THE MILITANT

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FIGHT WALL STREET'S SLAVE LAW BY BUILDING LABOR'S OWN PARTY

Truman Gesture Is Bid For Votes But They Can Win The War

Last-Minute Veto Designed To Hide Anti-Union Record

By Joseph Hansen

The top bureaucrats of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods are hailing Harry S. Truman as a friend of labor. His strongly-worded veto of the deadly Taft-Hartley bill was apparently sufficient in their opinion to make up for his whole previous anti- Taft-Hartley bill was similarly

the labor bureaucrats justified? bill in the egg. When it was re-Was Truman suddenly converted ported out of committee he did over-night from a bitter foe of not lift a finger to stop it. During the labor movement into its the long months it was discussed champion?

at the political stakes for which entum, Truman made no attempt Truman was playing. In the 1946 whatsoever to mobilize opposielections, the Democrats suffer- tion. He even permitted the ruhad previously supported the had no real objections to the bill. Democrats either voted against He maintained his equivocal them or else stayed away from silence up to the last possible polls. They thus registered their minute, thus covertly encouragbitterness and resentment over ing the most rabid, labor-hating the rotten postwar world that political representatives of Wall stands in such stark contrast to Street in Congress. the glowing propaganda Wall Street dished out during the war. In the 1948 election, the the Democratic Party against war. In the 1948 election, the Democrats fear they will lose the White House too sistent with his entire course in White House too.

tical advisers most of all is the trend of the labor movement toward independent political action. Had Truman openly backed In his "State of the Union" the Taft-Hartley bill or permitted it to become law without his manded a tough anti-labor law. signature, it would have enormously hampered the efforts of struck a year ago, Truman com-Democratic wheelhorses to halt mandeered the railways and callman denounced the bill in terms gress to demand the passage of most calculated to appeal to the a law empowering him to draft labor movement.

signed to provide the labor bur- During the subsequent mariworkers in the 1948 election.

formance of Roosevelt's infam- same breath again called for ous tactics with similar bills. In legislation to draft strikers. 1943, it will be recalled, when Truman added to this consisttary regulations.

Congress then rushed through fine levied on the miners? the outrageous Smith-Connally anti-labor act. But Roosevelt did assembled, Truman again called about the Democrats who have swing the axe aimed at labor's on both your houses! That was and paved the way for the highnot sign it. He vetoed it in order for anti-labor legislation and pretended since the beginning of neck. to appear as a friend of labor. proclaimed his readiness to back the New Deal that they were in-Congress then promptly passed it the Republican majority in Con-terested in the welfare of the political parties serve class in-

labor." This analysis was con- them. to hound and persecute strikers. friend of labor by any stretch of

hypocritical and perfunctory. He Is the extravagant praise of made no attempt to crush the in Congress he did not utter : To find the correct answers, word of protest. While the Taft we must first of all take a look steam-roller was gathering momed a severe defeat. Many who mor to circulate freely that he

Truman's failure to mobilize What worries Truman's poli- office. In December 1945, he speech, January 3, 1946, he de-

When the railroad workers this trend. Consequently Tru- ed a special joint session of Constrikers and force them to work Truman's veto was thus de- at the point of the bayonet.

eaucrats with a talking point to time strike, he threatened to use make it easier to sell him to the the Navy to break it. When

velt threatened to draft them and strike of the coal miners. Who law demanded by Wall Street. was ground to razor sharpness

gress. He proved that he meant "common man"? As the July 3, 1943, Militant what he said by signing the no-



Conaress Vote Shows Reactionary Character Of Democratic Party

cracked them under the eyes of crats to stem the tide of reac-Congress passed the Case bill, packed galleries as nonchalantly Truman's veto is a repeat per- Truman vetoed it but in the as monkeys in a zoo. When the reading ended, the faint applause boost in wages to keep up with when he mobilized all the forces sentatives of the capitalist class when the most ruthless piece of by labor despite his efforts to break strikes and assure the sky-rocketing living costs, Roose- of government to smash the rubber-stamped the anti-labor legislation in decades knife their struggle.

force them to work under mili- can forget the strikebreaking It was a foregone conclusion by the Republicans, a majority Little Steel stood on picket lines injunction and the \$3,500,000 that the Republicans would stand of Democrats — a big majority facing the brutal steel barons. virtually to a man for Big Busi-Last January when Congress ness and against labor. But what approval. 126 Democrats helped denunciation of labor: a plague the last remaining price controls

House June 20, a group of bureaucrats, the Stalinists — all party. Democratic Representatives the fakers and traitors — claimtion?

Workers who understand how Democrats last election? How for labor to break from both the They spearheaded the drive Jim Crow, or lynch murder.

While Truman's veto mes- they were "friends" of labor? Do | capitalist parties and begin or- | against labor and laid the basis

The Democratic Party succeedbroke out a sack of peanuts and ed you had to vote for the Demo- ed in fooling great numbers of workers with its "New Deal." They made those promises to sion, when the working class Act, and so on. fool gullible workers into voting threatened to move in the diof an individual or two was for them. Once in office, the rection of socialism, Roosevelt

In 1937 when the workers in all history. - joined them with shouts of Roosevelt delivered his famous how he really felt toward the "common man."

When he took the country into ous war profits, they gave bilterests were not taken in by the World War II despite his elec- lions in tax rebates to Big Busi-They voted 106 to 71 in the election propaganda of the Dem- tion promise "again and again ness. They imposed high taxes on declared: "Roosevelt's opposition torious law to undermine the House for the Taft-Hartley ocratic Party. They knew that and again" not to send Amer- the low income brackets. . . . was hypocritical and per- Fair Labor Standards Act and slave-labor bill and 20 to 22 in both the Republican and Demo- ican boys overseas to die on forfunctory. He just went through rob millions of working men of the Senate. That decisive vote cratic machines are political in- eign battlefields, the pro-labor ed to do would make a volume the motions in order to deceive the portal-to-portal back pay due should remove the last lingering struments of Wall Street. They demagogy of the New Deal was by itself. Ask any veteran what doubt any worker might enter- understand how the two-party scrapped. The Democratic Party, they accomplished in the way of firmed to the hilt by Roosevelt's In the light of this record, tain about the character of the merry-go-round is designed to with big majorities in both providing housing. Ask any poor subsequent use of this vicious law Truman cannot be considered a Democratic Party. Do you recall entice the workers into taking Houses of Congress, passed one person in the South what they the campaign promises of the another ride. And they called reactionary law after another. did about the poll tax system,

sufficient to recall the Smith Gag

Under the Democratic Party the government seized plants,

capitalists the highest profits in continued this reactionary course since the war. They wiped out est prices this country has ever seen. On top of the mountain-

And what the Democrats fail-

By The Editors Millions of workers gritted their teeth in white-hot anger as the Democratic and Republican parties united this week to give the plutocracy its first major victory over the working masses since the end of the war.

A venal, prostituted Congress has struck the labor movement from ambush, killing reforms, strangling progress, seeking to condemn American labor to defenseless

With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Truman Doctrine is being applied directly at home as well as abroad. The Wall Street whip that lashes the worker in Tokyo and terrorizes the peasant in Greece is now cracking at the backs of American workingmen in New York and San Francisco. The deadly menace of the Taft-Hartley Act hangs over Detroit and other industrial centers as the atomic bomb hangs over Moscow and the whole world.

How stunning is this blow! Only yesterday there were laws on the statute books safeguarding the elementary democratic rights of the organized labor movement. Today the open shop is back. Injunctions are back. Forced arbitration is back. Litigation against unions is back. Manhunts against the militants are back. Overnight the clock of labor legislation has been pushed back twenty-five years. In Wall Street, there is jubilation.

How was Wall Street able to win this victory? Why were 15 million union men and women impotent to stay the hand of Congressional cut-throats? Because this giant of American labor was armed by its leaders with nothing but paper weapons-wads of postcards and telegrams to fling at Congress.

While the lackeys of Big Business were grinding out the anti-labor law, the cowardice and treachery of the top leadership of the union movement prevented the workers from taking unified militant action. Murray, Lewis and Green threw themselves at the mercy of the Democratic Party, staking everything on a Presidential veto and the workers lost!

What shall be done now? Labor's anger is bound to flare into resistance. But it is not enough. Only if the abor movement is purged of illusions and cleansed of misleaders and liars can this harsh defeat become the starting point for a new struggle that will lead to victory.

An era is closed. It was the era of fighting on the picket lines but crawling at the polls. It was the era of keeping labor chained to the Democratic Party.

The crime of the labor leaders lay in blessing this posage was being read to the you remember how the labor ganizing an independent labor for the Taft-Hartley bill. It is No shouts of "betrayal" can cover up this crime. litical party which helped forge the chains for the unions.

Truman paved the way for Taft. The Democrats Act, the dictatorial powers that marched down the bi-partisan road, with the Republicans, were granted Roosevelt, the to defeat the veto. And all the while, Murray and Green During the depths of the depres- Smith - Connally strikebreaking strained might and main not to safeguard the unions but to salvage Truman's reputation!

They provided cheap publicity for this friend of the railroad magnates, coal barons and meat kings; this bendrowned in a roar of derisive Democrats tossed their campaign granted a few concessions and mines, railways and shipyards efactor of Franco, Peron, Chiang Kai-shek and the King the coal miners demanded a ent anti-labor record last winter boos. Then these political repre- propaganda in the ashcan. And claimed credit for victories made for no other purpose but to of Greece; this political bedfellow of Rankin, and Bilbo.

Will these labor leaders learn? Not one whit more than did their kind in Germany who led the workers first. into the camp of the German Roosevelts, next to the The Democratic Party has camp of the German Trumans and finally to Hitler's concentration camp.

Will the labor leaders support a militant policy to defy and defeat the slave-labor act? Already they are trying to persuade the workers not to place the unions in legal jeopardy, but to rely on the courts for its nullification - the same courts which are the servants of Wall Street; the same courts which upheld Truman in breaking the mine strike last year. They have always preferred the courtroom to the picket line.

Already they are talking about repeating their suicidal policy of electing "good" capitalist politicians-who can be relied upon only to stab labor in the back. In 1948 they will draw a curtain around 1947 and beat the drums once again for Truman and the Democratic Party. To follow them is to follow the Judas-goats to the slaughter pens.

The hour has struck for action—POLITICAL ACTION! Along with the fight to nullify the Taft-Hartley Act must go the struggle to drive out of Congress the two capitalist parties which enacted it.

This is the lesson of this grim hour: Fifteen million workers are as weak as one unless they are organized in their own class party based on a fighting program.

It is not too late for labor to enter as an independent few hundred political repre- the torrential veto demand of file for a nation-wide protest had no program of political ac- zen and arrogant in its prepara- lure to lead the labor flock back unions, CIO, AFL and independent, to convene a Conference of Labor to nominate labor's own candidates for the Presidency and Congress. Such a Labor Conference, held in time, might have stopped the Taft-Hartley Bill. Now it must be held to curb the evil workings of this law and mobilize the forces to repeal it.

The labor movement has suffered a defeat-but it is far from smashed. The monarchs of the dollar will yet learn that it takes more than a law to crush the workers' organizations. They will learn that it was easier to pass this law than to enforce it. They will learn that a law like this, passed in Great Britain in 1927, became the prod for a reawakening and a rearming that eventually drove the British Liberal-Democrats and Tory-Republicans out of the government and brought the Labor Party to power. They will learn this because the workers will teach them.

Labor has lost a battle. But labor will win the war!

Appeasement Policy Paved Way To Labor Defeat

By Art Preis

How does it happen that a ized American workers? How fight to the hilt. But they were van march on Washington. a year and a half ago in massive of the top union leaders. strikes brought the most power-

Certainly there has been no pleading at back doors. want of capacity or will among

ful corporations to terms, could and sabotaged united, militant voted for the Taft-Hartley bill. First, the union leaders tried baskets. not halt the brazen class legis- mass struggle. They followed the But this didn't cause a ripple in to appease the Congressional la- Finally, their efforts were con-

numerous resolutions for a 24- wide action. They turned deaf action. sentatives of the tiny Wall hundreds of thousands of tele- strike. They went so far as to tion to mobilize the workers for tions to shove through the union- into the discredited Democratic Street gang have dared to grams and letters to the White oppose and sabotage the last- a grand-scale political counter- busting bill, the union leaders fold in 1948. pass legislation aimed to cripple House and Congress. The union minute spontaneous efforts of attack. They offered the workers tried to stem the offensive ex- William Green said labor would the unions of 15,000,000 organ- ranks were ready to back a real local unionists to organize a cara- no political instrument of their clusively through their usual fight to abolish the Taft-Hartley

American labor movement, which craven and treacherous policies blustering threats of what they arena and to drive all its spon- dividual Congressmen, sending policies of the present union The labor bureaucrats feared tions to those Congressmen who ington.

meetings and parades, in the ers for decisive, effective, nation- real independent labor political ted the appetite of Big Business Dubinsky, Reuther, Whitney

and its political agents.

own, a labor party, to fight the methods of pulling stripgs in bill, if it became law, if it took does it happen that the mighty thwarted at every turn by the The Murrays and Greens made Taft-Hartley bill on the political Washington, button-holing in- "50 or even 100 years." If the are going to do in the next elec- sors and adherents out of Wash- letters and petitions that found leaders are pursued, there will be their way into capital waste- no labor movement at all in far

vast outpourings at local mass the millions of American work- ties and politicians and oppose nomic front. But this only whet- union leaders — Green, Murray, only of defeats.

all join the chorus of praise for hour national protest strike, in ears to the pleas of the rank and Thus, the union bureaucrats As Congress became more bra- Truman. They are preparing the

shorter time than that.

Once more the labor bureaulation just passed by Congress? formula of appeasement, of Congress. The Republican and bor-haters by accepting scaled- fined to a last-minute depend- crats have demonstrated — and Democratic agents of Wall Street down wage settlements, such as ence upon Truman for a veto in the most crucial moment of True enough, the union lead- knew in advance that the union Murray put over in steel. They and the hope of swinging seven all — that their methods of class the workers for the most resolute ers voiced verbal protest against leaders still support the capitalist made no-strike pacts like the votes in the Senate to uphold this collaboration and appearement and militant struggle. Their sen- the Taft-Hartley bill. But they two-party system. They are tied AFL building trades moguls. veto. Now that Truman has made are a brake on the labor movetiments were clearly expressed in made no real effort to mobilize politically to the capitalist par- They retreated all along the eco- his grand-stand veto gesture, the ment. They are banner-bearers

Fast-Spreading Walkout Of Miners Demonstrates Workers' Determination To Fight Anti-Union Law NOTE N

Motorcade To Washington

Less than 36 hours after the Senate put the final seal@ on the Slave Labor Bill, some 212,000 soft coal miners in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Ohio, West Virginia and Virginia, facing a major contract battle next month, defiantly answered Congress with swift-9

spreading strike action. For the second time in two tools on April 22 in protest weeks the miners took the road against state and federal antiof militant struggle to point the way to the whole labor movement on how to fight Wall of the plants, and 275,000 Street's union-busting law. Their marched to Cadillac Square to previous walkout of 17,000 members, June 6-12, was squelched by John L. Lewis and the top AFL City's CIO workers demonstrat-United Mine Workers leaders.

As the Senate was acting, a stop-work meeting of 20,000 CIO shipyard workers in New York City, preparing for strike on June 26, cheered their president John Green as he stated: "We've always been ready for a fight, and if we have to, we'll be the first to test and fight the Taft-Hart-

The miners' latest spontaneous action should come as a been the signal for a gigantic surprise to no one. It reflects not only their own traditional Everywhere the local unions were fighting spirit, but the senti- waiting for the go-ahead from ments of millions of union work the top AFL and CIO leaders. ers who have repeatedly shown ACTION SABOTAGED during the past period their readiness for united militant mass action to beat back the Big Business-government offensive.

SHOWN FROM THE START How capable and willing the

union ranks are for decisive ac-Day. The winter of 1945-46 witnessed the most titanic strike dustry-wide shutdowns.

with the resolution adopted by sylvania Avenue. the General Motors Conference of the CIO United Auto Workers, the rank and file unionists the mounting anti-labor onslaught.

ume with the strikebreaking of in behalf of caravan project. Truman against the railroad workers, miners and seamen, consultation between national that CIO President Philip Mur- CIO and AFL officers. ray last December was forced to make an appeal to the AFL and and national officers are doing The AFL moguls rejected joint unnecessary." action behind a counter-proposal for "organic unity."

unions set up their own joint ac- sary." tion bodies and worked to mobilize united resistance to antilabor laws. It was the greatest tion-wide mass struggle been re- strikes. upsurge of united labor action spected by the top leadership, since the solit of the CIO from there would have been no Taft- their financial records and file

MORE INSISTENT

With the convening of the 80th Congress and the introduction of the NAM-sponsored anti-union legislation, the demand of the workers for decisive nation-wide But Offer No Real Program legislation, the demand of the action grew more insistent. The slogan of the 24-Hour National Protest Strike, first raised by The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party, was eagerly had led the workers to deadopted by numerous union bod- feat in the fight against the well-known anti-labor "sponsors

Local CIO Councils and AFL denunciations of its passage and Central Labor Unions in a score angry threats to fight for its reof major cities adopted appeals peal. But their denunciations to the national labor leaders to rang flat and their threats call a 24-hour general protest sounded empty because they were strike. Eight CIO international not backed by even the hint of bodies backed the demand. Lo- an effective program of action cal unions everywhere supported for undoing the harm already this appeal. Immediately after done. adoption of the Taft - Hartley Council renewed the proposal for | mediate campaign for the prompt national strike action.

Wherever and whenever the top union leaders lifted the lid become reconciled to this law." the response of the workers was prove such a boomerang that its ing any conclusions, to stateoverwhelming. In Iowa, 100,000 sponsors and supporters will be ments of the kind uttered by A.

AFL and CIO members downed

labor laws. On April 24 in Detroit, 500,000 workers walked out voice their opposition to the Taft - Hartley Bill. New York ed 125,000 strong at Madison Square Garden, where 50,000 AFL members had held a protest neeting the week before. Elsewhere hundreds of thousands oured out in numerous parades.

The stage was set for climactic national action. In Los Angeles two weeks ago, the local AFL and CIO initiated a movement for a union caravan to Washington. This could have labor march to the capital.

demonstrations and meetings.

But the latter hastily opposed and sabotaged the caravan. Only about 1,000 union militants arrived in Washington last week against the opposition of the CIO and AFL heads.

The AFL contingents that artion has been shown from the rived in Washington were called very start of the capitalist union- together in the national headbusting drive right after V-J quarters of the AFL and told to cease their joint action with the "communist" - led CIO delegastruggles this country has ever tions. The order was given for known, when more than 4,000,000 them to return home immedihit the picket lines in vast in- ately. In spite of this order, the AFL contingent joined the CIO As far back as January 1946, workers in a parade down Penn-

The CIO top leaders also flatly opposed the caravan. Allen Haywood, CIO national organization have clamored for united labor director, telegraphed every CIO action of the CIO, AFL and Rail- regional director that the carroad Brotherhoods to beat back avan initiated in Los Angeles "has not received approval of CIO nor has national CIO au-This demand rose in such vol- thorized anyone to speak for it "Neither has there been any

"You are advised that CIO railway unions for a joint ac- everything possible to prevent tion conference. Murray never Taft-Hartley Bill from becoming attempted to arouse the ranks law. Under these circumstances to press for such a conference, the caravan in our judgment is

The enactment of the Slave Labor Bill on June 23 shows local CIO, AFL and independent er the caravan was "unneces-

Had the desires and demands jurisdictional strikes. of the union ranks for real na-

Taft-Hartley Act, issued militant



One of the lead cars of the California AFL-CIO motorcade with a sign on the door reading: "1947 Minute Men of Labor" as it reached Amarillo, Texas en route to Washington to protest the Taft-Hartley bill.

law drastically revises the Wagner Act, tears the heart out

of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, restricts

the right to organize, crip- 9-

undermines the right to

strike, and deals a savage blow

at union gains made in decades

of bitter struggle. Here are some

1. PROHIBITS the closed

shop. Permits a union shop only

if a majority of all the workers

employed (not just those vot-

ing) favor it. Cardholders can

engage in strikebreaking and

racketeering in defiance of the

2. PROHIBITS mass picketing.

The new Labor Relations Board

3. PROHIBITS secondary

conditions detrimental to the in-

terests of the workers, and bans

4. PROHIBITS all sympathy

5. ORDERS unions to register

Hartley Law on the books today. voluminous information on in- present power to proceed against

Union Heads Denounce Law

constitute "mass" picketing.

of the provisions:

Taft-Hartley Provisions

inspired By Wall Street

Inspired by the National Association of Manufacturers "citizen committees" and vigi-

may be called upon to deter-

being run economically, wheth-

er expenditures such as dona-

"featherbedding," which is de-

fined to include such items as

requirements, attempts to com-

tions to charity were proper.

How Trotskyists Fought Slave Labor Measure

The danger of the Taft-Hartley law was long ago foreseen by the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. A year ago, when Truman vetoed the Case bill and the House failed by a bare five votes to override, the June 22, 1946 issue of The Militant warned: 9

eliminate the danger of anti-union laws. At best, it provides only a very brief breathing spell to labor. Democratic and Republican congressmen alike, as well "HANDY PRETEXT" as Truman, are in agreement about imposing legislative restraints on the unions. They differ only on details and methods."

at that time called for an energetic campaign to stem Wall face.' Street's drive for union-smashing legislation. The SWP called for a national labor conference of all unions "to prepare at once for united action to meet the intensified anti-labor campaignthat is surely coming."

An editorial in that same issue of The Militant scored "union leaders like CIO President Philip Murray and David Dubinsky.

"Veto of the Case bill does not tional Ladies Garment Workers" for indicating "they want to cuddle up to Truman once more."

The editorial denounced them for utilizing Truman's veto of the Case bill as a "handy pretext to make another deal with the The Socialist Workers Party Democratic Administration which has been kicking labor in the

The Militant called for a real

Issue after issue, we continued to point to the growing danger of deadly anti-labor legislation. Issue after issue, we called for energetic struggle and the organization of labor's own party to put its own candidates in office.

As workers may now recall to their chagrin, however, the labor bureaucrats, including the Stalinists, continued to follow in Truman's wake and support the Democratic party in the 1946 elections.

and the Chamber of Commerce, the Taft-Hartley anti-labor lante groups organized by the In our first issue in 1947 when 9. PROVIDES for a 60-day jacket."

> The main headline in the January 11 issue declared: "CON-GRESS RENEWS WAR ON LA-BOR." The feature story warned that "the machinery behind the scenes was working at top speed to . . . impose new restraints on organized labor in the interests of the employers" and "to increase the wealth and privilege of the financial and industrial monopolists."

Week by week The Militant followed the first vicious legistain conditions from voting in a lative proposals made by Taft,

To combat this drive, said a front page editorial in our February 1 issue, "LABOR MUST FIGHT!" "The union leaders are blind to the reality of the present situation," said the editorial. They are trying to meet the anti-labor offensive with their old weapons, never effective even in the best of times . . . Wall Street and its Congress, however, are aiming at undisputed mastery of brush aside the feeble remon-

The Militant pointed out that "the union ranks are eager to fight. They must fight, or face the certainty of brutal laws that will undermine and ultimately annihilate the only means of protection they have, the unions."

"The local CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods should get together in every community for joint action. At the same time they must demand militant, united struggle on a national scale through a National Conference of Labor. Labor CAN win, if it stands united and fights."

When the House shoved through the Hartley bill in April and the danger of its final enactment mounted to a new high, The Militant called for a nationwide 24-hour protest stoppage. sue unions in court for anything Such a "demonstration would the company considers "unfair warn Washington in no uncerpractice" or in "violation" of tain terms that American workers will not be slaves - that they are opposed to repressive legislation and will not stand for it if it is passed."

> How correct The Militant was in its warnings and calls for action can now be judged by everyone in the light of events. We told the truth!

> > Festival

Friday Afternoon, July 4 Strawberry Shortcake Refreshments

Strawberry Festival For transportation call Garfield 1137

ers members in seven plants, including militant Local 212, Detroit. On the eve of the strike, the company signed a contract the AFL Meat, Cannery and granting retroactive wage raises and other demands of the union Counter-demands aimed to wipe out previous contract gains were dumped.

The mine wage contract deadfor time pending decision on the nesses and farms during the Taft-Hartley bill. This doesn't war. leave much time for negotiating deadlocked issues before govern-

alternative to the two capital- voted by referendum 96,111 to treatment and consideration. We ist parties which are "both 63,665 against affiliation with make no distinctions in our union owned lock, stock and barrel by the CIO. Meanwhile CIO has membership." Big Business." That alternative, set up its own Telephone Worksaid The Militant, "is the build- ers Organizing Committee with ing of an independent labor par- a claimed membership of 80,000.

> the Ford Motor Company River fifth week. Conditions in the and disorganized as Ford production workers, members of the CIO auto workers, cooperate sociation of America to the exto turn out production and makng it hot for scab foremen.

of his right-hand men from the by callow striplings? Congress convened, we again CIO Steelworkers, William Donwarned: "They are not inter- ovan, as head of the Cleveland ested in strengthening labor. On CIO Council. The council was 4,159 strike notices filed this the contrary, they are cooking up put under receivership at behest | year with the NLRB. The numlaws to put labor in a strait- of red-baiters seeking to take ber has grown month by month, control away from the Stalin- rising to the highest on record ists. Donovan's executive assis- in May.

Briggs Manufacturing Com- | tant will be James Quinn, repany was forced to a last-min-cently ousted by progressive ute capitulation to terms of the steelworkers from his post as CIO United Automobile Work- Youngstown area director for the . Steelworkers.

South New Jersey Local 56 of Farm Workers Union sent a delegation to Washington on behalf of 1,500 Japanese-Americans in its membership. The delegation urged passage of a bill to indemnify Japanese-American's for their loss of property line ends next week, June 30, when brutally removed from with soft coal operators stalling their West Coast homes, busi-

We applaud the words of Local 56 Vice - President Elmer ment mine-control ends. Re- Hewitt to the House Judiciary member, operators have never Committee. He charged that accepted terms of the contract these American citizens of Japamade between the government nese extraction were "wrongand the AFL United Mine fully evicted," adding: "They are good union members and we wish we had more of them . . . As a The new independent national matter of principle, our union telephone workers union, Com- believes that every person in munication Worker of America, America is entitled to equal

After a continuous 26-year reign as president of the AFL Switchmen's Union, 63-year-old Strike of 3,800 foremen in Thomas C. Cashen was defeated overwhelmingly at the Switch-Rouge plant continued into its men's convention last week by 42-year-old Arthur J. Glover. plant are reported to be chaotic Cashen in a post-mortem speech placing him with a mere youth. "Youth must be served," he with the striking Foremen's As- said, "but sometimes in serving youth you make the awfullest tent of not breaking their necks and most terrible mistakes. You think you're smart now, but just wait." What is the labor movement coming to when creaking Philip Murray has placed one labor bureaucrats can be ousted

By the end of May, there were

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages -an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!

Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers'

2. Full employment and job security for all workers

and veterans! For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of - reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay

to prevent layoffs and unemployment! Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unem-

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor! Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year! 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government

low-rent housing! 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!

8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism

and war. Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace! Against capitalist conscription!

Abolish the officer caste system! Full democratic rights in the armed forces! Trade union wages for the armed forces! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands! For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

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to win office in the first place. He said nothing at all about the kind of candidates he and the "est of the AFL Council would back in opposition to the supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act. CIO President Philip Murray issued no statement at all on the

William Green announced that CIO's only announcement was its Bill, the San Francisco CIO the AFL will launch "an im- decision to hold a meeting of CIO union lawyers in Washington on June 25 and an Execurepeal of the Taft-Hartley Act." He warned that "Labor will never tive Board meeting the day after. Most of the union leaders con-

trade union movement, who ican people next year." He did not explain why these and supporters" were permitted the heart of democracy."

day the bill was enacted. The AFL International Ladies Gar-

even the slightest on mass action, He predicted that the law "will fined themselves, without draw-

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainwritten into the law has stabbed Jacob Potofsky, head of the

prosecution of all cases.

8. UNDERMINES the Board's

CIO Amalgamated Workers, promised a court test of the law, especially of the section which forbids political comment by union papers.

with any program at all was the ment Workers Union, which was holding a convention in Cleve-

This union voted to ask the AFL to call an emergency conference of the presidents of all affiliated unions, to establish joint action with all labor and bona fide liberal forces" for a campaign to elect in 1948 "a Congress upon whom the people of this country can rely."

But on whom can the people rely? On the Democrats who helped pass the new law, the same Democrats whom ILG President Dubinsky and Co. have been supporting since the early days of the New Deal?

Dubinsky's resolution did not answer that question. But where both the Democrats and Republicans "failed to put forward gaining for foremen. progressive candidates," the resolution advocated third party action on a local basis.

Did this mean that the resolution favored a struggle to build a new national party? Some opinions or even print the redelegates tried to amend the resolution to say just that. But the Dubinsky machine cracked down dom of speech" to engage in all labor politically and strengthen the position of labor's enemies." The same old argument to ex-

cuse their support of the Demo-

crats next year!

cooling-off period after notice ples collective bargaining, ternal affairs with the governhas been filed of intention to ment. This provision can be negotiate a new contract. If used by the Board to intervene employes are provoked to take

in union affairs since the Board any sort of action in this period they can be summarily dismissmine whether union officers ed and lose their employe stawere making excessive expendi- tus. If an employer is guilty of tures, whether the union was an "unfair labor practice" in this period, he is subject only to a cease-and-desist order after lengthy investigation.

10. REQUIRES the board to PROHIBITS so-called list independent "unions" on the ballot in elections even though standby pay, health and safety they have been found to be company-dominated and orderbat speedups, and efforts to ed to be dissolved.

will determine how many pickets spread the burden of unemploy-11. BARS strikers under cer-Board election. An employer Hartley, Smith and the other 7. ESTABLISHES a labor But in scores of leading com- whether the CIO leaders did boycotts such as those directed czar with enormous powers. Ap- could file for a election as soon labor-baiters. munities from coast to coast, the "everything possible" and wheth- against sweatshops or other pointed by the President and as his employes go out on strike. confirmed by the Senate, he In such an election the Board could rule them ineligible to can rule whether a case shall vote and thus assure the decome before the Board or go to feat of their union as bargainthe courts. He has final authing agent. ority over the investigation and

12. EMPOWERS the Board, in determining the bargaining agent, to disregard the "extent" to which employes have organized. This is designed to undermine industry-wide collective bargaining.

13. PROHIBITS recognition of any union with an officer who this country and the world. They is a member of the Communist Party or similar organization or strances of the union bureauwho believes in or teaches com-The top leaders of the voted out of office by the Amer- F. Whitney, president of the munist principles. All officers must file affidavits in accordmen, who said "the treachery ance with this provision and section 35A of the Criminal Code is made applicable to such affida-

> 14. SETS UP a 6-months statute of limitations for unfair labor practices. This grants employers immunity unless charges are filed within 6 months for The only union to come out such violations as espionage, surveillance, organizin a company union and so on.

> > AUTHORIZES government injunctions to prohibit any strike for 80 days which is considered harmful to the "national welfare."

> > 16. PROHIBITS union-controlled Health and Welfare Funds. 17. PERMITS employers to

> > conrtact. 18. PROHIBITS any dues or initiation fees the Board considers too high.

> > 19. PROHIBITS the check off for union du s unless written permission is granted by each individual,

> > government employes. 21. DENIES collective bar-22. FORBIDS unions to make political contributions or ex-

20. PROHIBITS strikes by

penditures. 23. DENIES union newspapers the right to express political cord of a candidate. 24. GRANTS employers "free-

and ruled that out on the ground kinds of propaganda against that "such action would isolate unionism, provided they do not openly "threaten" or "coerce." 25. GIVES precedence to state laws that are more stringent than this law even though it is la federal enactment.

ST. PAUL Annual Strawberry

WHITE BEAR, MINN. Highway 61 to White Bear, then follow arrows to SWP

'Militant' Readers Invited

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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Germany 1947 -

The Sixth In A

Séries Of Articles

We must say this at the outset: the majority of the by a Swiss socialist in Berlin: working population in Germany doesn't think any more "What we need to raise us back or rather, not yet. They are stunned from the shock, on our feet is a world party . . ." dizzy as after a knock-out. The nerve strain and the whole

series of pressures have been ? too staggering: the Gestapo. the war, victories, fourteen hours a day in the factory, the de-*- ts, death of their sons, houses crumbling under the bombard- lat, took charge of cleaning up ments, panic, flight to the coun- the streets, removing the rubtry, the refugees coming from ble, making a check-up on supthe East, the babies still-born plies, reorganizing production in railway coaches, the military under their own direction, with collapse, arrival of the "con- the aid of a number of technipeople. the horror of the winter . . . Who would dare be so bold as And then the Russians com-

to cast aspersions on the mass pletely dismantled what remainof workers because they still ed of the industrial equipment remain "unaware" and because and transported it to Russia: six their thoughts center around months' hard work was destroypotatoes and coal? But this dull and passive mass lose hope. With remarkable en-

takes on a much more variegat- ergy, ingenuity and technical ed aspect when we look at it skill that would amaze even the closer. Tens and hundreds of American workers, they sucthousands of workers and intel- ceeded in bringing out of the lectuals, sincere and ardent anti- mass of ruins that covered Berfascists, had victoriously fought lin a new skeletor of machinery, off the wearing down of their gotten together with the sweat nerves during 12 years of Nazi of 18 months' toil. dictatorship; now they have been broken by two years of the oc-

An immense disillusionment has crushed them. Thousands of against this, and the entire Berfanatical Communists whose "faith" could not be broken by them unanimously. But the prothe protection the Kremlin gave test was accompanied by a feelthe generals of the "Free Ger- ing of powerlessness: "We can't many" committee and who even do anything about it . . ." ing and plundering of the first pletely lost their bearings as a itary apparatus that they put of Stalinist policy. "What is then, they have had opportunity there of communism in the sys- to become convinced of the totematic exploitation of the coun- tal inability of this apparatus try by the conquerors?" You can to get reconstruction of the counfrom the most convinced Stalin- themselves too weak to take the storm pass over their heads. ist militants. Thousands of Soc'el Democrats have undergone a similar disillusionment regarding the policy of their party and of the British and French occupation authorities.

VIOLENT RESISTANCE

The great obstacle for those of the political consciousness of who want to think and to learn the vanguard. Thousands of ad--and despite everything, they vanced Communist and Socialare many!-is the feeling of ist workers, old and young, ask their own powerlessness. Immediately after the surrender, could it have come to this?" many advanced workers wanted and patiently seek an answer. to get things moving; but every These are the workers who toone of their efforts, even their day make up the current in fa- not even the first steps are taken The SP leadership, including attempts to achieve the most vor of a third working class toward rebuilding the destroyed modest kind of reorganization, party, a current which is deeply cities. In Frankfurt you are cided on June 4 to dissolve the rai up against the most violent hostile to reformism and to Stal- forbidden to repair your own youth's National Bureau, which forbidden to repair your own is the traditional bureau, which resistance on the part of the inism, a current which is weak damaged house - whereas, in is the traditional bureaucratic occupying powers.

Most typical and most heart- strength of the German prole-Borzig factories in Berlin. Im- the vanguard in other countries. mediately after the Russians en- The state of mind of this curtered, the workers in this fac- rent is best summed up in the

Despite its general passivity, querors," the ruins, the hunger, cians who were linked to the many plants closed which, be-"profitable" only if they operis of course excluded in the present situation.

Its "ideological leaders" for ed. But the Borz. workers didn't the most part prostrated themselves at the feet of the Nazis: to save their social privileges, the capitalists gave up whatever independence of spirit remained to them. Today they have only changed masters. The professors who vesterday took their lessons from Goebbels, now take

cial position of a semi-colonial bourgeoisie—their present status —and they pin all their hopes on the possibility of a third world war, out of which they expect to gain important advantages in exchange for the services they mean to give imperialism against the USSR. The only thing in directed, unprotestingly, the loot- At first the German masses the way of "thought" that arises from this stinking morass is days of the occupation, com- perior strength of the Allied mil- the morbid and foul vapor of collective masochism, whose result of the logical development their fate in its hands. Since high-priests are of course the "theoreticians" of the Church and of mysticism.

The peasants - as is always the case in such conditions hear such remarks every day try started. But they still feel retire within themselves and let their destiny back into their own Even though manpower, agricultural machinery, horses, livestock and fertilizer are lacking, the peasantry manages to profit But if events have paralyzed from the terrible scarcity of the political thinking of the great foodstuffs in the cities by exmass, they have on the other changing their products for hand speeded up the maturing things of real value-pianos, gold

The result is a constant displacement of wealth, with all the reserves and savings of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie being drained off toward the peasantry. This explains the paradoxical fact that in relation to the numerical contrast, construction proceeds way of proceeding to expulsions. breaking example is that of the tariat but strong in relation to where there was no destruction!

The layer of functionaries and tory, one of the most advanced words of a trade union militant, clerks, so important in prewar struggle to an attempt to pro- leaders; to refuse to recognize sections of the Berlin proletar- in response to a speech made Germany, has been ruined by the second inflation even more than by the first-disoriented, desperate, "seeing no goal in life any longer," as the Manthere are the hundreds of thousands of young people without a trade, the ex-soldiers who didn't have time to learn anything but how to handle a machine-gun, the ex-officers, the former fascist functionaries. These are the layers that constitute the potential forces of possible underground Nazi movements—we say "potential" because up to now they have remained in inactivity. It is among bourgeois journalists visiting

Germany. They are right to be disturbed. For if the advanced workers once more find the road of independent class action, world capitalall the chance of winning over these layers of the German

tomorrow, more brutal, more harsh, more barbaric, unless the destiny of the country. (Next Week: The German Working Class Movement.)

A Series of Six Lectures Why A Minority Problem Exists in U. S. The Means For Elimination of Racial Antagonisms

Main events of American history 1820-60 (in relation movement . . . outstanding Negro and white personalities in the anti-slavery movement.

Max Geldman Discussion Leader MILITANT LABOR FORUM

What The People Liberals Are Busy Peddling Are Thinking About Disguised Truman Doctrine

Escaped Lynch Mob



Seized from a Jackson, N. C. jail by an armed lynch mob, Godwin Bush (left) broke away and escaped his captors. He is shown above with Warden Hugh Wilson of the state prison where he was taken after surrendering to FBI authorities. Seven of his would-be lynchers are now free on bail.

French Socialist Youth **Fight Dissolution Order**

PARIS, June 13 — The National Bureau of the Socialist Youth last week issued a statement categorically rejecting the Socialist Party National Committee decision to dis-

solve the recently elected Na- tional Bureau of the youth or- struggles, who fight for immediganization.

The Socialist Youth convention held at Montrouge last Easter had adopted a series of resolutions which, although not particularly revolutionary, were considerably to the left of the policy followed by the SP and its Ministers in the government. The SP leaders forbade the publication of these resolutions and the youth leadership began by

But the development of the situation in France left no room for such a retreat. At the SP demonstration to commemorate the Paris Commune last month, 'young socialists publicly booed the members of the government. most of its "left-wingers." de-

slanders and organization measures by the SP leadership tom, the SP National Committee "leads the offensive against

ate peace with Viet Nam, who demand a massive reduction in military credits, who oppose the bourgeois governmental coalition and the anti-labor policy of the Ramadier government." The National Bureau has

Committee to dissolve the regu- war." larly and democratically elected Bureau, it continues to fulfill the mandate it received at the Montrouge convention and it will not give any one else the right to lead the organization until the Socialist Youth's next conven-

The Bureau also rejected with well-deserved contempt the proposition made by Guy Mollet, "left" Socialist leader, to permit the Bureau members to remain lace's coattails, remain anxious-

to organize, protest and fight in- Stalinist foreign expert writes in and Japan, lie in ruins. England against the youth, the National side the party against the bur-Bureau's statement traces the eaucratic measures of the SP hibit the youth from exercising or support any other body than a revolutionary policy. At bot- the present National Bureau; Trotskyist Rally and to maintain the Socialist

The Truman Doctrine was a bitter pill for the American liberals to swallow. It was too brutally frank in its war aims. Its reactionary objectives were all too naked. Truman publicly placed Am-

TRUMAN

construction is good and urgent,

of course. The American Left has

our peoples' interests." Staro-

bin's chief complaint is that "the

invitation to the Soviet Union

yet sure that another deal be-

tween Washington and the

Kremlin is in process of consum-

mation; and he must therefore be

cautious, critical but not too cri-

which he can either denounce or

praise, depending on what the

Is there really a basic differ-

ence between Marshall's speech

world of the liberal and Stalin-

U.S. foreign policy.

Kremlin decides to do.

ences?

tical, straddling a position from

was very casual, very offhand."

STRADDLES POSITION

erican dollars, military personnel and weapons of war at the disposal of the Greek and Turkish military-police dictatorships, thus bolstering them up against the masses in their struggle for freedom and bread. How could the liberals, with-

out completely exposing themselves as the camp-followers of imperialist reaction, rally to the support of such a policy? The pretext has been supplied them by Secretary of State Marshall in his now famous speech at By this speech - which all the

liberals carefully isolate from the entire course of Washington's policy as well as from other no less authoritative speeches delivered in concert by Truman, Atcheson, Dulles at other commencement exercises — Marshall never been isolationist, the Amerhas provided a formula quite pal- ican Communists certainly stand atable to the liberal tub thump- for a foreign policy that would ers. They now claim with a assist a productive, stable, antistraight face that the days of fascist Europe. That's surely in the Truman Doctrine are ended; and we can now forget all about

At least this is what Max Lerner, the leading editorial writer for the daily PM would like the people to believe. On June 17 he declares the Truman Doctrine to be forever buried and hails what he calls the "Marshall Doctrine." Max Lerner assures us that "there can be no doubt of the difference between them, both in their substance and their philosophy and in their accompanying emotional overtones."

HAILED WITH JOY

Lerner goes on to practically at Harvard and the Truman Doc-

Henry Wallace himself is almost as enthusiastic as Lerner. is the nature of these differ-He acclaims the "Marshall program" as a "great advance" over the Truman Doctrine, and adds that Marshall's program "looks our back on the make-believe toward an over-all program vocating all along." (N. Y. Times, June 23).

Nor is this all. The Stalinists, who frantically hang on to Walflip-flop? Joseph Starobin, the profits. Its competitors, Germany imperialism. "The idea of an all-European re- to a condition of impotence.

Trotskyist demonstration ties. commemorating the 76th an- GLUTTED MARKET niversary of the Paris Comernment officials and reformist

The Trotskyist contingent election for members-at-large on the government" for housing. At heels of the Socialist Party parthe National Planning Commit- the last session of the conven- ade, which was led by Premier tee. While the results of the bal- tion a rank and file revolt forced Ramadier and cabinet ministers. loting on platform provisions are the adoption of a resolution in- These dignitaries arrived in not yet known, it is generally structing the leadership to call limousines driven by chauffeurs feated and several anti-labor ans, labor and other groups to cries of "Resign!" from militant

> campaigned on issues, but rath- skyist party and youth organer on personalities. The only an- ization, carrying red banners, swer the Stalinists made to the and members of their Central red-baiting of the right was to Committee, carrying wreaths of

both groups disgusted many of and chanted slogans. Among all crafts are manifesting a great ers to prepare for strike action the delegates who came to work these were: Enough talk, more out a program to solve their bread! Withdraw the troops from to fight together for their com- them how to organize their Indo-China! Ramadier, resign! The most hopeful sign of the We will avenge the Commun-

ists. It is out of reach for both economic and policital reasons.

Economically, the world is prepared to absorb everything U.S. economy can produce, but the impoverished and ruined countries cannot pay for it. The bulk of the world's gold is already concentrated here, buried underground at Fort Knox. The countries of the world suffer from runaway inflation to one extent or another. They have neither the gold nor the dollars with which to pay for American products. Nor does U.S. tariff policy permit them to send enough of their own commodities to America.

Politically, the countries of the world which could serve as markets, do not possess the necessary stability for American investments. They are plunged into civil war or are on the brink of civil war.

The driving force of American foreign policy, therefore, is to stabilize capitalist regimes and * to organize the world market for American exploitation. This is a big order. This is the gist of the Truman Doctrine.

Therefore to say that the Truman Doctrine is "dead" is to say that American imperialism has renounced its goal of world domination. Anyone who says so is deliberately lying. The New York In other words, Starobin is not Times, authoritative mouthpiece of American imperialism, stated editorially on June 20 that the views expressed by Marshall constituted nothing more than a "redefinition of the Truman policy." This is correct.

> Why has this "redefinition" become necessary?

SUPPORTS REACTION

Washington has not at all renounced its policy of supporting lay claim to the authorship of trine? Is there a difference "in arch-reactionary regimes as in this wonderful "Marshall Doc- substance," in "philosophy," and Greece and Turkey. The Truman trine." He says that "It is the even in "emotional overtones," Doctrine had its beginning with therefore refused to recognize approach we of PM have been as Max Lerner would want us precisely such a support. But the the right of the SP National stressing since the end of the to believe? Are there any differ- Truman Doctrine cannot achieve ences at all between Marshall its continuation elsewhere in and Truman? If there are, what Europe by the same methods for the simple reason that there are no such regimes in existence as These questions can be an- yet in Western Europe. swered correctly only if we turn

Such regimes cannot be created artificially, nor foisted overnight by naked force upon the peoples, which is what I have been ad- ist charlatans and try to see the say, of France and Italy. Here it world picture as it really is, ex- is necessary to proceed much amining the driving force behind more cautiously and move by The United States emerged stages to prepare the ground for from World War II with an im- the subsequent consolidation of The National Bureau statement ended by calling on the ment ended by calling the ment e if they would sign a "declaration ly poised for another flip-flop the mensely expanded productive police and military dictatorships

> Here is it necessary to disguise the Daily Worker of June 18: has been weakened and reduced the real aims as much as possible. Free of any serious economic Hence the new formulas adcompetition on a world scale, vanced by Marshall of "aid to U.S. capitalism is eager to estab- Europe," of organizing the "Unilish its domination once and for ted States of Europe," and so all over the world market. This forth and so on.

This hypocrisy is as much an advantage of the world market integral part of imperialist polbefore the economic crash drags icy as the use of the mailed fist.

(Subsequent articles in "The Militant" will analyze in greater detail the new forms, or Today, two years after the war, more accurately the new disguises, which the Truman Doctrine has assumed; the reasons underlying this "change" and

Factory Committees In Paris Organize For General Strike

the initiative of several leaders of the recent Renault

Representatives of the workers following facts:

The cost of living has risen commercial secrets. 6% in one month. Workers in mon demands.

union leadership (meaning the workers in other plants. Stalinists) has done "everything the Stalinists, in their desire for ty. It was successful in carrying placards were furled, but the order to prevent a general strike to fight. "unity," merely asked for an a proposal to form joint commit- marchers refused and made the throughout industry." These leaders are now proposing only ership who will lead them into

wages can be solved, declares the united . . .

A 10 franc an hour raise as an gle. advance on the minimum living

struggle" has been formed by representatives of several of the most important metal plants in the Paris area, on wage; a real minimum living

wage, amounting to 10,300 francs a month for a 40 hour week; a sliding scale of wages to guaring the books and abolishing

"The workers have had the issue of the bonus. The right This caucus called for a bonus voke the parade by refusing it in its power to isolate, split up enough," the inter-factory comwing opposed it outright, and and an Independent Labor Par- entry unless the banners and and derail the workers' fight in mittee concludes. "They want

"They are seeking a new lead-

Standing on the famous Wall slow-down strikes, which sap the struggle and win their demands. "In order to build this new countless last-ditch defenders of without winning results such as leadership, in order to prepare The problems of prices and trade union tendencies must be

"Form your factory commit-

International Notes

8 page bi-weekly paper of the national, due mainly to the op-Bolshevik Leninist Party of In- position of the British Labor dia (Trotskyists) has arrived Party.

gle in India. Among these are a excluded from 'e conference. report on the Congress Party leadership's attempt to break the BEST strike in Bombay; Civil Liberties Under Congress Raj by Indra Sen; Whither the civil service employes, port work-Congress Socialist Party? by K. ers and general laborers in Co-Tilak; a report on the textile lombo. The soldiers also comstrike in Madras; an editorial plained of bad treatment by presenting the paper's platform; British officers. The strike com-International Notes by M. Us- mittee of the Ceylon Trade man; and an article on the In- Union Federation appealed to all donesian struggle by Sitangshu labor organizations to hold a

ist paper, prints an interesting strikers who are holding solid item indicating the ferment in and rejecting all government apthe French Stalinist party. Dur- peals to return to work. Light ing the recent Renault strike, a tanks were used on one occa-CP membership meeting of 3,000 sion to prevent port workers from in the 11th Arrondissement in joining civil service employes. Paris discussed the strike issues in a heated atmosphere. A motion at the end of the meeting ers of the World Federation of "in support of the Renault Trade Unions for failing to come strike and the 10 francs an hour to the help of the Spanish demand" was lost by 1.300 to workers fighting against Fran-1,700 for a motion "expressing co, Lucha de Clases, organ of confidence in the Central Com- the Spanish Trotskyists, says: mittee and in Maurice Thorez."

European "socialist" parties was ment confines itself to snivelling marked by: 1. Consideration of statements, does not know how splits in various parties (Italy, to do its duty, then to force it Spain, Bulgaria, etc.). 2. Con- to do so, the workers in all counflicts reflecting the division of tries must at once set up work-Europe into Western and East- ers' committees for the boycott ern blocs. 3. Refusal to admit of Franco Spain. Workers' comthe German Social Democratic mittees within the framework of party as a full participant be- the WFTU. or alongside it. if the cause of the opposition of par- WFTU leaders continue to conties in the Eastern bloc. 4. Fail- fine their 'help' to the Spanish ure to agree on any form of re- workers to tearful declamations!"

The first issue of New Spark, | constituting the Second Inter-

here. Published in Bombay, it A commission was set up to replaces the Calcutta paper, maintain relations with the Ger-Spark, which was ordered sus- man party. A motion by the pended by the authorities last French and Belgian parties to reconstitute the International The first issur, dated April 26, was referred to a commission for includes a number of informa- "examination." The Italian party tive and well written articles on headed by Nenni was recognizdevelopments in the class strug- ed, while that of Sarragat was

La Verite, the French Trotsky- military measures against the

Sharply condemning the lead-"Enough of this attitude of being beaten before we start! If The Zurich conference of 19 the WFTU, which for the mo-

NEED A WORLD PARTY

500 men of the Ceylon Army Service Corps refused to be used to break up the strike of 35,000 one-day general strike of protest against police action and

the German working class is today the only class in the country which contains within it sn all areas of political thinking and fruitful reflection: these are the strongest assurances for the future! The German capitalist class, raising itself slowly by the conquerors' coattails, is at a level of abjection and cynicism unsuspected abroad. It keeps cause of the high level at which production is rationalized," are ate at their full capacity, which

them from Clay or Sokolovski.

At this point the Allied Con-They hope to maintain the sotrol Council in Berlin decided to dismantle the new "factory." The Borzig workers protested lin proletariat went along with were so impressed by the su-

rings, textiles, furniture, etc. themselves every day, "How

RUINED LAYERS

petty-bourgeois youth. But they will be the Nazis of

PHILADELPHIA Monday, July 7, 8 to 10 p.m.

THE SLAVE SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES to slavery) . . . slave insurrections in pre-civil war America . . . the abolition

1303 W. Girard Ave.

chester Guardian says. Then ditionally support the workers' and traitors to the working class. American Veterans Committee Shows Marked Shift To Right

MILWAUKEE, June 22 - The second convention of mune was a colorful and milithe American Veterans Committee, which ended here to- tant affair, in marked contrast day, was marked by a decided shift to the right. The right to the ceremonies by the gov-

wing Independent Progressive 9caucus elected its candidates for | the veterans' number one prob- leaders. these layers also that you find national chairman and vice- lem, neither caucus presented a that expression of "nihilism" chairman: Chat Paterson and program of action to bring hous- marching to Pere Lachaise cemewhich so disturbs the liberal Richard Bolling, respectively. ing. Both caucuses contented tery, where the heroic Commun-The right wing also swept the themselves with "calling upon ards are buried, followed on the ism will have lost once and for conceded that the bonus was de- a national conference of veter- and were greeted by catcalls and planks written into the platform. plan a new campaign for hous- members of their own party.

Although labor is the natural ally of the veterans, the convention had before it - and probably adopted - a plank organized proletariat succeeds in calling upon labor to "increase taking into its own hands the productivity." This term is used by the NAM as a substitute for "speedup." Several rank and file unionists who protested this veiled support of the speedup were answered by CIO economist Robert Nathan. Meyer Bernstein, national CIO veterans chairman, who took the floor frequently on other issues, failed to oppose this plank.

A fierce fight developed over "impartial study of the question" of the membership. There was widespread rank and file support for the bonus. It was defeated by only a narrow margin in floor, both Nathan and Bernstein spoke in opposition to the

Although the leadership de-

bonus.

call for "unity." The maneuver- red flowers for the graves. ing and back-room intrigue by problems.

convention was the formation of ards! General strike! a small Labor Veterans caucus. tees with labor to oppose evic- police yield. to be followed by a referendum tions. It also fought, unsuccessplanks of the platform.

clared that housing remained tion's drift away from labor. listers of their party.

the Socialist Youth who uncon-**Paris Commune** PARIS, June 10 - The down to the levels of the Thir-

Heading the parade was a Much of the convention was group of 100 Indo-Chinese carryoccupied by the struggle for pow- ing the banners of the embattled er between the right wing and Viet Nam Republic. Then came the Stalinists. Neither caucus the Parisian sections of the Trot-

The marchers carried banners

Ramadier's police tried to pro-

fully, against the anti-labor of the Federals against which fighting energy of the workers Although the Labor Veterans the Commune had been executed, the great railway shutdown did. the general strike, workers of all group followed a mistaken pol- Yvan Craipeau, Trotskyist genthe platform committee. When icy of supporting the right wing eral secretary, briefly addressed the issue reached the convention organizationally, the response to a throng of about 3,000. His re- inter-factory committee, only by its program from rank and file volutionary message was cheer- a general strike of the workers tees of struggle, link them up, unionists at the convention show- ed by most of the Socialist Party in all industries based on the send your representatives to the ed that a section of AVC is deep- members who heard it and the following program: ly disturbed by the organiza- empty words of the cabinet min-

the home market is becoming rapidly glutted. Wall Street must

turn more and more to the world market to maintain its system and its profits. But the world what this means to the masses market remains in reality out of abroad and at home.—Ed.)

drive for world domination is re-

inforced by the anxiety to take

American economy once again

PARIS, June 13 - An inter-factory "committee of

in these plants met recently and antee the workers' income in a leaflet addressed to their against rising living costs; workfellow workers took note of the ers' control over prices by open-

The leaflet calls on the workdeal of combativity and readiness to win these demands, advising strike committees and to tie them However, the national trade up with the struggles of the

inter-factory committee of strug-

"Long live the general strike!"

THE MILITANT

Working People

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



"War is a gigantic commercial enterprise, especially for the war industry. The 'Sixty Families' are therefore first-line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. Workers' control of war industries is the first step in the struggle against 'manufacturers' of

Leon Trotsky

Labor Rewarded

How does the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law square with the propaganda put out by Wall Street during World War II about fighting to make the world safe for democracy?

The Atlantic Charter, it may be recalled, was hailed as the greatest document in the history of mankind since the Magna Charta of 1215 A.D. Among the objectives listed in this statement of war aims was "improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security."

Wall Street proceeded to export "improved labor standards." They dumped fire bombs on the great cities of Europe and Asia. They reduced mighty capitals to heaps of rubble. They wiped out factories and bridges, blew up ships and ports, wrecked railways, sowed fields and orchards with mines. In view of the appalling, universal destruction, Wall Street's promises about improving conditions sounded like hollow mockery.

Nevertheless some workers were undoubtedly taken in by the smooth-tongued propaganda with colored illustrations about the streamlined world of postwar comforts labor would enjoy in America after the slaughter was brought to a successful conclusion. American labor, at least, would be safe from fascism! American labor would enjoy democracy!

But even this hope has now proved to be a delusion. Wall Street is paying off. It has lifted the Taft-Hartley Law like a cat-o'-ninetails, preparing to bring down all its vicious provisions on labor's bare back.

America, which boasted of its democracy, reedom, and labor standards, now has a reactionary anti-labor law on its books that will hearten and inspire every fascist and every reactionary regime in the world.

The Taft-Hartley Law is a long step toward totalitarianism in America. It is the domestic reflection of the war-mongering Truman Doctrine. It is designed to regiment labor at , home, break down the living standards, reduce the unions to impotence, and smash the organized resistance of the working class in preparation for World War III.

The Taft-Hartley Law is the reward Wall Street is handing the working class for its part in World War II. Labor shackled by the Taft-Hartley Law is what the capitalists really meant by all that propaganda about "improving" labor standards after they had harvested the profits from the blood-soaked battlefields.

Dangerous Illusion

No illusion is more false and pernicious than the belief that the capitalist courts are designed to render impartial justice. This illusion is especially dangerous today when union leaders are urging the workers to depend exclusively on appeals to the courts to nullify the Slave Labor Law.

The very day the Senate over-rode Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Supreme Court once again showed what class interests it represents in interpreting the constitutionality of the laws. It upheld the Lea Act of 1946, a law passed by Wall Street's Congress with no other intent than to aid the big radio corporations in their fight against the AFL Musicians Union. This decision reversed the ruling of a federal judge last year

But recall what James C. Petrillo, the Musicians Union president, said at the time of the lower court's ruling - "Thank God for the Federal Courts, where they preach and practice democracy!"

Today, Petrillo must eat these words. just as John L. Lewis has been forced to eat the misleading and deluding words he wrote last December when he called off the mine strike in deference to Supreme Court action on Federal Judge Goldsborough's injunction and \$3,500,000 fine verdict.

Lewis then said: "The Supreme Court is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens." Within three months, in response to the hue and cry of the coal operators, Wall Street tycoons and Truman administration, the Supreme Court struck the harshest judicial blow in decades against the miners and the American labor movement.

No, the courts are not the protectors of American liberties but of capitalist privilege. They are institutions of capitalist rule, just as all the other agencies of Wall Street's government. Their job is to enforce and interpret laws passed by capitalist legislators in the interests of a predatory ruling minority. The Supreme Court is a hand-picked, irremovable body of nine sharp-shooting corporation law-

For labor to depend on such carefully-selected judicial agents of the moneyed class to overthrow the Slave Labor Law put through by this same class, is to step tied and blind-folded into the flood waters. It is suicide.

That is not to say that labor should not attempt a fight through the courts. The workers must fight on every front in the struggle against the Slave Labor Law.

But the decisive weapon will be labor's united mass action on the economic and political front. Destroy the economic and political monopoly of Wall Street—that is the way to destroy the Taft-Hartley Law.

Damning Admission

In his speech at Princeton University June 17, Truman once again pressed his plan to force American youth to undergo indoctrination and training at the hands of the Prussian-minded brass hats.

Once again he tried to justify this militaristic project. He spoke about how it would "contribute materially to the health and character of our young men." This was his principal contention when he first advanced the plan. There was no better way, he maintained, to build up muscles and straighten out a youth's mind than to hand him over to the brass hats for a

At that time he insisted his plan had nothing to do with military blueprints or preparations for a Third World War. In fact when he set up a handpicked committee of warmongers to "study" the plan and bring in "recommendations" he emphasized that he wanted the word "military" left out of the proposed "Universal Military Training."

But in his Princeton speech, Truman admitted that "The justification for universal training is its military necessity." He argued that it was the "most effective method of maintaining the military strength we need." It would be an alternative, he said, to "the maintenance of a large standing armed force."

Thus Truman himself has finally admitted that the real purpose of the so-called "Universal Military Training" plan is to prepare a vast reservoir of manpower for the Armed Forces. It is not a glorified Boy Scout set-up, but part and parcel of Wall Street's preparations to plunge America into another worldwide slaughter.

Truman maintained that "these men will be training in order not to win a war but in order to prevent one." This is hogwash. Armament races and the building of huge military machines have never prevented wars. They have always led up to wars.

Truman's talk at Princeton is another grim reminder that the Second World War did not bring enduring peace but only laid the basis for a still worse conflict. If Wall Street is permitted to continue its rule, then World War III is inevitable.

Join The SWP!

The Socialist Workers Party was the first to warn the workers of the danger that the Taft-Hartley bill might actually be passed. It pointed out the seriousness of this threat when others thought it would never be made

It was the Socialist Workers Party which proposed an effective campaign to defeat it. This included the call for a 24-hour nationwide protest strike, the convening of a United Conference of Labor and organization of an independent Labor Party.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party clearly reflected the will of the rank and file workers for action powerful enough to stop passage of the bill. But the high-paid top trade union bureaucrats feared a militant show of labor's strength. They depended solely on such horse-and-buggy methods as letter-writing and button-holing Wall Street's Congressmen.

Now the bill has been passed. But the struggle of the American workers has not been ended by the vote of Wall Street's representatives in Congress. In fact the struggle of the American workers has only begun. However, the question of finding an effective means of struggle is now more important than ever. Every blow must count to change the losing battle into a winning battle.

This is where every worker determined to defend labor's gains can make his weight felt. If he joins like-minded workers in backing the correct program of action, then the rotten composition of Congress can be changed and the vicious Taft-Hartley law wiped off the statute books.

The only organization with an effective program is the Socialist Workers Party. This party is made up of the workers who first saw the threat of anti-labor legislation and first tried to arouse labor to the danger. Their experience will now prove invaluable in the fight to put labor in Congress and repeal the Taft-Hartley law.

If you really want to fight the Taft-Hartley law; if you really want to defend your standard of living; if you really want to arouse the working people of this country to action; then join the Socialist Workers Party!

Make your influence felt in labor's councils by pushing the only program that can succeed in throwing back Wall Street's antilabor drive. Fill out the coupon on Page 2 and mail it in.



"The next war will put us in the Morgan class!"

THE FIRST FREEDOM by have allowed five giants to de-| strictions may withhold some 1946, 316 pp., \$3.

"Ten states have not a single city with competing daily papers. Twenty-two states are without film stock." Sunday newspaper competition. Fourteen companies owning ago. Thirty-two hundred weeklies-the backbone of local democracy—have disappeared. One company dominates more than 3,000 weeklies. There are only 117 cities left, in our entire nation, where competing dailies still

"One third of all regular radio stations are interlocked with newspapers. The bottleneck gets narrower. Four networks before the war had 95 per cent of all the radio programs which bring access to America's mind." to the networks one half of their areas the only newspaper left ter he What price competition!

companies control the 2,800 key theaters of the nation. These The more ideas there are avail-Five-pick up more than three tion get. by grace of these companies. We be good but the monopolistic re-

These words are from Morris L. Ernst's foreword to his The less owners than a few decades have used their power; he is communication for whom?" content to show the extent of that power. Indeed, he avoids the use of

names throughout his discussion. preferring impersonal statistics. since, he says, he is concerned with concentration of power as such and not with individualsas if monopoly were an abstraction without a flesh-and-blood

show us who owns the media of the talk of the bourgeois demnight-time broadcasting power. communication and how they ocrats from the time of Andrew One hundred and forty-four ad- use these media to deceive the Jackson down demonstrates, is vertisers account for 97 per cent people for the benefit of their inherent in capitalism. of all the network income. A class, he does prove that "thirty dozen advertising agents create or forty men . . . own the main

what should be done. "The weeky attendance at sees ideas as competing in the movies amounts to more than market-place of thought. A na-100 million people. But five tion goes shopping for ideas as five companies—called the Big able, the better buy can the na-

dimes paid by the American monopoly of the media of commovie audience for its screen en- munication but does not analyze tertainment. All other producers the ideas advanced through of films enter the market place them: the ideas themselves may by workers' organizations.

Morris L. Ernst, MacMillan, stroy our market place of free which are even better. He therecompetition for movies. More- fore proposes a legislative proover, two companies produce gram of reform to re-establish about 90 per cent of all our raw "free enterprise" in the press, radio and movies.

What Ernst does not see is that behind opposing ideas are eighteen papers control about First Freedom, a study of mon- opposing material interests. To one quarter of our total daily opoly in the press, radio and ask "Is this a good idea?" is circulation. Three hundred and movies. In the second section meaningless; one must ask, "For seventy chain newspapers own of the book, which constitutes whom is this a good idea-for about one fifth of all our circu- its heart, Ernst documents, elab- the workers or the bosses?" Simlation. More than a quarter of orates upon and amplifies these lilarly, one cannot simply be for our daily circulation is absentee statements. He does not attempt "freedom of communication"; owned. We have a thousand to analyze how the monopolists the question arises: "Freedom of Ernst would enlarge the free-

dom of the smaller capitalist newspaper, radio and movie owners by restricting the freedom of the larger ones. But this is a utopian program. Monopoly of the means of communication is merely one phase of finance capital's general monopoly, a monopoly which, as Marx long ago showed and as its growth However, if Ernst does not to its present heights despite all

The utopian nature of Ernst's proposals is illustrated by his dedication of his book to "the mem-In his opening section Ernst bers of the Congress of the Uniincome. Independent radio sta- presents the viewpoint from ted States on whom we must rely tions are the step-children of which he looks at the data to restore free enterprise in movthe mike. In more than 100 and in his concluding chap- ies, radio and press," although presents the conclu- he himself admits that "at presowns the only radio station. sions he has come to as to ent and for years past our gov-He ernment, by action and inaction, granted untold advantages to the giants of the press."

Genuine freedom of communication for the vast majority of the population can only be attained by the expropriation of the capitalists of the communiquarters of all the nickels and This is why Ernst deplores cation industries as well as of other industries and the operation of press, movies and radio

Paul Schapiro

Congressmen At Work

"You Can Crack A Filibuster"

The capitalist press went clear back to 1908 to compare previous filibusters with the one staged by Morse, Taylor and Pepper against the Taft-Hartley bill. They claimed that it was the third longest filibuster in Senate history. They thus placed the spotlight on the two marathon speeches of Taylor and Morse and covered up what was far more significant—the speed and ease with which the Republican - Democratic coalition smashed this filibuster.

buster as recently as last year. A filibuster that lasted an entire present one that ended after only 281/2 hours of the 30 hours 51 minutes session.

The three weeks filibuster be-Chavez (D., New Mexico) sucpassed in the Senate to consider a Fair Employment Practices Bill that had been pending since May 24, 1945. The Southern Bourbon Democrats at once began their filibuster to kill the measure although a majority of the Senate had declared themselves in favor of it.

filibuster to last for three long crats, demanded an immediate weeks? Here is the answer: The vote to over-ride the Presidenmajority deliberately assisted the tial veto. Senators engaged in the fili-

Each day the majority recessed whip, announced the Senate the Senate at an early hour. This would be kept in continuous sespermitted the orators to go home sion until the filibuster was brok-



There was a far longer fili- resume speaking the next day. Chavez himself, although presumably leading the fight for an on his desk and therefore was three weeks in contrast to the FEPC, declared, "I think those who are against the bill . .

to get a little rest now and then." gan January 17, 1946, when by labor. How different was the postponing the vote until Monattitude of the majority toward day. Wherry triumphantly receeded in getting a motion the filibuster against the Taft- marked: "This demonstrates you Hartley bill!

This filibuster was not designed to kill the measure. It was designed only to gain time and perhaps gain favorable publicity for a few Senators especially afraid of the labor vote. It began on Friday afternoon,

June 20, when the Taft machine, How was it possible for this backed by the Bourbon Demo-

By ten o'clock that evening Kenneth Wherry, the Republican without losing their right to the en. Thus it boiled down to a

physical contest between the majority and those fighting for more time.

The majority brought in blankets and went to sleep. Whenever a roll call was made they were routed out of their cots. If a roll call had shown no quorum present, then an adjournment would have been forced with the Senator then speaking retaining his right to the floor the next day.

Every parliamentary effort was made to wear down the filibustfloor, get a good night's rest and erers. Brewster of Maine even tried to make a point that Morse was leaning on a stock of books not holding the floor.

The filibusterers were finally should be given an opportunity exhausted by this grueling contest and forced to give it up. That was a measure favored They had succeeded only in can crack a filibuster whenever a majority is determined to do

> **NOW ON SALE** Bound Volumes "THE MILITANT"

for 1946 Price . . . \$4.50 Order from: THE MILITANT 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Flint Auto Local Prints **Labor Party Pamphlet**

Flint Chevrolet Local 659 of the CIO United Automobile Workers has just published a first-rate pamphlet, Fight Reaction - Build A Labor Party, which raises and answers one of the most important questions facing the working people of the United States.

This call to arms is not solely the result of study of the situation facing the labor movement, but is founded on the experience of the Labor Party Committee of Local 659. This committee has already conducted an independent campaign in Flint, Michigan. It was successful in defeating a move of the bosses to shift even more of the tax burden onto the workers and small home owners. It has also run labor candidates for the Flint Board of Education with gratifying results.

Living up to the glorious tradition it established in the sit-down strikes of 1937, this local has now taken the lead in calling the unions to undertake independent political action:

"What is needed is ACTION. The union movement must prepare. We must prepare for the biggest organizing drive we have ever engaged in. The drive must be to organize politically. With determination we can start a crusade which will capture the imagination and heart of every union man. Once it starts, it will spread through the land like a prairie

The pamphlet takes as its point of departure the tremendous strength shown by organized labor in the strike wave of 1946. Then it shows labor helpless in the face of the anti-labor drive spearheaded by Congress. How to account for the demonstrated strength of labor on the picket lines and its terrible weakness before the politicians? The answer of the pamphlet is that both the Republican and Democratic parties are owned lock, stock and barrel by Wall Street. "Liberal" Democrats are mere window dressing to fool labor and get its votes.

To make its points, the pamphlet quotes pertinent facts from Ferdinand Lundberg's America's Sixty Families as well as giving the facts on how laborendorsed politicians voted against labor.

Also scored are the liberals like Wallace, Pepper. Ickes and Mrs. Roosevelt, who try to keep the labor movement chained to the Democratic Party and who. when labor shows signs of building a genuine labor party based on the unions, try to convert it into a liberal "third" party.

The Negro people will find a champion in the coming labor party, just as they have found it in the CIO, says this pamphlet.

Attractively printed, with cartoon illustrations, this pamphlet will be read eagerly by trade union militants. Individual copies as well as the prices for bundles can be obtained by writing to: Educational Committee, Chevrolet Local 659, 1208 Glenwood Ave., Flint 3, Michigan.

For union members who "aren't interested in politics and politicians" the back cover of the pamphlet gives the best answer: "To say you want nothing to do with 'politics' is to say you are not concerned if you and your family be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or enlightened, protected or des-

Notorious Nazis Hold Key Posts Under Allies

American imperialist propagandists have assiduously propagated myths about the nature of fascism. These are designed to prop up the lie 'war against fascism' and to conceal the fact that fascism is a product of capitalism, its most brutal form of rule.

Two reports of an official character have recently been issued which provide added factual refutation of these myths. Both were made public on June 14.

One is a study by the International Committee for the Study of European Questions, with Lord Vansittart heading the British members and Edouard Herriot, former French Premier, leading the listof French members. Their report recites detailed evidence of the continued collaboration of the Anglo-American powers with elements of the former Nazi and Fascist regimes in Germany and Italy.

This document lists names of influential former Nazis now occupying key posts in both the United States and British zones in Germany. They are members or representatives of the German capitalist class with whom the American and British capitalist rulers have a close affinity.

"In spite of official denials," the document charges, "Nationalist elements are still holding key positions in very many of the official departments dealing with the economic situation." It cites as "only a few examples among many others" in the United States

Hans Muller, notorious Nazi leader, in charge of the central office in the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture; Dyonis Schmidt, Nazi Party official, in charge of the establishment office; Herr Schaefer, former Ministerial Councillor under Hitler, in charge of the price control office; Hans Fischer, legal advisor of the Nazi Labor Front, in charge of leather control; Helmut Bauer, Nazi Party functionary, in charge of the department of mineral oils.

In the British zone the same state of affairs exists "on a wide scale in the coal and metallurgical administration of the Ruhr," says the report.

A revealing letter from a concentration camp survivor is contained in the report. It charges that the judge who issued the orders for his arrest and those of 87 of his comrades, "has now, with, apparently, the approval of the American military authorities, become head of the Department of Justice of our state of Wuerttemberg-Baden."

Under Allied rule, the report warns, fascist movements "supported by considerable means and by steadily growing influences" are "openly starting to rise again." In Italy, the fascist sentiments are receiving Catholic hierarchical support. On last April 28, anniversary of Mussolini's death, "high masses were celebrated in memory of Mussolini in many im-

The other report, mentioned above, is the findings of a U.S. Military Government investigation of the two largest private banks in Germany - the Dresdner Bank and the Deutsche Bank. According to a Berlin dispatch in the June 15 N. Y. Times, "these institutions had been active partners of the Nazis in the political and economic domination of Europe."

These banks "controlled the financial structure of German industries" and there was "a closely knit affiliation between the banks and the leaders of German heavy industry . . . They (American investigators) revealed the close relationship of leading Nazi personalities, particularly Heinrich Himmler, to the two banks."

The Nazi Party, the report shows, was the political servant of the German finance capitalists.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Truck Drivers Enjoy Article On "Mad Dog"

JPC's article, "The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement," met to hate Daniel Tobin. We or- and unions wll have to take over dered 150 copies of this issue the problem and settle it for and every one was placed where themselves. it would do some good.

One brewery worker who has a regular sub called up to give us the names of ten friends to whom we should send the paper with the "Mad Dog" article.

Another old Teamster's Local 544 man - anti-Tobin to the core - came into the headquarof that issue to hand out to some truck driver friends. He said that what he liked most to do was to make trouble for Tobin!

> Grace Carlson Minneapolis, Minn.

To Correspond With "Militant" Readers

I am a young girl from Ceytaking to the actual struggle of Senate. the workers as soon as I complete my studies.

and I am making the best use Staton and Bohannon. "What is over and over again.

I would like to exchange ideas about revolutionary politics with both are unpredictable, or life American comrades and I trust would be more boring than it is. that you would insert this letter in your columns.

to forward Comrade Mabel ery? Perera's address to any reader of The Militant wishing to write

Calls For Halt On Rent Gouging

Rents will soon become a burning question with landlords al- Warner, one of the characters lowed so many loopholes in the illustrates his viewpoint by quotnew rent bill. Some landlords ing the following passage, which will make small changes in apart- he asserts is by Lenin:

to serve the public, let them send live that, dying, he can say: their men around to look at 'All my life and all my strength every apartment and rooming were given to the finest cause in house, make a list of the rooms, the world—the liberation of mandecide the rent by day, week or kind." month and then paste the list I don't recall ever having read the prices clearly marked. Ten- although it certainly represents terial available that would throw side with Trotsky in the great ants would then know just what his philosophy. I was wondering is right to pay and it would if any of your readers recognize put an end to wrangling and it and can give me the source. dickering between tenant and landlord.

AKRON-2nd floor, 8 S. How-

ard St. Open Mon. through

Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays

BOSTON-30 Stuart St. Open

Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

2 to 4 p.m.

This is a simple and direct | Author Appreciates way to put an end to gouging. Honest landlords will not object to this and the other kind need to be controlled.

Unless something like this is with a very good reception from done by the government to protruck drivers and brewery work- tect the people, the latter through ers here, who have good reason their organizations and societies

In the case of meat, bread, milk and rents, in fact all the necessities for very existence, the people are eing more and more imposed upon. A halt must be made somewhere.

One of the People Boston, Mass.

ters to get a dozen extra copies Debate Over Defense Of Lynch Victims Has Reader "Groggy"

Editor: William M. Staton's letter to with a Militant editorial disagreement with the National Asso-Cevion Student Wants ciation for the Advancement of Colored People's advice to Negroes to take it on the nose when prosecuted.

I am groggy and leaning on the ropes after reading and relor highly influenced by the reading Mr. Staton and Mr. Editor: Fourth International. I am still Bohannon. "Where are we at?" ending college and shall be as they say in the American

One could quibble all day over the definition of "lawless," "fu-Your Militant is very useful tile," "tactful," etc., of Messrs. clear the air. Action is action: words are words. Thanks be

Mr. Bohannon says: "Slavery was not ended by tact." Excuse Mabel Perera it, please, but is slavery ended? Ceylon Isn't the condition of the Ne-Editorial Note: We will be glad | gro worse now than under slav-

> Joseph McNamee New York, N. Y.

Asks For Source Of Lenin Quotation

In a novel I read recently, Return of the Traveller, by Rex

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers

At these Local Activities of

New York, N. Y.

JPC's Review Of "Moon Gaffney"

My dear J. P. C .: I am sorry to admit that I don't 'know who you are, but at least my ignorance will help lend sincerity and objectivity to my thanks for your serious treatmyself am - to have subtly particular purpose and to have made the book appear to be anti-Catholic instead of merely anticlerical. But you didn't and I am not only grateful but I admire and respect you for it.

It should be news to no one but the hierarchy that there is now a left and right wing to the Church. Once we can establish this clearly in the public view The Militant it seems disagrees the Church and something more than lip-service paid to the papal encyclicals on labor.

Sincerely Harry Sylvester

Considers Publishing Speeches Of Debs

During the past two years, I have been doing research work | ment are due to economic causin connection with the writing es," she wrote, "to the division this research work one thing stood out prominently above of your articles by reading them is," of Remy de Gourmont might everything else. This was the class and the dispossessed." And fact that copies of Gene's writings and speeches were so rare. Many people in writing to me expressed the hope that some with the workers, men and woof this material could be put in

print. If sufficient people were erature, it could be made availand only through the victory of the UAW, which will be union structure" of the UAW. able at very low cost. I would be anxious to hear from any of their problems." your readers who would be interested in purchasing thesepamphlets if they were made available.

If sufficient people express interest, I am willing to undertake publication of the most famous writings and speeches of Eugene Debs, in pamphlet form, on a non-profit basis and publish pamphlet per month. These ond International and its betrayments and none in others and "Man's dearest possession is pamphlets would cost between al and decline. She participated then boost all the rents far above Life, and since it is given to him five and twenty-five cents, de- in the founding of the pioneer PLAN DENOUNCED

and I would appreciate hearing from any of your readers who to help build the Trotskyist light on Mr. Debs' life.

> Joseph W. Riley Philadelphia, 4, Pa.

Antoinette Konikow 1869 - 1946

By Evelyn Atwood

Antoinette Konikow, one of the pioneer builders of Am-laid to destitute anti-fascists

erican revolutionary socialism, died a year ago on July 2, abroad. at the age of 77. Her courage, self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the working? class still serve to guide and inspire the young men and women who have joined the Trotskyist movement and follow on the road she helped to blaze,

One of the most striking features about Antoinette was her young and vigorous spirit up to ment of my book. It would have the day of her death. Her rebeen easy for you-apparently volutionary optimism flowed a good deal farther left than I from the kind of life she chose - a life of purpose, struggle and misquoted to serve your own achievement. At an early age she cut through the fetters that. under capitalism, bind women to narrow, petty and ignoble lives. Antoinette saw far beyond her home, her children, her medical profession. She saw a world of suffering humanity and decided at an early age that the most important task is to build a new world free from fear, poverty and human degradation. She was we will have a house-cleaning in 19 when she became a socialist and devoted the greater part of her energies to that struggle.

INSPIRED WOMEN

Antoinette had a deep understanding of the special problems of women under the capitalist system. She seized every opportunity to bring them her revolutionary message. "Poverty, disease, corruption, war, unemployclass. Women, like men, belong to both classes, the possessing to the mothers she would say: "You will have to struggle and fight for Socialism, you together men, black and white, old and young - in this country and

She was one of the living links with the founders of Marxism. During her six decades of service to the working class, she lived through periods of great joy and other periods that were harsh and filled with bitter disappointments.

Lenin, founder of the first work Incidentally, I am still doing ers' state. When Stalin killed the research on the life of Mr. Debs, Third International, she was with Stalinism and went forward | constitution.

Joseph W. Riley 35 North 34th St. How Capitalists **Treat Any Law** They Don't Like

Capitalists believe in "sanctity of law" for the workers. But their attitude toward laws they think are not in their own interests is shown by the confidential bulletin sent out by Chicago real estate leaders to landlords.

In a "market letter of the Chilords are advised that "the govon tenant enforcement of rent control." Therefore, landlords are told: "The only possibility for relief now seems to lie in the direction of deliberate disregard for including those moonlight swimthe regulations."

keep down appropriations for athletically inclined that there floor open from 12 noon to OPA's successor, the letter adds, are plenty of sports activities "tenants in possession will enforce ceilings. But new tenancy arrangements will be 'made in increasing numbers at illegal miles of woodland trails in the rates.'

> Included in this instruction to landlords to disregard and vio- sweat at their jobs the year late the rent control law, is this caution: "Warning! The value of this letter lies in its being confidential advice."

URGENTLY NEEDED The following back issues of 'New International' are needed for binding:

1934-July 1935—January, March, May 1938—January, February, March, November 1939-January, June, October, November

940—February If you have one or more copies of any issue listed above, will ruling class. She had seen how in Czarist Russia, her birthplace, the workers and peasants had

years into a mighty giant of or- the working class: ganized power. She knew that 'Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism." She had true Bolshevik understanding, faith and stamina.

Antoinette never forgot that

historic struggles in defense of wars and revolutions and that the conquests of the October out of its convulsions would be plains: "The comrades in the to go. Nice, isn't it? We've divid-1917 Revolution. Well known and born the great epoch of socialbeloved by her comrades in the ism. And she was content to Socialist Workers Party, she was build, even while knowing that With an increasing number of Market. The losing team is to Honorary Member of its Nation- she might not live to see the final For years Antoinette was ac- the time when you will win," she spreading around to those work- how it works out, we're all tive in defending labor's rights said. "When you do, please come ers, who have not yet been ap- pleased with the results of the and civil liberties. As Chairman and lay the red flag on my of the American Committee for grave."

And this the emancipated European Workers Relief she pushed forward the work of pro- workers will do with the deepest viding food and other material gratitude and love.

of a book on the life of Eugene Victor Debs. In connection with the boss class and the working FE Merger Proposal Causes **Heated Dispute In UAW-CIO**

The proposal to merge the CIO Farm Equipment Workers with the CIO United Auto Workers has become the subject of a heated fight between the Reuther caucus and the bilization, there were many per-Addes-Thomas caucus in the UAW. At stake is possible control of the next convention 9-

the workers will mothers solve held in November of this

al Committee.

The proposal, as submitted to a referendum of the locals by the UAW International Executive Board at its Chicago meeting early this month, would give the FE full voting rights at the UAW convention. Since the FE THE REAL REASON is Stalinist-dominated, most of group.

One of the chief objections of up a "union within a union" by establishing a special UAW division composed of FE locals and UAW agricultural equipment membership cards.

Frederick Engels head d the its 400 to 500 votes would be cals, who must vote on the pro- which we hope to make our goal revolutionary socialist movement cast for the Addes-Thomas position by July 15. The full of 300 subscriptions. At present when she became a socialist in group, virtually assuring dom- voting strength of each local will we have 212 subs. Comrade H. has them at a rate of one new 1888. She saw the rise of the Sec- ination of the convention by this be recorded in favor of whatever tied Comrade Frank for first the referendum.

International Executive Board will promote unity and do away much doubt as to which team last week, where he denounced with CIO jurisdictional struggles will come out in first place. But the proposed merger plan as a over the agricultural equipment as to who will BE THE CHAMP among the pioneers who broke flagrant violation of the UAW field. The Reuther group is AND GO TO CAMP - no one stressing mainly the unconstitu- knows as yet." Reuther declared that he had tionality of this particular merin the hall of each house with this anywhere in Lenin's works, might have letters or other ma- movement. She fought side by no opposition to a merger as ger proposal. Neither group adsuch, but he called for the de- mits that the chief reason for its feat of the Addes-Thomas mer- position is the effect it will have ger plan because "it seriously on control of the coming con-

undermines the basic industrial vention. Fine Fishing In Pleasant Lake At Mid-West Vacation Camp

"Why don't you say more | In addition to the educational about the lighter side of life at program, vacationers will find Mid-West Camp and School," no lack of facilities or occasions one enthusiastic vacationer ad- for fun at Mid-West. There's good monishes the Camp Manager. food; pleasant accommodations: "Call attention to the fine fish- comradely company. All at the ing in the well-stocked lake. extremely low rate of \$25 a week There are a lot of people who'll because this is a cooperative, enjoy nothing more than going non-profit enterprise. cago Real Estate Boards," land- out in the early morning or Mid-West Cam, and School is evering and returning with a situated on Little Pleasant Lake ernment is relying almost wholly mess of sunfish and perch or, if mear Jackson, Michigan, about

pickerel or bass. excellent boating and swimming, page or write to Oscar Coover, ming parties on the raft on hot If Congress can be made to summer nights. Remind the from hectic soft-ball games to shuffle-board tournaments and table-tennis contests. There are

> countryside that invite hiking. "After all, working people who round want plenty of relaxation

and recreation on their twoweeks with pay." The suggestion is well-taken.

they have a bit of luck, even a 60 miles from Detroit. Its season opens June 29. For reserva-"Say something about the tions, clip the coupon on this Manager, 116 University Place. New York 3, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

\$100 Contribution Sent To Help "The Militant"



The response to our appeal for Cleveland's campaign too, but socialism. She was not dismayed Militant.

by the might of the capitalist! In addition to these friends who donated so generously, the following boosters of The Militant have joined the growing total. "Our campaign," writes conquered power in the great list of those willing to dig down Milton Genecin, organizer, October Revolution. Living in into their pockets for a contrithis country for 53 years, she bution to help put out the only watched the infant American la- paper in America that militantly Andrews is still in the lead with bor movement grow over the defends the historic interests of

C. W., Brenx, N. Y. E. C., New York, N. Y. J. C., Chicago, Ill.

The Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party has obtant subscriptions among shop drive to obtain 100 new subs and she was living in the epoch of workers. Charles Carlson, literature agent for the branch, ex- reached - with two more weeks shops find it fairly easy to sell subscriptions to the workers. workers in the shops reading The plan some sort of entertainment victory. "I probably will not see Militant, naturally the word is for the winning team. No matter proached, that The Militant is drive so far." a genuine working man's newspaper. So, when the workers who have not already subscribed are ter from Justine Lang, is "planapproached their first remark-is ning a Militant sub drive for 50 'That's the working man's news- new and renewal subs in four to paper! Sure I'll subscribe to it." 6 weeks. However, with this workers, Comrade Carlson says a tough grind, especially here in that "The Buffalo branch is trying to hold one mobilization a month in which all comrades and stuffy, but it's dirty." participate in getting new and

Militant. During our recent mosons not home, but from the people who were home we received warm response. We obtained 12 mailed 7 subs, saying, "I am most of the enclosed subs; the other happy to send them on. Six came the Reutherites to the merger 27 were sold in the various shops from shopmates of two of the where the comrades are work-In spite of being rained out last Sunday, the Chicago SWP agent of Vestside branch, Los locals with a special charter and branch secured 11 subs and as Angeles, reports that "two subs

reported by Sara Preston, literature agent, they "still have one The issue now goes to the lo- more mobilization to go during stand is taken by the majority place with 261/2 points. Right of the local members voting in now it's still anybody's race. The South Side team is leading with the 15% allowed.

If the OPA, or whoever takes over from them, really wants of the over from them, really wants over from them, really wants of the over from them, really wants over from the

help to keep The Militant on Almeda Kingsley states: "Our There were many who fell by the firing line has been most campaign picked up some speed the wayside, tired and broken by gratifying. Last week contribu- this week even though it rained the long years of struggles, but tions reached a new high when as usual. Four of the comrades not Antoinette. She marched Jim and Sally of Cleveland sent went out and got these 13 subs. forward, steadfast and confident \$100. Our warmest thanks to Sally C. leads with 21 points to of the ultimate victory of world these devoted boosters of The her credit. It keeps everyone else hopping to keep up with her."

The Akron comrades added 11 more subs to their campaign "promises to speed up as it goes into the home stretch. Comrade Betty, a member of the Youth Club, in second place."

San Francisco came through with 31 subscriptions to The Militant this week. E. Lambeth tained a large number of Mili- explains: "They are part of our that mark has almost been ed our comrades into two teams, North-of-Market and South-of-

Pittsburgh, according to a let-In addition to signing up shop abominable hot weather it sure is Pittsburgh. Not only is it hot

We're willing to bet that Pittsrenewal subscriptions to The burgh will come through with flying colors.

> Beverley Wise of Oakland comrades."

Pauline Lodge, literature were gotten from friends who attended our branch educational. This was the first in a series of our educationals on war, unemployment, depression, etc."

PHILADELPHIA

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NW cor. Delancey and Clinton
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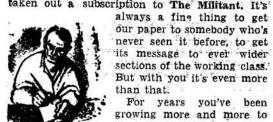
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I was glad when they told me you had just taken out a subscription to The Militant. It's



always a fine thing to get our paper to somebody who's never seen it before, to get its message to ever wider

> But with you it's even more than that. For years you've been growing more and more to need The Militant and its

ideas. You've been looking for it and wanting it, although you probably didn't exactly know

All your life I think you've considered yourself a "good American." And to you being a 'good American" didn't mean being a racehater or a chauvinist. You remembered some of the things they taught you as a kid in school, and you figured that being a "good American" meant believing in "fair play." You believed fervently in democracy, in freedom of speech, in the rule of the majority, and in the rights of all minorities.

But then, Ralph, ou began to see, or perhaps, to feel that all was not right, that something has happened to the America you had thought and dreamed of. I don't suppose you had it fixed firmly enough in your mind to put it into exactly these words, but here's the idea:

America today is suffering from a deadly disease. There was a time when a man could speak out and tell what he considered the truth, and those who disagreed with him would defend his right so to speak. There was a time when idealistic young men like you took up muskets and fought through the bitter winters to free their land from British subjugation. And there was another time when other young men offered up their lives at Gettysburg and Bull Run for the cause of freedom for all people, black and white. (And a man called John Brown hanging on a Virginia gallows for the cause of freedom, that was Americanism, you thought.) But good fruit grows rotten with time, living

things grow old and die, and the America that once stood for freedom, liberty, justice, and democracy, that too has grown old, too old for

life, and it has died. I once read of a woman who kept the dead body of her husband in the house. She wouldn't admit he was dead. And that's what Wall Street is doing now. The ideals of 1776 have died, but Wall Street pretends they still live. But the terrible truth is that Wall Street rules supreme, and that rule is the iron fist in the

velvet glove. You feel these things, Ralph. You feel them instinctively, and you strive, you stumble about in the darkness looking for the good way, the

way of truth and freedom. You have respected the laws and hated violence. But now you see that the laws have become violence. You have hated injustice, but you are learning that the laws are injustice itself. You have begun to see that the "American way of life" as preached in the capitalist press and in Congress is anything but the quiet honest, free "Americanism" that you have always

You felt deep anger at Hitler's persecution of the Jews. And your sympathy for the impoverished, oppressed Negroes of the United States, and your hatred for the lynchers is very similar to that anger inspired by Hitler.

You have been bewildered, Ralph, you have been lost and looking for the way. "Nobody ever showed me something I could fight for and live for," you once said. Well, Ralph, congratulations! Whether or not you know it today, you have found something worthy of your young life and courage. Read your Militant carefuly. Measure your life and ideals against the ideas you find in each issue.

And then, when you have grown familiar with what we stand for, we'll be waiting to welcome you with a warm handclasp into the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party as a comrade in the fight for Socialism and freedom for all the

> Fraternally, Ted Kovalesky

Like Building On Quicksand By George Breitman-

Is Truman a friend of labor because he vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill? That is what most of the labor bureaucrats are saying now, even though they had to sing another tune last year when he broke the

rail and mine strikes. The truth is, as Joseph Hansen's article on Page 1 makes clear, that Truman had to veto the bill or give up all hope of a victory in the 1948 elections for the Democratic Party, most whose representatives in

Congress voted for the bill. Truman's course was determined by political expediency and not by friendship for labor.

To keep the support of the labor bureaucrats, Truman had to make a gesture against the bill. To make his gesture seem sincere, he had to repeat some of the workers' objections to the bill. But along with them, he listed a number of his own objections. Look at just a few of these reasons he gave for his veto, and ask yourself if they have anything in common with the interests of the working people:

1. The bill is "unworkable." Its attempts to prevent nation-wide strikes would be "ineffective" and "result almost inevitably in failure." (Meaning that Truman wants legislation that would "work" and undermine labor's right to

2. The bill would "substantially increase strikes." It would "discourage" the union leaders om including no-strike provisions in bargaining agreements. By weakening the "disciplinary authority" of the labor leaders, it would "expose employers to numerous hazards by which they could be annoyed and hampered."

(Meaning that Truman wants legislation which will weaken the militancy of the unions by enabling the labor bureaucrats to voluntarily give up the right to strike and to "discipline" rank and file workers who want to fight for better

The bill would invite the unions "to gain their ends through direct political action. I think it would be exceedingly dangerous to our country to develop a class basis for political action." (Meaning that Truman wants to discourage the workers from organizing a political party to defend their interests the way the Republican and Democratic Parties defend the interests of the capitalists.)

In short, Truman agrees with the main antilabor objectives of the Taft-Hartley bill but he thinks there is another and better and safer way to achieve them. How does that make him a friend of labor?

"That is beside the point," the labor bureaucrats will answer. "No matter what reasons motivated the Truman veto, the fact is that he came out in opposition to this viciously antilabor bill, and helped to almost defeat it. That is enough to demonstrate that he is a friend of

But if Truman is a friend of labor because he vetoed this viciously anti-labor bill, what about Taft and the other Republican leaders who refused to vote for the viciously anti-labor draft-strikers bill that Truman demanded when he smashed the railroad strike last year? Did that make Taft and Co. friends of labor too? The labor bureaucrats who are going around hailing Truman should be made to answer that

The American Meddlers' Association' By Grace Carlson-

"The American Meddlers' Association" is the name coined by Dr. Michael Shadid, the fightin head of the Cooperative Health Federation

to describe the powerful, bureaucratic American Medical Association. The founder of the Community Health Center at Elk City, Oklahoma - the first cooperative hospital in the United States - Dr. Shadid knows from bitter personal experience how much "meddling" the reactionary AMA officials

will do in order to undermine cooperative health programs. In his fascinating autobiography, A Doctor For the People, Dr. Shadid writes this blister-

ing description of AMA politics: "The American Medical Association is a strong political machine that might well be the envy of machine politicans everywhere. Like so many political parties, it originated as a forwardlooking association that fought for muchneeded improvements, only to degenerate into a bureaucracy upholding the status quo. It established a code of ethics that was originally drawn up for the protection of the public against unscrupulous doctors but which is now twisted so as to serve for the protection of unscrupulous physicians against the public . . .

"The AMA is not interested primarily in giving better medical care to the entire American population but rather in maintaining the present conditions under which those already overprivileged retain benefits not available to the great majority.'

That private medicine has failed to bring the benefits of modern science to the majority of the American workers is glaringly apparent to all but the vested interests of the AMA. This is the richest country in the world but preventable sicknesses and preventable deaths take their toll in the millions! Upon the heads of the AMA bureaucrats, and the system of private medicine and private enterprise for which they speak, rests the terrible responsibility for these

wasted lives. Just to list a few of the tragic statistics: 1. Twenty-three million persons have some

chronic disease or physical impairment-one 2. Five million young men were rejected for

war service because of inadequate physical or mental health-40% of all young men from 18 to 35-the prime of life. 3. One out of every 22 persons in the United

States spends time in a hospital for the mentally-ill. 4. Twelve thousand mothers die every year in

childbirth; over 100,000 babies die annually before the end of their first year.

5. Every year, 14,000 children die of whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever; 35,000 from influenza and pneumonia; 19,000 from diarrhea and dysentery; 4,000 from cardiac conditions; 4,000 from tuberculosis.

(This is the second in a series of articles on Health for the Workers.)

Notes From The News

Twenty-two Allis-Chalmers workers have been given five month and three month prison sentences in Milwaukee. The charges were mass

picketing in violation of a court injunction during the 10 month strike settled early this year. The union is appealing the cases.

A sheriff and four co-defendants who beat a Negro woman. mother of eight children, with a rubber hose and kicked her teeth loose has been acquitted by a lily-white jury in Montgomery, Alabama.

The jury was out less than an hour. Charles E. Saltzman, vice-president of the President Truman for the post of Assistant Secretary of State.

The Gallup poll reveals that 71% of the population favors raising the legal minimum wage from the present 40c an hour to 65c an

A city sales tax has been defeated in San Francisco. AFL and CIO officials led the opposition to the bill. Robert Chester, Socialist Workers Party organizer, denounced the proposed tax at a public hearing.

Mine operators are attacking a proposal before the Senate Public Lands Committee to extend the Federal Mine Safety Code for another N. Y. Stock Exchange, has been nominated by year,

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX

Michigan CIO Delegates Call For A New Party

End Of CIO Shipping Tie-Up



A nationwide CIO shipping stoppage ended when union demands were met by shipowners after a four day tie-up. Scanning the agreement are (left to right) President Joseph Curran of the CIO National Maritime Union, President Frank Taylor of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Assistant Secretary of Labor John W. Gibson and President Samuel J. Hogan of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. Standing are U. S. conciliators William Margolis, Fred Livingston and President Joseph Selly of the American Communications Association.

NMU Gains Contract Concessions Through Union-Wide Job Action

After tying up ships under union contract for three down over the issue of "commudays in an action that has aroused much speculation in un- nism." The Stalinist-controlled dependent political action by respective groups. They still ion circles, members of the CIO National Maritime Union CIO maritime unions on the the workers. The Chevrolet dele- didn't recognize the necessity to voted to accept a new agree- 9-

increase and a few minor conces-Although the shipowners yell-

not a lockout as the men were rare. kept on the payroll and not discharged. In commenting on the action.

nique. (Their emphasis.) NOT NEW

By George Clarke

into propaganda to kill the

They will claim that New York

transportation is not self-sus-

taining. That no improvements

can be made on the basis of a

five-cent fare. That New York-

ers get a longer ride for a nickel

than do the people of other cities.

That—and this argument will be

quieter but more threatening-

New York will be unable to pay

the banker's ransom of debt

There is little likelihood that

these specious arguments will in.

fluence many votes. The mil-

lions of New York workers know

one thing: an increase in fare

SAME: AS WAGE CUT

seamen for many years. The ac- ternal conflict, was left to carry tion can be defined as organized the main burden of the action. ed "strike" and the union retort- In the early days of seafaring strike nor a lockout. It was not ing the Oracle." While job action a strike because the men continued working aboard ship al-

With the administration in an editorial in the NMU Pilot showdown at this time, with explained: "When June 16th shipping still at a peak and procame and we had no contract we fits at their highest levels, the a contract. That was a new tech- ed jointly.

While the technique proved ef- unions, called to elaborate a pro- ions have submitted demands Scholle answered to the effect convention. fective in this case, it could gram of joint action, had broken based on the NMU settlement. that he had ignored the man-

ment calling for a 5% wage scarcely be called "new." It has tend their agreements for animove and a few miner concest

TIMID LEADERS

though they refused to sign arthough they refused to sign articles for a new voyage. It was
not a lockout as the men were

NMU contract is comparatively

Officially a three did we strike.

made. The same editorial from floor, we are badly in need of the NMU Filot, quoted above, depolitical action. Labor is being attacked in the halls of Con
CLIQUE FIGHT Washington anxious to avoid a tract terminating on June 15, the tical action. strike vote was to be completed only on June 22.

ington conference of seafaring wage movement, the other un- of labor."

By Sol Dollinger
DETROIT, June 21 — The ninth annual convention of the Michigan State CIO concluded a three day session this week. The highlight of the convention, attended by 900 delegates representing 800,000 CIO members, was the adoption of a resolution recommending that the national CIO establish a new politi-

because it violated "National A sharply contested clique fight CIO policy." for top offices dominated most of the working business, of the conclave. This was epitomized by In the meanwhile the Resoluthe acceptance speech of the in- tions Committee, under pressure cumbent financial secretary, of the pro-Labor Party groups, Barney Hopkins, who declared met and adopted their resolution

political action.

FEARED DEBATE

a score of locals had submitted open debate on the floor.

fight by sponsoring a resolution Party men from getting the floor. which called on the State CIO Not a single delegate spoke to convoke a conference within against the need for a Labor sixty days after the convention Party Overwhelming sentiment for the purpose of building a La- for independent political action bor Party. All delegates received came from militants in both copies of this resolution in the caucuses. But while most deleform of leaflets. The Budd and gates advocated building a La-Chevrolet local union papers bor Party, they were not prepared scored heavily in advocating in- to lead the fight for it in their Pacific Coast had signed to ex- gation also distributed a colorful struggle for this proposal in the pamphlet on the same subject. same manner in which they

Scholle and the Reutherites was CIO during the war. expressed on the first day of the convention. John Anderson, pres-The seamen were infected with ident of the Fleetwood local, gates succeed in breaking across the timidity of their leaders. No pointed out: "From the remarks serious preparation for strike was I have heard on the convention made. The same editorial from floor, we are badly in need of Officially we were in no position gress and in the state legislatures. The convention was marked by

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1947

REVERSED DECISION

that he was sorry to disappoint by a vote of six to one. Later the some of the delegates but he in- same day, they reversed their tended to keep on drawing his decision at the request of Scholle

and his lieutenants. Both the Addes-Thomas and The resolution finally adopted Reuther groups attempted to resolved "that this Ninth Annual straddle the issue of immediately Convention of the Michigan establishing a Labor Party in the State CIO Council recognizing state of Michigan. They accom- that the National CIO policy preplished this by shutting off de- vents taking any concrete acbate on this all-important ques- tion on this question, strongly tion after only one delegate had recommends that this policy be spoken in favor of independent changed to make possible the immediate attainment of our objects - the formation of a new political party of all liberal, non-

This in spite of the fact that totalitarian, American groups ... a score of locals had submitted Actual debate of the resolu-strongly-worded resolutions calling for immediate establishment fight between Scholle and an of a Labor Party. It was plain Addes-Thomas supporter, who that the top leaders of both cau- threw the convention into an cuses feared the results of an uproar for thirty minutes. Where order was restored, Scholle re The Briggs, Budd, Fleetwood cognized one of his supporters and Chevrolet delegates, among who called the previous question, others, took the lead in the depriving about 20 pro-Labor

The attitude of President Gus pledge, the official policy of the

On only one issue did the delecaucus lines. With little effort they rejected an attempt to hold conventions every two years, instead of annually.

to strike as we had not completed The CIO is asking the member- the failure of the two big cauour strike vote." With the con- ship for money to finance poli- cuses to campaign for big issues. The Addes-Thomas group contri-"I have looked through your re- buted confusion by their attempt port (officers' report on the past to create an amalgam between stayed aboard the ships, carried maritime unions could have As both sides sought to avoid year's activity) and it appears Scholle and Republican Governor on our work and merely refused wrested substantial concessions an extended tieup, the dispute to me that you have failed to Sigler. The Reutherite stock-into sign on and sail until we had from the operators had they act- was quickly settled on the basis carry out the instructions of a trade attack was red-baiting of the first real offer made by resolution passed at the 1946 their opponents, although it was But the June 15 deadline found the shipowners. Following the convention calling for independ- apparent that Stalinist influthe unions divided. The Wash- pattern established in the 1946 ent political action on the part ence, on the wane in the UAW. was a negligible factor at the

> The clique fight prevented any real discussion. Hundreds of dele gates left the convention asking themselves what could they report to their local membership. As a Chevrolet delegate wrote in his notes: "Monday big fight. Tuesday big fight, Wednesday we voted.'

Scholle and his slate were re-

Democratic Party officials in Georgia have just given the Ku Party. O'Dwyer's answer to the wage increases for the transport- larger as interest on the original Klux Klan in that State a whitewashing. Original charges against the hooded order included four counts: (1) violation of consti-This millstone of debt must be tutional rights; (2) interference removed from the necks of the with free movement of citizens; people of New York and placed (3) espousing bigotry and race on Wall Street where it properly hatred; (4) violating the charbelongs. Speculation on tran- ter of the Klan by profits on sale

billion each year in the stock involved criminal penalties, were market. Taxation on this trad- dropped by Attorney General ing by the Federal and State Eugene Cook. That left only the governments takes only approx- financial manipulations charge imately \$50 million of this to serve as the basis for revok-

This was what the Klan wantcharter any time it wants to.

READ

Fourth Internationa

is the same as a wage cut. This wage cut comes on top of the price increases. And after the rent bill is passed, it will be

indirect wage cut Number Three. Who are the wage-cutters? The bankers. The real estate operators. And William O'Dwyer. Who paved the way for the bor Councils.

wage-cutters? First and foremost, the CIO and AFL leaders who supported O'Dwyer for Mayor in 1945 as "a friend of labor." Second, the Stalinists who were also in O'Dwyer's column in the mayoralty election. Third, all these leaders who cheered O'-Dwyer to the rafters when he posed as an opponent of the higher fare last February. And

Banking and real estate mitted O'Dwyer to pose as la- hands. interests will pour a fortune bor's champion in the rallies O'Dwyer passed the buck to The tax on real estate must be against the slave labor bill.

Tax Wall Street To Save The Five-Cent Fare

five-cent fare if O'Dwyer THE QUESTION

permits the issue to go to a

need for additional funds was ation workers. Dewey. Drag a chunk of the half-billion nest egg the State in City Hall are thus given the Government was sitting on, he

Labor In Canada Fights Layoffs

In Cape Breton where 6.000 are jobless and in Halifax where there are 3,000, the Canadian Congress of Labor, which corresponds to the CIO here, has set up unemployed organizations. These are chartered by the CCL La-

The objective of the unemployed organizations is to concentrate on the defense of labor against the menace of mounting unemployment.

This far-sighted preparation for the looming depression might well be emulated by the labor movement in the United

finally, the same bunch who per- said. The bankers rubbed their property interests cover the deficits.

Dewey and the Republican leg- increased to the statutory limit! islature under Dewey passed it The second source of deficit is Labor Party resolution it was a right back. Then they began to the debt owed on transportation convention "full of sound and Nevertheless labor must enter needle O'Dwyer again: What to the banks. Service on this fury signifying nothing." referendum vote next No- the battle with the strongest about the deficit? What about debt for the current year reaches weapons. The question will per- the debt service? O'Dwyer re- the fabulous sum of \$57,000,000. sist: how will the deficit on the versed his position, despite the This money was literally stolen georgia Officials subways be defrayed? how will danger, as he privately admit- from the city by swindling tran-

> Labor Party, Stalinist and labor | Since a subsidy is blocked in then paid all over again by re-Labor Party, Stalinist and labor | Since a subsidy is blocked in their part an over again by leaders swallowed the bait of- Albany, the door is left wide open purchasing them. The banks Whitewash Job fered by O'Dwyer hook-line-and- for a fare increase or additional cashed in from these financial sinker. Part of the reason was sales taxes as urged by Dewey. manipulations by buying up the blindness and part unwillingness The problem becomes more acute bond issues floated by the city. to break with the Democratic since the budget does not permit Their take each year becomes

> > opportunity to play off the needs the transportation workers against the interests of the rest of the workers in the city. By failing to answer this problem, the major forces defending the five-cent fare leave the whole movement vulnerable to constant attack.

A PUBLIC SERVICE

City transportation is a public New York the biggest commercial and manufacturing city in of business and commercial interests. The operating expenses for the subways and bus lines should therefore be borne first to cancel out a swindle. of all by the real estate inter-

the debt to the bankers be paid? ted, of ruining his political carsactions. The city paid for the give Klansmen building of the subways and Give Klansmen

principal grows bigger. The bankers and their stooges REMOVE MILLSTONE

sactions of shares of stock goes of robes, hoods, etc. on to the tune of almost \$17 The first three charges, which service which has helped to make sum. The city must get its ing the Klan's charter. share from this parasitic trading in the national wealth. By And it is free to apply for a new the world, swelling the profits means of stiff enough taxes, the city can get a yield large enough to pay off its debt to the banks. This is the way

Dewey gave the city the right ests (which means, of course, the to levy new sales taxes. Let them banks and insurance companies). be levied where they belong. Pay The subways enhance the value the debt on the subways by putof big property. Let the Big ting a sales tax on Wall Street!