

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.

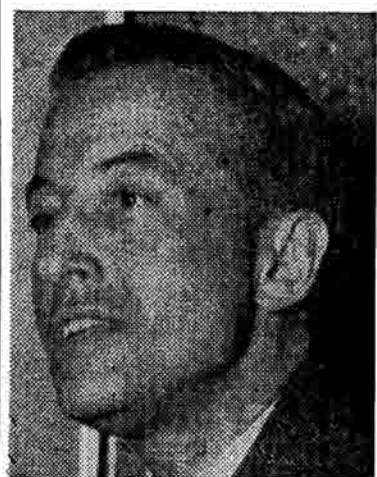
But industry members refused to agree to expanding the authority of the Board. Behind this stubborn stand is the determination of the industrialists to keep their hands free to continue their anti-labor war. If the Board handled disputes, covering contractual relations, such matters as the union shop, 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 by-passed.

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

The flat refusal by Eric Johnston to allow the 11-cent an hour wage increase won by the packinghouse unions in negotiations with the companies, serves notice that this former four-time President of the Chamber of Commerce has no intention of allowing "elasticity" of wages while prices skyrocket.

The breach between the labor leadership and the war mobilization set-up is therefore widened. Attempts by the union bureaucrats to find a road back into the service of the capitalist government, as "window dressing," has been blocked by the arrogant Big Business policies.

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

This situation raises the importance of the National Conference of Labor, called by the ULPC for March 20-21 in Washington. This conference will now be confronted, barring a last minute retreat by the union heads, with the need to mobilize pressure from the entire labor movement to protect the unions.

The national conference, which will include 700 delegates from local central labor bodies of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, was called to mobilize "housewives, unionists, farmers and small business men" in a fight against high prices.

To aggravate the tension, Johnston, yesterday also announced he would reject a proposed 10-cent an hour wage increase for 200,000 woolen workers, represented by the Textile Workers Union, CIO. But the union itself had already rejected.

(Continued on page 2)

EL CAMPESSINO EXPOSES STALIN'S MURDER GANG

By Tom Conlan

At the turn of this year the Social-Democratic press in Western Europe began carrying in daily installments the revelations of "El Campesino" which have created a great sensation among labor circles. For Valentine Gonzales, famous as El Campesino, is a veteran of the Spanish Communist movement, and one of its most prominent figures.

He quickly rose to international fame during the Spanish Civil War, during which he commanded a crack division and became distinguished as one of the most brilliant and audacious Republican generals. Wounded eleven times, with fortune invariably smiling on him in those days as it did afterwards in his ten years' stay in Soviet prisons and concentration camps, this fighter, with his striking features, short black beard, simplicity, honesty, coupled with a contempt for luxury and ostentation and his legendary courage, became a popular hero.

His legendary feats and character were used as a model by Hemingway in his best-seller *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and by Malraux in his novel, *Man's Hope*. A highly laudatory and fictional biography about him was concocted by Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's star pen-prostitute. Long a fanatical Stalinist, El Campesino sacrificed everything, and also helped to hound Trotskyists, admitting that he himself participated in several crimes.

He was the last Republican general to leave Spain — in April 1939 when the whole country had already been conquered by Franco. On the invitation of the Soviet

(Continued on page 3)

MacArthur Presses for All-Asia War

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."

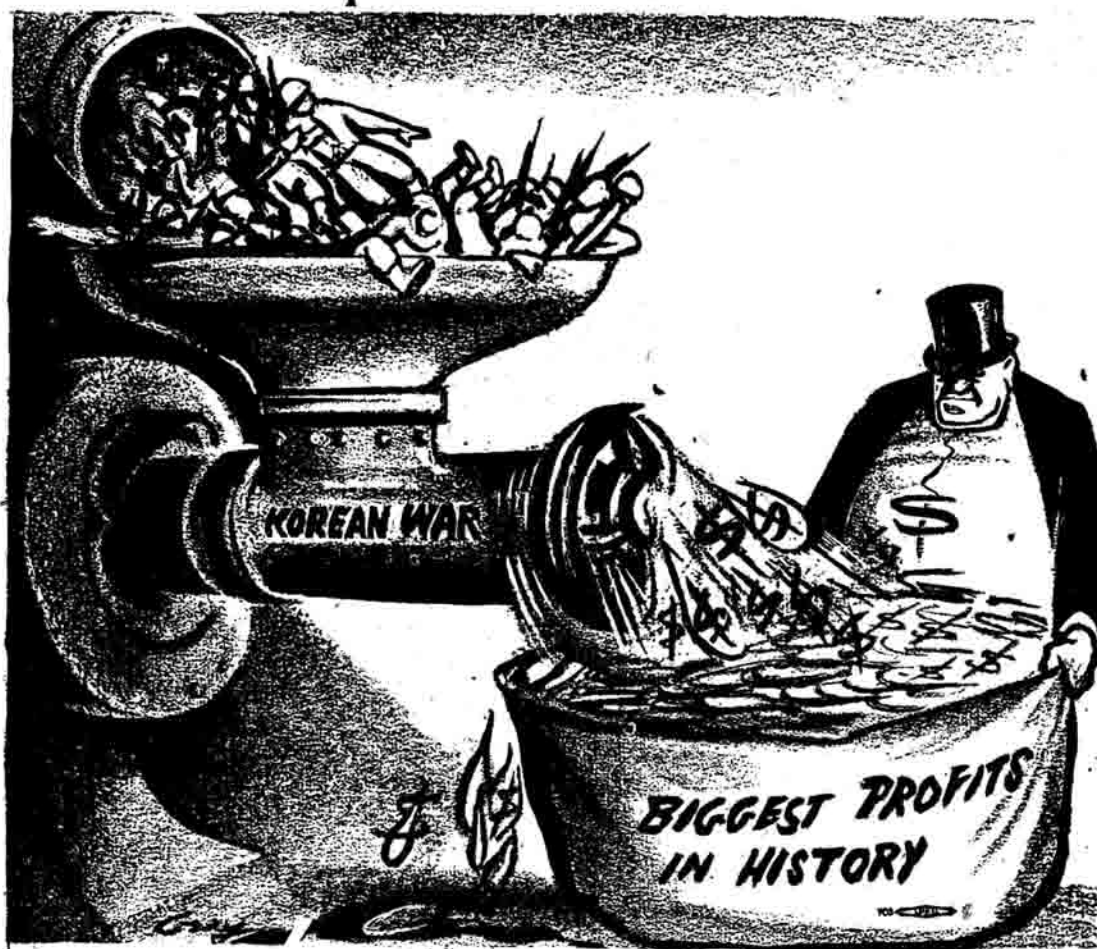
He said there should be "no illusions" that the U.S. forces, under present circumstances, can defeat the Chinese and North Koreans.

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

(Continued on page 3)

Barcelona Revolt Jolts Fascist Franco Regime

"Operation Meat-Grinder"



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 war-ships 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 North-east 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

(Continued on Page 2)

Left Wing Scores Gains in UAW Local Elections

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 auto 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 Reutherite 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)

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 Moullette'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. Moullette'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. Moullette 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 a 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 — are all the John Moullettes 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?

The reaction of the people to your war is not stupidity, but growing wisdom. They are getting smartened up. They have been through two world wars already for "democracy, liberty and lasting peace" and they have seen only evil results from all their waste of "blood, sweat and tears." They have observed tyranny and dictatorship flourish as never before. They have felt in their own flesh the fangs of depression and inflation. 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. Moullette. 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. Moullette 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. Moullette 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. Moullette'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. Moullette'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 Kern: "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 cause."

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. Moullette 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. Moullette 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.

WHAT THE MARINE WROTE

The following are excerpts from Marine Corporal John B. Moullette's letter to his father, which the latter sent with a covering letter to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Acheson released the letters with a reply. Cpl. Moullette wrote:

Dear Dad:

... I can't help but think that the American people, Democrat and Republican alike, are 'fed up' with the Administration and its foreign policy.

The way Truman is appropriating money is outrageous... At present he is asking Congress for 71.5 billion dollars which would cost each American \$468.00.

Don't you think that our 'foreign policy' is fouled up a bit? What right have we to refuse Red China entree into the United Nations? I think she has a right to voice her opinions about what is to take place in the Far East...

The needless waste of life in Korea, on both sides, is shameful to the human race. Fighting won't settle anything. The only thing that I can see is being proven in Korea is "Might over what may be right," Red China being the "might."

I thought that only Congress could declare war. Why doesn't Congress either declare war against Red China or stop Truman from sending troops throughout the world? Why should we take the brunt of it all? If the other countries in the United Nations won't supply the needed men and money then we should pull out of Korea...

The morale of the fighting man is very low... Here at Pendleton (Camp Pendleton, California), most of these men know what war is or what its after-effects are and will be... the majority were complaining about the way we were tricked into this. Everyone seems to have nothing but disfavorable thoughts, and remarks about the foreign policy. These men aren't afraid to fight, it's just that they have no cause to fight...

Our only hope is that our age throughout the world feel the same way and will state so to their leaders. By rebellion or other ways... I believe that the people of our level want only peace but that the leaders (including Truman) are afraid to admit they are wrong...

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 Berlin 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

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.

Moreover, they see the problem superficially and only in the existing set of circumstances and relation of forces which can alter drastically and swiftly under the present highly unstable conditions. The ferment in Spain, for example, may lead not alone to convulsions for the regime but make its repercussions felt elsewhere to an extent that may well alter the whole European scene.

At all events, the issue of peace and war involves not Yugoslavia alone but all the peoples on our planet for whom peace is no less vital.

"Today," says Ivan Gochniak, Deputy Minister of Defense and member of the Yugoslav Political Bureau, "it is no secret to anybody that the whole world is preparing for war."

WHO INSTIGATES WAR

Which power is the chief instigator of this global war preparation? The statements of Gochniak, as of all other Yugoslav Communist leaders, single out the Kremlin as the main instigator. Unquestionably the Kremlin 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

"the whole world is preparing" is being prepared not alone politically and morally but, above all, economically — by U.S. imperialism.

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 Yugoslav 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. imperialism — 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 Ristic, 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 politics of all capitalists, above all, their politics 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 bourgeois '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

"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 policies 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.

London Conclave Shows Growth of Anti-War Forces

The mounting opposition to the Korean War in the ranks of the British Labor Party was demonstrated by a great anti-war conference held in London Feb. 25. This conference, called by the Socialist Fellowship, a left grouping inside the Labor Party, was attended by 231 delegates from the London trade unions and Labor Party.

With only six opposing votes the conference voted the following resolution: "This conference of delegates from the London Labour movement, being convinced that the threatening war can be averted only by international socialist action, pledges itself to fight inside the movement for the ending of all war alliances with capitalist countries; the withdrawal of British forces from Korea; the granting of immediate independence to those colonial countries at present under British domination; and the concentration of the energies of the Labour Movement on securing the complete and utter defeat of capitalism and the Tory Party as our contribution to the building of a socialist world."

ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

A resolution to implement the anti-war declaration recognized that "present pro-war policy of the Labor Party" would lead to defeat and provided for the setting up of a committee to campaign inside the Labor Party for a special emergency conference of the Party.

The opening speaker at the conference was Stephen Davies, Member of Parliament, from the coal mining region of South Wales. He urged passage of the anti-war resolution and called on the delegates "to fight for it every day of your lives until it becomes the policy of our great party." Among the many other speakers were a young socialist from Ceylon, who asked the conference for support for the freedom struggle of the Asian people, and a delegate from the Dagenham Labor Party which has the biggest labor electoral majority in the whole country.

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. Alma 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."

Buffalo is pounding toward the goal. Their payment of \$123.50 gives them 97%. Even the Buffalo Evening News, a capitalist daily, recognizes the bang-up job these comrades are doing in the campaign in an article entitled, "Local Trotskyists Third in Fund Collection."

St. Paul-Minneapolis has rounded the last bend and is nearing the goal at a fast clip. Grace Carlson comments: "We in the Twin Cities are proud of the response of our comrades to the party's need for funds in the present situation — a situation which has convinced many workers that The Militant is the best working class paper in the United States and one that is worthy of support. No doubt at all but that we will be over the top before the end of the campaign!"

Payments during the week kept these branches on schedule or ahead: Milwaukee, Toledo, Seattle, Newark and New York. Harry King says that as New York Local comes "down the home stretch, we really have to keep pushing to stay on schedule. We're determined to complete payment in full and on time. The splendid response of the comrades indicates that we'll do it. We've had the usual difficulties attendant to a fund campaign. Unemployment and illness have forced a number of comrades to reduce their original pledges, but others are pitching in to make up the losses. An outstanding example of this is Comrade Donald of the

Youth Branch. At the beginning of the campaign he pledged a week's pay of \$45. He has already paid \$75 and this week increased his pledge to \$90 with the assurance that all of it will be in March 31! With comrades like this in our ranks we can't miss."

Chicago boosted its percentage to 69 this week with \$115. Boston sent in \$34 and "hopes to do better real soon." San Francisco took up some of the slack in its percentage with a \$429 payment.

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 canvass 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 of Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, comments that The Militant has been established on several more newsstands, and that "last Saturday's Fillmore Street sales were better than ever, with Ed H. selling 10 copies in half an hour, and Rico selling 5. The Saturday before, Sarah R. sold 7 Militants."

Cathy D. reports continued interest in the Mar. 5 Militant in New York. Ben R., Harry S., Janice, and Pauline G. sold 89 copies of this issue in Bedford-Stuyvesant Monday. "We are also making regular sales at schools and colleges," Cathy writes. "This week we went out to four schools making good sales in a short time."

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 neither 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 Driberg and Mikardo, in Feb. 1951, and a second one signed by 18 other Labor members, among them Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates,

Sidney Silverman, Fenner Brockway, Harold Davies, were an expression of widespread concern about American influence having become too great in Western European policy and increasing the war danger. Labor's Left Wing is particularly alarmed by the imperialist plans for German rearmament and asks for general disarmament in West and East instead of German remilitarization, and for a concentration of efforts on peaceful aims.

The French do not like the idea of German rearmament either. Strong American pressure forced its acceptance on them; but it is believed Premier Plevin made it clear to the State Department, during his recent trip to Washington, that the French are not happy about it. The Gaullists (RPF) are the only party to openly advocate German rearmament in France. The majority of the French, the Belgian, the Dutch, the British and the Italian peoples would undoubtedly prefer a neutralized Germany to a remilitarized Germany. And so would the Germans themselves.

Truman and Acheson know this. They are afraid of Russia coming out for the reunification and neutralization of Germany, and of Britain and France being rather inclined to seriously discuss such a proposal. And Chancellor Adenauer himself, U.S. friend and "ally" on the Rhine, asks for West-East negotiations on German reunification. But the reunification and neutralization of Germany would deal a damaging blow to the European system of imperialism.

Therefore the State Department and its representative, Ambassador Jessup, insist that at the eventual Foreign Ministers' conference — the full dress party which the present deputies' meeting is to prepare — the German question should not be discussed alone or isolated from the causes for general tension in the world. In other words: If no agreement on a world-wide scale can be reached (and there is little hope for this), a limited agreement on Germany would be equally impossible. (The Russians' reply to this by suddenly linking the question

of Trieste to the Austrian peace treaty which has nothing to do with the City of Trieste. . .) Britain and France have approved the American formula, but nevertheless try to pave the way for a Foreign Ministers' meeting.

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 rearmament, 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 a 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 miserv 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.

Peace cannot be really secured by diplomats and their secret talks. Only increasing pressure by the toiling masses can stop the imperialist war drive.

LEFT-WING GAINS IN UAW LOCAL ELECTIONS JOLT REUTHER MACHINE

(Continued from Page 1)

Local 262, the opposition to Reuther won all officers and delegates. Cadillac Local 22 elected five out of eight delegates on an anti-Reuther slate.

In Fleetwood Local 15, the opposition scored a smashing victory in the delegates election. The slate against Reuther was headed by longtime militant stalwart, Johnny Anderson, a pioneer UAW builder, and Ernie Dillard, outstanding Negro leader in the UAW. The ticket won four out of five delegates.

Chrysler Locals showed the following results: Dodge Local 3, the

opposition captured 15 delegates to 17 for the administration; Chrysler Local 7, the right wing forces won the election.

Briggs Local 212, the right wing won all top offices, but the opposition forces increased their convention representation, taking 11 delegates to 27 for the right wing. Last convention the opposition won only one delegate. In Connors Briggs Local 742 an opposition slate was re-elected.

In Local 351, Paul Silver, one of the leading opposition figures in the UAW, once again led his ticket to a sweeping victory in all offices and delegates by an over-

whelming majority. In Kaiser-Frazer Local 142, the opposition also swept the election.

Administration forces won all the convention delegates at Hudson.

But by and large, in Detroit, the opposition this year increased its strength.

FLINT ELECTIONS

In Flint, the Reuther forces received a serious setback. The anti-Reuther left wing won a decisive victory at Buick Local 599, unseating the former Reuther administration. The Rank and File caucus won every top office and all but one member of the shop committee. In an earlier election the opposition had taken almost half the local's delegates to the UAW convention.

Many factors contributed to the Rank and File victory at Buick, including opposition to Reuther's proposed dues increase, an opportunist struggle for jobs among the Reutherites, and the fact that the Regional office was concentrating its efforts on winning the Chevrolet local.

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.

Oakland -- San Francisco

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

New York Protest

The Murder of JOHN DERRICK. Demand The indictment and suspension of killer-cops Tuesday, March 20 8 PM 103 W. 110th St. Auspices Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League Guest Speaker from Socialist Workers Party Harlem Branch

Subscriptions: \$1 per year;
\$1 for 6 months; Foreign:
\$2.50 per year; \$1 for 6 months.
"Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1914 at the
Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of Mar.
3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

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

Send Orders (if by mail)
copies; so which in U.S.A. 40
each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily rep-
resent The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its
editorials.

Vol. XV - No. 12

Monday, March 19, 1951



TROTSKY

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

Let Labor Really Lead!

Fixed income and fixed salary groups, pensioners, old-age and war veterans alike, along with others similarly situated find themselves caught in the ferocious squeeze on their living standards, resulting from the very beginnings of Wall Street's arms program. These groups fall by and large within the middle classes. They find themselves helpless because, along with small businessmen, they have no genuinely independent organizations to protect them, as labor has.

Failing such protection, the American middle classes are feeling most acutely the effects of soaring prices and hiked taxes. Restrictions of consumer and housing credit coupled with rent gouging have thus far struck them harder blows than to other sections of the population. Small businessmen in every field are being pushed to the wall.

The crisis of American labor, which is political at bottom, is thus tending to coincide and combine with the crisis of the American middle classes, likewise political in its essence. Precisely because they are so defenseless economically and politically, the middle classes constitute not alone the most vulnerable but also the most unstable elements in the sit-

uation. They will eagerly follow labor, whose vital interests harmonize with theirs. Only if they are disappointed by labor's failure to provide the needed program and leadership can they become prey to the forces of reaction.

When the United Labor Policy Committee talks of "no one looking out for the interests of the consumer" it is the middle classes they really have in mind. When they propose that labor "take the leadership" in policing prices, for example, they are groping in the right direction. It is correct and timely for labor to take such steps as policing prices through bodies composed of representatives of trade unions, housewives, farmers, etc. We Trotskyists raised this idea back in 1940 as an indispensable supplementary weapon to the escalator clause in the struggle against inflation.

But the whole point is that the official leadership is only nibbling at this whole problem of providing the middle classes with the imperatively needed program and leadership and extending it consciously on a local, state and nationwide scale. The first condition for such a program and leadership is for labor to break politically with the Democratic branch of Big Business politics.

They Can't Evade the Political Issue

It is becoming harder and harder for the union leaders to keep up their pretense that Truman has nothing to do with the war mobilization policies that have driven labor to its split from the Wage Stabilization Board and to resign its other government advisory posts.

Behind the scenes in the inner meetings of the United Labor Policy Committee, however, the union officials are turning the air blue about their political ally in the White House. And despite their caution, some of their resentment has leaked through to the public.

Thus, CIO Secretary Treasurer James B. Carey, one of Truman's most servile supporters, in the heat of a protest meeting in Boston publicly read a letter criticizing Truman personally for turning over war mobilization to the corporations and banks — but the letter was never sent to Truman.

Robert S. Allen, informed Washington columnist of the N. Y. Post, quotes Carey as also declaring at a closed meeting of the ULPC: "Truman doesn't even bother to pay lip service any more on social legislation. What remnants of the Fair Deal were left have been completely junked. Not only is labor's advice being disregarded, it's not even being sought any more. With a few exceptions, everyone in inner Administration circles is now practically openly hostile to labor. There is no use kidding ourselves about

that. It's a fact and we might as well realize it and deal with it."

That's the truth, that's what the union leaders are saying in private — but that's what they are keeping a treacherous silence about in public. They're still hoping to get some kind of deal and patch up their political alliance with Truman and the corrupt Democratic machine.

But events aren't going to help them in their cowardly hopes. Big Business has turned down all compromise proposals and Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston, on whom the union bureaucrats have been banking has struck new blows in turning down both the packinghouse and textile workers' wage demands.

The political question confronts labor on every issue. It cannot be evaded and avoided. Big Business commands all the political levers and Truman is their agent. Some union leaders are beginning to say so. Thus, Louis Hollander, New York State CIO president, openly charged that Democrats and Republicans are united in a "reactionary coalition to gang up on the wage earners" and that "labor will have no other way but to enter into an independent political party."

Truman's hostility to labor, said Carey, "is a fact and we will have to deal with it." There is no way to deal with it except through the formation of labor's own political party. Any other course would be abject capitulation to Big Business which holds both major political parties in the palm of its hand.

A Sorry Record

The Schachtman group, which now calls itself the "Independent Socialist League," has demonstrated again, by its conduct in two recent Chicago elections, that its real policy in practice is neither "independent" nor "socialist." This is the record.

Last year the Schachtmanites enthusiastically supported Chicago CIO Vice-President Willoughby Abner for State Senator in the Democratic Party primaries. This was in line with the proposal made by Schachtman himself that his group advocate union-sponsored candidates in primary campaigns of the capitalist parties and support them in the general elections.

Yet, in this year's aldermanic election the Schachtmanites refused to support Irving Beinin, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who ran as the only opponent of the Democratic-Republican candidate Merriam.

These two symmetrical actions make it obvious that the "Independent Social-

ist League" believes it is right to back a capitalist party nominee like Abner, who supports the imperialist war program, but wrong to support a revolutionary socialist candidate like Beinin who opposes it.

The Schachtmanite pretext for denying support to Beinin was that the Trotskyist policy on the war places us "in the camp of Stalinism." The Stalinists themselves, however, were not convinced, and regarded Beinin as the "main enemy" in the aldermanic election campaign.

Acting through their front organization, the Progressive Party, the Stalinists lined up in Merriam's camp, serving as a left cover for that capitalist pro-war candidate this year, just as the Schachtmanites served as "socialist" sponsor for the Democrat Abner the year before.

Such unprincipled double-dealing has nothing in common with genuine independent working class politics, whether it comes from Stalinists. . . or Schachtmanites.

The Paris Commune -- Its Political Lessons

By Daniel Roberts

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.

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' co-operatives 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 Na-

tional 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 economical 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. Never-

theless, 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 proletariat gain and keep power. A tremendous responsibility therefore rests with the leadership of 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 Communism 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 preponderance 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 production 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 intrenchment of workers power in France had every material chance of success.

In any case, it is impossible to tell how far the working class might have extended its power and how long it might have kept it, had not the life of the Commune been cut short. Automatic conclusions about the inevitable defeat of the Commune are not warranted. The possibilities for victory were not probed to the end.

Thus the first workers' state

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.

MacArthur Aims At All-out War

(Continued from Page 1)

"genius" and is preparing his alibi for future setbacks.

But, there is more to it than that. It is no secret that MacArthur is obsessed almost to the point of mania with the ambition to become the conqueror of all Asia. The top circles of the U.S. military high command are, intimately linked with the leading financial and industrial interests. MacArthur has close ties with that sector of the American capitalist class, which has large investments in the Far East or lives off the export-import trade and which is represented politically by the so-called "isolationist" wing of Republicans and the Catholic bloc in Congress led by Senators McCarthy & McCarran.

Truman's "police action" in Korea has proved to be a major military undertaking against a powerful revolutionary upsurge. It has afforded MacArthur the opportunity to advance his program of Asian conquest by military provocations that brought China into the Korean war and confronted Washington with the alternative of ignominiously withdrawing from its Korean adventure or launching full-scale war on the Chinese people.

MACARTHUR'S DESIGN

MacArthur's designs have thus far come up against the opposition of the majority of other countries in the UN, with nations like India and Egypt taking the lead in blocking UN consent to direct assault on China. MacArthur, who is nominally the "UN" commander in Korea, cannot move openly without UN consent lest the fiction that U.S. imperialism intervention in Korea represents the decision of the "whole free world" be completely exposed.

The general interpretation placed on MacArthur's latest statement is that it is an attempt by the Pentagon, through him, to force Washington's reluctant allies to supply far greater military forces for Korea than they have to date. So far, about 90% of the outside troops in Korea have been supplied by the U.S. With U.S. commitments to Western Europe, the Pentagon strategists do not want to commit further U.S. forces to Korea.

Nevertheless, the prospect of a long war of attrition in Korea, and even an ultimate defeat should the Chinese decide to use their full available forces, is one that Truman and his military planners fear. Every day that the mass slaughter continues in Korea without a foreseeable end or even a geographic objective brings more repercussions at home and lowers the already diminished morale of the U.S. troops.

Evidence has been piling up for several months that the Korean war is the most unpopular war in U.S. history and that at least two-thirds of the voting population want the war stopped now and the U.S. troops withdrawn without delay. These facts have been revealed by the flood of letters to Congress and the newspapers, as well as the most recent Gallup polls. By continuing the war in Korea, Washington is acting in brazen defiance of the known will of the American people.

The intervention of China has only intensified this sentiment of the people. Their attitude has been the chief reason why the Administration, which had been toying with the idea of a "limited war" on China, has not dared to unleash it. But Truman also refuses to pull out of Korea and continues to pour troops into that country at the rate of 15,000 a month. This means that sooner or later, in order to try to bring the unpopular Korea adventure to a close successfully, Washington may risk the plunge into

full-scale war with China. No small part of the reason why Washington is considering more desperate measures to bring the Korean war to an end, even if it means a greater war with China, is the attitude of the American troops. Despite the rigid censorship, the facts about the sentiments of the soldiers are leaking out in letters home and in one dispatch after another.

Senator Kem of Missouri on March 1 introduced into the Congressional Record a letter he recently received "from a Missouri boy fighting in Korea," who wrote: "This so-called police action we are engaged in has me puzzled. . . The Army has stuffed me full of glory talk as to why we are fighting here. . . 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." Such sentiments are being voiced in thousands of letters home.

Greg MacGregor, Korea correspondent of the N. Y. Times, reports in his March 12 dispatch that there is "much evidence of uncertainty" about the war among the troops. "The most frequently asked question is 'What's the latest on the Thirty-eighth?'"

That is, are we going to try to cross the 38th Parallel and prolong the war?

"We got no business crossing the line," Pfc. Stanford Gorrin of Jersey City announced to anyone within earshot," describes MacGregor. "Yes," agreed PFC. Italo Grande of Little Falls, N. Y. "We get up there, get pushed back and start all over again. What the hell sense does it make? . . . Well, I suppose there's something to fight for, but it's pretty hard to see from up here." Hospital Corporal Daniel Patrick of the Bronx remarked while breathing heavily from helping wounded men: "MacArthur and the Pentagon know what it means when even the Marines openly question what they're doing in Korea!"

William Burson of the United Press wrote from Korea on March 12 that the American infantryman "is fighting, under one tremendous handicap. He does not know why he is fighting. And he cannot look forward confidently to a military victory. . . The American soldier is fighting courageously, but he keeps asking himself, 'Is this war really necessary?' In previous wars, Americans were convinced they were fighting for something worthwhile. . . In Korea the GI is fighting a 'police action' and it hardly seems important enough to die for."

"The average American here can see very little in Korea worth fighting for. Broad terms like 'Democracy Against Communism' are meaningless to him. But the very nature of the conflict is, perhaps, the most important factor. Men fight hard when there is an end in sight. In a war without ultimate geographical objective, there is no end — no stopping point. Ask any GI he'll tell you that he could leave Korea without the slightest qualm. His one thought, his one hope, is to be removed as far from here as possible. . ."

The GIs — the men who are doing the fighting and dying — want no part of Korea. They don't believe in this war and its professed aims any more than do their home folks. They want to come home and it's the duty of the American people to get them home without any more sacrifices of limb and life. It is against this deepest wish of the soldiers, their mothers, fathers and wives, that MacArthur and his Pentagon superiors are plotting to embroil this country in a greater slaughter.

EL CAMPESIÑO IDENTIFIES STALIN'S GANG OF INTERNATIONAL ASSASSINS

(Continued from Page 1)

Stalin directly involved in the assassination of Leon Trotsky, whose name Campesino saw, with his own eyes, on the death-list of twenty men drafted in 1938. In that same year three trained killers departed from Moscow for Mexico. The month is August. Trotsky had landed in Mexico in January 1937.

After giving dates and places, Campesino gives the names. The three notorious Spanish Stalinists are: 1. — Carton, former Cortez deputy and one of the military commanders in the Civil War; 2. — Puentes of Santander, the original political commissar in Lister's division; and 3. — Alvarez, who occupied this same post after Puentes.

In Mexico, these three delivered their secret instructions to the infamous Vitorio Vidal, known in this country in the Twenties as Sornenti, and another of whose aliases is Carlos J. Contreras, GPU murder-agent since 1928, who personally executed hundreds. This sadist has been in recent days operating, as the leading Stalinist figure, in Trieste.

The May 1940 assault upon Leon Trotsky was organized under these creatures who on the soil of Mexico utilized Spanish veterans, as has been done elsewhere, for their murder assaults. The Mexican painter David Alfaro Siqueiras (a colonel in the Stalinist Spanish formations) led this May assault. He together with Alvarez were caught red-handed.

But the role played by Carton, Puentes and Vidal passed unnoticed by the Mexican authorities. Siqueiras, incidentally, went scot-free, walking the streets of Mexico at his pleasure, as he also does in scheduling trips abroad, including visits to this country.

These assassins failed to kill Trotsky, at the time, but they did murder a young American

boy Sheldon Harte, one of the voluntary guards in Trotsky's home at the time. The identity of the organizers of his murder has thus been completely established. It was the assassin "Jackson's" hands that drove the pick-axe through Trotsky's skull. The world has long known who ordered and organized it: Stalin. Now the chief Spanish agents of this murderer-in-chief who sits in the Kremlin have become known.

CARLO TRESCA

According to Campesino the name of Carlo Tresca, internationally famous anarchist leader killed in New York City in January 1943, was on the same list he saw. Vidal is again "suspected" of having participated in this killing, but there is "no proof." The laxness of the New York police authorities in this connection has long been one of the crying scandals.

In addition to news about Stalin's murder crews, Campesino is the first to bring authentic news about the survivors of Stalin's monstrous Moscow Fraumpets and the blood-purges accompanying them. Christian Rakovsky was still alive in 1949, silently working in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, a living ghost. Kamenov was reportedly also still alive in the early Forties, but his later fate is unknown.

Bela Kun's son — his father was the leader of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic — is an old, toothless man, although still in his Thirties, prisoner of Stalin. A teen-age daughter of Bukharin also survives. But Trotsky's younger son Sergei, who voluntarily remained in the USSR, has been killed and so have Trotsky's two daughters.

But the really astonishing news is that in Stalin's prisons and forced labor camps survive some of the Old Guard of Bolshevism.

They have not lost faith in the Soviet working class and the world proletariat. They confidently expect, to the obvious incredulity of Campesino, the downfall of Stalinism. Stalin will dig his own grave, they are sure. It all depends on the international events, they insist.

They, as the prison and camp population generally, are better informed than the rest of the Soviet population. More than this, they keep in touch with one another, as well as with world events. Some of these old Bolsheviks, who had followed the course of the Spanish Civil War, who knew of Campesino, were not at all surprised, as he was, to meet him. They helped him. Some of them even authorized him to make their names public.

From what he tells, they are not Trotskyists. But the flame of revolution still burns in them. There is a gulf, Campesino notes, between these men and the Stalinists who have fallen into disgrace, as indeed there is. We humbly take this opportunity to help Campesino publicize to the world the names of some of these heroic figures, who passed through the prisons of Czarism, fought shoulder to shoulder with Lenin and Trotsky and who have survived the reign of Stalinism undaunted.

They are Shapabalo, prisoner at Komi; Gregory Stepanovich, prisoner at Vorkuta; Sordato Stepanov and Nikolai Ivanov, both also at Vorkuta.

We salute these men and their great companions, who for obvious reasons could not authorize the publication of their names, for their dauntless courage, their loyalty, their selfless devotion. They and their undying defiance of Stalin, and everything he stands for, constitute one of the greatest guarantees of the regeneration of the Soviet Union, and the whole socialist future.

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, outspent 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 folk 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 color 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 DeWolf 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 a major or minor war 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

scientists of the nation. It provides for the establishment of a Scientific Service Corps directed by a Scientific Manpower Board based on a national roster of scientists. Scientists of military age would be "required" to join the Scientific Services Corps. They would be "subject to orders from the Scientific Manpower Board" — which would have the power to "keep them in" of the Army, Navy or Air Force, or to "put them in."

Eric Walker, executive secretary of the Research and Development Board reported to the conference that about two-thirds of the nation's scientists and engineers are already working for the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. He estimated that this figure would soon rise to three-fourths. "Those of you who have not been tapped thus far," he warned, "will probably be summoned to service before very long."

There it is. American science is to become a mere branch of the armed forces. A moratorium is to be declared on progress, at least for the next 20 years, while the scientific resources of the country are harnessed by the military to produce more "perfect" weapons of annihilation.

The only conclusion that rational people can draw from all this, is that if capitalism can no longer afford progress, then society simply can't afford the capitalist system for even another month, let alone 20 years. Capitalism in its death agony threatens to destroy all the fruits of civilization, and in no field of human endeavor is this law now revealed more vividly than in science.

In their heyday the rising merchants and industrialists smashed the power of the feudal aristocracy and clergy and liberated science from their stultifying grip. The great men of science made bold advances in all fields of thought. They waged a determined campaign against ignorance, superstition and bigotry. From the earliest days of the capitalist era, even under the rule of monarchs, science broke through all national boundaries, established the tradition of international cooperation and an atmosphere of free and unrestricted investigation toward the end of widening the horizons of knowledge and subduing the natural forces for the benefit of mankind.

But that is all finished now. Just at the moment when science has found the key to the fabulous energy that lies locked in the atom, when humanity at long last has within its grasp the means of achieving universal prosperity and happiness, the forward march is to be halted at the command of a rapacious imperialist gang that has become the mortal enemy of social progress. Science is to be imprisoned in a straitjacket of secrecy, regimentation, loyalty investigations and witch-hunt persecutions. The scientists are to be transformed from enlightened benefactors of mankind into "mad geniuses" like those depicted in horror stories, in order to keep the imperialists in the saddle.

But it is not the scientists who are the madmen. They are only the victims of a ruling class gone mad with the fear of the yawning grave. The crisis of science is but a part of the world crisis of capitalist society. The choice before the scientists is inescapable: They must either accept the degraded status of a "war commodity," or they must join with their natural allies, the socialist vanguard of the working class, and the oppressed peoples everywhere in the struggle to emancipate society and open new vistas of progress for humanity.

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 rent 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.

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

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 labeled "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 respectability 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 woman 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.

The Trenton newspapers announced a police terror for the Negro neighborhoods. "A heavily armed motorized bandit squad" patrolled the streets and all Negro men found on the streets without "good reason" were questioned by plain clothesmen. The Trenton police were out to get their men or even unreasonable facsimiles of them.

FORCED CONFESSIONS

Ten days after the murder, Collis English, 23, a veteran with malaria and a rheumatic heart, was arrested for driving his father's car without a license. He was a Negro and hence for the Trenton police a "suspect" in the murder. After 19 continuous

hours of third-degreeing, English signed the confession demanded of him by the police.

English's family became concerned at his absence and his brother-in-law, McKinley Forrest, went to the police to make inquiries. He, too, was arrested and then four others whom English had named in his forced "confession."

All six were kept incarcerated for four days and five nights until five of the six had signed the "confessions" demanded of them.

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.

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 cigars. Wilson, the only one who did not confess, stubbornly refused all drinks and cigars offered him.

During the trial, the prejudiced judge not only vented his hate on the CRC lawyers but refused the defense access to vital evidence — including fingerprints — which the police had found at the scene of the crime but which they were suppressing. Given the unfairness of the trial and the red-baiting atmosphere in the courtroom, the verdict of guilty was to be expected.

The mounting protest after the trial was instrumental in bringing about 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.

SWP CANDIDATES PUSH PROGRAM IN N.J., CALIF.

NEWARK, March 12 — George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for General Assembly from Essex County, yesterday called on Governor Driscoll to use the

powers of his office "to take immediate action to quash the indictments against the Trenton Six and to secure their unconditional release."

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."

F. Goelman Gives Interview to AFL

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:

"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."

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 to 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.

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

aldermanic 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 in Korea; 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 sales of the "Stop the War Now" issue of *The Militant*. Petition gatherers then worked door to door from lists of registered voters and on street corners. A letter of introduction from the candidate proved helpful to them. Even some Stalinists signed the petitions. Beinin went on the ballot without challenge.

Each of the 900 petition signers was sent a letter of thanks, a copy of our election platform and a calendar of campaign events. Only two made hostile replies.

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 weasel-worded public statements he supported Truman's war program by advocating preparation for "whatever the future may bring."

Anxious to avoid a debate, Merriam made few public appearances. Beinin finally caught up with him before an audience of about 200. Each speaker got nine minutes. When Beinin got through working him over, Merriam spent eight of his nine minutes trying to explain his refusal to talk about the war.

CAMPUS COMMITTEE

Two student clubs at the University of Chicago, located in the ward, offered to arrange a Beinin-Merriam debate. Merriam spurned the invitations and thereby helped to speed formation of a Campus Committee for Beinin.

A new student-friend came forward to play a key role in the Campus Committee. He had been buying *The Militant* on the campus, liked much of our program, and thought the students

should have a chance to learn more about it.

Gains from other previous work were similarly realized through the Beinin campaign; and the campaign, in turn, sowed new seeds for future harvests.

At a house meeting sponsored by a Progressive, Merriam claimed endorsement by the Progressive Party. Our exposure of this incident caused repercussions in the ranks of the Stalinists and their Progressive Party front. Statements issued AFTER the election denied the Progressive Party had supported Merriam and gave a snide alibi for its refusal to support Beinin. Evidently we caught the Stalinist leaders in a behind-the-scenes deal with Merriam.

As a by-product the campaign signalled the beginning of the end of the local Shachtmanite masquerade as "Trotskyists." Their line in the election added up to — neither Merriam nor Beinin but the non-existent "third camp."

In marked contrast to the high-priced campaigns of capitalist politicians, the Beinin campaign cost less than \$200. The SWP campaigners needed no fees or bribes to inspire them to activity. They pitched in with a will, gained new experience, developed new talents and found greater self-confidence.

SOUND TRUCK

New speakers came forward and made some fine speeches. With the aid of the Milwaukee branch, a sound truck was put on the streets. Beinin stickers blossomed along the main thoroughfares.

Comrades who say little at meetings did outstanding work in door to door campaigning, despite sub-zero cold. Newer comrades generally outdid old-timers in this field. The good results inspired one comrade to raise the slogan: "Knocking on doors is one way to break out of isolation."

Sales of *The Militant* and *Fourth International* were quite good. New avenues were found for regular sales as a stepping stone to future subscriptions. Best seller among the pamphlets was *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon.

Considerable publicity was received in the neighborhood press and some mention in the big dailies which ordinarily suppress news of radical parties, except for the usual slanders.

Beinin received 530 votes, four percent of the ward total. This stands in favorable contrast to the average of 500 votes — three percent of the average ward total — received by Progressive Party candidates running in four wards. Nondescript "against" votes received by Beinin were more than offset by the uncounted Beinin votes. Our poll watchers uncovered sufficient evidence to confirm this estimate.

Despite the low percentage of Beinin's vote, the fact that 530 people in a single ward voted for a socialist anti-war candidate shows that a broader arena is developing for recruitment into the Socialist Workers Party.

Further evidence of this trend is the fact that, in a witch-hunt atmosphere, SWP campaigners met with little hostility and much friendliness. Our speakers were courteously heard by non-party audiences. A number of ward residents attended party rallies.

We found mass sentiment to be generally characterized by growing dissatisfaction held in check by miseducation, misleadership, confusion, indecision and inertia.

Our campaign raised ward politics to a new level. We intend to watch Merriam in the City Council and follow through in the ward, armed with new knowledge of the power of our program to attract thinking critics of bankrupt capitalism.

Seattle
JOSEPH HANSEN
"The Great Events
in China and Their
Relation to Moscow"
Forum of Church of the
People
4033 University Way
Sun., March 25 - 1 PM