

MacARTHUR -- WHO HE IS AND WHAT HE WANTS

- See Page 2 -

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 18

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Franco's Regime Shaken by Vast Sit-Down Strike

By Joseph Keller

Spain's resurgent working class on April 23 and 24 struck the second hammer blow within six weeks at bloody Franco's regime and Washington's newest fascist ally.

An estimated half million workers paralyzed most of the factories in the northern heavy-industry provinces, Vizcaya and neighboring Guipuzcoa, with a two-day "folded arms" sit-down strike.

The action centered in Vizcaya's chief city, Bilbao, and affected San Sebastian, capital of Guipuzcoa, and numerous other towns where Spain's major steel, locomotive and arms plants are located.

This strike follows hard on

May Day Rally In N. Y. to Hear Report by Hansen

New Yorkers will have the opportunity on May 1 to hear a first-hand report of nation-wide reactions to the Truman-MacArthur conflict from Joseph Hansen, Business Manager of The Militant, who has just returned from a coast-to-coast speaking tour during which he discussed national issues with people in the many cities he visited.

Hansen will give the principal address at the May Day Celebration of the Socialist Workers Party. His subject will be "Why Truman Fired MacArthur - The Crisis of U.S. Foreign Policy." The meeting will be held Tuesday, May 1, 3 p.m., at the Hotel Capitol, 8th Ave. and 51st street.

The genuine American May Day tradition will be represented on the platform in the person of James P. Cannon, veteran socialist leader, who will preside at the celebration.

The rally will also hear brief addresses by Ethel Peterson Weiss, organizer of the International Socialist Youth, and Gladys Barker, Secretary-Treasurer of the Lenox-Fifth Ave. Tenants League and SWP candidate for Lt. Governor in the 1950 elections.

The celebration will open with a colorful dramatic presentation, "The March of American Labor," and songs by the Militant Chorus.

CANNON ANSWERS HOOK AT STUDENT MEETING

NEW YORK, April 25 - An audience of a hundred and twenty-five students and faculty members turned out at New York University this afternoon to hear James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on U.S. foreign policy at a meeting sponsored by the Spartacus Club.

Cannon's appearance provoked widespread interest on the campus for two reasons. One was the refusal of Professor Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Philosophy Department, to debate Cannon after Hook had been proclaiming the need for more aggressive propaganda on behalf of American foreign policy and conducting that campaign in statements issued to Asia and Europe.

Another aspect of the affair stirring the student body and featured in the student press was the attitude of the university authorities toward Cannon's appearance there. Last year the Stalinist writer Howard

the heels of the recent general strike in Barcelona, largest industrial city of Spain, which shook the Spanish dictatorship to its foundations.

The massive sit-down strike last week shows that the upsurge against the terrible conditions under the Franco rule is nationwide and that the Barcelona events were only the beginning of a revolutionary tide that may soon engulf Spain's ruling class of capitalists, big landowners, militarists and the Catholic hierarchy, which has tremendous property interests and investments.

One significant incident in last week's protest was the distribution of handbills in Guipuzcoa province which assailed U.S. imperialism as "starving Spain and the rest of the world."

This same handbill listed the strikers' demands as a 50 per cent wage increase, price control, elimination of the black marketeers and other measures to end the "chaotic economic situation."

As in the Barcelona strike, the government could answer the workers only by its usual attempts at savage repression. Officials admitted to the arrest of nearly 200 workers as "ring-leaders" of the sit-down. But, the United Press on April 24 reported, more than 300,000 had continued the strike into its second day in defiance of a government ultimatum to return to work that morning or be fired.

Most of the strikers returned to work on April 25 since the strike had been originally scheduled for a two-day protest. But thousands of workers in the towns of Zumarraga, Pasjes, Rentaria, Tolosa and Zarauz remained out to demand the freeing of some 600 arrested strikers.

The Associated Press reported that, despite government threats of punitive measures to be taken with "adequate rigor" against the workers, "their unity may make Government punishment impossible."

In fact, after the government's

(Continued on page 2)



JAMES P. CANNON

Fast was prohibited from speaking on N.Y.U. campus because of his imprisonment for "contempt of Congress." It was widely advertised that Cannon was one of the 18 SWP leaders imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act for his socialist opposition to the Second World War. Cannon's appearance was regarded by N.Y.U. students and progressive faculty members as a test of free speech and a vindication of their protests against banning speakers because of

(Continued on page 3)

But Lots of Young Ones Do



Bevan Resigns as Arms Program Perils Labor

The resignations of Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Labor, and two other members of Attlee's cabinet in Great Britain have thrown into glaring spotlight the already disastrous consequences upon the British people and those of all Europe, of Wall Street's "guns not butter" program.

Upon relentless pressure from Washington, the Attlee government has embarked, like other West European governments, on a stepped-up arms program, whose economic effects threaten untold calamities to the British and European masses.

He charged that all the responsible Laborite ministers were aware that "the figures in the budget of arms expenditure are based upon assumptions already invalidated" and "were already known to be unrealistic."

Militant Sales and Circulation Campaign Gets Off to Fast Start

Reports from Socialist Workers Party branches in all parts of the country indicate that the Militant Sales and Circulation Campaign got off to a fast start last week.

Thousands of additional sales of individual copies of the Militant were rung up and many new yearly and six-month subscriptions were obtained.

The Militant campaigners, divided nationally into three teams named in honor of three outstanding rank and file workers for socialism who died in recent years, have met a heartening response from many people who are eager to read the socialist message and who are opposed to Washington's imperialist war program.

Campaigners have an added incentive to build the circulation. Individual and branch prizes will be awarded for the highest scores made during the ten-week campaign.

A detailed report of some results to date will be found on Page Two. New readers can subscribe by using the subscription blank on the same page.

Workers of the World, Unite!

that this is the case." And he went on to underscore that the only result of pushing through the arms program would be runaway inflation in Britain and in the world.

"I begged over and over again," said Bevan, "that we should not put figures in the budget on the scale of defense expenditure which would not be realized, and if they tried to be realized would result in the inflation of prices in this country and all over the world."

It should be borne in mind that inflation is already severe in Britain, as it is throughout the rest of Europe.

"It is clear from the budget," said Bevan, "that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has abandoned any hope of restraining inflation. It is quite clear that for the rest of the year and for the beginning of the next year as far as we can see the cost of living is going to rise precipitately."

To make the arms budget even feasible, Bevan charged, the Chancellor of the Exchequer "stole 100,000,000 pounds a year from the National Insurance Fund. So that the rearmament of Great Britain is financed out of the contributions that the workers have paid into the fund."

As the force chiefly responsible for the existing inflation Bevan singled out the "American government... (which) has already caused a vast inflation of prices all over the world."

In addition, British economy was being strangled by shortages (Continued on Page 2)

People Want Korean War Stopped Now

Rhee Massacres Korean Villagers

Troops of Syngman Rhee's South Korean regime, under orders of a battalion commander, slaughtered an admitted 187 villagers at Kochang for allegedly aiding "Communist guerrillas," an April 25 Reuter's dispatch from Taegu disclosed.

Actually, "as many as 1,000 may have been killed," says a N. Y. Times account, reporting "a dispatch from Kochang earlier this month" which revealed that "the bullet-riddled bodies of more than 300 adults and children were all that were left of the community."

The villagers were massacred, after a summary court-martial, because South Korean police "had not been able to obtain (their) cooperation" in tracking down guerrillas. Gen. MacArthur personally reinstated the Rhee government in Seoul.

Union Tops Serve New Board as Window Dressing

The labor leaders have taken another step backward into the government fold by accepting posts on the newly reconstituted Wage Stabilization Board.

This new wage board, made up of 18 members, 6 each from labor and industry, and 6 from the so-called "public," is no different from the one the labor heads resigned from last Feb. To the old window dressing one small new decoration has been added: The new board can consider disputes other than wages, and can "make recommendations."

Chairman of the new board will be Dr. George W. Taylor, who was head of the World War II War Labor Board, and was the author of the hated "Little Steel Formula."

There is nothing in this new board either in its organizational set-up, or in its stated authority, which justifies labor's return. The WSB, both new and old, was created to do one thing: freeze wages. That is still its function. The fact that the new (Continued on page 3)

Truman or M'Arthur Plans Will Not Lead U.S. to Peace

Truman claims that his continuation of the "limited" war in Korea will bring "peace" and "save lives." MacArthur answers that his command to extend the war to China will also "bring hostilities to an end... at a saving of countless American and Allied lives." Both lie.

If they were concerned with "saving lives," they would not be talking about continuing or extending the Korean war. They would be taking immediate steps to withdraw from Korea.

WANT END OF WAR

What the American people want - what they have expressed over and over again in polls and letters to Washington - is to stop the war now and bring the American troops home at once. That's the only way to save lives in this war.

Ten long months have passed since Truman intervened in the Korean civil war. He called it a "police action" - implying that a brief display of American armed might would suffice to "restore order." Gen. MacArthur too gave the impression that all that was needed was for a couple of divisions of American troops to march in and the North Korean forces would scurry like scared rabbits.

But the North Koreans didn't run. They almost drove the U.S. and South Korean armies out of Korea. To remain in Korea at all, Truman and MacArthur had to commit nearly half a million American personnel to the fighting - including 250,000 ground troops, not counting supply men, more than 90,000 navy men and 100,000 air men.

The more forces the U.S. has committed the greater have been its losses and the fiercer the resistance of the Chinese and North Koreans. At this writing, the U.S.-U.N. armies, despite their tremendous superiority in fire power and air forces, are again in retreat.

The U.S. communiques from Korea are silent about the appalling toll being taken of U.S. and U.N. troops. We reported last week, before the present Chinese offensive, the revelation of N. Y. Times military analyst Hansen W. Baldwin that

American casualties from all causes in Korea in nine months numbered more than 100,000. What must be the added losses each day now?

MacArthur assures the American people that the way to "win" the war quickly and "save lives" is by bombing China's overcrowded coastal cities and sending Chiang Kai-shek's U.S.-armed troops from Formosa to invade South China.

JAPAN'S EXPERIENCE U.S. bombs have flattened almost all of Korea, slaughtered and maimed millions of Koreans. That has not stopped the war. Japan not only bombed but seized all China's coastal territories and Manchuria and sent more than 2 million troops into China. The fate of Japanese intervention alone should show the merits of MacArthur's scheme to "save lives."

Not two years ago Chiang's army of millions, equipped with U.S. arms and planes, was ripped to pieces and driven out of China. The Chinese and North Koreans are now fighting with U.S. arms taken from Chiang. Sending Chiang back would just be a means of resupplying the Chinese armies.

MacArthur's plan is not designed to end the war quickly and "save lives." After bombing and slaughtering millions of Chinese people, after feeding the remains of Chiang's armies into the maw of the vast revolutionary forces in China, the next step would be the sending of U.S. troops. That is where MacArthur's scheme inevitably leads to.

This war, whether under Truman's or MacArthur's strategy, can only grow in scope and frightfulness. Only the direct intervention of the American people can put an end to it. Demand that Truman recall not only a general who disagrees with him - but all the GIs as well. They want to save their lives - by coming home.

Why Millions Have Turned Out for MacArthur

By Art Preis

Popular resentment against Truman and his policies, domestic and foreign, has reached the boiling point. The mass outpourings that greeted MacArthur after he had been fired for blatantly disobeying orders of his Commander-in-Chief were more than festive parades. They were political demonstrations. They were a direct slap at Truman.

The attempts of the pro-Truman press, to dismiss these tremendous demonstrations as nothing but a token of "welcome to a hero" fall flat. There can be no gainsaying that large numbers of the millions who turned out to cheer MacArthur were partisans. They were unmistakably demonstrating their sympathy for MacArthur as against Truman.

This does not mean, of course, that they were supporting MacArthur's program for extending the war in Korea into an all-out war on China. But they were saying to Truman: "Don't try to foist responsibility for the

debacle in Korea onto MacArthur. This is your war. And you, above everyone else, are accountable for its consequences."

For months, popular dissatisfaction with Truman and the Korean war has been piling up. The people are wrathful about high prices, war profiteering and frozen wages. They are fed up with the crookedness and corruption in government, as revealed in the Kefauver crime probe, the RFC investigation, etc. They are more and more fearful that the Korean war - which they have never enthusiastically supported - will drag on and on and lead finally into that most terrible of catastrophes, a third world war of atomic annihilation.

WHAT PEOPLE WANT

All this accumulated discontent and anxiety found an outlet in the MacArthur demonstrations. The people seized on the personality, the issue and the occasion to vent their feelings of disgust and anger with Truman's course.

What the people want is to stop the Korea war any way they can. What they desire most is to get the GIs back home without further casualties. And they are taking advantage of the opportunity to intervene as a mass force to influence Washington's policies. This is a profoundly progressive side of their views and moods.

THE DANGEROUS SIDE

The dangerous side of the situation is that, under the existing circumstances, large sections of the populace have turned in their anxiety and desperation to a "strong man," to a prominent figure who dares talk back to Truman and defy him, and who promises a way to end the war - even if it means extending the war.

So far, the chief beneficiaries of the widespread hostile feelings toward Truman's policies, particularly the Korea intervention and its consequences, are the demagogic militarist MacArthur, the capitalist elements behind him in this country who have a financial stake in the Far

East and want American military power focused there and their political agents in Congress, primarily a wing of the Republicans.

The most rabidly anti-labor elements, including the out-and-out fascists, have been quick to capitalize on MacArthur's prestige and popular appeal. From the Republican leader Taft to the American Legion and the America Firster Gerald L. K. Smith, the most reactionary scum have rallied to MacArthur's banner. They know their man.

FEAR ALL-OUT WAR

But the overwhelming majority in this country don't support MacArthur's program. For one thing, they are tremendously fearful of being plunged into an all-out war with China. This was revealed in the two latest Gallup polls, one taken during the first seven days following MacArthur's dismissal and a special poll taken within two days after his speech before Congress.

Although 62 per cent of those interviewed opposed Mac-

Arthur's dismissal, the first poll also reported that the American people are "overwhelmingly" opposed to total war against China. A three-to-two majority, in fact, endorsed the view that "Washington should try harder to find peace terms acceptable to both China and ourselves - that Washington has not gone far enough in that direction." The second poll, taken after MacArthur's widely broadcast and televised speech to Congress, still showed 61 per cent against all-out war with China.

NEED LEADERSHIP

If, in spite of these sentiments, many people have started to look in the direction of a MacArthur, that is because no strong alternative leadership has come forward to mobilize them on a genuinely anti-war program.

The labor leaders bear the chief responsibility for this absence of progressive leadership to rally and organize the people in defense of their interests. Most of them are lined up in Truman's camp, trying to

cover up the crimes of his administration and to sell his imperialist foreign policy, including the unpopular Korea war. On them will rest the chief blame if the American people, given no alternative leadership and program, should in time fall prey to the demagoguery of a MacArthur and accept his program for extending the war in order, as they might feel, to "end it once and for all."

But their deepest sentiment today remains opposition to the war. They will respond eagerly to a leadership and program that aims to stop the war now and bring the troops back home at once. Responsive to the real sentiments of the people, the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant are exerting every effort to arouse the labor movement to its responsibility for giving this country a powerful anti-war and anti-imperialist leadership.

It is with this aim in mind that the Socialist Workers Party has launched its campaign to give The Militant the widest possible mass circulation.

Notebook of an Agitator

To the Men Who Gave Their Skin

I woke up this morning and looked over Jordan and what did I see? Stumbling through the morning newspapers, from one report to another — of wars and rumors of wars, and shrieks of danger and threats of calamity, and crime and graft and all-around crookedness in high places, and the hypocrisy of the diplomats and the propaganda lies — I suddenly came across a story on another theme in the New York Herald Tribune. This was a factual news report of the human goodness and solidarity of a group of simple, unpretentious men manifested in behalf of a fellow-worker who desperately needed help — and it lit up the paper and the morning and the day like a Christmas tree with all candles burning.

It was the story of "Robert A. Sullivan, 43-year old boiler maker with the Consolidated Edison Co., who entered Bellevue Hospital in May with burns covering 70% of his body," and after more than 10 months' treatment was up and about and celebrating his recovery and discharge from the hospital at a party "with ice cream and cookies," with the people who had stood by him, helped him out and seen him through.

The case of Mr. Sullivan was a tough one, the toughest ever, the doctors said. "Doctors who had treated Mr. Sullivan said that his was the most extensive burn case they had ever seen recover. He was given three days to live when he entered Bellevue," says the story written by Frances Potete, who evidently knows important news when she sees it and knows how to write it up too. "At first, treatments in shock therapy with whole blood, plasma and chemicals had to be given before any surgery could be done. Even dressings sent the patient into shock, physicians said." How did Mr. Sullivan ever get out of a jam like that and live to celebrate it?

Dr. Currier McEwen, dean of New York University College of Medicine, ascribed the miracle to the cooperation of many people. "Teamwork, modern research, the will to get well and the kinds of friends he has' had contributed to Mr. Sullivan's remarkable recovery." Doctors and nurses in "three research teams in the Department of Surgery, groups working on shock treatment, plastic surgery and the physiology of burns — had used 'the collective wisdom that means so much' to give successful treatment," the doctor said.

Modern science, beneficently applied by worthy practitioners played a mighty role in this case to heal and save, and not to destroy. But the doctors couldn't do it all alone. They had to have some outside help; they had to get some skin, and plenty of it, and that's where "the friends" came in. "Fifteen skin graft operations were performed. Fourteen fellow workers from the Consolidated Edison, some who had not known Mr. Sullivan before, gave two grafts each of 8-by-4 inch pieces of skin." This was the skin that made the difference; the skin of co-workers taken off their own bodies twice in 8-by-4 inch slabs for the benefit of another whom some of them at first didn't even know. They merely knew

that he was hurt and needed help, and they gave it.

What better story can a man read these days for the good of his soul and his faith in the future than a true story like this; true as a factual report of something that really happened and no less true as a representation of the deep and indestructible impulse of people, given a fair chance, to cooperate with each other and to help each other unselfishly? All those who hope for a better world are bound to believe that this is the real nature of people, which will assert itself in spite of everything, and become a mighty power to change the world and make it a better and fairer place for everybody.

All the great leaders and teachers of our socialist movement have firmly held this faith in people; and we must hold it too if we are to be true to their heritage and worthy of the mission we have undertaken. In a time of doubt and fear this faith in people is the light to steer by. William Faulkner spoke with profound insight in his Stockholm speech, when he said: "Man will not only endure; he will prevail." For that utterance alone he deserved the Nobel prize.

The class society of the present day, founded on fraud and deception, puts great emphasis on competition and rivalry and acquisitiveness and brutal disregard of the rights and lives of others — even mass killers are lauded as heroes; and the holy office of science is prostituted to destructive ends. But human nature as it really is at bottom, and as it will finally assert itself and prevail, speaks out for cooperation and solidarity, as the men who helped Mr. Sullivan have demonstrated with the beautiful simplicity of action.

I've been around and seen a lot, and I know very well that this jungle of a class society we live in is full of the tricks and dodges and angles of the self-seeking, and loaded with traps and deadfalls for the trusting. But I know, too, that this is not the whole story, or even half of it. The great majority of people everywhere want to live honestly and help each other. The friendly co-workers of Mr. Sullivan are shining examples of this majority.

When it comes to choosing representatives of the human race as it wants to be and will be, I'll put my chips down on the likes of these people who will give 8-by-4 inch pieces of their skin for a friend, or for a co-worker who may not be a friend or even an acquaintance, but just a man and therefore, a brother.

They are heralds of the future and represent its spirit, the spirit of socialist cooperation, whether they know it or not. They and others like them, harnessing their natural impulses to social goals, will do away with the social system which distorts and cripples human nature. They will change the world and make it fit for all people and all nations to live together in peace and fraternity.

It's coming yet for a' that, as dear Robert Burns affirmed. "Then Man to Man, the world o'er shall brothers be for a' that!" And there's going to be a Great Day.—J.P.C.

Remember?



(Top) This was one of General Douglas MacArthur's most brilliant military triumphs. Using infantry, cavalry and tanks he drove out the unarmed, unemployed veterans of the 1932 Bonus Army and their families and then burnt their shacks. MacArthur liked the order to evict the Bonus Army so much that he chose to take personal command of the operation.

(Bottom) This is a rare photograph of the 1932 Bonus Army days. It shows Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who commanded the campaign against the unemployed World War I vets, and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, then MacArthur's subordinate, at the scene of a veterans' demonstration. The officer at the right, carrying the gas mask, is unidentified. Bonus marchers were driven out at bayonet point and with tear gas.

First Results in Militant's Big League Sub Campaign

While Militant Business Manager Joseph Hansen begins to wind up his national speaking tour, reports are already beginning to come in from the branches with the first results of the Militant Sales and Subscription Campaign which began with a coast-to-coast mobilization April 22.

Reports from 7 branches show a total so far of 50 subs for 1872 points and 1352 single copies. Next week, when all the reports are in, a chart will be printed showing branch scores and totals for individual high-scorers in each league.

In the Coover League the Twin Cities got off to a flying start with 1179 points and an individual high score for Paul of St. Paul of 379. In Minneapolis Pauline scored 195 points; and V. R. Dunne, 94.

Literature Agent Winifred writes the news from the Twin Cities on their Sunday sales. "The comrades are very enthusiastic about the campaign, and are determined that we will keep up this kind of pace throughout the entire campaign. The workers at whose doors we knocked this morning seemed almost as if they had been waiting for us to come — the opposition to the Korean war, the support of the Trenton Six, the pro-Labor Party position of The Militant, and the fact that it is a genuine socialist paper were all factors that made for the appeal of The Militant. Some of us began to set up routes for weekly work today. When people bought single copies, we offered to come back on a weekly basis and deliver the papers."

A score of 1143 points so far wins second place in the Coover League for New York. Literature Agent Cathy writes, "The Militant headline 'Stop the War in Korea — Bring GIs Home

Now!' opened many doors, and comrades found hardly a person who refused to buy at least a single copy. One comrade sold a bundle to a newsstand dealer near the project where she was selling subscriptions. The dealer promised to take such a bundle from her every week."

Buffalo sent in a number of subscriptions for a total of 468 points and third place in the Coover League. Comrade Charles C. writes that they expect to raise this total much higher when they get to work on their May Day bumper bundle of 6000.

Betty W., writing for Seattle's literature committee, announces a score of 133 points attained by 10 comrades who sold 4 subscriptions and 29 single copies in Seattle's first sale of the campaign. "Our individual high scorer for this first mobilization was Clara K. who scored 33 points," Betty writes. "However, inasmuch as everyone is very enthusiastic and intends to work during the week, this score may soon topple!"

In the Konikow League Comrade Helen B. reports that Milwaukee launched the campaign in its area with a mobi-

lization for renewals. Two renewals were obtained and 2 single copies sold for a total of 54 points.

Philadelphia is off to a good start in the campaign with 4 subscriptions and 66 single copies to its credit, making a total of 170 points. Literature Agent Delores writes that Philadelphia also sold 20 copies of the pamphlet 'A Letter to American Negroes' Sunday. High scorers were Comrade H. with 78 points and Comrade P. with 29.

The following excerpts from Comrade Hansen's reports from Los Angeles and St. Louis tell us of the plans of these branches for the campaign:

"Monday evening in Los Angeles we had a lively discussion on The Militant and the subscription and sales campaign. It was clear from the keen interest and enthusiasm that Los Angeles is likely to prove a strong contender for top place in the Coover League. One of the possibilities here is door-to-door work in the districts where the heaviest vote was registered for Myra Tanner Weiss in the campaign for the Los Angeles Board of Education."

BEVAN RESIGNS AS ARMS PROGRAM PERILS LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)

of primary raw materials to which it is being increasingly denied access. Here again Bevan blamed the U.S. and made the following disclosure.

"It was only last Friday that the Minister of Supply pointed out in the gravest terms that we would not be able to carry out our program unless we had molybdenum, zinc, sulphur, copper and a large number of other raw materials and non-ferrous metals which could only be obtained with the consent of America and other parts of the world."

The scourge of inflation is accompanied by the British workers by an immediate threat of large-scale unemployment. As Minister of Labor, Bevan is able to speak in this connection with greater authority than any other individual in Britain and here is what he said:

"We shall have mass unemployment. We already have in Great Britain under-employment. We already have short-time working in many very important parts of industry and before the middle of the year, unless something serious can be done, we shall have unemployment in many of our important industrial centers..."

The workers of Britain will not docilely accept inflation on top of unemployment. Bevan cautiously remarks that "the workers of Great Britain will try to adjust themselves to the rising spiral of prices and... 101 battles will be fought on the industrial

field." It is this prospect of an acutely sharpened class struggle that obviously dictated the course of Bevan and his colleagues. They resigned in order to avoid responsibility for the mounting mass resentment and resistance, and with it the discredit of Attlee's regime.

The editors of the authoritative N. Y. Times do not even bother to deny Bevan's main point, namely, as they themselves put it, that "a high-speed (arms) program carries the risk of inflation and a reduction of prevailing living standards." On the contrary, they affirm it. "In our opinion, everything that Mr. Bevan says on this subject is true," they wrote on April 25.

The arms program has hardly started in Britain, which is the strongest of capitalist European countries and most favorably situated as regards "recovery" from the last war's havoc. Yet the British workers already find themselves in a dire plight, with their social gains cut to the bone, their living costs soaring, their living standards declining, with the prospect of run away price rises and more savage reductions in living standards still ahead.

Everything that applies to Britain applies with an even greater force to the other European countries. This dispute that has erupted inside the leadership of the British Labor Party is a precursor of a much larger dispute — that is, the flaring up of vast class struggles — on the whole of the European continent.

MacArthur's Six-Point Program for War in Asia

By John G. Wright

In his public speech before the joint session of Congress, the deposed Gen. MacArthur advocated the same policy of spreading the war to the mainland of China that he has been promoting since the disastrous defeat of his "home-by-Christmas" offensive to the Yalu River last November. "If he has injected any new note, it is the false claim that the measures he advocates would settle the Korean conflict and assure "victory." This contradicts his own March 6 declaration that only a bloody stalemate could be expected in Korea and the April 17 statement by Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs, that "there is no early end in sight to the Korean war."

SIX MEASURES

MacArthur listed six proposals. First, the unrestricted bombing of the "sanctuary" of Manchuria. Militarily this could bring no settlement whatever in Korea. As Bradley has stated, Chinese "air intervention has not been a factor in the ground action to date. Neither has it been any serious threat to our Air Force."

Second is the demand for "air reconnaissance" over China. In plain language, this is a demand

for air bombardment of all centers in China. Most of Korea has been battered to a pulp by air and naval bombardment; but this has not brought military solution a step nearer. MacArthur proposes to extend the same practise to China's vast mainland under the pretext that it will somehow bring success.

Third comes his demand to commit more "reinforcements" to Korea, that is, unlimited troop shipments. This demand for more and more land forces is a self-refutation of MacArthur's fraudulent pretense of an easily assured victory.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

Fourth is the demand for a complete economic blockade of China. Such a blockade is already partially in force. It has not been tightened solely for fear of the Kremlin's reprisals but because of the bitter opposition of Washington's Atlantic Pact Allies, Britain and France and other West European countries whom such a blockade would injure economically more than it would Peiping.

Fifth is the imposition of a tight naval blockade. Like the proposed "air reconnaissance" this would constitute a large-scale military assault on China. Finally, to give "logistic sup-

port" to Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa for large-scale operations by Chiang's troops on the China mainland.

What this program for "victory" amounts to is all-out war on China, through bombing it, blockading it, invading it. We have constantly warned that this was the goal MacArthur was pursuing; his own words confirm it.

TACTICAL DISPUTE

MacArthur's course is opposed by the Truman administration, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the decisive capitalist circles because they believe it inexpedient on tactical military and diplomatic grounds. It is a course which would irrevocably commit the American imperialists to fight in all of Asia and against the Asian peoples with no allies other than the discredited Chiang clique.

But another aspect of MacArthur's speech merits attention. He affirmed things in connection with revolutionary China that explode his own previous lies along with those of the administration. The American people have been told by both Truman and MacArthur that Korea represented nothing more than an "aggression" completely manipulated by the Kremlin.

After vaguely admitting that vast revolutionary changes have taken place in Asia, MacArthur, without a word of explanation, pointed to revolutionary China as a rising "imperialist" power. It was capable of acting independently of the Kremlin, he announced, and then went on to affirm that just the opposite was likewise true. "The Soviet," he declared, "will not necessarily mesh its actions with our moves" — against China.

If the actions of neither China nor the Kremlin "necessarily mesh," what then is left of the myth that China acts simply as the puppet of the Kremlin?

It is noteworthy that MacArthur had no criticism of Truman's usurpation of power in plunging the country into his Korean "police action." On the contrary, MacArthur approved it as fully justified. If anyone was eager to plunge into Korea, it was MacArthur himself.

The choice between MacArthur and Truman is not between war and peace. It is the choice between starting World War III in Asia, or starting it on the European continent. It is the choice between two variants of imperialist war policy, two different roads to endless slaughter.

Unauthorized Portrait of the General

By Frank Poole

Before General Douglas MacArthur does his promised fade-away, it is worth-while briefly reviewing some facts in the life of this ballyhooed "hero" that are not featured in the press.

MacArthur is a double-distilled militarist. His background is that of a militarist ruling over conquered colonial people — specifically Asian people. The present MacArthur's father was General Arthur MacArthur who dominated the Philippine Islands in the early part of this century.

The history of the seizure of these islands and the bloody destruction of the Philippine Republic is intimately associated with the name MacArthur. The imperialist rationalization about "the white man's burden," the "Oriental mind," the inferiority of Asians, etc. It was in the war against the Filipino people that young Douglas MacArthur got his first baptism of fire. The first enemies he ever killed were Filipino peasants.

IN PHILIPPINES

The conquest of the Philippines and Arthur MacArthur's regime there is one of the foulest pages in the history of American imperialism. The U.S. never took the islands from Spain, as the school books tell. A independence movement, headed by Emilio Aguinaldo, swept the islands, and its armies soon had the Spanish besieged in the larger cities. U.S. policy was to pretend sympathy for the revolutionists while treacherously conspiring with the

"enemy," i.e. the Spanish army, to keep the Filipino patriots from Manila and hold on to other cities until the U.S. could relieve the garrisons.

When enough U.S. troops finally reached the country, the imperialist policy was set into motion. The Filipino Republic, already set up and functioning, was outlawed and American troops fought a long and bitter war to destroy the armies and guerrilla bands of the islanders. All the atrocities of colonial conquest were employed in this war. Villages were burnt, women and children killed and torture (the water cure) was used by the U.S. army.

To justify these inhuman methods, the imperialists developed rationalizations about "the white man's burden," the "Oriental mind," the inferiority of Asians, etc. It was in the war against the Filipino people that young Douglas MacArthur got his first baptism of fire. The first enemies he ever killed were Filipino peasants.

MORGAN CONNECTIONS

MacArthur rose rapidly in the army. Being the son of a famous general certainly did not hamper his rise. It appears, too, that he had some connections with J. P. Morgan interests. During World War I he was known as a protégé of Newton Baker, Secretary of War and a Morgan man.

Emerging from the first war as a general, he was appointed head of West Point. In this

period he married into the House of Morgan. The bride was the stepdaughter of the Philadelphia multimillionaire E. T. Storesbury, J. P. Morgan partner.

Then followed commands in the Philippines until in 1930 he reached the top army post — Chief of Staff. In this depression period top Wall Street circles groomed MacArthur for the role of "man on horseback" or fuhrer of a native fascist movement.

This fact came out in the testimony of Marine General Smedley D. Butler in 1934 before the McCormick-Dickstein Congressional Committee. General Butler told of conversations with Wall Street financier Robert S. Clark, who offered him \$3,000,000 to start a fascist movement here. He quoted Clark as saying: "... The Morgan interests say that you cannot be trusted, that you are too radical, and so forth, that you are too much on the side of the little fellow; you cannot be trusted. They are for Douglas MacArthur as the head of it. Douglas MacArthur's term (as Chief of Staff) expires in November, and if he is not re-appointed he will be disappointed and sore and they are for getting him to head it... You know as well as I do that MacArthur is Storesbury's son-in-law in Philadelphia — Morgan's representative in Philadelphia..."

BONUS ARMY

Perhaps MacArthur was trying to show how well he fitted the

FRANCO REGIME SHAKEN BY VAST NEW STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

edict, "many employes of stores and other private commercial establishments (in Bilbao) joined the movement" on the second day. "Government officials said privately that, in view of the strikers' unity, it would be impossible to carry out the dismissal threat."

This great strike movement was not simply "spontaneous." The Associated Press observed that "as in the Barcelona strike of six weeks ago, the strikers showed notable discipline." This is an indication of organization.

A Reuters' dispatch from Madrid on April 22, the day before the sit-down began, reported that "leaflets secretly distributed in Bilbao during the past 24 hours called on workers in the Basque city" and industrial center to strike tomorrow against the high cost of living."

This same dispatch says that "for several weeks rumors have said former labor organizations, dissolved in 1939 (when Franco took power after slaughtering two million workers and peasants in the civil war) but still being maintained secretly, would try to provoke a conflict in Bilbao."

This is one of the most heartening bits of news from Spain. It reveals that Franco, despite hundreds of thousands of

imprisonments and executions, has failed to wipe out the Spanish workers' organizations and that the Spanish workers are far from leaderless.

The Franco government is in panic, aware that its days are numbered. The Catholic hierarchy, one of the fascist regime's two main props (the other being the Army), is trying to take the heat off Franco by echoing the criticism of conditions, while defending the "basic ideas of the regime," reported Sam Pope Brewer, N. Y. Times correspondent after the Barcelona upsurge.

In order to keep the facts about the Spanish situation concealed from the rest of the world, Franco's government has tightened his already drastic censorship of foreign news dispatches. Brewer, who had been reporting much of the news that did get through, was deprived of his press credentials on the grounds of "lack of truthfulness observed by you and your newspaper."

That Franco would risk such an affront to one of America's most powerful conservative newspapers is a sign of his desperation and the true scope of the revolutionary events now unfolding in Spain. More and more Franco's hope of survival rests on the money and arms, as well as diplomatic support, which Washington is giving him.

Your First Issue?

If this is the first time you have ever read The Militant, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read The Militant regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six month subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Name
 Street
 City
 State Zone

(Continued next week)

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year; \$2 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: AL 5-7460
 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
 Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 50 each in U.S., 44 each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XV - No. 18 Monday, April 30, 1951

U. S. Capitalism in Blind Alley, Douglas Admits

By Fred Hart

With the Truman-MacArthur phase of the "great debate" as the backdrop, Lewis W. Douglas, former U.S. Ambassador to Britain, delivered an important foreign policy speech on April 23 at a luncheon of the Associated Press. What lends importance to Douglas' remarks is not merely the former high diplomatic post he held. His views are significant as an authoritative expression of the outlook of the real masters of this country — the billionaire monopolists, among whom Douglas holds a key position as chairman of the powerful Mutual Life Insurance Co., one of the ten biggest insurance super-monopolies.

The burden of Douglas' speech was the need to maintain at all costs "the grand alliance" with the British empire, which he characterized as "the last reliable bastion of strength" on whom the American imperialists could depend in their projected war against the Soviet Union.

vanquished as those who have been beaten on the field of battle.

What appalls Douglas and his class is the condition in which world capitalism, so decayed and ideologically insolvent, now finds itself.

"The world has been so torn asunder," he laments, "by the last war — the ancient fabric of society has been so rent into tatters — that the old pattern of international society (read: world capitalism) at the moment no longer is clearly discernible. It is clear that never in history has there been such a shift in the centers of power."

Most important of all is Douglas' next admission that it is not the military strength of the Soviet Union but the sweep of anti-capitalist mass moods and feelings throughout the world that has undermined the age-old capitalist balance of power on the international arena.

"The problem of this period of history is so perplexing and threatening," he explained, "because it is derived from a combination of the military strength

of the Soviet, with Communist faith and ideas, and an unparalleled disruption in the balance of power." What a self-annihilating admission!

For the existing critical situation, there is and can be no military solution. Unwittingly Douglas thus gives the lie direct both to Truman with his continued "limited war" in Korea and to MacArthur with his fraudulent promise of an easy victory by extending hostilities to the Chinese mainland. Douglas himself has no solution to offer except to warn that if the British empire is lost as an ally, then the U.S. imperialists will find themselves completely isolated in a situation that is already "so perplexing and threatening."

American workers can permit all the Douglases to dictate the foreign policy of this country only at their own gravest peril. It is precisely because they see no way out that the American monopolists are in their frustration and desperation dragging the American people along with the rest of the world closer and closer to the brink of World War III.

The "Guns Not Butter" Program

The arms program, imposed on Britain by Washington's pressure and accepted by the Attlee leadership, confronts the British people with the gravest of calamities. Attempts to carry through this program will not only strip their modest welfare gains but tear their living standards to shreds as the result of run-away inflation, on the one side, and large-scale unemployment because of raw-material shortages, on the other. That was the gist of the revelations made by Aneurin Bevan upon resigning as Labor Minister from Attlee's cabinet.

Foreign Secretary Morrison, a champion of the arms program, bore out everything that Bevan said. Morrison has appealed to Washington for a more equitable "sharing" of raw-materials, warning that the British arms program might have to be cut unless this was done and hastily assuring that the brunt of the shortages would nevertheless have to be borne by cuts in the living standards of the British people.

Commenting on the crisis of the Laborite leadership, the columnist Walter Lippmann coolly affirms that the U.S. arms program at home and in Europe is "absolutely incompatible with the idea of a rising standard of civilian consumption here and Europe. It called for increasing austerity under severe restrictions and heavy regimentation."

In his resignation speech Bevan concluded that the British workers would not docilely accept the economic and social degradation that this program entails.

On this point Bevan is absolutely correct. The needs of self-preservation are bound to sharpen the class struggles in Britain as elsewhere in Europe in the extreme. The very same economic forces that underlie the cabinet crisis of the Attlee regime will on the morrow be duplicated in West Europe. As to the militant moods of the European workers and their will to struggle, the ferment that is seething today in Franco's Spain provides an excellent gauge of the scope such struggles can and will assume.

The American workers should find that easy to understand. We have not yet felt the impact of the costs of armament anywhere near as much as the British, whose living standards are still so wretchedly low. But the first onset of inflation here, accompanied by previews of the impending "severe restrictions" and "heavy regimentation," sufficed to produce the demonstrative walk-out of the CIO and AFL leaders from the defense agencies.

The storm signals now flying in Britain are at the same time storm signals for American labor. The workers have in store for them the same scourges now lashing their brothers in Britain and Europe. The fountainhead of shortages, reduced living standards and other evils of inflation is located right here. It is the American imperialists who are the central power-house generating what Lippmann describes as "increasing austerity under severe restrictions and heavy regimentation."

BIG MONEY FEARS FUTURE

Without mentioning MacArthur by name, Douglas nevertheless made it amply clear that he and the Big Money interests for whom he spoke did not favor MacArthur's line of extending the war to China.

After vaguely referring to "serious mistakes" that "we, too, have made" in Asia and admitting cautiously that "some" of these mistakes "may have even induced the Korean war," he expressed alarm at the fact that both U.S. and Britain "have made a botch of a nasty and extremely dangerous situation." Douglas then went on to oppose, at this time "war, on a broad horizon whether in Asia or in Europe, or both."

The reason he gave is not often uttered in public. It is the fear, shared by the most farsighted of the capitalists, that in the wake of "war, an unlimited one — or even one of great magnitude" would inexorably come social upheavals, throughout the world including this country.

"We, undoubtedly, would somehow, somewhere," he said, "win a war with the Communist world, but the military victory would not mean the extermination of Communist ideas. The very desolation which it will leave in its trail will make the social soil in the Orient, in Europe, indeed everywhere, including here at home, more fertile and better watered for the seeds of Communism and revolution to take root in."

Douglas was speaking to a select audience and doubtless felt he could afford this unaccustomed candor. But such words on the lips of a conservative like Douglas are striking evidence of both the crisis in the American ruling circles and the blind alley which American imperialism has entered.

Douglas even went so far as to declare that resort to war "is in itself the clearest manifestation of political insolvency" and then added that military victory would offer no solution whatever. The consequences of war, he declared, "make it certain that the military victors become ultimately almost as impoverished and

CANNON ANSWERS HOOK AT STUDENT MEETING

(Continued from Page 1)

their political views or persecutions.

In opening his talk Cannon congratulated the students for their spirit of fair play and courage in defending the right to free and open discussion of diverse points of view. "I began my career in the labor movement over forty years ago with the IWW and participated in many free speech fights with them. One of the reasons I broke with the Stalinized Communist Party in this country in 1928 was their refusal to allow anyone with a different viewpoint to defend their ideas inside that movement."

"The question of U.S. foreign policy is not an academic one for the youth," he continued. "It is a matter of life and death. Your own heads are at stake. That is why you have the right to demand that all possible light be thrown on all sides of this question."

Cannon presented a point-by-point refutation of the arguments justifying U.S. foreign policy put forward by Hook and his fellow "democratic socialist" epologists for the imperialists. They picture Washington's actions as "peace-loving, democratic, and animated by the noblest motives." This is the opposite of the truth. Cannon likened Hook and his associates to "the old missionaries who were sent out to soften up the natives for subjugation by the big monied-powers later."

He dissected their chief argument that American capitalism was not imperialistic and that Lenin's teachings on imperialism did not apply to the United States by showing how the ruling class here had the problem of exporting the greatest mass of accumulated capital ever concentrated in a single

country. The excruciating contradiction is that they must find outlets for their surplus capital and goods precisely when whole sections of the globe have been removed from the orbit of capitalist investment and exploitation. "First the Soviet Union and then Eastern Europe have been closed to American investors. And now China, the prize for which they waged war against Japan, has been lost."

"The monopolists and militarists have to establish the political preconditions for safe investment in Asia, Europe and elsewhere. That's why they need puppet regimes. It is these facts of life, the imperious requirements of a capitalist economy, which are driving America's ruling circles to 'police actions' in Korea today as a prelude to greater wars tomorrow."

Denouncing American intervention in Korea as a "brutal imperialist adventure," Cannon concluded with an eloquent appeal to the youth not to commit their future to capitalism in its "twilight and death agony." Ally yourselves with the international labor and socialist movement, he said, which alone can open a new road for mankind.

An hour of animated discussion held the entire audience despite bell signals for change of classes. Spontaneous applause burst forth when Cannon answered this last question from a student: "what do you propose Washington's foreign policy should be?" "I have no proposals to make to the State Department," Cannon replied. "I'm their irreconcilable opponent, not their partner or apologist like Professor Hook. I have no advice to give them that would do them any good!"

MacArthur and the UN

Among the posts from which MacArthur was deposed was the highest post of all, that of Commander-in-Chief of the "United Nations Forces." Yet Gen. MacArthur has yet to say a single word about this august "world body." He demonstratively refused even to refer to it by name in his speech before the joint session of Congress.

For its part, as if by mutual agreement, the United Nations has just as studiously ignored MacArthur. Just as if there never had been any connection between them! The UN has not even bothered to issue a formal statement on the deposition of "its own" highest military officer. But that is not all.

There is the issue of Formosa. Truman's unilateral action in seizing Formosa at the start of the Korean hostilities was taken without either consultation or approval of the United Nations. It has consistently chosen to ignore this, along with the repeated declarations by MacArthur as well as many of the most prominent members of the Truman administration that Formosa will be "defended" come what may.

On the heels of MacArthur's pronouncement that Formosa is not to be surrendered under any conditions, Secretary of State Acheson blandly disclosed that as long as 10 weeks ago it was arranged for a large U.S. military commission to take charge of supplying and

training Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Formosa. Shipments of arms to Chiang have also been announced to be of top priority. All this is palmed off as "purely defensive."

There is only a difference in timing and execution between this and MacArthur's demand for "logistic support" of Chiang for raids on the Chinese mainland. Yet not a single one of Washington's allies in the UN, presumably opposed to MacArthur's policy, has voiced a protest.

What has reportedly also aroused the greatest opposition to MacArthur in the UN is his demand to bomb Manchuria. Yet, on April 25, the U.S. State Department allowed a leak to the press that it has consulted with its UN associates on the need to bomb Manchurian bases "at any time that planes based in these fields become a serious menace." There were "no objections," it was reported in the press.

Thus the removal of MacArthur may turn out to be the prelude to accomplishing precisely what MacArthur advocates, namely, the extension of the war to the Chinese mainland — and through the tacit, if not open, connivance of the UN!

In these episodes is revealed the whole fraud and sham of the United Nations. This "bulwark of peace" is nothing more than a fifth wheel on the war chariot of American imperialism.

THE CRISIS OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP

By J. Blake

American Negro leadership faces the same type of dilemma as the labor leadership. It is no mere coincidence that the executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called for mass resignation of Negroes from civil defense posts a month after the United Labor Policy Committee instructed its representatives to walk out of the Wage Stabilization Board and other war mobilization agencies.

The fact that the NAACP modified its stand at the next board meeting, deciding to call for a nation-wide campaign against Dixiecrat Federal Civil Defense Administrator Millard F. Caldwell instead of boycotting the entire agency, and that the United Labor Policy Committee has since re-entered the Big-Business controlled mobilization program on a new committee, only underscores the parallel.

Neither the labor leadership nor the Negro leadership wanted any split with the administration. Both avoided the break as long as they could, phrasing their mild demands in "statesmanlike" manner, not asking too much or too loudly. All they wanted was a little more consideration, a few high posts, front door admittance to their masters. And both, despite the Administration's long and consistent record of failure to make good on election promises, continued to trudge, hat in hand, from one conference to another — until even they could see in the mirror of public opinion how silly they looked.

Blessings of Democracy

Moreover, the labor missionaries for the American State Department in Europe found English and other European labor government and socialist party officials listening to their pompous speeches about American democracy and the power of the American labor movement with tongue in cheek. (And Negro leaders are still begging Secretary of State Acheson for posts for Negroes — so that they, no doubt, may tell the leaders of the powerful anti-imperialist movements in Africa of the blessings of democracy enjoyed by colored people in America!)

But regardless of how much more contempt the "leaders" could stomach, the Negro and labor masses want action. They are sick and tired of the runaround they get on discrimination just as on wages and prices. They have had enough of wars in which capitalists make profits and workers pay for them with reduced living standards — and with their lives; and the Negroes, on top of that, with subordination and humiliation by jim crow artists like Caldwell in every phase of daily life in America plus a particularly fiendish variety in court martials in Korea.

When the cases of Lieutenant Gilbert and others began to create a public scandal, and the NAACP sent Thurgood Marshall to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers overseas, thousands demonstrated in NAACP mass meetings, poured funds into the almost bankrupt Association, rejoined the organization they had been leaving in droves, began demanding action at home as well as abroad.

Where Is NAACP Going?

The NAACP leadership again tried talking with Administration representatives about posts, jim crow in the Army, Fair Employment Practices and civil rights legislation. But they remain in an untenable position. The Association has decided to boycott a civil defense conference called for May 7-8 in Washington by Caldwell, to call its own civil rights mobilization in Washington May 22-23, and nation-wide "Oust Caldwell" mass meetings on May 20. The New York Branch of the NAACP boycotted a New York State Civil Defense Commission meeting April 10 and Judge Hubert T. Delaney, Domestic Relations Court justice and member of the NAACP board of directors, resigned from the New York Advisory Council of Civil Defense. All this is in the right direction, away from the coalition with the Democratic Party. But where is the NAACP going? There's a national election next year.

No one in his right mind proposes the Republican Party as a solution for the problems the "New Deal" and the "Fair Deal" failed to solve. The obvious solution for Negroes and labor is a joint one — a complete break with capitalist politics, the formation of an independent labor party.

True, the United Labor Policy Committee has not demonstrated any particularly inspiring leadership in this direction as yet, but pushing them, pressuring them to take the right course, the course dictated by the needs of their ranks as well as of the Negro masses, makes more sense than asking the Democratic leopard to change his spots.

Top Labor Leaders Provide Window Dressing for Board

(Continued from Page 1)

James B. Carey, is controlled "lock stock and barrel by Wall Street."

It is still the same Truman, who Carey said on April 6 in Los Angeles, "has virtually surrendered to this same Wall Street crew, which instead of becoming more humanitarian has become more rapacious and more autocratic."

As we predicted in the columns of The Militant the labor leadership has begun a big retreat back into a coalition with the Truman administration, because they fear the only other alternative: that is, the organization of an independent labor party to contest the national elections in 1952.

They have made a temporary truce with the Big Business government. But this will necessarily be a truce of short duration.

The economic conditions which brought about the labor crisis in the first place, are still with us. The full blown effects of military production have still to be felt. As inflation continues to rage unabated and the workers made to bear the heavy burdens of war, the need for the labor leadership to find a way to escape the blame for conditions will crop up again. Either they will break again or face the full wrath of an aroused rank and file.

Moreover, the anti-labor offensive of the big industrialists will not cease. On the contrary, as they are showing in the South, they mean to chip away at the union movement's weak points, and eventually to deal some decisive blows to the union movement. There is no chance of a real "peace" with the power-drunk enemies of labor.

As long as the labor leaders are committed to support of the war mobilization program, they will have to bear responsibility of the economic consequences, which can only be a lowering of the living standard of the workers.

Labor Party Issue and the Stalinists

By Joseph Keller

Delegates and visitors to the CIO United Auto Workers recent convention in Cleveland were surprised, in looking through a magazine called March of Labor which had been handed to them free at the door, to find on the next to the last page a small editorial headlined, "Labor Needs Its Own Party."

For March of Labor, as its contents, line and authors clearly reveal, is strictly a Stalinist organ and it came as news even to its own followers that the Communist Party is saying anything favorable about a labor party.

March of Labor is designed to appear as an "independent" publication dealing with matters of interest to the unions. The Communist Party can disclaim formal responsibility for the magazine and its line. And that's important to understand what kind of tricky game the Stalinists are playing with the issue of a labor party.

From the article in March of Labor you'd get the idea that the Communist Party is going all-out for a labor party and, in fact, never held any other position. Up to now, we have been wandering in a wilderness of company-unionism in politics," says the editorial. "Now the next great step is to come out of the wilderness, stop supporting the bosses' poli-

tical parties, and establish a bona-fide political party of labor."

Sounds good — almost like a quotation from The Militant. March of Labor is not talking about any third capitalist party, like the dead but unburied Progressive Party. The editorial speaks of "labor to take the lead in forming a new party. . . a labor party or Farmer-Labor party." And it calls for a labor party movement that's "the real McCoy — and not some kind of 'clever' bargaining gimmick the way some labor leaders figure." No, they want "the actual organization of such a party" and call on the workers in every industry "to start the movement now. Let's have a flood of discussions and resolutions in the locals! Let's spread this from coast to coast!"

Is this a signal that the Communist Party is making a big turn away from political alliances with various wings and tendencies of the capitalist parties? Hardly.

Not only does the Daily Worker carry on no campaign for a labor party, but recent conventions and conferences of the Stalinist-controlled Fur Workers and United Electrical Workers passed resolutions on political action that say nothing about a labor party.

The real aim of the Stalinists is made clear in an article, "Notes

on the Electoral Outlook for '52," by Albert E. Blumberg, published in the April Political Affairs, chief theoretical organ of the Communist Party. This article, which bears the stamp of a basic policy statement, describes the "main lines" of political action for the next period as:

1. The "exposure of the two old parties";
2. "the projection of labor, Negro, farm and independent peace candidates in the 1951 municipal and state elections, by-elections, and the '52 Congressional races";
3. "the organization of specific measures to advance the third-party movement and an independent national peace ticket in 1952."

"By independent peace candidates," the article makes plain, is not meant independent labor candidates, let alone candidates of a labor party. It means "election campaigns. . . in which all electoral channels — major party primaries as well as independent candidacies — would be utilized," leading up to "a united, independent peace 'Presidential ticket.'" To emphasize that this does not mean a new labor party ticket, the article immediately explains: "What is meant is a peace ticket, not a party — an independent Presidential ticket which allows its supporters full free-

dom of action on the state and congressional level."

In short, what is meant is another pro-capitalist, Henry Wallace-type candidate who will talk "peace" — until he finds the favorable time to go over openly to the warmakers like the Stalinist-supported "Gideon" of the 1948 presidential elections. Indeed, the article speaks of the perspective of "merging of this independent peace ticket movement with the pro-peace elements in the Democratic and Republican parties. . ."

Thus, the Stalinists are prepared to make an alliance in the '52 elections with any capitalist politician — Democrat, Republican or just plain nondescript "progressive" — who will give lip-service to the Stalinist line of "peace" through a deal between the Kremlin and the western imperialist powers, particularly the United States.

This will permit the CP's local and state bodies to make any dirty political deals they can with capitalist politicians in municipal and state elections.

As for any "third party," let alone a "bona-fide political party," this is summarily dismissed in Political Affairs: "It is clear that a new mass third party is not in prospect for '52."

Trotskyists in Bolivia to Run In Next Elections

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia completed its eighth national convention in March. The convention, which included representatives from all parts of Bolivia, adopted a program of action for the coming period.

The delegates voted to conduct an independent electoral campaign in the next national elections. In previous elections the RWP had participated in an election bloc with other organizations.

The convention saluted the imprisoned miner-union leaders who have been sentenced to death by the government for their role in the May 1949 mine strikes. The delegates backed a campaign to fight for the freedom of the miners.

In defense of civil rights, freedom of the press, rights of unions, against persecution, the RWP voted to press for a united front of all working class organizations.

The assembled delegates adopted a strong resolution of support for the oppressed Korean people in their revolutionary struggle, and also voted to support the Yugoslav workers against both "Wall Street and the Kremlin." At the same time, the convention criticized the foreign policy of the Yugoslav government.

Top Labor Leaders Provide Window Dressing for Board

(Continued from Page 1)

version of the WSB will have 18 instead of 12 members does not alter the fact that labor is outvoted; the industry members and so-called public members always bloc against labor on the important questions.

The industry members of the National Advisory Mobilization Board voted against reconstituting the Wage Stabilization Board, because they objected to the WSB having authority over "disputes other than wages." But there is really very little for them to fear in the new board.

All this board can do is handle such questions as union security, seniority etc., when such disputes threaten a strike, and the dispute is referred to the WSB by Truman; otherwise the board may not handle such non-wage problems except by unanimous agreement of all members of the board.

Thus, the stiff protest of the industry members against widening the authority of the WSB resulted in Truman giving them what they wanted in a somewhat disguised form.

The labor leaders have thus far not won one real concession from the administration. Neither the National Advisory Mobilization Board nor the newly reformed Wage Stabilization Board means a victory for labor.

All the major grievances which the union leaders listed when they withdrew from all government agencies, still exist.

Inflation has not been checked. Profits continue to be uncontrolled and enormous. Taxes favor the rich and victimize the poor. Big Business still controls all key posts in Washington and dictates policies. The government donates billions to Big Business through the plant construction amortization program.

This is still a war mobilization program which in the words of

The Hunter and the Bear

By Murry Weiss

When the negotiations between the labor officials and the capitalist government ended in the ignominious capitulation of the "labor statesmen" it resembled very much the old fable of the hunter and the bear.

Labor Statesman Hunter met Capitalist Statesman Bear in the forest.

"What you looking for?" the bear asked the hunter.

"I am looking for a nice warm coat," our shrewd hunter replied, glancing out of the corner of his eye at the luxurious fur coat the bear was wearing.

"And you, my dear friend," the hunter asked, "what are you looking for?" As you see, our

hunter is well versed in the niceties of diplomatic discourse and skillful bargaining.

"Why, I'm simply looking for a good meal," the bear replied, careful not to eye the hunter.

"Oh-h? Why can't we negotiate to our common advantage?"

The wily hunter, trained in Reuther's school of clever statesmanship, was quick to see the opening.

"Certainly," the old bear replied, "we can go to my cave and talk it over in comfort."

So they went to the bear's cave; both the hunter and the bear went in, and in due course the bear came out alone.

"But after all" the editors of the New Leader would say, "the negotiations were successful, the bear did get a good meal and the hunter got his fur coat."

UAW and Stalinists

By E. Drake

The 13th convention of the UAW provided the stage for the Stalinists to go through another of their hypocritical and false crusades for Negro rights.

This time the Stalinists built their campaign around the legitimate and just grievance of UAW Negroes who severely criticized Reuther for maintaining a "lily-white" top office set-up in the auto union. This sentiment of Negro UAW members must be supported and encouraged.

But the Stalinists, who have long made claim to being the most militant fighters for Negro rights, showed their true colors again when they sought to exploit this issue for their own narrow purposes. This may clearly be seen in the way they handled the Negro vice-president issue at the convention.

The campaign was initiated on the second day of the convention by a big headline and story in the Michigan Worker.

Following closely upon this, word was gotten to Negro delegates of a "William Hood for vice-president" drive. This drive was built to feverish pitch, but on the day of nomination and election of officers, Hood was not even nominated.

It was found later that the whole scheme was a Stalinist-organized move to force Reuther to concede on the question of a Negro for vice-president.

Bill Hood, four times elected recording secretary of the world's largest local union, was the logical man, so the Stalinists sponsored him with the hope of political gains.

When that deal didn't go through the Stalinists sought to capitalize on the general sentiment for a Negro vice-president which they had whipped up in the "Hood for vice-president campaign."

Then, without the slightest consideration or consultation with any of the sincere Negro union-

ists, who were active in the "Hood for vice-president" campaign, the Stalinists arbitrarily rigged the nomination and acceptance of Dave Moore, a Negro Stalinist, for vice-president.

These facts only serve to point out and add to what has become more or less an open secret; that the Stalinists will initiate and carry out a campaign around any issue insofar as they are able to make political capital from these "campaigns."

These facts became even clearer when the Stalinists, their press, and their people completely ignored other vital questions which concerned Negroes, such as the question of the treatment of Negro G.I.'s in the American army in Korea and the serious problem of discrimination in hiring (FEPC), which was heatedly debated upon the convention floor.

It yet remains unclear whether William Hood was conscious of the fact that he was a "Charlie McCarthy" of the Stalinists in that brief spurge of slyster politics.

Antics like these are demoralizing to the workers who are sucked into it, thinking it is the "Real McCoy."

A great lesson may be learned by comparing the results in votes of a Stalinist fake deal with Moore for vice-president who received slightly over 300 votes in the whole convention, and the contest of Bill Johnson who ran for a post in Region 1-A and received approximately 550 votes in Region 1-A.

Both proposals — a Negro for vice-president and a Negro in a region — were legitimate, but the Negro for vice-president campaign was Stalinist controlled and dominated and thereby failed; while the campaign around Johnson was sponsored by honest and progressive trade unionists and was therefore successful.

Poodles and Farm Laborers

By Tom Conlan

The other day, socialite Russell Patterson threw a swank cocktail party aboard the steamship America, which is especially equipped with the last word in care for canines. There are porcelain dog baths, a beauty parlor for aristocratic poodles along with a special diet kitchen, veterinarian dispensary and a canine outdoor recreation center. A sort of dog's paradise.

The distinguished guests gathered in these luxurious kennels, wearing special paper hats designed for the occasion by Braagaard, munching on hors d'oeuvres, sipping cocktails and singing "Happy Birthday" in honor of Russell Patterson's toy French poodle, Coquette, whose seventh birthday was being celebrated.

The distinguished dogs, among whom the fashionable toy poodles predominated, were fed canines made out of canine delicacies. There was, of course, a birthday cake. The festivities ended with a sun deck promenade duly recorded for posterity by photographers amid light-bulb flashes and general merriment. All in all, a gay occasion — enjoyed by the assembled dogs and their snooty owners alike.

From this festive and highly cultured scene we ask the reader to turn his attention to a much more commonplace annual event. It takes place in Mexico where thousands of ragged agricultural workers assemble at contracting centers for a chance to be imported as "contract farm laborers" to work for six months or a year in Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona and other cotton, fruit or vegetable plantations in the Southwest.

In the last four years, since 1947, an "average" of 80,000 Mexicans annually has been imported,

explains the N. Y. Times correspondent. The first of these contracting centers to be opened this year was at Hermosillo, Mexico, where there was "a once-beautiful city park" about half-mile square but which is "now scarred and poverty ridden."

Some 12,000 have congregated there, making their beds, digging holes around the edge of the park for fireplaces and stripping branches for fuel. "Many had been unemployed for months and subsisted for days on a few tortillas (corn cakes) and coffee."

Many of the laborers have been "bivouacking" here "as much as ten weeks." And "numerous workers have contracted pneumonia and several have died." So many have fallen sick and died, in fact, that the Mexican authorities have finally "established an emergency dispensary, which has been treating as many as 300 cases a day."

"Hiring has been slow," informs the Times' reporter on April 22. "On some days 5,000 to 10,000 of the waiting workers have been called from their bivouacs under the trees and herded in the boiling sun while ranches selected only 50 or 100 of their number. On some days, there has been no hiring at all." Their wages, if and when hired, are reportedly 82½ cents an hour — minus \$1.75 a day board.

The workers are restive and there have been "repeated small riots. In one of them a worker was fatally trampled."

Well-bred dogs, as any member of the Russell Patterson set knows, would turn up their noses at such vulgar doings. But then again, the whole trouble apparently is that these human beings had the misfortune of not being born pedigreed poodles.

Short Subjects

WANT PROTECTION — The Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights appointed by Truman to review the loyalty programs unanimously voted last week to stop functioning and go home. They acted in protest against the reluctance of Congress to pass a law exempting them from laws forbidding federal employees from doing business with the government. Many of the members have lucrative defense contracts and other associations with the government. Among those embarrassed are Harvey Firestone, Jr., chairman of one of the Big Four rubber corporations; Charles Silver, vice president of the American Woolen Company, and Russell Leffingwell, chairman of the board of J. P. Morgan & Co., which handles government securities.

POLITICAL PAYOFF — Democratic Governor Williams who was put in office with the help of the United Auto Workers turned down George Edwards, Walter Reuther's choice to succeed the late Senator Vandenberg in the Senate, and appointed newspaperman Blair Moody instead, although Moody had not previously been affiliated with the Democratic Party. Republican Senator Ferguson expressed satisfaction with the appointment; Reuther was less pleased.

LEAD PARADE — General MacArthur and Cardinal Spellman will share the head of the procession in the Loyalty Parade on April 28 organized in New York City by witch-hunting and pro-fascist elements as a counter-demonstration to the May Day parade.

LIBERATION — According to the Socialist Outlook, the editor of the London Daily Mail in a speech to Singapore Rotarians related the following conversation with a Korean in Seoul who said to an American. . . "Thank you, I am lib-

erated. My wife is dead, my children are maimed. Thank you, I am liberated."

KOREA CASUALTIES — Officially announced U.S. battle casualties in the Korea war before the present Chinese offensive totaled 61,744.

FIGHT FOREMAN — 2,000 General Electric Workers, members of Local 119, IEU-CIO in Philadelphia, voted at a meeting on April 24 not to return to work until the company met their demand to remove a dictator-foreman, Charles Nolte. The workers walked out two days before in protest against the foreman's conduct which they termed "arrogant" and "impossible to work under." Nolte is a notorious race-cutter and there has been grumbling against him in the shop since 1945.

WAR BUDGET — On April 25 the House Appropriations Committee voted another \$6,421,406,000 for war. These new military funds make \$49 billion provided by Congress for war during this fiscal year. Officials predicted that Truman would bring in a \$70 billion military budget for 1952.

Negroes in the Postwar World
By ALBERT PARKER
16 pp. . . 5 cents

The Struggle for Negro Equality
By SAUNDERS & PARKER
48 pp. . . 10 cents

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.
Catalogue on Request

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1951

NUMBER 18

F. Goelman Gets 6821 Votes In Oakland Council Election

BUFFALO SWP CONDUCTS CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

BUFFALO — The Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party has opened a campaign in defense of civil rights, distributing thousands of leaflets throughout the area and appealing to many labor and liberal organizations to join with it in this fight.

The campaign was begun with an appeal to the University of Buffalo's Conference on Civil Liberties to take a firm stand against the growing menace of the recently organized local "Anti-Subversive" police squad.

The conference, organized by various groups among the student body, was the first of its kind to be held here in recent years, and was attended by about 500 persons.

A LOCAL GESTAPO

The Socialist Workers Party reached the conference both by letter and by personal appeal from Sam Ballan, Chairman of the Buffalo SWP, who took the floor on the question of Buffalo civil rights conditions. Citing the fact that the local authorities have singled out the Socialist Workers Party more than any other organization, because of its militant and progressive policies in the labor movement, Comrade Ballan described the so-called "Anti-Subversive" squad as a local Gestapo.

The Conference on Civil Liberties, having been constituted as a discussion group rather than a body prepared to take actions, was unable to organize any specific measures against the encroachments upon democratic rights.

The importance of the SWP's appeal to the conference did not escape the reactionary Buffalo Evening News, chief spokesman for the Buffalo area industrialists, which printed one of its customary biased and distorted articles, headlined, "Trotskyists aim circulars at anti-subversive squad."

The news story stated, "The latest target of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) labelled by the U.S. Attorney-General as 'subversive and communist' is the Anti-Subversive Squad of the Buffalo Police Department."

"The Trotskyists Friday passed out circulars outside the Civil Liberties Conference at the University of Buffalo. The circulars called on the conference to demand the city administration abolish the squad. The conference took no action."

THE SWP LEAFLET

To show the true picture it is only necessary to quote the SWP leaflet, which said: "This local Gestapo goes under the name of 'Anti-Subversive Squad of the Buffalo Police Department' but this is a sinister masquerade."

"It operates in collusion with

the big corporations of the area. Plainclothesmen attend meetings and discussion groups, take notes of the attendance, and set up a filing system dossier on private individuals. This clearing house of information is at all times at the disposal of the anti-labor employers, who may use it as their private blacklist. What they could not do in the crude old days of union busting, they now accomplish with the aid of thought-control police, under the guise of anti-subversive activity.



FILOMENA GOELMAN

KEY WITNESS UPSETS TRENTON 6 PROSECUTION

By George Lavan

TRENTON, April 25 — Prosecutor Volpe has launched a bitter attack on the testimony of one of his own key witnesses in the jim-crow, frame-up trial of the Trenton Six for the alleged murder of a storekeeper.

Defense questioning of state witness Dr. J. Minor Sullivan brought out that defendant Collis English was under "mental pressure" and could not have been acting of his own free will at the "confession" signing ceremony and that McKinley Forest was "rembling so that two doctors had to help him take off his shirt. Then prosecutor Volpe, one of the architects of the frame-up, began his effort to discredit the testimony of Dr. Sullivan.

This development was all the more damaging to the state's second attempt to send the six Negroes to the electric chair because Sullivan was one of the two Negro witnesses the state counted on to deodorize the anti-Negro smell of the frame-up. In the previous trial Volpe described Sullivan as one of "the outstanding colored citizens of this community."

Sullivan, who was a newcomer to Trenton when the anti-Negro reign of terror culminated in the haphazard arrest of the six defendants, was called in by the police when the defendants had been broken and ready to "confess" or do anything the police demanded. He had never had any previous professional dealings with the police, who have their own hired physicians. The masterminds of the frame-up, however, wanted window dressing for their case so the Negro doctor and a small-time Negro politician were called to police headquarters late one night.

Upon their arrival the show began. In succession the present defendants, exhausted and terrified from four days and five nights of grilling, were put through their "confession" acts. Then the regular police physician and Dr. Sullivan were asked to examine the men. This was because the police had used mental

Anti-War Candidate Runs Third, Polls 9% of Total

OAKLAND, April 23 — Filomena M. Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-large, polled 6,821 votes in the April 17 election. This is over 9 percent of the total vote cast.

Candidate Goelman ran third in a field of five.

In 1949, candidate Goelman received a little over 2,000 votes and ran eighth in a field of nine. Thus, in the last two years the Oakland SWP has gained 200 percent in voting strength.

The campaign was a militant anti-war and socialist offensive by the SWP in the Oakland area. Comrade Goelman's forthright socialist program, counterposed to the superficial campaigns of the other candidates, won her much sympathy.

"BRING GI'S HOME"

At street corner meetings, and in speeches from a sound truck, Comrade Goelman asked the workers of Oakland to make their vote a protest against the Korean war. When the Truman-MacArthur dispute was making the headlines, the SWP candidate proposed to "leave MacArthur in Korea and bring the GI's home now!" This never failed to bring a smile of approval from the audience.

Although the AFL bureaucrats practically threw up a blockade against candidate Goelman, preventing her speaking before lo-

cal AFL unions, this was more than compensated for by Comrade Goelman's speech before more than 2,500 longshoremen, who constitute the major CIO union in Northern California.

The excellent showing of the SWP in this campaign has not passed unnoticed. For one thing, Comrade Goelman received a vote almost identical to that received by the Independent Progressive Party candidate running in another district. The SWP demonstrated, therefore, a voting strength at least equal to that of the Stalinists.

A third of the campaign finances was raised from workers sympathetic to the anti-war program put forward by the candidate. One hard-working campaign worker held a dinner in her home to raise campaign funds.

Although no precinct analysis of the vote is available at this time, it is clear that Comrade Goelman ran strongest in the working class and Negro area of West Oakland. This election is a demonstration of the SWP's capacities, and the responsiveness of the workers at the present moment. It is a promise of things to come.

HANSEN HITS WAR PLANS AT OVERFLOW DETROIT MEETING

DETROIT, April 22 — Despite a city-wide strike of buses and streetcars, the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party was host to an overflowing audience who came to hear Joseph Hansen on a coast to coast SWP tour, speak on "America and the World Crisis." The present war in Korea was the main point under discussion both by the speaker and members of the audience who asked questions after the talk.

"The sudden involvement of U.S. troops in Korea without consulting the American people or even Congress has aroused widespread interest in politics among the population," he stated and gave as examples the tremendous interest centered on the Kefauver investigations and MacArthur's dismissal. "The ruling class has been trying to sell its foreign policy to the American people but I don't think it will be successful. The people are worried. Worried about the rising cost of living, heavy increases in taxes, the savage onslaught on civil rights and the attempts at Prussian militarism of the country."

Blasting the war-monger's cry that they are only trying to "export democracy abroad," Com-

rade Hansen quoted articles from capitalist papers reporting the horrible results of napalm attacks and the total destruction of the Korean countryside. "This started out as 'Operation Korea' but since then the American generals have renamed it 'Operation Killer,'" said the speaker. He went on to comment on the personalities and powers backing America's course in Korea — Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, the Vatican, Franco — as being notorious for their labor-hating, liberty-stifling policies. "Is this association in the spirit of our American forefathers or the Nazis?" he asked.

"Fear of revolution and the desire to prevent it is one of the real reasons for America's foreign policy," he said. In answer to those who advance the argument that the Soviet Union is trying to push us into war Comrade Hansen pointed out that the Stalinist bureaucracy has always tried to play ball with U.S. imperialists by subverting and thwarting workers' movements all over the world.

"The real push," he declared, "is from American big business. They don't want to make the world safe for democracy but safe for investments."

Ford 600 Leader Breaks with Reuther

Our analysis of the recent CIO United Automobile Workers convention in the April 16 Militant stated that President Walter Reuther's machine had disclosed "serious cracks."

Post-convention events are further confirming this estimate. The rift between Reuther and Ford Local 600 President Carl Stellato, which developed at the convention over the issue of the dues increase demanded by Reuther, has speedily become a wide-open break.

Smarting under Reuther's slanderous public castigation of him as "anti-union" at the convention, Stellato has hurled a full-page attack at the UAW president in the April 14 Ford Facts, official Local 600 newspaper. An eight-column giant-typed banner head sums up Stellato's present views toward Reuther in one word: "BETRAYAL!"

POLITICAL PRESSURE

Known as a Reuther supporter up to the time of the convention and elected to the 65,000-member Local 600 presidency just a couple of months ago with Reuther's backing, Stellato now charges the Reuther machine with a "violent and vicious brand of politics" in which "you play the game the way the big politicians say or you die of strangulation as they squeeze the political breath out of you. Either you go along or face the wrath of a high-powered,

who appeared at our political meetings and urged support for my reelection as (Local 600) President, who installed me in office when I was first elected, said I was anti-Union because I felt the delegates had no right to impose an increase in dues on our membership since they were elected as delegates to oppose an increase in dues."

UNION DEMOCRACY

In his blast against Reuther and Mazey, Stellato has gone beyond the dues issue to the fundamental question of internal union democracy. He states that "the cardinal sin is to disagree with the top leadership. For this sin you can be exterminated politically, you can be fired if you are a Union representative, you can be brought to trial by the Executive Board and thrown out of the Union, you can be denied the right to criticize Union policy or Union officers in Local Union newspapers. Every such action is a denial of the great democratic traditions of our Union."

The statement of "Local Union newspapers" undoubtedly refers to the action of Reuther and his Executive Board in attempting to intimidate and silence the Flint Chevrolet Local 659's newspaper, The Searchlight, which has bitterly attacked Reuther's

policies, including his five-year contracts.

Stellato's article cites the "various 'smart' techniques" used to stifle opposition expression at the convention. Among these are the "rules of the convention which are pressured through by the administration political machine. It required a greater number of delegates to get a roll call vote than to conduct the business of the convention. The committees are packed by careful selection of committee members by the administration in power."

Reuther, over-estimating his powers to force delegates into line, had employed the same kind of threats and pressure on Stellato and the Ford delegates as he used successfully on delegates from newer, smaller, weaker and less experienced locals. Had he realized in advance the outcome of his arrogant actions, it is likely that he would have been more cautious and diplomatic rather than drive such a powerful segment of his own machine as the Ford Local 600 leadership to a break.

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

Stellato concludes with the statement that "we can either defy this type of leadership, this type of vile politics, or we can bring to our membership the message of what actual conditions are in our Union. We can rest our case with the rank and file and hope that we can give rebirth to a demand from our membership for complete democracy in our Union and a rejection to those leaders who would deny us our democratic rights and complete removal of those other leaders who would betray this membership."

Stellato reserves some bitter words for the hundreds of convention delegates who had pledged their memberships to fight the

dues increase or were instructed to do so and who "broke those promises and betrayed their membership" under the coercion and pressure of the Reuther machine at the convention.

Reuther, over-estimating his powers to force delegates into line, had employed the same kind of threats and pressure on Stellato and the Ford delegates as he used successfully on delegates from newer, smaller, weaker and less experienced locals. Had he realized in advance the outcome of his arrogant actions, it is likely that he would have been more cautious and diplomatic rather than drive such a powerful segment of his own machine as the Ford Local 600 leadership to a break.

Stellato's charges can be expected to have wide repercussions throughout the auto union. They indicate a possibility of closer collaboration between the Ford Local 600 dissidents and the General Motors locals in Flint, as well as other influential opposition locals. If this opposition bases itself on a fundamental economic and political program — particularly rejection of union participation on government wage-freezing boards and support of the demand for formation of a labor party — it can make great headway in the UAW in a short time.