

# The Kind of Leaders Labor Has in U. S.

An Editorial

The American union leadership is as narrow-minded a crew of petty bureaucrats as can be found anywhere including the ward clubs of the Democratic or Republican party. They have no stomach for a fight except when their personal prestige and privileges are directly involved.

The American Federation of Labor Executive Council meeting in Montreal last week illustrates this.

In the midst of the determined drive of U.S. Big Business and its government agents against the organizations and living conditions of the workers, these union moguls voted to recommend to the September AFL convention that the United Labor Policy Committee be dissolved. By this act they declare their insolvency as leaders.

The top AFL and CIO officers were originally motivated in organizing the ULPC by a desire for more prominent recognition in government posts. But by its very organization the ULPC became a potentially powerful weapon in defense of labor's rights. The bold attack against Big Business control of government, the united front shown by the AFL, CIO and independent unions, inspired hope in the ranks of the union membership.

But none of the top union officials who organized the ULPC had either the vision or the courage to effectively mobilize the united strength of organized labor. They did not carry through a fight either to maintain the workers' economic positions, or to lead a struggle for genuine political representation for labor against the reactionary two-party system.

After walking out of all government boards in protest against the profiteer-dictated Washington policies, the ULPC crawled back in. They did not win a single important concession. The ULPC representing 15 million workers stood helpless, paralyzed by an impotent leadership.

The formation of the ULPC was greeted with enthusiasm by rank-and-file trade unionists. In many cities local committees were formed to carry out united action on a local level between the CIO, AFL and independents. Many locals passed resolutions favoring organic unity of labor.

Many workers saw in the ULPC a chance for the great union movement to unite its forces on the political field so that it could strike as a unified force in election campaigns, winning genuine labor representation in Congress.

## Clique Interests of the Leaders

But neither the CIO nor AFL leaders carried through the wishes of the ranks. They kowtowed to Truman; they begged small favors; they served as "window dressing" for the wage freeze, the tax steal and the price gouge. They did not once speak out against the drive toward an all-out war economy which more and more loads its heavy costs upon the low-income groups.

Such leaders as Tobin and Green, Murray and Reuther, think of labor unity in a different way from the worker in the shop. They are concerned about their posts, salaries, personal advantages. Each of the top figures in both CIO and AFL is a small-time baron; he views the union as his own happy-hunting ground, and the private bailiwick of his cronies. Unity would necessitate the amalgamation of some unions and the elimination of some posts, or at least the sharing of power.

The AFL hierarchy, which now proposes to split the ULPC, may hope to be able to force the CIO into organic unity on the AFL's terms. That is, with the lion's share of the posts and offices going to the old craft union leadership. The CIO officers, on the other hand, will resist this kind of forced unity because they have no intention to give up a single position on the payroll of a single union. Clique interests will shape this struggle, as it has in the past.

What a picture of unprincipled and small-minded men! The tragedy is that such men of straw head the most powerful labor movement in the world.

But these leaders will not stifle the independent spirit and power of American labor. Should the AFL convention endorse the break-up of the ULPC it would strengthen the growing resentment in the AFL ranks against the dictator-officers who rule these unions. The recent outbreak of militant teamsters in Cleveland is a sign of things to come.

In the CIO, where the bureaucrats are nowhere near as firmly entrenched as in the AFL, a new militancy is slowly but surely producing a new leadership of a far different caliber.

The unions today are bigger and stronger than ever. Neither the combined offensive of the big corporations and the government, nor the attempts of the union heads, have succeeded in suppressing the fighting character of the organized American working class.

In the auto shops, on the trucks, in the steel mills and in the mines, new men of labor are arising. Workers determined to defend their conditions of work and life, are learning the lessons of experience with the old-line conservative union big shots. In the process of struggle they are forging new leaders with the will to fight. The clearer the treacherous role of the reigning bureaucracy becomes, all the sooner a left wing labor leadership will develop to lead and win.

## 3 More CIO Bodies Donate To Help Kutcher Defense



JAMES KUTCHER

Three more important CIO bodies last week aided the legless veteran James Kutcher in his fight against Truman's loyalty purge. The CIO Council of New Jersey, Kutcher's home state, voted \$25 as "a contribution toward the excellent work of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee." Carl Holderman, President of the Council, was one of the initiators of the national campaign for his defense when Kutcher was fired from his job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his socialist views.

### AN OUTRAGE

The Hennepin County CIO Industrial Union Council of Minneapolis, Minnesota, sent \$10 with a letter from its Secretary-Treasurer Arthur Hopkins saying: "We consider his victimization an outrage against Civil Liberties. We trust that an aroused labor movement will soon aid this veteran in securing justice."

From the steel center of Youngstown Ohio the Mahoning County CIO Council sent \$25 for Kutcher's defense fund.

The funds raised will be used to defray the expenses of taking Kutcher's case to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals this fall.

## Illegal to Pray? Wis. Man Worried

The daily Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin, which conducted the recent, much publicized petition circulation and which found that 111 out of 112 people approached refused to sign the Declaration of Independence or the Bill of Rights out of fear of consequences, got the following wire from reader A. J. McCulloch, Lancaster, Wis.

"Grant County subscribers Capital Times worried. Capital Times petition Declaration of Independence is violation of Smith Act, contempt of Congress and contempt of Supreme Court. If McCarthy throws you in the clink we are afraid to solicit bail money. We shall pray for you if that is not illegal too."

## New Bill To Let Employers Fire Militants

### McCarran Proposes Broader Witchhunt

While Truman bemoans and tries to blame his Republican opponents, in particular McCarthy, for the spreading reign of terror in America, more repressions are being prepared in Congress to extend the witch-hunt deeper and deeper.

Senator McCarran (Dem.) has introduced a bill, which, if passed, will spread the purge into every shop in the country. This bill, which is a logical conclusion to the loyalty purge which Truman launched, will give unlimited powers to the corporations to fire any militant they choose.

### FIRE ANYONE

McCarran proposes to empower employers to fire "without liability" workers whose names appear on any Federal or state list of "subversives," or who are charged with belonging to such groups.

In addition to this the Senator proposes other open union-busting amendments to his notorious McCarran Act.

These will make it unlawful for any member of a communist or "front" group to hold office in a union. Furthermore, it decertifies as bargaining agent any union having an officer who is either a member of a Communist or a "front" group.

Still another deadly weapon placed in the hands of the employers is the authorization to fire any worker who refuses to tell "a duly constituted legislative committee" whether he belongs or has belonged to any organization on the Attorney General's subversive list.

### DEADLY ATTACK

Something new has also been added to the drive to destroy freedom of the press in America. The Justice Department in its indictment of the West Coast Communists, recently arrested, has included in the list of so-called crimes the writing of articles for the Communist press.

This is the first time since the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798 that writing for a newspaper has been outlawed in this country. The "democrats" in the Justice Department are now in effect saying, "But we are not suppressing a newspaper. We are merely arresting anyone who writes for it."

This widening of the attack on the labor unions and our democratic rights is still another warning to all sincere defenders of civil rights:

Stop the witch-hunt now!

**Socialist Workers Party Campaigns In Six States**  
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Workers of the World, Unite!

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# U. S. Truce Team Seeks To Dictate Harsh Terms



## Chinese Must Retreat North, Pentagon Says; Demand Kept Secret from Public at Home

What terms are being demanded by U.S. negotiators at Kaesong?

This is becoming the big question about the Korea cease-fire negotiations. Newspaper stories from the Korean correspondents covering the parleys continue extremely vague on this point. The plain truth of the matter is that the Pentagon does not want to let the American public know just what demands it is making in Korea.

## NAM Sales Tax Would Cost Poor Over \$5 Billion

A vast tax steal that would take another bite of more than five billion dollars out of the pockets of those who can least afford it is being pressed through Congress by the National Association of Manufacturers in league with other business organizations.

The NAM is proposing a federal sales tax on all purchases other than food, liquor and tobacco. The tax would equal more than one-third the cost of the item purchased. In other words, every \$8.00 item would cost at least \$4.00 under the NAM proposal.

### ALL-OUT PUSH

Life magazine of July 9 lists the big business combination backing this plan as including, in addition to the NAM, the Committee for Economic Development, the Committee on Federal Tax Policy, the National Retail Dry Goods Association, the American Retail Federation, and the Automobile Manufacturers' Association. These are the open Big Business advocates of the oppressive tax scheme, and do not include the powerful capitalist forces that are pushing the plan from under cover.

Weak administration resistance to this fantastic tax increase may collapse at any minute. The United Automobile Workers, CIO, in a release last week, charged that, in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, "Secretary of the Treasury Snyder seems to have left the door open for a federal sales tax in the future."

In the same release, the UAW-CIO makes a vivid analysis of

The Chinese radio has been blasting away with charges that the U.S. brass hats are asking for a truce line far north of the present battle line. U.S. denials of this have been couched in the vaguest terms. On Aug. 5, General Ridgway stated that the U.S. is asking for a truce line that is "in effect" the present battle line. Just what "in effect" means has never been made clear. Other reports of the U.S. stand say that allied negotiators are asking for a truce line "based upon" the present battle line.

### TRUCE LINE

During the 24th session of the truce conference, a speech was made by U.S. chief negotiator Admiral Joy, which was reported in part in the press. Maintaining its usual vague and indistinct tone that it always adopts when speaking of U.S. truce terms, the press does not explain the meaning of the speech. However, Joy's speech can have only one meaning. It is a defense of the idea that the U.S. army is entitled to a truce line still further north than the present battle line.

Joy's line is that a truce, which would put an end to U.S. air and naval bombardment, would give the Chinese and Korean armies certain "advantages." "We are prosecuting a war," he said, "behind your front lines which is not duplicated behind our lines." His conclusion from this is that the U.S. Army must be given ground advantages which it does not now possess in order to make up for the alleged great loss the U.S. will suffer by stopping its air and naval bombardment.

All the arguments advanced by Joy appear to bear out the Chinese contention that the U.S. is asking them to retreat before it will accept a cease-fire.

Meanwhile, the U.S. truce team has relations with the press exclusively through a "briefing of

## What Truman Cooked Up For Our Dinner Tables

By Murry Weiss

Get ready to spend at least 10 percent more of your take-home pay for nothing. That's the plain meaning of the recent "control" legislation enacted by the "horsemeat Congress." This new price increase should not come as a surprise — the news comes right out of the horse's mouth, Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston himself. Johnston told the first meeting of the Defense Mobilization Board that the cost of living will go up five to eight percent during the next year.

When you consider that this is Johnston's own conservative figure, and then add the steadily mounting open and concealed taxes, you will be safe in concluding that if you are taking home, say, \$50 a week you can kiss \$5 of that goodbye.

### A SHOCK

"Mr. Johnston's estimate . . . came as something of a shock to Board members," the N. Y. Times reports. If it was "something of

a shock" to the Board, on which sit cabinet members making \$433 a week (aside from expenses and extras), what will it be to the wage earners?

When you go to the store these days you know how far a Korean war-dollar will get you. Take one more dime out of every dollar and you get an idea of what Washington has cooked up for your dinner table.

Here are some points you ought to keep in mind if you are looking for the whys and wherefores of this situation:

1. — Since America was dragged into the Korean war by Truman's unauthorized action, increases in prices have taken some 20 billion dollars out of the pockets of consumers. This means that every man, woman and child has already paid out \$130 in price increases during this war. Now that figure is about to be almost doubled with the additional price increases scheduled for the coming year. All this is aside from what will happen if the brass hats running the Washing-

ton show really get going on an all-out arms program.

2. — In the war year of 1942, Federal, state and local taxes came to \$170 per person. Last year this tax load had soared to \$360, or more than doubled. This is what taxes look like during "peacetime." Imagine what they are planning for the "real war."

3. — Now look at it this way: According to Mrs. Wickens, deputy commissioner U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, cost of living necessities that families buy every month used to cost \$100 a month in 1939 as against \$185 today. "It takes \$23.74 to buy the groceries that a \$10 bill used to buy before World War II," she says. Comparable figures are given for all other cost of living items. Keep in mind this is the continuous trend and there is a lot more of this coming.

### RECORD PROFITS

4. — Compare these stiff boosts in the cost of living with the figures on profits. While the work-

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# Lieutenant Challenges Truman to Take Issue of Korea Withdrawal to the People

What American soldiers really think of the Korean war was sharply expressed in a letter by Marine Lieut. Gale G. Buuck, printed in the Fort Wayne, Indiana, News-Sentinel on March 26. Lieut. Buuck is on active duty in Korea with the Second Battalion of the First Marine Division. His letter reads as follows:

### THE LETTER

"Will you please relay the following questions to Harry S. Truman?"

"How many years are you going to let American manpower, materials and money drain into this Korean sewer? How many more of my men must die on account of your stubborn refusal to pull out of Korea?"

"The undersigned dares you to take the following issue to the people:

"Shall we pull out of Korea? "Someday you will answer for this sellout of American man-

power and materials. Unfortunately on account of you and your administration most of the boys here won't be alive to register their righteous wrath against this sellout.

"Again the question Mr. Truman, how long must we stay here in this godforsaken hole of Korea?"

(Signed) GALE G. BUUCK, Lieut. U.S.M.C.

This letter was officially ignored for nearly four months. It has suddenly received general publicity because it was reprinted in the Moscow Literary Gazette. Then the cat was out of the bag. Now the Marine Corps in Washington has become interested in it. According to the N. Y. Times, "disciplinary action against Lieutenant Buuck is being considered" — for daring to express his opinion.

### HAD TO "SOUND OFF"

That the Lieutenant is aware that the administration is deter-

mined to gag the American soldier is indicated by the remark he appended to his letter, "Do what you will with it, but I had to sound off."

The prolonged official silence concerning this letter is only the other side of a high powered campaign to bludgeon the people into believing that the American soldier is now beginning to glory in the Korean slaughter, that he is happy with such abominations as "Operation Killer."

It is no longer denied officially that soldier morale in the past was low; but the claim is that there has been a "remarkable change." In an interview granted to the weekly U.S. News, Aug. 17, Gen. Ridgway was asked the following leading question:

"What is the explanation for the remarkable improvement of morale of UN troops in Korea in the past six months?" And here is Ridgway's answer:

"Leadership at all levels in all services and national contingents;

the inculcation of a reasoned understanding based on facts of the purpose of their presence in Korea and the objectives for which they fight."

### NAILING THE LIE

But the authentic voice of the GI is filtering through the tight lid of censorship. The lie is being nailed. Lieutenant Buuck's letter is only one among many others.

For example, the Congressional Record of March 13 quotes another letter from a soldier to the Marquette Mining Journal, "Myself and a few thousand other GIs would like to know the answers to several questions. The biggest question at the present is, just why are we over here? The Korean people certainly aren't glad to have us. I've seen it with my own eyes."

### A SURVEY

To cite another instance, there is the survey conducted in May by Benjamin Fine for the N. Y. Times. Fine has quoted typical

remarks from 5,000 Army trainees and officers whom he interviewed:

"Why am in the Army? I'll tell you why. It's because Truman made a blunder," said one GI.

"I have no stomach to fight the United Nation's war. It's only for Wall Street anyway," another said.

The American soldier is not alone in his revulsion against the Korean atrocity, the greatest perpetrated in history. A recent AFL radio poll of 96,000 listeners indicated the universal unpopularity of the Korean war. Those polled were thirty to one for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Every public poll has uncovered the same sentiment.

In Korea and at home, the demand keeps growing. The courageous protests from the GI's are joining together with the real voice of America in the mighty chorus:

Bring the troops home now!

# Notebook of an Agitator

## THE REVOLUTIONIST AND THE BUREAUCRAT

There is good sense in the old saying that two heads are better than one. The same thought can be profitably extended into the conception that the collective thinking of many, freely expressed, can yield better results in the long run than the arbitrary and capricious decisions of an individual who decides and rules without control or restraint. This is the argument for the practical efficiency of democracy in general, and in the workers' movement in particular.

It is true that democracy is a rather cumbersome process, while bureaucratic short cuts seem to "get things done" without delay. But the trouble is that things done this way are often done wrong. And without the corrective restraint of democracy there is no way of righting them; one error leads to another and things go from bad to worse to the detriment of the people whose interests are directly involved. This is the evil story of all uncontrolled bureaucracies — in trade unions, parties and governments.

The great teachers of the working class knew all about this. They were dead set against bureaucratism — everyone of them. They were confirmed democrats. I don't mean democrats in the sense of that fraudulent "democracy" by the mechanism of which the masses of the people have the illusion of deciding the conduct of affairs by voting for hand-picked candidates every two or four years; while all the mediums of information and communication remain in the hands of a small clique of money sharks who own all the industries and rule the country behind the parliamentary facade. No, our teachers scornfully exposed and denounced the fraud and deceit and general skulduggery of bourgeois "democratic" politics. They were democrats in the real sense of the word. They maintained that the people should freely discuss and participate in deciding all matters of the general welfare which concerned them — their methods and conditions of work, the affairs of their own organizations; and the government.

Marx and Engels proclaimed that "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves."

From this profound thought it necessarily followed that the workers would have to create their own organizations of combat and run them themselves. When the founders of scientific socialism said the workers must emancipate themselves, they meant that nobody would do it for them, and nobody could. The same holds true for their organizations, the instruments of struggle for emancipation. If they are really to serve their purpose, these organizations must belong to the workers and be democratically operated and controlled by them. Nobody can do it for them. So thought the great democrats, Marx and Engels.

### GENUINE DEMOCRACY

The successors of Marx and Engels—Lenin and Trotsky—who executed their testament as leaders of the great Russian revolution, acted in the spirit of the masters. Lenin outlined the perspective of a really democratic workers' state where "every cook" would learn to take part in the administration of public affairs. Trotsky began his great struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution with the demand for the restoration of Soviet democracy. Genuine democracy is profoundly revolutionary, and all four of our revolutionary teachers — the masters, Marx and Engels and the great disciples, Lenin and Trotsky — were genuine democrats.

Indeed, if you take the trouble to consider the question theoretically and read the history of revolutions in search of what really happened, it becomes clear that the great revolutionists were democrats precisely because they were revolutionists. They had to be democrats in order to organize and lead revolutions. Social revolutions are made by the masses; their independent action is just what social revolution is, in Trotsky's classic definition. When the masses

rise up out of passivity and acquiescence and intervene in events and decide them — that is the time of revolution.

The conception of Marx and Engels, which was shared by their great disciples, that the workers must emancipate themselves, determined their approach to the masses and their attitude toward them. They were in no way disposed to "order" revolutions, as many superficial writers have said and some ignorant people have believed, if for no other reason than that they knew it could not be done that way. Their task, as Marx and Engels explained it, and as Lenin and Trotsky carried it out in practice to a superlative degree, was to bring the element of socialist consciousness into the labor movement; to organize and lead it, but in no case to try to substitute themselves for it. All their writings are permeated with this conception and this practice. They do not give orders to the masses. They inform, they enlighten. They try to explain and persuade. Reading them you can learn. That is why their writings remain ever fresh and new, the greatest treasure of the new revolutionary generation — the heritage of a hundred years of socialist culture.

### THE POLAR DIFFERENCE

The bureaucrats are the opposite of all that, and the polar difference sticks out of all their writings and utterances. There is nothing revolutionary about the bureaucrats. They fear the masses and distrust them and are always swept aside during periods of upsurge. Only when the masses quiet down do the bureaucrats have their day — the gray people of the ebb tide. You see this manifested in all workers' organizations in all mutations of the class struggle, from strikes to revolutions, and from trade unions to the organs of state power.

Stalinism, the supreme example in all history of a labor bureaucracy swollen to monstrous proportions, and multiplying in themselves all the negative traits of the ordinary conservative laborer, who is their blood kin and lacks only their opportunity and their power — Stalinism is the most misunderstood phenomenon of our time. Most ludicrous of all is the widespread impression that these representatives of reaction and stranglers of revolutions are secretly plotting revolution on a world-wide scale. Just mention the word Stalinism to Social Democrats, for example, who fear revolution for their own reasons, and they take to the cyclone celars on the double, scared out of their livers and their lights. The United States government recently convicted eleven functionaries of American Stalinism for "advocating" and representing a "clear and present danger" of revolution, and the Supreme Court has upheld the verdict. This is a combination of misunderstanding and fraud.

The proletarian revolutionist is one thing and the Stalinist functionary is another. They are not only different in their aims and purposes. There is a profound difference in their mentalities and in their methods of expressing them. The revolutionist is a democrat, organizing opposition to the power of the present day, and striving to create a new power of the people.

The functionary is merely a bureaucrat, always and everywhere serving an existing power. The revolutionist is a thorough-going radical and is personally disinterested; he wants to change the social order in the interest of all, and considers it beneath his dignity to seek personal advantage. The bureaucrat, in all organizations, and under all conditions, is profoundly conservative and meanly selfish; he strives to preserve the status quo in the interest of his privileges. The revolutionist trusts the masses because they are the makers of revolutions. The bureaucrat fears them for the same reason. The bureaucrat gives orders like a policeman. The revolutionist tries to explain things like a teacher. The bureaucrat lies to the people. The revolutionist believes the truth will make them free, and tells it. — J. P. C.

# What Truman Cooked Up For Our Dinner Tables

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ers who produce all wealth are stuck with a diminishing purchasing power, the corporations are making record breaking profits. Reports on corporation profits for the first six months of 1951 show that despite higher taxes there has been a substantial increase in profits over the peak profit year of 1950. These figures may give you some idea of why we are in Korea and why the mention of ending the Korean war sends shivers down the spines of the profit barons.

Eric Johnston, of course, claims that the shocking increases of 5 to 8 percent in prices for the coming year will be due to the legislation passed by Congress. Truman made a big to-do about his "reluctance" to sign the Congressional bill. Thus the administration seeks to unload the blame for the whole rotten situation on Congress. But this is only half of the truth.

Congress and the Truman administration are equally guilty. The only energy the Truman regime has shown in the field of price control is on wage freezing. Truman and his boys hold you while the profit kings hit you. What good does it do if Truman whines a few complaints against the profiteers while he's holding you so they can hit you?

Actually there is no secret about the fact that the policy of the government is to artificially feed the inflation every time it looks like prices are going to sag. How can you explain the upward zoom of prices during a year

when there was a bumper crop of key agricultural commodities. The shelves of retailers are groaning with unsold goods. Wholesale houses complain of enormous inventories and a "soft buyers' market."

According to the famous theory they always throw at you about "supply and demand" regulating capitalist economy, prices should today be going down. But the truth is that the Truman administration, caught in the insane workings of the anarchy of capitalist production, lives in dread of the bottom dropping out of the market. The only alternative they know is to juggle the economy between inflation and depression and to see that the worker gets it in the neck in both cases. Their overriding consideration is to build a war economy that will ensure profits and markets to the capitalists and to make the workers pay for it with their blood and sweat.

### TRUMAN'S GAME

Every time they see the market slumping the administration pumps more life into the dying organism of capitalism by new arms expenditures and their consequent inflationary effects. They can't keep this game up forever, unless you believe in miracles. Already a great heat is being generated throughout the country on the price situation. A day of reckoning for all the dirty gouging and stealing of the profiteers is drawing near.

The trade union officials are also coming to the end of their rope on the shabby policy they have been following. How long can they continue to sell the

workers the line of supporting capitalist politicians who systematically aid and abet the war profiteers? With the 1952 elections looming, it's high time that labor made a clean and final break with all capitalist politics and politicians and entered the field under its own independent banner, with a fighting program against capitalist inflation and war.

# NAM SALES TAX WOULD COST POOR \$5 BILLIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

the proposed tax program of the NAM. Such a tax as the NAM wants would bring the total taxes taken from the families in the U.S. that have incomes under \$1000 per year to over 50 percent. More than \$500 of the incomes of these families would go for taxes!

### SOAKING THE POOR

The tax would cost \$133 per year out of the pockets of low income families, more than \$200 per year out of the pockets of better paid workers and middle class groups.

The UAW points out that, if this tax grab is put into effect together with the price increases that have recently been voted by Congress, this may cost the average auto worker an estimated \$550 per year.

The bosses' tax program, which may yet become the law of the land, would thus shift five billions of dollars in taxes over from the wealthy portion of the population onto the shoulders of those least able to pay. Thus while it would cut workers' incomes, on the average of a couple of hundred dollars per year, it would actually boost the incomes of those now getting more than \$7,500 per year by an average of a couple of thousand dollars per year.

### RICH GET RICHER

The present tax structure, already extremely inequitable, would be rendered more so. At the present time, sales and excise taxes, Federal, State and municipal, take almost 12 percent of every family income

# Stores Anxious To Unload Stocks

Retail merchants throughout the country are still carrying heavily swollen inventories and are "going all-out" to reduce them, reports Women's Wear Daily, Aug. 18. Heaviest stocks are held by stores in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Boston. Cut-backs on orders have been prevalent. Inventories overloaded by some 30 percent are common. In some cases the overload runs as high as 50 percent.

# TAX THE RICH!

This "soak the poor" tax program is in direct conflict with the needs of the American people, who are rapidly being crushed under an increasing load of high prices, rising taxes, and mounting personal debts. Unionists everywhere should demand of their local and international union bodies that taxation on all incomes under \$5,000 a year be halted, and that Congress begin to take the money from those who have large quantities of it. The "soak the poor" tax plan must be turned into a "soak the rich" program.

# New "Revive Europe" Plans Used To Cover Marshall Plan Fizzle

By Thomas Raymond

Scared government officials and mendacious journalists are making feverish efforts to cover up the utter failure of the Marshall Plan with phoney statistics. They are making every effort to draw

attention away from the miserable three-year past record of the Economic Cooperation Administration by blaring forth new fancy plans for the future.

Last week we showed how the Marshall Plan had failed to attain its hoped for objective of improving European living standards to beat off the spread of radicalism. Further news to this effect is reported in the bulletin of the International Monetary Fund for August 10, which confirms our assertion that living standards in France, typical Marshall Plan country, are at a similar level to the low depression year of 1938. The Monetary Fund publication sees this "low standard of living of workers" as a hindrance to long term improvement.

### WHO BENEFITED

Time magazine for August 6th offers further confirmation: "In four years of Marshall Planning,

actually due to increased production.

### WAR ECONOMY AHEAD

And finally, Time neglects to point out that just about all of this increase in production is accounted for by the increase in steel, iron, munitions, chemicals, and other war industries, and therefore entirely useless in any plan for genuine economic improvement. The European economy is being fitted for war only.

In fact, so far is Europe from any genuine economic stabilization, that the most stable sector of Europe, economically, Britain and Sweden, is entering a new critical period. Both Britain and Sweden find themselves caught with a widening gap between exports and imports. Britain, which in 1950, had virtually succeeded in closing this gap, now finds that her imports are up to almost double her exports. This means that the British are going further and further into debt again, primarily to America.

But don't for a minute imagine that while Britain is going into debt, she is at least getting something out of it. The main reason she is caught with this ever widening gap is because American capitalists are charging so much more for every item imported by Britain. Britain is only getting 18 percent more goods now than a year ago, but she has to pay 43 percent more for this stuff. And the worst case of all is that of raw materials: Britain imports only 11 percent more raw materials now than a year ago, but for this increased amount she must pay prices that average 76 percent more!

Thus American price rises work in such a way that the American capitalist takes back from Europe much that the American taxpayer sends over there. Just as the figures we gave in last week's analysis show, the chief beneficiary of Marshall Plan aid is the American capitalist, the second beneficiary is the European capitalist, while the American worker pays in heavy taxes and rising prices, and the European worker is ground into deeper poverty.

### DISAPPOINTMENT

Michael Hoffman, writing in the N. Y. Times of August 12 reports from Europe: "It is a profound disappointment to Europeans to find that the upshot of the whole recovery drive has been to leave an insolvent Britain..."

It is these facts that are being concealed from the American public by a fake ballyhooing campaign for the "successes" of ECA, phony percentage statistics, and, last but not least, "new master plans" which ECA masterminds produce on a split second schedule.

This last item, the "new plans" which ECA comes out with every so often, are among the most fraudulent products of our fraudulent rulers in Washington. Take as an instance, the project recently reported out of Washington's ECA offices, and flaunted abroad under headlines: "ECA Prepares Master Plan to Revivify Eastern Europe," etc. First of all, we should take note that ECA, if it comes out with a sudden plan now to "revivify" Europe, is duty bound to make some explanation of why a new plan must suddenly be launched to "revivify" an economy that should already be "revivified" according to ECA statistics.

### THE "NEW" PLAN

As a matter of fact, this "new plan" is brought forward at such a time and in such a way as to draw attention away from the past record of ECA and to obviate the necessity for explaining what has happened to the billions in the ECA treasury during the past months and years of ECA.

This new plan strikes an ominous tone for the workers of Western Europe. Anti-labor formulations are prominent in the points of the program. The ECA proposes to start dealing with some of the following problems:

1. "Social and individual inertia."
2. "Lack of incentives to productivity improvement by owners and workers."
3. "Positive handicaps in the form of adverse action by cartels, trade associations, and business colleagues, and, frequently, by the governments on the labor side."
4. "Over-restrictive union rules, and pressures against individual workers who seek to increase their rate of increase."
5. "Fears of speed up and unemployment that have frequently been identified by labor as the only likely result of productivity increases."

These "problems" that ECA proposes to deal with in Europe have a familiar ring to American workers. It is quite evident that ECA is preparing to export the Taft-Hartley Law if it can, and is going to do everything possible to encourage European employers to imitate the back-breaking speed-up now under way in American factories. Just as in the U.S., a few token slaps are taken, verbally, at "employer" and "cartel" practices, but real life practise shows that American officialdom will make no serious moves against capitalists.

Further aspects of the plan have been reported by Time magazine in the following words: "Above all, ECA insists, European employers must be willing to adopt one principle of U.S.-style capitalism: increased profits must 'filter down to the worker' in better pay or lower prices." The "better pay and lower prices" principle of "U.S.-style capitalism" that Time boasts about is to be exported to Europe as another Marshall Plan aid. But we have to suggest this fallacy: You can't export what you haven't got.

### GUNS NOT BUTTER

As a matter of fact, that is the whole secret of the failure of the Marshall Plan. They are trying to export to Europe the secret of how to get prosperity for a dying capitalist system, and they haven't got that secret. Nobody has.

The tipoff on the real meaning of the "new plan" to "revivify Europe" that ECA is working on, comes in the notice that ECA gives to European capitalism: we will only give aid to those factories that make products which benefit "Europe as a whole." Time explains this by saying: "Example: a Dutch ship-builder would probably qualify for aid, a French girdle-maker would not." Time could have explained this much more accurately by saying: a French tank builder would probably qualify for aid, a winemaker, or baker, or textile manufacturer would not.

In other words, what is ahead for European workers is more of what Hitler, Mussolini, and Petain gave them: more guns, less butter.

# Tenants League Holds Outing at Mt. Spring Camp

The Lenox-Fifth Ave. Tenants League of Harlem, N. Y. celebrated the fourth anniversary of the founding of this organization at an all-day outing on Sunday Aug. 12 at Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, N. J. More than forty members and friends of this Tenant's League with their children came to the outing by chartered bus.

In the course of the outing an address was delivered by Mrs. Clyde Turner, councilman candidate in Philadelphia on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Mrs. Turner expressed her admiration for the tenacious fight the Tenants League has been carrying on since its foundation four years ago in behalf of its members, dwellers of the worst slums in Harlem.

### STEP FORWARD

"Wherever, we, the poor and the oppressed," she said, "come together and organize in order to remove any of the evils which the capitalist system is continually inflicting upon us, no matter what the nature of the evil may be, it is a step forward to Socialism."

"Your struggle," she continued, "is part of the struggle for a better New York; and the struggle for a better New York, a better Philadelphia is part of the struggle for a better world, a socialist world."

An excellent program of sports and entertainment was prepared by the camp management. The camp chef surpassed himself baking a huge birthday cake in honor of the League's fourth birthday.

Before leaving the camp Mrs. Alphonso Jenkins, wife of the League's president, thanked the camp management in the name of the officers and members of the League for a most enjoyable day of excellent food, fine entertainment and warm friendly atmosphere. "We are all looking forward to coming back to Mountain Spring Camp," Mrs. Jenkins said.



Long Island farmer Raymond T. Bailey sits by as New York garbage collectors empty his bushels of string beans into garbage truck. Offered 25 cents a bushel for beans when baskets alone cost him that much, Bailey preferred to dump his entire shipment rather than sell.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Socialist Workers Party candidates have now entered election campaigns in California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Reports from literature agents in these localities are already beginning to show the value of The Militant as an election campaigner and the possibilities for increasing Militant circulation during local election campaigns. Philadelphia Militant salesmen sold their entire bundle at a recent election rally for Clyde Turner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman.

Literature Agent George Rock reports the experience in New York of a number of comrades out getting signatures on petitions to put Michael Bartell on the ballot for City Council President. "A number of us decided to combine business with pleasure, and distributed back issues of The Militant while petitioning," he reports. "Several people who received the paper for the first time, returned late, enthusiastic about The Militant, and signed the petition. We gave the paper to two young fellows who read it and who then showed The Militant to passers-by and urged them to sign the petition also."

"One petitioner, Ann, sold a subscription to The Militant on the street to an interested signer who asked about the Socialist Workers Party program. As soon as our petition drive is over," George says, "we expect to combine our election campaign with a wide expansion of Militant sales."

A letter from Cleveland Literature Agent Jean describes one of the experiences that make selling The Militant interesting and rewarding. "The enclosed subscription is proof that The Militant sells itself," she writes. "Wednesday evening two of us went out to sell individual copies of The Militant in the neighborhood of our new Cleveland

headquarters. We had less than an hour and wanted to sell as many papers as possible, without taking the time to sell sub, so we didn't bother taking any sub blanks along. However, when my friend was half way down the block, an AFL machinist to whom she had sold an individual copy came running after her. He had already read it and wanted to subscribe.

"In less than 45 minutes she sold the sub and 7 individual copies and I sold 11 papers — and this was on the same day as the FBI arrests and scare headlines in the local papers, so obviously the attempt to intimidate independent thinking is not succeeding completely by a long shot.

"Incidentally, in the same neighborhood in which we sold the papers, the main corner drugstore newsstand has been selling out its 10 Militants weekly and this week increased its order to 15."

Literature Agent Kat of Akron wishes to congratulate Jean Simon on her report of the Cleveland rank and file truckers' strike in the Aug. 6 issue of The Militant. "The need of the hour," a labor party, flows through her entire report, not just in the last paragraph," she writes. "With this issue we're really set up for some house to house canvassing with The Militant."

R. Q. of Pittsburgh writes to renew her subscription to The Militant. "It's due to expire some time this month and I don't want to miss a single issue." She is only sorry that due to the slowness of the mail she can't get each issue sooner, she says.

Many thanks to D. P. of Gary Indiana for the \$1 contribution sent in with his renewal to The Militant and Fourth International, magazine of Marxist theory. He also enclosed a \$5 donation to the defense fund for James Kutcher, defenseless veteran and victim of Truman's loyalty purge, who is fighting for reinstatement to his job. This contribution has been forwarded to the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee.

# Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1 for six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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