-cent an hour wage increase. Ralph Helstein, President of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union announced his union will strike March 25.

**LOW WAGES, HIGH PROFITS**  
The packinghouse workers are among the lowest paid industrial workers. Their average wage today is \$1.49 an hour. But average profits of the packing industry went up two-thirds in the year ending Oct. 31, 1950. Since that time they have raised prices and no doubt profits have soared. These conditions account for the growing militancy among packing workers.

The compromise formula which Johnston proposed to reconstitute the WSB included a provision giving the board limited authority to handle all labor disputes as well as economic matters. This had been one of the key demands of the United Labor Policy Committee.

But industry members refused to agree to expanding the authority of the Board. Behind this stubborn stand is the determination of the industrialists to keep their hands free to continue their anti-labor war. If the Board handled disputes, covering contractual relations, such matters as the union shop, seniority, and check off would become questions of national policy.

### NAM ANTI-LABOR PLANS

The National Association of Manufacturers, however, wants to retain freedom of action, to wage an offensive against these provisions, singling out certain weaker sections of the labor movement.

In addition, should the Board handle disputes, certain sections of the Taft-Hartley Law would be bypassed.

The rejection of the peace formula, therefore, is a warning to organized labor that the corporations are in no mood to call off their attempts to undermine and weaken unions.



ERIC JOHNSTON

**Threatens Endless Korea 'Stalemate'**  
By Art Preis

Gen. MacArthur last week sent a new shudder through the world. He renewed his demand for an attack on Manchuria and China proper that would mean war on a scale a hundred-fold greater than Korea. As an alternative, he threatened a "stalemate" in Korea that would indefinitely drain off the lives of American youth, as well as Chinese and Koreans, in a struggle that can come to no decision.

His statement of March 7, issued with great fanfare and headlined in the whole U.S. daily press, said that given "a continuation of the existing limitations upon our freedom of counter-offensive action and no major additions to our organizational strength, the battle lines cannot fail in time to reach a point of theoretical military stalemate."

He said there should be "no illusions" that the U.S. forces, under present circumstances, can defeat the Chinese and North Koreans.

It is most exceptional for a general in MacArthur's position to admit the possibility that he cannot win and to hint that, under certain conditions, he faces the prospects of a defeat. There is, of course, the factor that MacArthur has had the gilt knocked off his reputation as a military

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## Mr. Acheson, You Lied

By Joseph Andrews

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Sir:

As I read your answer to the searching questions on Administration foreign policy raised in Marine Cpl. John Moulette's letter, my blood boiled. There is no act more base, I believe, than to lie to the youth who seek in "agony of spirit," as you yourself well put it, an answer — a solution — to the future of futility and horror they see before them.

Every word of your reply, I say, was a calculated and cynical lie. You lied in detail and you lied in the whole. You lied when you evaded Cpl. Moulette's specific questions. You lied when you offered banal generalities to the basic question that vexes him and his generation most — the question implicit in his entire letter: "Why must we sacrifice ourselves in another war?"

Let me tell you first how you lied by evasion.

Cpl. Moulette stated "that the American people . . . are 'fed up' with the Administration and its foreign policy." If that is true — and you did not dare to deny it — you owed him before everything else an explanation of how any policy, above all such life and death issue as the Korean war, can be correct and just when it violates the deepest sentiments of the people and tramples on their will.

### MOST UNPOPULAR WAR

Are the American people — all the John Moulettes in the armed forces — blind to a righteous and just cause? How does it happen that Truman's "police action" in Korea is the most unpopular war in our history? Is it simple stupidity or cowardice or depravity that makes the American people so hostile to U.S. intervention in Korea, that makes them pour letters by the hundreds of thousands into Congress and the White House demanding the stopping of the war now and the immediate withdrawal of the troops?

Although politically confused, and as he himself admits more of an anarchist than a Marxist, El Campesino wanted to live and escape in order to tell and defend the truth. He is no ex-bureaucrat like the refugee Kravchenko, but a fighter who turned away from Stalinism, risking everything, repeatedly staking his life, without being under any material compulsion to do so. His revelations, now published in French book form (Editions Plon) under the title *Life and Death in the Soviet Union* lay bare the grim Stalinist reality and contain the most graphic accounts yet published of what life is in the prison cells and forced labor hellholes, from the Soviet polar regions and its Vorkutas to those in the semi-tropical South.

El Campesino provides the clinching evidence as to the identity of the key agents of the Soviet Union. They have witnessed

the triumph of corruption in high places, the gnawing away of their civil rights. They have watched with anger burning in their hearts while the rich grew richer with every drop of blood spilled by their sons.

They do not believe in your Korean war. They mistrust your aims. That is the reality of the present situation. You did not speak in the name of the American people, when you answered Cpl. Moulette. You scorned their views and did not see fit even to honestly acknowledge them. You spoke for the war profiteers, the bankers, the militarists.

Cpl. Moulette said: "I thought that only Congress could declare war." I have searched your answer line by line and can find no reference to this vital matter. How can there be an honest reply to Cpl. Moulette that skips over the not unimportant fact that your superior, President Truman, without consultation of Congress,

let alone the consent of the people, plunged this country into a war on the other side of the world that has already cost us admitted casualties of nearly 53,000?

Nor did you see fit to discuss Cpl. Moulette's question about UN seating for the present government of China. That is because you cannot give a plausible answer. You cannot deny that the Peking government has as legitimate a right to sit in the UN as, say, the South American dictatorships which you hail as allies.

I come now to the one question that you could not squirm out of — Korea. To Cpl. Moulette's contention that the Korean war is a "needless waste of life," "shameful to the human race" and "won't settle anything," you answer that "in Korea, the men and the nations who love freedom . . . have made it clear they are willing to fight for these things."

Who is "willing" to fight in

Korea? Certainly not the American GIs, nor the American people. Certainly not the South Korean people, if we can believe the letter of the marine who wrote Senator Kem: "We are not only fighting the Chinese and North Koreans, but also the South Koreans. You can see by their faces that they don't want us here." All the other nations who are so "willing" to "fight for freedom" in Korea are certainly showing a great reluctance to supply troops for this "glorious

large sections of the workers.

### THREAT OF ALL-OUT WAR

You also say that by the U.S. intervention in Korea, "we are doing our best to prevent the world from following the road which led us, twice in recent times, to world war." That is a lie on the face of it and an insult to the intelligence of the people. Korea has led to the very brink of World War III. What began as a civil war between two regimes in Korea, has been transformed by your "police action" into a major war between vast armies of the U.S. and China, as well as the Koreans. Even now the world trembles before the imminent danger that this war, still confined to Korean soil, will be spread by the U.S. to China proper and thereby spark the explosion of the Third World War.

Korea has proved only one thing — that U.S. imperialism means death to any country it "liberates." Never has such

devastation and slaughter been visited on a people as the U.S. "scorched earth" policy has inflicted on the Koreans. As Walter Lippman admitted months ago, in Korea "we have proved only that we can wreck a country."

### STOP THE WAR NOW

I have read that Cpl. Moulette has said that he is "convinced" by your answer. I do not know what "convinced" him except, perhaps, your prestige. I am sorry for it. But I am certain it will not convince the majority of the American people, nor the soldiers whose morale is "very low" and "have no cause to fight," as Cpl. Moulette wrote. I firmly believe they will see through your lies, that they will continue and increase their demand that the great atrocity being committed by U.S. imperialism in Korea be stopped at once and that the American troops be withdrawn immediately.

Your truly,

Joseph Andrews, Editor

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 12

207

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## Barcelona Revolt Jolts Fascist Franco Regime

### 300,000 Workers Strike; Defy Armed Suppression by Dictator Ally of Truman

By Joseph Keller

MARCH 15 — Spain's revolutionary working class is rising to its feet once more and serving notice that the days of Bloody Franco's clerical-fascist dictatorship are numbered.

More than 300,000 factory workers went on strike March 12 in Barcelona and the surrounding area, the industrial heart of

Spain, in defiance of the brutal measures they knew Franco would hurl against them.

This set off a tremendous popular outpouring in the streets of Barcelona, second largest city in Spain with 1,250,000 population. They paralyzed the city in a revolt against the high cost of living that has reduced most of Spain's impoverished people almost to starvation.

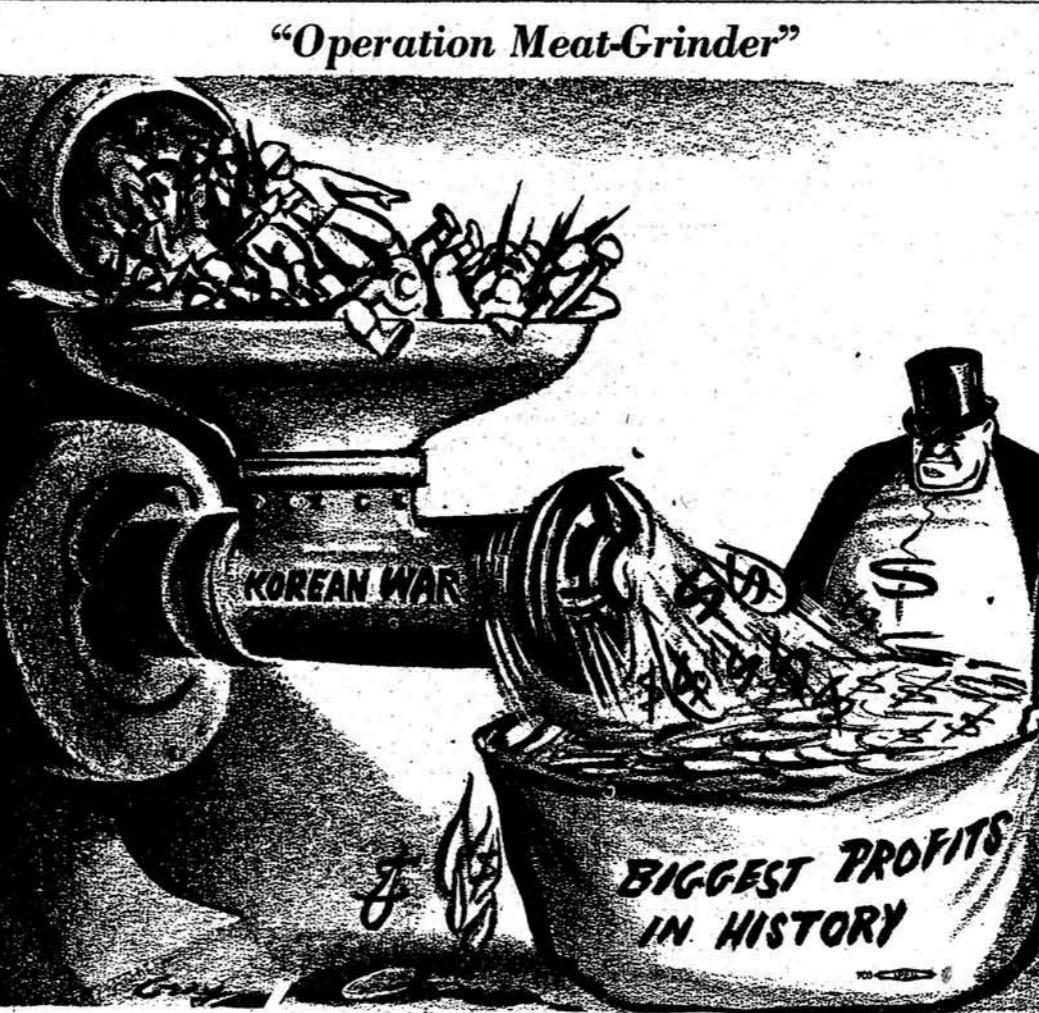
Despite the reported killing of three demonstrators and wounding of hundreds of others, the arrest of more than 300, the landing of marine detachments from five warships and the arrival of 13,000 special police and Civil Guards hastily sent by train and plane, some 50,000 strikers still are out at the latest report. Sam Pope Brewer, N. Y. Times correspondent in Barcelona, writes the strike was understood from the start to be a one-day protest.

The United Press reported, however, that "25 percent of the factory workers in Catalonia, the great industrial area of Northeast Spain, were still idle today after striking yesterday in sympathy with demonstrators who surged through the streets of Barcelona."

### DEFIANT MOVEMENT

This same dispatch revealed that "yesterday's angry outbreak" was "the worst anywhere in Spain since the civil war twelve years ago." Brewer, in a cautiously-worded report called it "the most general movement of defiance that Generalissimo Franco's government has ever had to face," a "general explosion," and a "movement so widely expressed through all groups of society that without implying any threat of general

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Annual UAW elections of officers and convention delegates in Detroit and Flint have shown a definite strengthening of the anti-Reuther sentiments among rank and file workers.

Although Walter Reuther, UAW President, will have a majority of delegates at the April 1 to 5 convention to be held in Cleveland, the opposition will have a sizeable delegation.

In Ford Local 600, Joe Hogan, an independent militant, will meet Reuther's Carl Stellato in a runoff for the presidency. Hogan ran on a militant program which included two major political points:

1. End the Korean War, and
2. Build a Labor Party. The fact that this program gave Hogan such large support, over 9,000 votes, is evidence of the mood of large sections of the workers.

The Ford local elected a slim majority of opposition delegates.

In Ford Local 900 (Lincoln plant) the opposition won the delegates race eight to two, and won local offices.

### GM LOCALS

In Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235, Rudy Pale, longtime progressive opposition leader, made a comeback and won the presidency. His ticket captured seven out of 10 delegates. In GM

(Continued on Page 2)

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## HANSEN DEBATES STATE SENATOR IN MINNESOTA

Following two successful meetings in Chicago, Joseph Hansen, Associate Editor of the *Militant*, went to Minneapolis-St. Paul for meetings scheduled there.

In Chicago Hansen spoke at a Socialist Workers Party-sponsored meeting, the chairman of which was Irving Bein, who recently concluded a campaign for Alderman on an anti-war platform.

In his speech Hansen documented the overwhelming desire of the American people to get the GIs out of Korea at once. He quoted public opinion polls, the huge volume of letters to Congressmen, letters to the press, etc. Showing how the war is supported by a small profit-hungry minority, Hansen stated: "If we don't stop them now, the imperialists will turn the whole world into a slaughterhouse; only the construction of a socialist society will guarantee the survival of humanity."

The favorable reaction of the audience to Hansen's talk was demonstrated in the lively question period and the excellent financial contributions made.

At another meeting in Chicago, Hansen addressed an audience of students and faculty members of Roosevelt College. The meeting was sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee, a student organization.

He traced U.S. foreign policy from V-J day to the present time and its repercussions on domestic policy, especially as reflected in the attacks on "The Trend of Reactionary Thought in America."

academic freedom, the drafting of students, and the general growth of militarism on the campus.

### SEEK THE TRUTH

In conclusion, Hansen told the students: "You must learn to study world politics objectively, familiarize yourselves with the socialist program, grasp the fundamental meaning of the inevitability of endless crisis under capitalism and its terrible impact on humanity. Have the courage to seek the truth; and having found it to proclaim and defend that truth."

On March 16 Hansen will speak at a public meeting at 10 S. 4th St., the SWP hall in Minneapolis. He will also address several meetings on the campus of the University of Minnesota in St. Paul.

A good deal of local interest has been aroused by the prospect of a debate between Hansen and State Senator F. G. Child, who is attempting to institute a witch hunt at the University. Both have accepted invitations to speak at a forum sponsored by the Student Group for Political Analysis. Senator Child's topic is "The Trend of Radical Thought in America" while Hansen will speak on "The Trend of Reactionary Thought in America."

Yugoslavia's Foreign Policy -- III

# Anti-War Struggle and Imperialism

By John G. Wright

All the prominent Belgrade leaders justify their foreign policy on the ground that it is the best way to secure world peace. Their general formula is this: If all peace-loving peoples and governments join together to fight "aggression," then peace would be assured. They approach the issue of war exclusively from what they conceive to be the special interests of Yugoslavia, forgetting that the struggle for peace and against war is a world political problem.

Powerful as the Kremlin may be, it does not control the world market. U.S. imperialism, which does, is responsible for the shift of world economy to a wartime basis since Korea. And this economic aggression by Washington has made itself felt in all countries, including Yugoslavia.

The Kremlin's economic blockade has had damaging effects on Yugoslavia economy. But even in this respect Wall Street's aggressive war preparations have had a much more damaging effect, because they are depriving Yugoslavia of access to the basic raw materials on the world market. Yugoslav industry, faces critical shortages of principal raw materials, especially cotton, wool, gasoline and lubricating oils, over which the Kremlin has little or no control but which American imperialism does control and is now feeding in ever greater amounts into its arms machine.

There is no question about Stalin's military designs against Yugoslavia. But whatever may develop in the Balkans, the present military aggression, the whole world recognizes, is also by U.S. imperialists — in the Far East.

"It is our duty," said Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kardelj, "to fight strongly for peace and unmask the lying peacemakers and the masked aggressors, above all," he added, "it is necessary to fight against those elements which inevitably lead to war."

But the whole trouble is that by singling out the Kremlin the Yugoslavs are not fighting against the chief "masked aggressors" and "lying peacemakers." On the

contrary, they are failing to unmask them. For who is conducting this war in Asia, if not the U.S. imperialists? Who seeks to spread it to China, if not MacArthur and his gang? Who threatens to drop the A-Bomb, if not Truman and Acheson?

## LENIN'S POSITION

The Yugoslav leaders say they have broken with Stalinism and have returned to Leninism. But in making "aggression" the touchstone for the struggle for peace they have departed from Lenin's policies. Lenin had nothing but scorn for those who hinged their attitude toward war or war-danger on the question Who is the "aggressor"? In March 1915 Lenin wrote: "The question of which group delivered the first military blow or first declared war has no importance whatever in determining the tactics of Socialists."

Lenin above all exposed how falsely the imperialists seek to mask their real reactionary nature and predatory aims by political and diplomatic trickery and by the demagogic use of slogans of democracy, culture, morality, etc. But the Yugoslav leaders assert that the issue is above all a moral one. "To struggle for peace is for Yugoslavia," says Marko Ristić, Yugoslav Ambassador to France, "at the same time a moral obligation . . . and is a vital, primary necessity."

But that is not at all Lenin's approach. The source of popular confusion and error on war, Lenin pointed out in May 1917 "is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war; why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and the economic conditions that historically gave rise to it." This approach to war through

the economics of imperialism, and not any diplomatic, political, or "moral" maneuvers in which they may engage, is the touchstone of Leninism. What is of decisive importance to Leninists is the objective historical meaning of the given war. What determines war in our day, as in Lenin's, is the economics of imperialism. What class prepares and conducts war? and for what aims? It is this that decides and not the political and diplomatic moves by means of which the opposing side may be pictured to the people at home as "the aggressor."

## ECONOMIC CAUSE FOR WAR

The economics of imperialism drives it to reaction, compels it to violate democracy, morality and peace. Why else have the Yugoslav leaders refrained from joining the Marshall Plan? Why else are they still suspicious of the Atlantic Pact and its alleged "defensive" character? Why else have they had second-thoughts and voted against some of the most aggressive U.S.-UN moves against China at Lake Success?

It is this imperialist economic base that determines the reactionary policies of all capitalists, above all, their policies of war. It is the most dangerous of illusions to believe that any diplomatic or political maneuvers can exert influence on the economic foundation of imperialism. Just the contrary is true, as Lenin correctly taught. In the epoch of imperialism, he insisted, "It is silly even to think of a progressive bourgeoisie, a progressive bourgeois government. All bourgeoisie 'democracy' . . . has become reactionary." Isn't this true right now of all the native bourgeois "democrats" in Yugoslavia? Wasn't this true of Churchill, Roosevelt and the rest of Stalin's

Stalin is fomenting armed assault upon Yugoslavia. But on the world scale, the central power-house of war preparations is located not in Moscow but in Washington. The war for which

"democratic" allies during the last war? Have Truman, Churchill and Co. changed?

Unlike Lenin, the Yugoslav leaders sever the economics of imperialism from its politics, and above all from its war drive — and war is simply the continuation of politics by other means. Unlike Lenin, they determine their tactics on the bases of questions such as "aggression" which Lenin rejected as of "no importance whatever" to Marxists. They do not think it "silly" as Lenin did to paint up bourgeois governments as progressive. No, Yugoslav foreign policy does not come from the school of Lenin.

Its ideological roots lie somewhere else entirely. They stem from the theory of building socialism in one country. It is not Lenin but Stalin who originated this theory, the source of the worst opportunism in foreign policy.

## Industry Stand Deepens National Labor Crisis

(Continued from Page 1) the proposed wage increase as inadequate.

These developments underline the fact that the labor crisis is a deep and significant one, which cannot easily be resolved. The American monopolists, as they prepare for all-out war, are determined to unload the costs of war upon the workers. But 16 million organized workers show a determined resistance.

The labor leaders, while they support the war plans, cannot afford to allow the government in alliance with Big Business to destroy their organizations, or to smear them with responsibility for the flagrant attempt to freeze wages while prices and profits soar.

The logical next step for labor is the organization of an independent labor party, to defend the workers against the combined Democrat-Republican anti-labor policy.

The labor movement is today coming of age. Subservience to the government and capitalist politics does not pay off. That fact is becoming more obvious to the militant American working-class. They will press for a full break with Truman, and for their own political party.

## FEAR ANGLO-SOVIET PACT

The American imperialists are aware of their allies' wishes and fear that if German reunification is made the central issue, Britain and France might perhaps accept a Russian plan for Germany's neutralization. This fear is voiced in an editorial in the March 3 issue of the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*:

"The Russians might well bring in proposals for the ostensible unification, neutralization and evacuation of Germany which, while guarded enough to insure the ultimate Communist conquest of the country, could still look so attractive as to sow weakness and disruption in the Western alliance. It is hard to believe that French or British opinion could be taken in by any proposal which did not carry certain guarantees against a rearmed, Communist Germany controlled from Moscow; though one is not so sure of certain elements among our own isolationist and 'neutralist' opinion. And in the highly unlikely, but not inconceivable, case that the Russians should in good faith advance proposals genuinely intended to neutralize Germany and Austria and so lay the European problem at rest, the Western powers would be very poorly prepared from policy standpoint to deal with them."

## STALINIST BETRAYAL

Yet, in this case as in many others, imperialism has no better helper than Stalin himself. For there could be no stronger argument for Washington's diplomats and propagandists than to point that Gromyko, the USSR representative at the Paris Conference, defends the absurd Potsdam Agreement which was directed against the whole of the German people by dividing Germany.

Gromyko and his government base their opposition to any West German rearmament on that vicious treaty alone which they want to see fulfilled, despite the complications and the misery it helped create since 1945. Thus the reactionary character of Stalinist policy is once more revealed. Gromyko does not seem to have spoken one word condemning that secret diplomacy which both the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats are so fond of and which led to so many catastrophes.

Results of the run-off for offices in Chevrolet Local 659 are still to be announced. A bitter struggle over control of this local between the anti-Reuther officials headed by Local President Coburn S. Walker and the Reuther machine was conducted.

Fisher Body Local in Flint elected a full anti-Reuther slate.

# Fund Drive Holds Pace; Three Weeks Yet to Go

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party shifted into high gear this week, scoring the biggest weekly payment since the launching of the Organization, Press and Defense fund ten weeks ago. The weekly receipts totaled \$1,595, raising the total paid through March 13 to \$12,870 or 72% of the national quota assigned. The campaign is still a little behind schedule — 5% — and only three weeks to go. This means that the on-schedule branches will have to keep their pace and the lagging branches will really have to hustle.

West Virginia dashed over the goal line to 133% and first place on the scoreboard. These comrades aren't through yet. Steve tells us that they "will send in more on the fund as it comes in." Pittsburgh completed its quota three weeks ago but keeps going. "We are sending it in as fast as we can get it," writes Comrade Carl.

Cleveland rang the gong with a \$69 payment. Almeda says: "We are planning to send in more because we feel that our quota is a bit low when compared to other branches our size."

These developments underline the fact that the labor crisis is a deep and significant one, which cannot easily be resolved. The American monopolists, as they prepare for all-out war, are determined to unload the costs of war upon the workers. But 16 million organized workers show a determined resistance.

Buffalo

St. Paul-Minneapolis

Milwaukee

Toledo

Seattle

Newark

New York

New Haven

Chicago

Allentown

Boston

Flint

San Francisco

Akron

Philadelphia

Detroit

Oakland

Los Angeles

St. Louis

General

Total through March 13

\$18,000

\$12,870

72

Detroit's \$94 check completes a little over half of its quota. Marietta says that Detroit's balance is "tremendous" — and to be collected in three weeks! But we'll do it, or bust! Every comrade promises to be on time." A \$36 payment moved Oakland branch to the half-way mark.

Remember! To make this campaign a 100% success, every quota must be completed by March 31. That's only three weeks. Let's step it up!

## \$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
West Virginia	\$ 25	\$ 33	133
Pittsburgh	150	191	127
Cleveland	300	300	100
Youngstown	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,000	968	97
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	911	91
Milwaukee	150	133	89
Toledo	50	43	86
Seattle	400	316	79
Newark	700	540	77
New York	5,000	3,829	77
New Haven	100	72	72
Chicago	700	486	69
Allentown	75	50	67
Boston	550	350	64
Flint	375	232	62
San Francisco	1,500	879	59
Akron	150	84	56
Philadelphia	600	334	56
Detroit	1,750	922	53
Oakland	250	126	50
Los Angeles	2,600	1,227	47
St. Louis	100	20	20
General		324	—
Total through March 13	\$18,000	\$12,870	72

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The Militant has always received a warm response in Newark's Negro community. The Mar. 5 issue, featuring the latest news on the Derrick case and Thurgood Marshall's report on the treatment of Negro troops in Korea, was certainly no exception.

Newark's literature agent reports that in about an hour and a quarter, Marge, Dorothy, Mary, and Rick easily disposed of 110 copies of this issue. One person bought a copy on his way into a nearby tavern. After reading the front page he passed it down the bar. In short order 10 other fellows came out and bought their own copies. "We of Boston have a very satisfying experience to report," writes Literature Agent Marcus.

"Friday evening eight of us mobilized at a Progressive Party sponsored meeting, and in a pleasant hour and a half sold 26 Militants and two copies of *In Defense of Socialism*. This was doubly rewarding in view of the fact that it was a poorly attended affair and that more than half of the attendance was Stalinist. We used socialist slogans, announcing a 'working-class paper,' a socialist paper, 'the official organ of American Trotskyism' and 'the paper that first pegged Wallace correctly.' For those that were curious about the program of the Socialist Workers Party, some of us were available to explain.

"This is our score for three week's effort: nine subscriptions, 23 individual copies sold, and one good working-class neighborhood well aware of us. Comrade Patch, of course, continues her good sales — another hundred copies sold last week! Result: we're all for the systematic canvas of an area over a period of weeks."

Bob James also reports good results at Stalinist meetings in Los Angeles. "We have been selling one to two dozen Militants at each of a number of Stalinist meetings and discussing with some of those who buy. Some buy The Militant almost regularly, and several attended our Negro History Week meetings."

Literature Agent for San Francisco, Jane S., while ordering extra copies on behalf of the brutal Spanish ruling class, including the Catholic hierarchy which controls one-third of Spain's wealth, with their "remarkably effective and impressive" demonstration, as Brewer described it. The populace halted all transportation, closed all shops, burned officials' automobiles and attempted to set fire to the City Hall. Housewives wrecked market stalls when they could not buy food at legal prices.

The corrupt regime of Franco and the Spanish capitalists and landlords has inflated prices, according to the official figures, seven times since 1945, while wages went up only three and a half. Average industrial wages in Spain are \$21 a month.

Franco can still mobilize formidable repressive armed forces, but there is evidence that many of these are no longer reliable and the hatred of the regime is now widespread in Spain that the full explosion when it comes will rip the dictatorship to pieces.

The Barcelona uprising is the greatest news from Western Europe since Mussolini's overthrow. It heralds a new social revolutionary force in Western Europe to challenge both capitalism and Stalinism. The American labor movement has the supreme duty to come to the aid of the heroic Spanish working class with every means at its command. Above all, it must immediately demand the discontinuance of all U.S. grants of money and arms to Franco.

Many thanks to the New York friend who sent in \$3 "to help keep up the good work of The Militant."

### New York

Four Discussions on the Key Questions of Our Day starting

Thursday, March 22 8:30 PM

"The Fraud of Capitalist Democracy"

DELUXE PALACE

558 Howard Avenue

near Pitkin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

— Admission Free —

## Behind the Big Four Conference

By Charles Hanley

Britain and France looked forward to the Paris conference of the "Big Four" delegates much more than did the U.S. State Department. The latter ostensibly expected nor hoped anything would come out of it.

Attlee's government has to take into account the anti-war feelings of the masses and the tremendous risk involved for the entire British Commonwealth of Nations in case of a third world war. Not only has Winston Churchill, leader of the Conservative opposition, repeatedly urged the government to sponsor direct talks between the Western powers and Soviet Russia; Labor's Left Wing more and more opposes rearmament and the continuation of the Korean War.

## ANTI-WAR FEELINGS

The resolution presented in Parliament by Labor M.P.'s Driborg and Mikardo, in Feb.

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.  
2, 1917.

# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XV - No. 12

Bundes Orders 5 or more  
copies: 30 each in U.S. &  
each in foreign countries.  
Signed articles by contribu-  
tors do not necessarily rep-  
resent The Militant's policies.  
These are expressed in its  
editorials.

Monday, March 19, 1951

## How to Win the Middle Classes

"Under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie strives, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old (capitalist) masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road. The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skillful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy."

— Leon Trotsky, *The Only Road*, 1932



LENIN

TROTSKY

Eighty years ago on March 18, 1871, the Parisian workers created the first workers state in history: the glorious Paris Commune. It lasted only 71 days, but in its brief life-span, the Commune gave the working class the first living model of workers' democracy.

By Daniel Roberts

The spokesmen for American capitalism seek to portray the present American form of government as the provider of "liberty and justice for all." They are, American capitalist democracy is a front for the oppressive rule of a handful of billionaires. It is the rule of wealth, of special privilege, and of racial discrimination.

The Paris Commune, on the other hand, was a genuinely popular government. "It was a government of the people and by the people," as Marx said. It openly upheld the interests of workers, artisans, and small shopkeepers, and fought against the greed of the capitalist class and its political retainers.

Capitalist France had just been defeated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Paris was ringed by the advancing Prussian armies. Misery was prevalent among the working classes. All the measures of the Commune were directed to solving the most burning needs of the working people, and although there were many things it could not undertake because Paris was threatened not alone by the foreign enemy but also the troops of the capitalist counter-revolution, all its measures proclaimed it to be a workers' government.

The Commune suspended all rents on dwellings for the period between October 1870 and April 1871. It abolished the system of fines whereby the employers punished the workers for "infringement of rules." It abolished night work for bakers (a shameful abuse of the times). It closed the pawnshops which had been fleecing the workers. It made plans to turn the closed-down factories over to workers' cooperatives which were to get the plants back into operation.

The Commune decreed the separation of Church and State and ruled the Church out of the field of education. It granted citizenship to workers who had fled from persecution in other countries, and declared its solidarity with the working class everywhere throughout the world.

The Commune did away with the standing army as a repressive force to be used against the population. Instead, the Commune decreed that all able-bodied persons should bear arms. The military organization of the revolutionary government was the National Guard, which elected its own officers.

The Paris Commune was headed by a broad executive committee, whose members were elected by universal suffrage from each city district. The executive committee combined legislative and executive powers. It enforced the laws with the active participation of the population organized in the districts. All members of the committee were subject to recall. Their salary was fixed at 6,000 francs per year, equal to workmen's wages.

The executive committee, the National Guard, and the revolutionary people of Paris replaced the top-heavy bureaucracy that had ruled France up to that time. The old police force, hated for its thought-control and its brutalities was cashiered. The career-seekers and grafters were put out of their jobs. The Commune abolished the offices of the gold-braided generals and the silk-hat diplomats.

Everywhere the workers ruled in their own name and through trusted representatives drawn from their own ranks. The true secret of the Commune was this, said Marx: "It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing class against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of Labor."

The lessons of the Paris Commune were explained and analyzed by all the great revolutionary working class leaders, above all by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These lessons have entered as the basic principles of what the revolutionary party must strive for in building a Workers and Farmers Government.

The first positive experiment in revolutionary democracy provided by the Commune was repeated by subsequent revolutions on a far greater scale. The workers' democracy pioneered by the Paris Commune found ample expression in the Soviets in Russia that took power in the Bolshevik-led revolution of October 1917.

## THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The Paris Commune was crushed in blood. The French capitalists recaptured power, their cushy jobs and their profits. Once it had the upper hand, the French bourgeoisie proceeded to slaughter the workers. It was estimated that 100,000 Parisian workers were either killed or deported to Devil's Island — punishment for having dared to build a better world.

The Parisian workers went down fighting heroically against superior military numbers. Nevertheless, it must be asked: Was it inevitable that the French bourgeoisie should have mobilized superior force against them? Was it inevitable that the Commune should have gone down to defeat?

The defeat of the Commune cannot be shrugged off with a mere assertion that French economy was insufficiently developed to permit of victory. There was a great historical lesson to be learned from it.

On the eve of the Commune, Karl Marx warned the French workers against an attempt to seize power, convinced that the relationship of forces was weighted against the proletariat. But when the revolution broke out, Marx hailed it and urged the Communards to broaden the scope of their revolution. He urged them to pursue the most energetic measures possible against the bourgeois government that had fled to nearby Versailles and to bend all their efforts to consolidating their power on a nation-wide scale.

Revolution has an imperative logic: Once begun, it must be carried through to the end. All avenues for its development and its further successes must be probed to the limit. Only in this way can the proletarian gain and keep power. A tremendous responsibility therefore rests with the leadership of the revolutionary movement. It has need of deep insight into the revolutionary process. It must win the confidence of the revolutionary masses and pursue its task with iron determination.

But such leadership was lacking in the Paris Commune. The Parisian workers did not have a revolutionary party, and the Communards made the fatal error of stopping with their first successes. The great achievements of workers' democracy were bottled up in Paris although many favorable opportunities existed to establish Communes throughout France, by unleashing the revolutionary action of the French masses.

The French capitalists left unhindered by the Commune gained time to rally forces. Powerless in the beginning, they bargained with Bismarck, the Prussian war lord, for the release of the captured French army. They spent two months in intriguing against the Commune throughout the country and in vilifying it, and finally isolated Paris from the rest of France. At the end of two months they held the pre-ponderance of forces.

But, it may be objected, even if the Commune had conquered

throughout France, economic conditions would have gotten the best of the revolution. That is an unsettled question. The economic

conditions were at the time in flux. Modern large-scale industry as the prevalent mode of production in all lines of non-agricultural

industry was only a few years away. Might not a workers' France instead of a capitalist France have brought it into being? Such widespread industrialization already existed in England. Germany, too, was becoming rapidly industrialized.

The intransigence of workers power in France had every

condition in history presents us at the same

time with the first great crisis of leadership in the working class revolutionary movement.

The Communards were permitted by exceptionally favorable circumstances to take the power, without a clear-cut revolutionary party standing at their head. But the crisis of revolutionary leadership and policy broke out at the very next stage of the revolution, when the task was to extend and consolidate the power.

The Paris Commune represents the first great milestone on the road of socialism. It was the Parisian workers who demonstrated for the first time the tremendous promises that the rule of the workers holds in store for mankind.

These promises will be fulfilled when the entire world is organized on the principles of the Paris Commune.

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## Woman's Role in Society

By Rosa Karsner

Women outnumber men in this country according to the latest figures of the U.S. Census Bureau.

"For every 100 women there are only 98.1 men," says a Feb. 28 Associated Press report and, it adds, "this new victory by the women in the battle of the sexes shouldn't surprise us. For years they have outtalked us, outsmarted us, out-spent us and frequently outraged us. . . . It's no use being a good sport and saying 'more power to them.' They've got power enough already. . . . women are riding high today. They've made their men folks members of a minority group."

What is interesting about this report and worthy of comment, is not so much the fact in itself. It is rather the reaction of the reporter to the mere act of nature, which for him and millions who think as he does, represents a "victory by the women." Superficial, cynical and ignorant as this report is, it nevertheless expresses the sentiments of the average man today. And they are not very different from those expressed, say, two thousand years ago.

History records that in 195 B.C. the women of Rome, after a period of great injustices committed against them, began to raise their voice in protest. Yielding to this pressure a few tribunes introduced innocuous resolutions calling for the repeal of a law which had been in force, restricting the luxury and adornment of women's dress.

Haranguing against this resolution of the tribunes, the elder Cato cried out:

"Our power that has been shattered in the home now is being trampled on in the forum. Our ancestors decided that woman should not even attend to her own private affairs without the control of a guardian. If you give free reign to the imperious natures of these unruly creatures, do not imagine that they will recognize any limits of their tyranny. . . . when they have begun to be our equals, they will soon be our superiors."

That is what men, in Rome and since, really fear: Given the status of equality, women will become their superiors and tyrannize over them. But that is absolutely false.

The "battle of the sexes" arose only after the introduction of private ownership of the social means of production and distribution. Prior to that there was no "battle." Authoritative anthropologists have given us sufficient evidence to prove that during the era of the Matriarchate, thousands of years ago, there was true equality of the sexes. All one has to do to become convinced is to read a few books, or at least one book, Robert Briffault's *THE MOTHERS*.

The Matriarchate was that period in human history when descent was handed down through the mother, because it was she who bore and bred children. Property was owned in common and used in common. Men and women were equal.

In present-day society, based on the private ownership of the social means of production and distribution, it is man who rules supremely, but unlike woman in her day, he rules unjustly, despotically. Woman is not only treated as the male's inferior, she is not even permitted to get equal pay for equal work.

However, it was not always thus; it shall not always be. The time is fast approaching when a new social system will replace capitalism, just as surely as feudalism was replaced by capitalism.

In that new society, which must come if mankind is to survive, production will be for use, not for profit. The social means of production and distribution will be owned and used in common as they were in that era of the Matriarchate, only on a much higher level of history and culture. The rule will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Men and women and peoples of all races and colors will once again live as true equals and govern in the interest of mankind as a whole, not as today, for the benefit of a few.

That will be Socialism.

## Stockpiling Scientists

By Michael Bartell

The stockpiling of scientists, along with tin, rubber and atom bombs, was the theme of a report by Henry DeWolfe Smyth of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to the recent annual conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Cleveland. "I am speaking of scientists not as men," he bluntly declared, "but as tools of war."

"Men of science, traditionally peaceful, internationally minded, and nonpolitical," he said, "have become a major war asset. It is important that they be used to the greatest advantage." Smyth then proceeded to lay down the line — a blue print for harnessing the entire scientific resources of the nation for the most efficient production of disease, devastation, and death.

He began by likening the mobilization of scientists to "the stockpiling and rationing of any war commodity." Here we note a curious thing. Marx observed that in capitalist society all things tend to assume the form of commodities, including virtue, conscience and honor. It should now be added that in its decline, capitalism tends to convert all things into war commodities, including scientists, teachers, students, technicians, knowledge, and even the very laws of nature.

Smyth's plan encompassed scientific activities at every conceivable level: from the most general theoretical basic research in the laws of nature, through particular fields of scientific investigation, applied research, testing and production, to instruction in the use of "scientific engines" of destruction. The scientists themselves are to be "stockpiled" by the military and regimented all the way from freshmen through the graduate schools, from the laboratory to the factory and the battlefield.

Not a stone is left unturned in this plan to make absolutely certain that no scientific work should be wasted on "peaceful" purposes. "For example," said Smyth, "work on improvement of non-essential industrial products or processes certainly could be curtailed. On the other hand applied research on weapons production needs to be accelerated. Vast sums of money will be available to the services for research and development."

In brief, the scientists are served notice that any work aimed at curing diseases, raising living standards or making the good things of life more accessible to the mass of the people is henceforth to be considered "non-essential."

Then, just in case the scientists entertained hopes that this blackout on human progress would only last a short time — a sort of passing nightmare — Smyth promptly punctured even such naive illusions. "In considering scientific manpower as a major war asset of this country," he said, "I assume a 20 year period of tension with the possibility of major or minor wars occurring at any time in that period."

One other obstacle remains for these planners of total destruction. The scientists themselves are not overly enthusiastic about the "plan." It violates their innermost instincts and impulses. Their tortured consciences naturally rebel at the thought of creating instruments of total murder and devastation. Some like Einstein have already dared to speak out, to warn, to protest. But this difficulty has not been overlooked. "As we prepare for possible war," announced Smyth, "we shall inevitably have to delegate increasing authority over our lives and actions to the national government."

He then presented a blue-print for drafting the

## Short Subjects

**THE ENFORCER** — The New York regional office of Price Stabilization has disciplined a small restaurant called the "Greenwich Village Coffee Pot" because it raised the price of coffee from five to seven cents a cup. Meanwhile Price Stabilizer DiSalle announces that 11 basic materials required for military production show an average price increase of 72.3 percent from May, 1950 to Jan. 1, 1951.

\* \* \*

**BILL HUTCHESON, STRIKEBREAKER** — AFL Bill Hutcheson owns a large grapefruit grove in Florida, where the workers recently organized into the AFL Chemical Workers Union, and went on strike, demanding a union contract. But Hutcheson refused to negotiate with the union, and the Chemical Workers called off the strike. The CIO is now organizing these workers. The

fruit plantations in Florida are similar to colonial plantations, with absentee owners, and starvation wages.

\* \* \*

**SKY HIGH RENTS** — Rent controls were lifted in Los Angeles last month. Since then letters of tenants to the office of the Housing Expediter show that there has been an average increase of 94.5 percent.

\* \* \*

**NEW POLITICAL MOVE?** — Reports are circulating in New York that the blast against the Democratic Party by Louis Hollander, N. Y. CIO Secretary, in which he called for a possible new party for labor, was the first step in a national movement for a Liberal-Labor third party. David Dubinsky is rumored to be negotiating with the heads of the CIO in such a move. Dubinsky is active in the N. Y. Liberal Party.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1951

NUMBER 12

## Face Legal Lynching



Undergoing a second trial for their lives are the world-famous Trenton Six, saved from execution after their first Jim-Crow frame-up trial by popular protest. Front row (l. to r.): Collis English, James Thorpe, Horace Wilson. Rear: R. Cooper, McKinley Forest, J. McKenzie.

## Trenton Six Face New Trial in Frameup Case

By Fred Hart

The second trial of the Trenton Six, begun March 5, has just completed its jury-picking stage. The reluctance of ordinary Trenton citizens to serve on the jury is in large measure due to the bad odor surrounding the frame-up as well as the fear that should one vote for the defendants' acquittal he might be labelled "subversive" or "pro-Communist."

This case, originally fought and publicized by the Stalinist-led Civil Rights Congress, has been turned over to the NAACP and the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six. One of the defendants is defended by counsel appointed by the court.

In an attempt to prove their responsibility and thus escape the red-baiting atmosphere so prevalent at the first trial, the present defense lawyers are going to extremes in their attacks upon the Civil Rights Congress which is still publicizing the frame-up by press releases and public meetings.

### RED BAITING

The frenzied attacks of some of the defense lawyers on the CRC have caused one of the defense lawyers, Arthur Garfield Hays, veteran defender of civil rights, to demur and disassociate himself from this form of red-baiting in the court room.

Despite the attempts of the defense to prove its "Americanism" by attacking the CRC, the prosecution has already started its attempt to draw the public's attention away from the crudeness of the frame-up by injecting the red issue. The prosecutor and the reactionary Trenton Times have started a smear campaign against one of the defense lawyers because a women lawyer who works in his office (she is not connected with the defense in this case) is married to a man considered "subversive."

The Trenton frame-up began over three years ago. On Jan. 27, 1948 a hold-up of a combination junk and novelty store took place. The proprietor was murdered and his wife knocked unconscious. Robbery was the assumed motive although \$1,642 was found in the murdered man's pockets by police. Two eyewitnesses — a passer-by and a neighbor saw the criminals. The passer-by saw two light-complexioned Negroes. The neighbor saw three Negro teen agers run from the direction of the store and jump into a four-door green 1936 Plymouth sedan in which a fourth youth was waiting. The police concluded that there were six Negroes involved.

In a letter to the Governor, sent in the midst of the long drawn-out process of picking a jury, Breitman charged that the six defendants "should never have been brought to trial in the first place. The system of frame-up through false identification, suppressed evidence and forced confessions is just as repulsive in Trenton as it is in Moscow."

The Socialist Workers spokesman declared that "continued prosecution of these men can serve only two purposes — to 'save face' for the authorities responsible for initiating this judicial outrage, and to intimidate the Negro population as a whole. "Neither purpose is remotely connected with the promotion of justice."

### FORCED CONFESSIONS

OAKLAND, Mar. 8 — Filomena M. Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-Large in the City Elections of April 17, was interviewed today by the Executive Board of Labor's Educational and Political League (AFL). In her statement to the board, Mrs. Goelman said:

That is what men, in Rome and since, really fear: Given the status of equality, women will become their superiors and tyrannize over them. But that is absolutely false.

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The Matriarchate was that period in human history when descent was handed down through the mother, because it was she who bore and bred children. Property was owned in common and used in common. Men and women were equal.

In present-day society, based on the private ownership of the social means of production and distribution, it is man who rules supremely, but unlike woman in her day, he rules unjustly, despotically. Woman is not only treated as the male's inferior, she is not even permitted to get equal pay for equal work.

However, it was not always thus; it shall not always be. The time is fast approaching when a new social system will replace capitalism, just as surely as feudalism was replaced by capitalism.

In that new society, which must come if mankind is to survive, production will be for use, not for profit. The social means of production and distribution will be owned and used in common as they were in that era of the Matriarchate, only on a much higher level of history and culture. The rule will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Men and women and peoples of all races and colors will once again live as true equals and govern in the interest of mankind as a whole, not as today, for the benefit of a few.

That will be Socialism.

## Beinin Campaign Shows Party Has New Roads Open

By Farrell Dobbs

CHICAGO — New friends came forward, morale rose and all activities gained fresh impetus from the Socialist Workers Party campaign in support of Irving Beinin's gubernatorial candidacy. These excellent results suggest that a review of the campaign may have general value.

When the campaign began, McCarthyism was at a peak; American imperialism was reeling under the impact of Chinese intervention; and opposition to the Truman war program had reached significant proportions.

We set out to cut through the thought-control curtain and reach open-minded people with our socialist anti-war program. Heavy stress was laid on the anti-capitalist content of our program. Questions like housing and academic freedom were tied directly to the war issue. We avoided diversion into secondary issues.

### WAR OR PEACE

Beinin had only one opponent, the Democratic incumbent Robert E. Merriam, who had Republican support. The main issue was clear cut: Merriam standing for capitalism and war, Beinin for socialism and peace. This was summed up in the slogan, "A vote for Beinin is a vote against war."

We emphasized to the campaigners that present conditions exclude as a central aim a contest for votes against the entrenched capitalist political machines. Our goals were: wide publicity of the party program; attraction of new contacts; and activation of all our forces with a definite function for each campaign volunteer. We stuck singlemindedly to these party-building objectives.

At the start we established a ward headquarters; scheduled party mobilizations, rallies and socials; took steps to get our speakers before non-party meetings; planned literature sales and distributions, not forgetting to include the theoretical magazine *Fourth International* and party pamphlets; and arranged for publicity in *The Militant* and local press.

A mimeographed handbook issued to each campaigner contained a ward map, calendar of events and brief answers to key political questions. Before taking to the streets the first time, the campaigners held a question and answer rehearsal. The campaign opened with the State Supreme Court's reversal of the conviction on three technical counts. In the decision the first trial was referred to as "against the plainest principles of justice" and a "judgment tainted with error."

The NAACP has appealed for contributions for the Trenton Six defense fund. All money sent to it will be earmarked specifically for this case. Contributions should be sent to: NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 20 West 40th St., N. Y. 18, N. Y.

All six defendants produced

witnesses — 63 in all — proving that they were nowhere near the scene of the crime at the time it occurred. Three of the six were at work at the time.

The defendants told how in the course of the four-day-and-five-night third-degreeing that preceded their "confession" they had been given doped drinks and doped cigarettes. Wilson, the only one who did not confess, stubbornly refused all drinks and cigarettes offered him.

Were these the guilty men?

The two eyewitnesses had described the criminal as light-complexioned. Five of the six defendants have dark skin. Thorpe, the only one light in color, had had his arm amputated eight days before the murder. No witness spoke of a one-armed man at the scene of the crime.

Mrs. Horner, wife of the murdered man, who had been knocked unconscious during the attempted robbery, was taken to Police headquarters to view the six suspects. She failed to identify any of them. Later with police help she "identified" them all from photographs.

The passer-by and the neighbor would not identify any of the six as the men they had seen. In addition, the car at the scene of the crime was a four-door green Plymouth while English's car was a two-door black Ford.

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The passer-by and the neighbor would not identify any of the six as the men they had seen. In addition, the car at the scene of the crime was a four-door green 1936 Plymouth sedan in which a fourth youth was waiting. The police concluded that there were six Negroes involved.

In a letter to the Governor, sent in the midst of the long drawn-out process of picking a jury, Breitman charged that the six defendants "should never have been brought to trial in the first place. The system of frame-up through false identification, suppressed evidence and forced confessions is just as repulsive in Trenton as it is in Moscow."

The Socialist Workers spokesman declared that "continued prosecution of these men can serve only two purposes — to 'save face' for the authorities responsible for initiating this judicial outrage, and to intimidate the Negro population as a whole. "Neither purpose is remotely connected with the promotion of justice."

### SUPPORT DEMOCRATS

"Last year the labor leaders poured millions of dollars to support Democratic Party hacks, and once more labor's ranks could not be roused to support the bankrupt capitalist candidates. My program hasn't changed on this question in the past two years, and in view of these developments it is clearer than it has ever been. I am going to urge a mass Congress of Labor to deal with the housing crisis, the wage crisis and the war crisis, and everything else that is directly affecting the working class."

Asked about her position on the Korean War, the SWP candidate replied that the Socialist Workers Party was opposed to U.S. intervention and believed it was up to the Korean people to settle their own affairs.

"Two years ago, when I was interviewed by your board, I was asked if I would withdraw from that election, if a labor man was chosen to run for the same post, I said I would do so if such a candidate were a militant worker who based his campaign on the labor movement and would be responsible to the working people of this city and to no one else. Instead you chose a real estate agent, who could not arouse any interest among the rank-and-file workers."

Merriam sought to campaign on the small change of strictly ward issues, calling for reliance on Senator Paul "Drop the Bomb Now" Douglas in national and international affairs. The SWP countered with the demand that Merriam debate Beinin on the real campaign issue — war or peace.

Under this pressure Merriam claimed to be "anti-war" in informal discussions, but in his weasely-worded public statements he supported Truman's war program by advocating preparation for