

THE MILITANT

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What Happened to The Building Boom?

—See Page 4—

Paris Conference On Marshall Plan Promotes War Aims

Push For Western Bloc Breaks Up Secret Parley

By Joseph Hansen

The break-up of the Paris conference of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and the Soviet Union July 3 marked another step in the formation of the Western Bloc and the alignment of camps for World War III.

In the reactionary tradition of imperialist diplomacy, the parley was held behind closed doors. The official hand-outs to the press gave little indication of the real issues at stake and revealed nothing of the off-the-record haggling where these power politicians made their genuine bids and offers.

In addition to this secrecy, the subject under discussion—the Marshall Plan—has likewise been kept wrapped in enigmatic vagueness. The capitalist newspapers assure their readers that the Marshall Plan is a most generous philanthropic offer to spend tens of billions of dollars to revive European economy and save the famine-stricken victims of the war from further horrors.

CAREFULLY CONCEALED

But the specific details of this plan have been carefully kept out of sight like the explosive part of a booby trap. Thus what Bevin, Bidault and Molotov really discussed cannot easily be determined.

Enough information is available, however, to characterize the Marshall Plan. It is reactionary to the core. Just as loans to the Greek monarchy and Turkish dictatorship implemented the Truman Doctrine in the militarily strategic area of the Dardanelles, so the Marshall Plan implements that same doctrine in Europe as a whole.

Its first aim is to mobilize American dollars against the trend of the European masses toward socialism. One of the general objectives of the Truman Doctrine was to "contain communism." The Marshall Plan is designed to advance this general

objective in a specific way. This was fully confirmed by an important editorial in the June 22 London Observer, which clearly reflects the British government's views on the Marshall Plan: "People will not resign themselves quietly to starvation. Economic collapse in Europe would, therefore, lead to political upheavals of incalculable magnitude."

THE BIG AIM

The second big aim of the Marshall Plan is to attempt to stave off the depression in America by pumping dollars into Europe with which American goods can continue to be

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MOLOTOV

Trotskyists In Bolivia Face Hertzog Terror

The Hertzog government is trying to stamp out Trotskyism in Bolivia, according to news just received by *The Militant*. *Lucha Obrera* (Workers' Struggle), organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers' Party), has been suppressed. Police have broken into the homes of leading members of the party. A number of Trotskyists have been thrown in jail.

Nelson Capelino, a leader of the POR at Oruro, was clubbed by the police and his house wrecked.

Miguel Alandia Pantoja, another leading Trotskyist, was singled out for attack. He is famed among the miners for his exposure of the demagoguery of Mendizabal, a government Minister, at the Colquiri Miners' Congress.

The persecution of the Trotskyists is part of a systematic campaign of terror against the Bolivian masses. The Trotskyists only have been marked as the most militant and class-conscious political leaders of the Bolivian working class.

The Trotskyists were not caught unawares. The Hertzog regime, which took office last January, set out on a most ominous course within the first few weeks. On January 28 some 150 miners were massacred at Potosi when a demonstration was staged to protest the arrest of various labor figures.

Three days later the Central Committee of the POR declared that the Potosi officials and the Ministry of the Interior were seeking "to create a favorable atmosphere for initiating systematic repression of the POR."

Since then, the government campaign against the masses has continued. Leaders of the field laborers have been beaten savagely by the police and deported to remote areas.

The terror waged by the Hertzog regime is an indication of the alarm of the big tin interests over the spread of Trotskyism since the rebellion last July that overthrew the Villarejo government. The Trotskyist program has gained great popularity especially among the men who slave in the tin mines. They have included such items as the sliding scale of wages in their union de-

mands. In the last election a common slate run by the miners and the POR succeeded in electing eight candidates to the Bolivian parliament. These political representatives of the working class began pressing for legislation favorable to the poor people who put them in office. Guillermo Lora, a leader of the POR who was among those elected, introduced a bill recently to make the sliding scale of wages compulsory throughout Bolivia.

Coal Miners Triumphant After Four Strikes In Year

The 13-month bitter struggle of the AFL soft coal miners, who engaged in four industry-wide strikes since May, 1946 to force the coal operators to sign a just contract, ended this week with a smashing triumph for the men who risk their lives jiggling the coal.

Faced with the certainty of a prolonged and stubborn strike while profits are at a peak, the northern operators, headed by steel industry owners of the "captive" mines, at the last moment "signed on the dotted line."

Jubilant miners headed back for the pits on the afternoon of July 8 with a 44½-cent hourly wage boost; a 10-cent per ton royalty for the union health and welfare fund; and the first contract ever signed by private operators incorporating the Federal Mine Safety Code.

Within a day, the hard-bitten Southern coal operators, who had insisted on separate negotiations in hopes of taking advantage of the impending Slave Labor Act, were signing up individually. The new daily wage will be \$13.05 for an eight-hour day, including

No Hope Offered Ruined Europe In Kremlin Line

By John G. Wright

The Kremlin sent Molotov with an entourage of 89 specialists to participate in the Paris meeting. The reasons for this step were not disclosed publicly but they are nevertheless apparent.

Stalin is anxious and ready to strike another bargain with Washington. He seeks with might and main to keep the avenue of agreement open. By participating in the Paris meeting, he once again reiterated his willingness to work hand in glove with the American plutocrats, provided they pay a satisfactory price for his services.

Wall Street, for its part no longer places the same premium as in the past on the Kremlin's services. Moscow has to offer only two items of first-rate interest to the power-grunk American overlords: (1) continued aid in putting down the European revolution and (2) opening up the Soviet Union to American capitalism.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is vitally interested in combatting and preventing the socialist revolution, whose mortal enemy they are. Aware of this, Wall Street is able to coolly calculate that if and when the need again arises to curb the European masses, the Kremlin will render its services gratis, just as it did in the days of Hitler's rise to power and all the years following.

Moreover, the Stalinist influence over the European masses is clearly on the wane, as evidenced by the recent strike struggles in France which tended to sweep over the heads of the native Stalinist bureaucrats.

In any case, at the present juncture Wall Street is far more interested in building up counter-revolutionary forces under its own immediate control.

As for opening up the USSR to American imperialism, Wall Street is banking here more and more not on voluntary agreement but on what it can extort through the unrestricted exercise of its overwhelming preponderance, up to and including the resort to military force. This was underscored by Molotov's departure empty-handed from the Paris conference.

Falling a deal, it was obviously the Kremlin's intention to discredit the conference to which its own presence had lent added weight. In this respect too, the Kremlin found itself completely at a disadvantage.

The grounds on which Molotov rejected the Marshall Plan are not a whit less reactionary than the proposals submitted by the "planners" of Wall Street.

American imperialism has done

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MINE VICTORY SPURS FIGHT ON SLAVE LAW

"This Is Protection—See!"



Mass Resistance Grows Against 15% Rent Gouge

As greedy landlords pressed their organized drive to intimidate tenants into signing "voluntary" leases for 15% rent boosts, mass resistance of tenants, largely spontaneous, began to erect a road block in the path of the rent-gougers.

In major cities from coast to coast tenant groups, many newly formed, urged renters not to submit to the pressure of the real estate interests and to refuse to sign leases for higher hand-outs to the rent-sharks.

In some states, like New York, where state rent control laws go into effect for another three months after the end of federal rent control next March 1, tenants generally are bucking the 15% demands of the landlords.

Landlord pressure is effective in most states where there are no state rent-control laws and where eviction proceedings can be stayed only a maximum of 30 days since elimination of the 6-month federal eviction stay with the new Rent Hijacking Act.

As many as 5,000 tenants a day were besieging the Chicago office

of Rent Control last week, complaining of landlord threats to initiate eviction proceedings if they did not sign up for the "voluntary" 15% rent-steal. The Chicago Real Estate Board threatened "arbitrary increases" after March 1 if tenants did not accept the 15% boost now.

Detroit tenants, mainly CIO auto workers, face the threat of 4,000 evictions weekly. In New York City, with 2,000,000 of the country's 15,000,000 residential tenants, rent officials predicted "that municipal courts here soon would be flooded with eviction cases." (N. Y. Times, July 2.)

250,000 New York City residents in apartment-hotels and rooming houses were confronted with threat of mass eviction or the immediate payment of rent increases ranging from 15 to 150%, the average demand being 48%.

Faced with a mighty clamor from these tenants as well as hundreds of thousands of others, the New York City Council was forced this week to pass a local ordinance freezing rents for permanent residents in federally-decontrolled hotels and rooming houses. The measure, however, sets up a commission empowered to raise individual rents where "equity" requires it.

THE BIG GOUGE

The big gouge, where the 15% racket fails to work, will be the area rent decontrol commissions. These are empowered to approve complete rent decontrol, general rent boosts or "hardship" increases in their areas. These commissions are named by the reactionary state governors, generally tied in with realty interests. It is expected that these boards will be packed with friends of the landlords.

The AFL and CIO are urging their affiliates to demand a majority of labor and tenant representatives on these boards.

DEMANDING PROTECTION

In most areas, tenant groups and labor organizations are demanding state and local laws to protect tenants. These include rent-freeze laws without loopholes, moratoriums on evictions and heavy penalties on landlords who try to coerce tenants into paying higher rents in violation of existing laws.

The New York CIO and American Labor Party are demanding a local rent-freeze ordinance. The Philadelphia CIO has demanded that the city administration declare a six-month moratorium on all evictions. One of the major developments in the fight against rent-gouging and mass evictions is the decision of the recent convention of the Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People calling on its 1,100 local affiliates to form tenant groups to combat rent increases and to resist evictions. No tenants are under greater pressure for rent increases than the Negro people, whose housing problem is made doubly-acute by segregation and race-restricting covenants.

The chief problem facing tenants is to turn their mainly spontaneous and disorganized resistance into organized form. Neighborhood groups must be welded into community-wide bodies and these unions, Negro and veterans groups to carry out a mass action program.

Unions Bar No-Strike Pacts, NLRB Procedure

By Art Preis

America's soft coal miners have again set an example of militant struggle for all labor and have chalked up their greatest wage victory in the face of the new Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Refusing to be intimidated by this infamous

law, the miners showed their readiness to close down the pits by their preliminary 10-day strike prior to July 1. A full-scale walk-out was averted on July 8 only when the leading coal magnates capitulated to the full wage demands of the AFL United Mine Workers.

This victory will hearten and encourage organized labor generally and will inspire the workers everywhere to stiffer resistance to the anti-union law.

Of special significance is the contract clause wrested from the operators to protect the UMW from employers' damage suits for alleged violation of contracts, particularly in case of strikes. This clause, designed to sidestep certain restrictions of the Taft-Hartley Act, provides that the contract is operative only "during such time as such persons (employees) are able and willing to work."

SET A PATTERN

The miners' contract is the first implementation of the latest moves of the AFL and CIO to bypass some of the worst features of the Slave Labor Law. This "willing and able" clause will undoubtedly set a pattern for contract demands by other unions.

Both the AFL and CIO last week announced their opposition to the future inclusion of "no-strike" clauses in union contracts and are advising against use of the new NLRB machinery in negotiations or disputes.

This is a sharp reversal of policy forced on the union leaders by the threat of the Slave Labor Law. Previously the union leaders had encouraged no-strike clauses and had urged the workers to place heavy dependence upon such capitalist government agencies as the NLRB.

The legal department of the AFL in its official Bulletin No. 1 on the Taft-Hartley Act last week advised all international and local

What Miners Won By Their Militancy

Remember how the miners were denounced during the war for their great strikes to defend their conditions? Remember the scurrilous propaganda campaigns of the boss press and radio?

The following table shows what the determination and militancy of the miners have won in wages since 1933:

Year	Average Weekly Wage
1933	\$14.47
1934	22.64
1935	23.88
1936	30.85
1937	41.37
1938	52.25
1939	58.63
1940	65.25

affiliates not to sign "no-strike" pacts as a means of avoiding breach-of-contract suits.

Similarly, the Executive Board of the CIO United Steelworkers, headed by Philip Murray, has barred all future no-strike contracts because the union "will not commit itself to no-strike obligations enforceable by harassing law suits."

The Steelworkers board also announced that it "has determined not to use the facilities of the new labor board." The USWA body stated it would be "deluding" its own members "if it holds any hope that use of the facilities of the new labor board would provide any protection for workers seeking to organize unions and exercise their rights to engage in collective bargaining."

The CIO United Electrical Workers urged a boycott of the NLRB because "nothing but injury can result to the interests of the membership of any union that takes a seat in this crooked game, where the rules are rigged and the dice are loaded against them."

All other CIO unions are expected

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Clean The Rascals Out

An Editorial

"We are going to organize politically to defeat every member of Congress who voted for this law (Taft-Hartley Act)," said AFL President William Green. The CIO will "work unceasingly in the political field," said CIO President Philip Murray, "to ensure the political repudiation of those reactionaries who are responsible for the Taft-Hartley Bill."

Every American worker and unionist will say "Amen!" to these sentiments.

But how is this crucial task to be done? The union leaders answer with the same fallacious and treacherous program they have traditionally espoused: Put some more Democrats and Republicans in office to replace the discredited representatives of the two Wall Street parties.

We have seen this policy in practice over the decades. We have observed its results from one election to the next.

After the Republican debacle in the early thirties, the union leaders turned to the Democrats and their promises of a "New Deal." This "New Deal" wound up in a few years with imperialist war, the wartime crippling of labor's rights, high prices, staggering taxes, government strike-breaking and the threat of a new depression and war.

Only a year ago the union leaders were calling the Democratic-controlled 79th Congress the "most reactionary in decades." Murray complained that Congress, under Democratic domination, had not passed "a single piece of progressive legislation in nine years."

Yet he and the other union tops called for the election of "friends of labor" who in seven months were voting for the Slave Labor Law.

What will the workers gain if they kick out last year's capitalistic "friends of labor" and vote for a new gang of Democrats and Republicans? We don't need to guess. Look at the record of Congress over the years. Look at the Taft-Hartley Act passed by a majority of BOTH capitalist parties.

There's only one way to clean the Wall Street rascals out of government and that's by replacing them with men and women labor can really trust—tried and tested union people. But for that we need a labor party, based on the unions and fighting for a workingman's program all the way through.

When Murray now says "I am not thinking in terms of a third party," and Green repeats the empty formula "Reward your friends and punish your enemies," they are only advocating a continuation of Wall Street's political monopoly exercised through its two-party system.

This system must be smashed. The way to begin is by convening a National United Labor Conference to launch the labor party before 1948. Start right in on your own home town by building local labor parties and running a local labor slate in the next election.

Break down the top union leaders' inertia and resistance. Proclaim from every union floor and meeting the slogans of the hour: A Labor Slate in '48! Put Labor in the White House! No one in Congress not controlled by Labor!

New Publishing Date And Copy Deadline

Beginning with this issue, the publication date of *The Militant* is advanced from Saturday to Monday. Hereafter the paper will be deposited in the Post Office every Friday evening. In most cases, subscribers will receive their copies one or two days later in the week than under the previous publication date.

The paper's new deadline for copy and ads is the Wednesday before the date of publication. Every effort, however, should be made to submit copy and ads before the deadline. Only last-minute emergency copy will be accepted for publication on Thursday morning.

CP Invents 'Plot' To Swing NMU Votes

Hardly a week goes by that the Stalinist *Daily Worker* doesn't explode some gigantic "conspiracy" against the Communist Party by "right and left opportunists, Trotskyists, Socialists, Social Democrats, etc."

In three consecutive issues, July 7, 8 and 9, the *Daily Worker* uncovers a diabolical plot by expelled members of the CP in the CIO National Maritime Union to rid the union of Stalinist control.

Employing the classic tabloid technique, the very first sentence of the most recent chiller-diller is calculated to send shivers tingling up and down the spine of every glibbly Stalinist. "The *Daily Worker* today reveals the story of a conspiracy," screams labor editor George Morris, "by a group of turncoats expelled from the Communist Party to turn the CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) into a base for attacks upon the Party."

A special free distribution of the issues containing the series was made to NMU members. Stalinist hawkers shouted the scare headlines. But a careful reading of the series failed to disclose what all the shouting was about.

DOCUMENTS ON SALE

The "secret documents" quoted by Morris have been circulated openly and publicly to all who were interested. In fact, one of the "documents" was on sale at the NMU bookstand. They had been in existence for many months. There was nothing "secret" or "conspiratorial" about them. Why then this fiction of "plots" and "conspiracies?"

It happens that there is in progress at the moment in the NMU a special election for vice-president to fill the vacancy created by the

removal of Joseph Stack. Stack, chief Stalinist spokesman in the union, was ousted by the membership on charges brought by President Joseph Curran of being a liar and slanderer. The stake in this election is control of the National Office of the NMU.

The Curran group is running Charles Keith to fill the vacancy. There are six national officers who function between meetings of the National Council as the executive body of the union. The present division is three for the Curran group and two for the Stalinists. The election of Keith would give the Curran group a four to two majority. His defeat would deadlock the National Office at three and three with the final decision left to the National Council which the Stalinists control.

TYPICAL BUILDUP

With control of the union at stake, the election campaign is bitterly contested. The Stalinist candidate, Chester Young, is a questionable character with an obscure record in the union. He first came into prominence as chairman of the trial committee which tried to whitewash Stack but was over-ruled by the membership. He is now being re-

warded for services rendered and is being given the typical buildup by the Stalinist machine.

Not having anything very favorable to say about their own candidate, the Stalinists have launched a vicious smear campaign in an effort to discredit Keith. Until his expulsion for "left opportunism," Keith was a recognized leader of the CP. Along with William Dunne, Sam Darcy, Verne Smith and a score of others, Keith was expelled for opposing the more flagrant sell-out policies of the American Communist Party. While they broke with the American CP, they remain loyal to the Stalinist gang in the Kremlin and in other countries.

To prove their "loyalty" they have gone out of their way to attack the Trotskyists, exaggerating and embellishing the anti-Trotskyist slander of the official Stalinist frame-up machine. This hasn't brought them the immunity they hoped to achieve. On the contrary, they have been made the object of the frame-up method perfected by the Stalinist hatchmen.

The recent "expose" in the *Daily Worker* is only a forerunner of what the Stalinists have in store for the "loyal" opposition in the NMU. They will learn through bitter experience that those who keep one foot in the Stalinist camp cannot carry on an effective struggle to rid the labor movement of this cancerous growth.

Mine Agreement



President John L. Lewis of the AFL United Mine Workers, Vice-President John O'Leary and U.S. Labor Conciliator James Dewey leave union headquarters after agreement had been reached with northern coal operators and representatives of the steel companies "captive mines." The pact was immediately ratified by the union policy committee.

Federated Picture

Coal Co. Penalized \$1000 for 111 Dead

Because of the failure of profit-greedy coal operators to take care of the most elementary safety precautions, 111 miners died last March in the Illinois Centralia coal mine explosion.

The evidence of the coal company's "willful negligence" was so overwhelming that rather than have this evidence aired in the court-room, the company pleaded *nolo contendere* (no contest).

In addition to this device the coal owners threw themselves upon "the mercy of the court."

The court was obviously inclined in this case to season its justice with mercy. It sentenced these murderers for profit to pay a fine of \$1,000, or some 9 odd dollars per each dead miner. What could be more "merciful?"

But is this justice? Of course, it is. It is class justice, the only kind of justice the judges know and dispense under the rule of Wall Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WHITEWASH TRUMAN, OPPOSE NEW PARTY

The growing Labor Party sentiment, which is one of the by-products of the Taft-Hartley Act, has frightened not only the capitalist party politicians but also that section of the labor bureaucracy which is trying to keep the workers tied to the Democratic Party. Among the most vociferous opponents of a new party based on the labor movement are the Social Democrats, whose paper, *The New Leader*, generally reflects the thinking of such top labor lieutenants of capitalism as Reuther and Dubinsky.

The leading editorial in the June 28 issue of the *New Leader* (five days after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act) is devoted to an attack not on the Slave Labor Act, such as some naive workers might expect from a self-styled labor paper, but on "the present frantic agitation for a new party."

At a moment when every serious union member is deeply concerned about the sinister threat which the new bi-partisan anti-labor law presents to the workers, the editors of *The New Leader* found it timely to declare: "This whole movement (for a new party) is a sinister threat to the progressive forces of this country."

DISGUSTING WHITEWASH

Then follows one of the most dis-

gusting whitewashes of the Democratic Party in recent months — a Truman toe-licking job that must have left the paid propagandists of the Democratic National Committee gasping in admiration and envy.

"When President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, it was not an irresponsible or merely personal deed. He was acting as President of the United States and head of the Democratic party. He was completely conscious of the fact that he was laying down the lines for the 1948 campaign. He was declaring to the country that the Democratic Party is the party of the progressives and, particularly, of the great masses of organized labor. The campaign will be fought along these lines — with the Republicans in favor of pushing things backward and the Democrats in favor of pushing forward. The stage is set for a hot campaign and one which can become intellectually one of the most productive in our history.

"Upon this stage now enter the Communists. . . (The Stalinists, of course, are the real villains of this strictly fictional drama.) What would happen if a new party is in the field in 1948? It would introduce confusion and re-orientation within the progressive political ranks," walls the editorial. "Republican victory would be the inevitable result. The men who fashioned the Taft-Hartley bill would be in charge for four years. It would be a defeat for labor. This, of course, is just what the Communists want. . . The responsible leaders of the AFL and CIO can prevent it now if they assert themselves with sufficient energy."

DOESN'T COUNT

In short, Saint Harry and his ward-healers must be re-elected in 1948 at all costs! When a majority of Republicans vote for the Taft-Hartley Act, that's bad; but when a majority of Democrats does the same thing, that doesn't count, because they are only trying to push things forward. Bear in mind that while the Republicans want to push the workers backward, Truman wants to push them forward — forward into the Army as he demanded during last year's rail strike — or

forward into bankruptcy through court injunctions and fines, as he showed during last year's mine strike.

And if any workers get the notion they should form their own party to fight the twin political servants of Wall Street, why they are nothing but dirty communist so-and-so's on whom Green and Murray should crack down "with sufficient energy."

The above political scabbiness sounds particularly crude and nauseating, coming so soon after the Democrats helped the Republicans to enact the Slave Labor Law. Yet precisely this line is what the labor misleaders are preparing to try to sell the workers just a year from now.

Meanwhile the Stalinists, whom the Social Democrats are trying to discredit in this way, are being built up in the eyes of militant workers as favoring a new party when actually they have been sabotaging the labor party movement all along.

SPREAD ILLUSION

Occasionally, it is true, the Stalinists pay lip-service to the need for a new party. But in practice they are steadfastly opposed to breaking with the capitalist parties. They not only voted for Truman in 1944 (like the Social Democrats) but also supported most of the Democratic candidates just last year, including many who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act (again like the Social Democrats). And even today they keep spreading the illusion that the Democratic Party can be reformed.

This was shown most recently when the New York Post, which is strongly influenced by the Social Democrats, followed it in denouncing any third party movement as a communist plot to create chaos by enabling the Republicans to win the 1948 elections.

The Post was "answered" by the Stalinist hack, Max Gordon, in the July 7 *Daily Worker*. It wasn't an easy assignment because the Stalinists for several years have been teaching their members and supporters that they had to vote for the Democrats or else the Republicans would win. But Gordon does the best he can under the circumstances:

It Worked



Impersonating Barbara Hutton, Woolworth heiress, and a couple of her cousins, members of Local 65, CIO Wholesale & Warehouse Workers, "picket" their union's picketline with signs reading: "My Counts Only Get \$100,000 A Year, I Can't Afford A Raise For These Workers." The demonstration took place after the company had refused to offer any wage boosts and demanded abolition of the closed shop. Right after the protest, Woolworth offered a \$2 weekly wage increase.

Federated Picture

Miners Victory Spurs Fight Against Slave Law

(Continued from Page 1)

to take a similar stand.

STEP FORWARD

The new policy with respect to no-strike pacts and dependence on government labor boards is a welcome step forward, although it was forced on the top union leaders solely by fear of the effects of the new law rather than by their understanding of the harm of such policies in themselves. No-strike pacts have usually been incorporated into contracts by conservative union leaders in collusion with employers to "discipline" militant workers and local unions that went on so-called "wild-cat" strikes.

Each new move to side-step or defy various sections of the Taft-Hartley Act is useful and necessary. No stone must be left unturned in combatting the application of any and every feature of the Act.

But there must be no illusion in the workers' minds about the effectiveness of the steps so far taken by the union leaders. Neither the "willing and able" clause of the miners' contract, nor the rejection of no-strike pacts and the boycott of the NLRB, will serve to nullify the main provisions of the Slave Labor Law.

Under this law, the government has all the legal powers necessary to intervene against any strike under the pretext of "national interest" and to smash the strike with injunctions and criminal penalties.

Under this law, the employers are free to attack and undermine unions through open-shop methods, with the backing of the government.

Right now, the political sponsors of the bill and the employers are putting on a propaganda campaign in an effort to lull labor into a false sense of security regarding the new law. They are pointing to the miners' contract and the fact that no penalties have been imposed against the mine strikers as proof that "this is no slave labor law."

Some union leaders are contributing to this deception by encouraging the belief that the latest move to side-step some features of the law and plans for court contests will suffice to protect the workers. This is nourishing a very dangerous illusion.

This law is loaded with dynamite that the employers and their government are prepared to explode in labor's face when they think it most opportune and effective.

This law calls not for "amendment but for repeal," as John L. Lewis stated after signing the mine contract. It is a Damocles sword suspended over the head of labor—a sword that will descend with deadly effect whenever Wall Street determines to cut the thread of caution that now still holds it in mid-air.

There is no way to effectively

and permanently eliminate the threat of this law except by ripping it from the statute books and by driving out of Washington the Republican and Democratic agents of Wall Street who passed this law and are plotting to put over still more vicious anti-labor legislation.

A POLITICAL FIGHT

The fight against the Taft-Hartley Act is a political fight first and foremost. It is a fight to destroy Wall Street's political monopoly that enables it to push through laws like the Taft-Hartley Act. It is the fight to put Labor in power in Washington. That means, above all, American workers face as their most decisive task the building of their own labor party.

The Taft-Hartley Act must be combatted militantly on every front. But it will be utterly destroyed only by labor's victory on the political front.

Wallace Program Analyzed at Detroit Meeting

DETROIT, July 5—The Detroit Local of the Socialist Workers Party held a public meeting on the role of Henry Wallace last Sunday at the Party Headquarters, 6108 Linwood. The speaker was Mike Bartell, organizer and Mayor-alty candidate of the Chicago Local. Seventy-five workers attended the meeting, despite the handicap of a drenching downpour in the middle of the afternoon.

Bartell made a careful analysis of Wallace and his middle-class platform, demonstrating that his program did not deserve the confidence of organized labor because Wallace banked on "enlightened businessmen" and the continuation of capitalism. He stirred the audience with a vivid picture of what a tremendous response a movement for a fighting Labor Party would call forth in the United States, particularly since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Chairman Esther Turner made an appeal for financial aid to support party activities, and the audience responded generously. A spirited discussion period followed. The dominant keynote here was confidence in the forward march of American labor, particularly as expressed by a pioneer Ford unionist. The meeting concluded with refreshments and an opportunity to get better acquainted.

Which is another way of saying: If the American workers succeed in building a Labor Party capable of defeating and destroying the power of the capitalist parties, it will not be with the help of the Stalinists any more than with the help of the Social Democrats.

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

Almost every union publication in the country, local and national, has openly defied the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act that prohibit political free speech to union-financed papers. Numerous union organs have published the voting records of all Congressmen on the Slave Labor Bill and called for defeat of those who supported it. Most of the labor press, however, put the heat on the Republicans, but failed to report the biggest political fact of all: That nearly 60% of the Democrats in Congress also voted against Truman's veto.

The most frequently used phrase in union papers characterizing the Taft-Hartley Act is "the first big step down the road to Fascism."

It is strange to read in the July 1 *United Mine Workers Journal* a bitter attack on the Republicans in Congress and "20 renegade Democrats" in the Senate. It is doubly strange to read praise of Truman—the man who led the government anti-labor drive in 1946 and initiated the strike-breaking injunction against the miners last November. John L. Lewis correctly scored the anti-labor role of the Democrats seven years ago, but his advice then was for the workers to support the openly reactionary Republicans Party. Now the actions of the Republican-controlled Congress have made support of the Republicans a risky business for union leaders. So Lewis is butting up the Democratic administration once more. For all his aggressiveness on the economic field, Lewis is just as bankrupt as the other union leaders on the political field.

Since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act there's a growing amount of favorable comment in local union papers about the need for a labor party. For instance, the *Voice of Local 212*, organ of the CIO United Auto Workers Briggs local in Detroit, states editorially: "A Political Consolidation of Labor convened in Washington within the next few weeks of representatives from every labor organi-

zation in existence, solely for the purpose of discussing joint action to defeat the attempts of the NAM, could conceivably result in political action on the scale that all unionists have dreamed of. It might be the way toward a THIRD PARTY with labor as the base and extend open arms to the farmers and the small business men to join with the workers of the country to take the National Association of Manufacturers out of Washington, D. C.!"

The Seafarers Log, organ of the AFL Seafarers International Union, says editorially in its June 27 issue: "Not only have strikes followed the passage of the bill, with a threat of more to come, but labor is looking piercingly at both political parties, and responsible labor leaders are talking seriously of a 'New Party,' controlled by labor and supporting only tried and true friends of the labor movement. . . The men who produce the wealth of this country have too long been forced to exist on crumbs. Politicians have conspired to steal away the freedom of the working man, but there is a wind rising—a wind that threatens to blow the traitors out of office and out of public life."

The sentiments of the workers in the great Northwest about the Slave Labor Law were expressed by John M. Christenson, president of the Northwest Council of AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers, a union with a very militant record. Christenson said: "The new law is unjust and contrary to the American tradition of democracy. We do not intend to let this law deprive us of strong organization or take away any of the conditions we have won. In my opinion, we should ignore the undemocratic restrictions and proceed as usual. We must maintain our union and our standards at all costs."

CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran has appealed to all waterfront unions to attend a special joint maritime conference in New York on July 14, with but one point on the agenda: "Program to Defeat the Taft-Hartley Act."

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 control!
2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
 - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—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 unemployment!
3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!
 - 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!
 - Repeat 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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Germany 1947

First Steps On The Workers Road To Action

By Ernest Germain

For two years Germany has been a huge laboratory in which a Marxist could follow step by step the molecular processes leading the proletariat from complete prostration to the revolution. We are still a long way from such transformation of quantity into quality, and the process has hardly reached its first rounded expression. But so far as we have been able to follow it, it is a brilliant confirmation, and under the most exceptional conditions, of Marxist theory on the origin and the internal logic of development of the working class movement.

At the very moment of the military collapse, groups of advanced workers went into action. Dresden was in the hands of a workers' committee; a committee of workers and deserters freed Aix-la-Chapelle from the Nazis before the arrival of the Allied troops. In the chaos which followed immediately upon the arrival of these troops, the factories were almost everywhere taken over by the workers, who drove out the personnel of the Nazi administration.

The Eighth In A Series Of Articles

their mouths shut on this subject, which does not mean that their opinions aren't clearly formed—far from it! Frequently the political parties were violently denounced.

FORMS OF PROTEST

As part of this "flüsterpropaganda" we can also include the wide circulation of popular ballads and songs, in which the disillusionment of the masses finds a striking means of expression. A prayer which spread rapidly throughout Germany runs as follows: "Dear God, please give us quickly the Fifth Reich, for the Fourth is too much like the Third."

And the Swiss weekly newspaper *Die Weltwoche* cites the following paraphrase of the Nazi "Horst Wessel" song:

"Prices are high and the zones shut tight,
Our calories sink down and down,
We Germans are hungry day and night,
The rest go hungry in spirit alone."

As the small groups of trade unionists grew in strength and came to understand the necessity for expressing the discontent of their fellow workers, they developed the first organized form of resistance of the masses to the hunger, the cold, the inflation, the misery and the imperialist oppression.

It generally took the form of petitions; but this elementary form, which showed the impression the masses still had of the all-powerfulness of the military apparatus, was very often filled with a highly advanced content.

There were huge numbers of these petitions, hundreds and thousands, beginning in the autumn of 1946. Most frequently their objective was the demand for workers' control over the distribution of food stuffs, hiring and firing in the factories, etc. Another of the most frequent demands was for an increase in the food ration.

The text of these petitions, written by thousands of obscure workers representing the very best in the German proletariat, often reaches an emotional level characteristic of the first writings of the workers in the last century. Here is an example, the opening sentences of a petition addressed by the workers of the Munich-Gladbach in the Rhineland to the British Prime Minister:

"We till the land and we are wasting away. We weave the wool and are clothed in tatters. We dig the coal and are dying of cold. Pale and thin, our children roam the streets of our destroyed cities..."

It was in the course of thousands of these elementary actions that the advanced workers regained their strength, became aware of their numbers, exchanged ideas, and were increasingly faced with the necessity of moving on to broader actions. Significant strike movements broke out as early as September and October, 1946.

The workers in Hamburg, disregarding the trade union big shots, were the first to advance the slogan "No work without bread." In Kiel, Berlin and other places strikes broke out against the dismantling of factories.

The first action on a broader scale was launched in October: the Ruhr miners organized a protest demonstration against the food administration and refused, as a group, to work additional hours.

The cold wave in December temporarily paralyzed this growing will to resistance of the masses. But in vain did the British authorities try to corrupt the miners by granting them supplementary rations of tobacco and alcohol (sic!). The miners demanded increased rations for their wives and children. They wanted no favors over their fellow workers.

DESPERATE STRENGTH

The second cold wave and the unprecedented food crisis it precipitated—distributed rations had fallen as low as 900 calories a day by the end of February!—now gave the masses the strength of desperation, thanks to the patient preparatory work of the trade union vanguard.

The workers went into the streets by the thousands, in Kehl, Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, Wuppertahl, Remscheid, Bochum—throughout the entire Ruhr region. Altogether, 750,000 workers and housewives took part in the demonstrations of that decisive week in March.

As we know, the movement culminated in the general strike of the Ruhr miners, perfectly organized and a clear proof that a vanguard exists in Germany which has lost none of the high organizational ability of the old German working class movement.

But we must have no illusions: we are still at the beginning, only at the very beginning. The relationship of forces remains heavily weighted against the masses. In the Eastern zone the GPU still often manages to crush the resistance, which most frequently takes shape in the factory committees, by simply deporting the oppositionists. Physical exhaustion renders the masses of the Western zone momentarily incapable of any prolonged effort.

But it is clear that henceforth Germany will not follow any "special" development; that the working class movement is taking on new life there according to its own laws and with its own methods of action; that the proletariat and the proletariat alone is capable of organizing on any sort of serious scale the struggle against the misery and the occupation.

Nowhere have there been joint actions between the masses and the fascist rowdies who yell at the "Quisling" professors in the universities or who throw bombs and organize sabotage. The mass movement of resistance is not taking the latter road, and it would be a crime for revolutionists to seek a common ground of struggle between those who in the past have shown themselves to be the worst enemies of the working class, and those who will be the working class leaders of tomorrow.

(Next Week: *The Strategy of the Fourth International.*)

Wall Street Western Bloc Plan Hailed By European Capitalists

By Jean Paul Martin

Worse Off Than Before



Now that President Truman has signed the phony rent bill that was pressured through Congress by the real estate lobbyists, tenants like the Weisman family will have even more trouble trying to keep a roof over their heads. After having been evicted, reinstated and then evicted again, they decided to camp on the doorstep of New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer until they found some place to live. Federated Picture.

PARIS, June 27—The Marshall Plan, which constitutes the point of departure for American intervention in the economic and political evolution of Europe, has found a most enthusiastic response on the part of the Western European governments and capitalist press who believe that American aid is their only hope in avoiding economic and financial catastrophe.

In effect, in spite of the economic revival and in spite of previous loans from America, the dependence of all these countries on the latter is such that only American aid extending over a period of years will be able to save them from complete disaster.

Here are some figures which illustrate the dependence of these countries on America: Italy, which imported 11% from the U.S. in 1937, now imports 58%; Poland imports 44% (against 14% in 1937); France 38% (against 10%); Czechoslovakia 35% (against 10%); Holland 25% (against 8%); Belgium 18% (against 9%); England 18% (against 11%).

The commercial balance of most of these countries being in deficit, and the first American loans nearing their exhaustion, it is absolutely necessary for them to obtain new American credits to continue the importation of food and materials for their industries.

HAUNTED BY CRISIS

At the same time America itself is haunted by the specter of the tenuousness to delay this crisis in the U. S. and to avoid the complete bankruptcy of the economy of Western Europe.

It is true that the Marshall Plan does not, in principle, exclude Russia and these parts of Europe within her orbit. But it is evident that as a counterpart for American eco-

Stalin Amends His Criminal Code

Russian newspapers are now engaged in a campaign to "popularize" the Kremlin's new decrees which step up savagely the penalties for petty thefts. Long term hard labor sentences are now meted out for thefts whose widespread prevalence arises from the increasing want and misery of the workers, whose living standards have been slashed below subsistence levels.

For stealing a few loaves of bread a truck-driver was sentenced to seven years hard labor. Theft of fish from a warehouse brought with it a 15-year slave labor term for a "previous offender."

A railroad electrician pilfered some furs from a freight car—penalty, 10 years. Two peasants convicted of stealing oats from a collective farm, were sent up for eight years apiece.

Such long term sentences to the slave labor camps, where conditions are indescribable and mortality rates very high, are in many cases equivalent to death sentences.

Secret Paris Parley Promotes War Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

bought. This project has the additional advantage of offering American capitalists profitable investments in Europe.

Here is how Anthony Eden put it in a speech before the British Parliament on June 19: "The importance to a creditor nation, and especially a creditor nation on the scale of the United States, of restoring the prosperity of Europe hardly needs any argument... If the United States is to continue as a great exporting nation, then clearly it is of the first importance to her to try to build up European prosperity."

In describing the danger of "chaos" in Europe unless dollars are rushed across the Atlantic, Sir Arthur Salter added in this same discussion by Parliament that "a great economic depression" looms in America if that dollar gap "is not bridged and bridged quickly."

What the Marshall Plan will do then, is to build up purchasing power in Europe to keep up the present high rate of exports from the U.S. and thereby stave off the inevitable depression a little longer.

The third aim of the Marshall Plan is to prepare for World War III. As the *London Observer* editorial admits, "A reconstruction race between Russia plus eastern Europe on the one hand, and western Europe backed by America on the other, must almost inevitably turn into an armament race."

The Marshall Plan therefore sets up a Western Bloc of capitalist powers. This coalition will apply an economic blockade on the Soviet Union and the countries under Kremlin domination. It will subordinate the particular interests of the participating countries to the general aim of eventual attack on the Soviet Union. It will unite the capitalist classes of Europe in an alliance against the degenerated workers' state and against the European socialist revolution.

No genuine unification of Europe is contemplated. As the *London Observer* admits, even a currency and customs union "could not be achieved within '10 years.'" Meanwhile, what is actually contemplated is an "intermediate period of adjustment by preferences and special tariffs." These "preferences" and

"special tariffs" would be wholly under Wall Street's control. A "central development agency" will be required, explains the *London Observer*, "to elaborate and carry out the programs, insuring proper use of the credits provided." The judges as to "proper use" would be Wall Street's diplomatic, military and business representatives.

HASTE IMPERATIVE

How does Wall Street expect to put this reactionary scheme over on the American people? They plan to rush it through. The *London Observer* declares that haste is of the essence. First, because of the extreme physical urgency of Europe's dollar needs. "And second, because '1948 is Presidential election year in the United States' and 'no favorable MARSHALL PLAN MEANING' can be expected from America during that year."

The tactic is for the powers participating in the Western Bloc to draw up a plan on their needs by September. Sir Arthur Salter thinks this can be done "relatively" easily "by taking as its basis the actual deficit in the European balance of payments, which is much the same thing as the actual surplus in the American balance of payments."

Meanwhile Truman's Council of Economic Advisors will draw up a parallel plan to prove that the United States can afford to show off the necessary billions. This report will likewise be ready by September. Then these schemes, according to Sir Arthur Salter, will be presented to Congress "by the end, and if possible by the autumn, of year."

The July 8 *World Report* says Truman may call a special session of Congress to get approval before winter. And Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, predicted this year.

"By mid-October President Truman will summon an extraordinary session of Congress and request that it approve peacetime lend-lease to Europe, totalling five billion dollars a year for the next four years. Congress, realizing the need for preventing chaos and communism, will approve of the Marshall Plan by a wide margin."

GREEK MONARCHY JAILS 2,800 IN "RED" RAIDS

Between 3 and 5 o'clock in the morning of July 9 the Greek monarchy moved in on its political opponents. Some 2,800 people on the government blacklist were rounded out of their beds and

heard into police stations. Before the day was over, the first contingents of these victims were on their way to the concentration camps and prison islands that gained world-wide notoriety under the brutal Metaxas dictatorship and the Nazi occupation forces.

The simultaneous nation-wide raids were carried off with precision timing in the pattern of the fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany. The monarchy officially informed British and American diplomats of the "results"; and Greek Foreign Minister Constantin Tsaldaris, who came to the United States for consultation, cabled at once that the Truman Administration did not disapprove.

This lack of disapproval is no surprise. The raids were obviously designed to carry out the objectives of the reactionary Truman Doctrine.

OFFICIAL EXCUSE

The official excuse concocted by the Greek puppet government for

the raid was the alleged discovery of a "communist" plot. Napoleon Zervas, Minister of Public Order, announced he had in his "possession" nothing less than a "copy" of an "order" of a guerrilla chieftain in the mountains calling on "communists" to seize some government buildings in Athens and assassinate some government officials.

Napoleon Zervas, it is sufficient to observe, was a military bandit supplied arms by the Churchill regime for use against the Greek Minister Constantin Tsaldaris, who came to the United States for consultation, cabled at once that the Truman Administration did not disapprove.

Among the victims of the raid were leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, including the editor of the CP paper *Enosis*. Ironically enough, the Stalinists only the day before had once again made a public display of their eagerness to get along with Greek reac-

Kremlin Offers No Hope To Devastated Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

ned the cloak of international philanthropy. Confronted with this insinuation, Molotov found no other weapon in his diplomatic arsenal than an appeal to unbridled nationalism.

The Kremlin despots, who in country after country have trampled upon the peoples' right to self-determination, now don the cloak of nationalism in order to cover up their real demand, namely, that Wall Street abide by its previous agreement to leave Eastern Europe under the Kremlin's domination.

Stripped of its verbiage, Molotov's statement explaining the break up of the Paris conference, boils down to a proposal to build in Europe a series of "independent" and "sovereign" states, that is to say, a system of isolated and self-sufficient economies. This was the avowed aim of the imperialist architects of Europe under the Versailles Treaty.

Today this same arch-reactionary utopia is being advanced by the Kremlin especially for small countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Norway which Molotov took special pains to single out.

Let the peoples of Europe remain caged within their respective national and tariff walls—that is the Kremlin's alternative to Wall Street's project of "unifying" Europe. Stalin has no other perspective to offer.

SECOND REASON

Molotov's second reason for rejecting Wall Street's "aid" to Europe is likewise borrowed from the lexicon of darkest reaction. In so many words the Kremlin spokesmen declared that the U. S. plan would "exempt" the defeated countries, above all Germany, from the payment of reparations to the conquerors.

The Kremlin has long ago filed its 10 billion dollar reparations claim as the first lien upon the resources of defeated Germany. Stalin took this occasion to once again proclaim that he would reject any and all plans that do not recognize his "right" to bleed dry Germany and other vanquished countries.

This predatory demand for reparations provides the central argument for the Kremlin's propaganda against the Marshall plan both at home and abroad.

The French Stalinists have already begun to denounce Bidault or having delivered "a mortal blow to our (that is, France's) right to German reparations and gravely compromised our security." This was the keynote of the July 6 leading editorial in *l'Humanité*, central organ of the French Stalinist Par-

ty (reprinted without comment by the *Daily Worker*, July 7).

An appeal to nationalism and a demand to safeguard reparations—that is the sum and substance of the program that the Kremlin is now counterposing to Wall Street's implacable drive to line up Europe in preparation for war against the USSR.

It goes without saying that this plays right into the hands of U. S. imperialism, making it all the easier for the latter to pose as humanitarian, altruistic and progressive by comparison.

Stalin is today helping pave the road for World War III just as in the days of Hitler's rise, Stalin's counter-revolutionary role helped pave the way for World War II.

PAVES ROAD TO WAR

The division of the old continent into "sovereign" national bodies and the perpetuation of the private ownership of the means of production have already plunged the European peoples into two world wars. They find themselves today amid economic and cultural decay, with the prospect of atomic destruction in the next world slaughter.

The only way out for them today, as in the days of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, is the genuine economic unification of Europe on socialist foundations.

For the masses of Europe only the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe offers salvation. For the achievement of this alternative they must engage in an irreconcilable struggle against both the program of Wall Street and the reaction that stems from Moscow.

International Notes

As was expected, Franco announced an overwhelming majority of Spain's voters had gone to the polls in the July 6 referendum and voted in favor of ratifying the "law of succession" which confirms Franco as head of the fascist government. Voters were publicly warned that if they did not go to the polls they would be punished by ration cuts, loss of jobs, etc. The Catholic Church applied pressure to bring out a big vote. The ballots were to be burned after being counted by Franco's men.

The so-called "Indian Independence Bill" which has been approved by both the Congress Party and Muslim League leaders in India and is now up for debate in the British House of Commons, strips King George VI of his proud title, "Emperor of India." From now on the poor fellow will only be King of the two dominions into which the bill partitions the country.

The new Japanese government's Economic Stabilization Board has set certain "standard" wages for the various industries and trades. These are neither maximum nor minimum wages in a formal sense, but everyone understands that in fact they will be maximum wages. They range from a high of 2,441 yen a month for sailors down to 1,124 yen for girls engaged in silk reeling. The maximum figure comes to \$48 a month on the basis of the phony 50 yen to the dollar conversion rate set by the occupation forces. The actual basis is around 117 yen to the dollar, which would make about \$17 a month for the highest standard wage. Before the war skilled workers earned about \$50 a month.

A total of 200,000 German workers in Hanover, Brunswick and Hildesheim staged a one-hour protest strike against the starvation rations last month.

The British government has refused to implement the Labor Party Conference decision demanding equal pay for equal work by women. Just as at the Labor Party Conference, so now in Parliament they plausibly announced that they accept the "broad principle" of equal pay, but "it cannot be applied now" because of the "inflationary" consequences. They even refuse to indicate when, if ever, they will be ready to carry out this mandate from the overwhelming majority of their own party.

Thousands of Germans are illegally crossing the Russo-American zone borders in Germany in an effort to escape threat of recruitment by the Russians for the uranium mines and the Russian army, according to reports from Frankfurt. An average of 1,000 daily is said to be crossing the border near Bielefeld alone.

The French National Assembly gave Premier Ramadier a vote of confidence by 331 to 247 on July 4. Most of the opposition came from the Stalinists and the reactionary Republican Liberty Party. The Stalinists repeated their demand to be readmitted to the coalition cabinet.

Ramadier announced his full support of the Marshall Plan; denounced the wave of strikes, for which he blamed "Trotskyists or others"; and promised in vague terms to continue the main features of the present wage-price policy.

He also got a "vote of confidence" from his own party. But neither vote could help Ramadier to the problems of strikes and inflation.

Big Wave of Strikes Sweeps Through Island of Ceylon

By Gamani Salgado

COLOMBO, CEYLON—Ceylon is at present in the throes of the biggest strike wave since the general strike of October, 1946.

The action commenced in the ranks of the monthly-paid Colombo Municipality workers, organized under the Colombo Municipal Employees Union, who struck work, putting forward 19 demands, one of which was the immediate withdrawal of the threat of disciplinary action against the union secretary. They were at once joined by their fellow-workers in the Kandy and Galle Municipalities, while the Colombo Municipality daily-paid workers struck three days later.

The monthly-paid workers, who persisted in united strike action despite dismissal threats, returned completely victorious after six days. Individual members of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist), took an active part in this strike.

The daily-paid employees, organized under the All-Ceylon Local Government Workers Union, which is controlled by Dr. N. M. Perera's group of split-away Trotskyists, went back to work on a promise that their grievances would be looked into and on a guarantee of strike pay.

Others on strike are the workers of the tea- and rubber-packing industries, mainly under the leadership of the Stalinist-controlled Ceylon Federation of Labor. The main grievance of these workers was the insecurity of employment as a result of frequent dismissals on the ground

of "retrenchment" since the end of the war.

The Kolonnawa Oil Installation (Shell), the island's main gasoline reserve, has also struck under the leadership of the Ceylon Federation of Labor, controlled by the group headed by Dr. Perera. A police baton-charge on a strike demonstration resulted in several oil workers sustaining severe injuries.

The latest phase of the struggle, and perhaps the most important, is the strike of the Ceylon Government's clerical employees, resulting in the paralysis of almost the entire government service. This strike followed agitation by the clerical service, organized chiefly under the General Clerical Services Union, for civil liberties, trade union rights, including the right to strike, etc., at present denied them under the notorious Public Service Regulations.

In reply, the Governor issued a minute in which he not only attempted to palm off an emasculated brand of "Whitleyism" as a substitute for the full trade union and political rights demanded by the government servants, but threatened instant dismissal of all who struck.

The white-collar government workers answered with a mass rally on the evening of May 28, attended by over 10,000 and addressed among others by Colvin R. de Silva of the

Trotskyists, Dr. N. M. Perera and the Stalinist, Pieter Keuneman. The Chief Secretary took notice of this expression of workers' solidarity with an order interdicting the office-bearers of the 19 government associations which convened the rally and withdrawing recognition from the General Clerical Services Union. The government workers gave this act of bureaucratic high-handedness the reply it deserved by walking out on May 31.

More and wider sections of the working class are coming to the aid of these strikers. A general strike may well be the next phase of the struggle.

Background music to this impressive drama of the toilers' struggle is provided by one of the most infamous gag-acts ever to be written into the legislature of the island.

This fascist act, which was rushed through three readings of the State Council in the record time of 90 minutes, gives the police power to stop meetings and demonstrations and to prevent the use of microphones and even photographs. A mass meeting protesting against this repressive bill was addressed among others by Colvin R. de Silva.

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"We have entered an epoch when the periods of economic revival are short lived, while the periods of depression become deeper and deeper."

Leon Trotsky

UN By-Passed Again

When the Truman Doctrine was announced March 12, a storm arose over the way the White House had by-passed the United Nations. The Truman doctrine obviously was a long step toward another war since it publicly avowed the intention of Washington to intervene on a world scale in the internal affairs of other nations.

People who had fallen for the propaganda about the United Nations being the hope of the world were greatly disturbed. Hadn't the UN been set up as the instrument that would achieve enduring peace? How then could the White House take it upon itself to deliver what might be a death blow to this great hope?

Truman hastened to proclaim that no by-pass was intended. In the future his Administration would faithfully work through United Nations channels. The Militant held that Truman's by-passing the UN again confirmed the Trotskyist analysis of that body as nothing but a fraud, an instrument designed by the imperialists only to delude the masses and divert them from following the road to socialism. We called attention once more to our prognosis that the fate of the UN would be as dismal as that of the League of Nations.

On June 5—not even three months after Truman had by-passed the UN with his infamous doctrine—the Truman administration once again by-passed the United Nations. On that day Secretary of State Marshall announced his "Plan" for a Western Bloc. He announced it not before the UN but before the graduating class of Harvard University.

Representatives of France and England did not meet in the UN to consider the plan; they met in secret outside the UN, although the Marshall proposal will vitally affect all the nations in Europe. A representative of the Kremlin joined in the secret consultation, thus showing how little Moscow expects from the UN despite its efforts to sell this institution to the masses as a good thing.

When the secret parley broke up, it was clear to everyone that the lines had drawn sharper in preparation for World War III, yet not a single member of the United Nations lifted a finger in protest or made the slightest move to place this grave matter on the UN agenda.

This latest deliberate by-passing of the UN by the powers that set it up has aroused virtually no protest whatever. The entire public seems to have accepted the fact that the UN is utterly incapable of halting the drive toward World War III. It's not even worth wasting breath on. Is any more evidence needed to show that it's time to bury this corpse?

"Forgive and Forget"

There is a story about a scoundrel who stole his neighbor's money, burned down his house and ran off with his wife, but left a note: "Awfully sorry to have to do this to you, old man." On reading the apologetic note, the wronged husband said magnanimously: "It shows he really meant to do the decent thing."

We are reminded of this story by the top union leaders' continued support of Wall Street's two-party rule in spite of the blows the Democratic and Republican machines have struck labor, climaxed by the bi-partisan Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Only, unlike the unfortunate husband, these union leaders could foresee each blow in advance. They were forewarned every time. Indeed, they even threatened: "One more dirty trick, and we're through with you for good."

That threat was widely uttered by union officials to the Democratic Party chiefs just prior to enactment of the Slave Labor Law. CIO President Philip Murray wired Democratic National Chairman Robert Hannegan that the vote of the Democrats in Congress would be a "test whether the Democratic Party can be an instrument for the protection of the American people against those who would destroy our democracy." United Auto Workers Vice-President Richard T. Leonard told Hannegan that failure of the Democrats to sustain Truman's veto "will result in organized labor looking elsewhere in 1948."

That's how some leading union officers were talking before the law was passed. Now they don't have the decency even to report or refer to the fact that

nearly 60% of the Democrats in Congress voted against sustaining the veto. They center all their fire on the Republicans and pull an iron curtain over the reactionary Democratic majority.

They are ready to forget and forgive, because, after all, the Democrats did leave a note of apology by way of Truman's last-minute and unsustained veto. That's enough for these union leaders to still find a possibility in the Democratic Party for doing the "decent thing."

What will be the result of continuing a policy of returning either Democrats or Republicans to Congress? It will mean further entrenchment of Big Business political rule, the emboldenment of reaction, more drastic anti-labor laws, the progressive undermining and final destruction of the labor movement.

Across the political skies in letters of fire, the Taft-Hartley Act has written this warning to labor: "Act now to build your own political weapon, your own party!"

The union bureaucrats have demonstrated that they do not intend to heed this warning. But the union ranks dare not ignore it. Their freedom and security, the welfare of their families are at stake. And hundreds of thousands of workers have already signified by resolution their understanding of the crucial need for a labor party now.

An Alarming Health Report

One of the proud boasts of apologists of the capitalist system is the improvement in sanitation since medieval days. Sewage in the cities of that time ran down open gutters and the water supply was a source of filth-borne diseases that periodically decimated the population.

But even in America, it appears that we are much closer to the medieval level than is generally known. According to a survey made public July 5 by the Sanitary Engineering Division of the United States Public Health Service a total of 108,000,000 Americans lack an adequate water supply.

The figures are shocking. "More than 6,000,000 persons in towns and cities need new sewerage systems; over 79,000,000 need improved systems and only about 6,500,000 are served by adequate systems at present." This indicates how dangerously inadequate sanitation facilities are at present, but it still does not give the complete picture. Besides the cities "over 33,000,000 rural people have unsatisfactory sewerage disposal systems and only 6,000,000 are reasonably well provided for in this respect."

In rural areas "more than 27,000,000 need new or improved water supplies." But even a city as large as Philadelphia has "highly polluted" sources of water supply. In fact, more than "2,000,000 persons, living in communities of over 200 population, have no community water supply systems and 79,000,000 have systems needing improvements."

The Health Service estimates that \$7,334,581,000 would be sufficient to remove this threat to the health of the people.

But can the capitalist politicians in Congress be expected to devote such a sum of money to this useful purpose? Not while they are preparing to plunge the country into a Third World War. How can the Treasury afford to pay out almost eight billion dollars for water works and sanitation facilities when the bill for war preparations for this year alone amounts to some \$11,500,000,000?

And if you first spent the money needed to safeguard the health of the people, then what would you have left to build up an efficient slaughter machine?

Prices Coming Down?

Any headline in the capitalist press about prices coming down exercises a magnetic attraction on us. Maybe it's the relief from reading headlines about price boosts on meat, price boosts on groceries, price boosts on clothing, not to mention the 15% rent boost that the landlord is now trying to extort.

The latest item about prices dropping was flashed over Associated Press wires July 9. That headline "Food Price Decline Predicted" really looked good to us. We could stand a decline in prices.

But the lift, we must sadly report, didn't last long. In the first place, the decline won't occur before harvest time. That's not very encouraging. A lot of things can happen between now and harvest.

That wasn't all. The prophet didn't mean harvest this year, he was speaking about harvest next year—1948, some time before snow flies.

How high will prices go between now and Thanksgiving after next? "He made no specific forecast," said the dispatch. Maybe before that 15% drop comes into effect, prices will have shot so high that a piddling little dip like 15% won't make much difference. It'll be a clear-cut case of too little and too late.

But what guarantee is there that we'll really get even this promised 15%? Who is the prophet? How reliable is he? The name is Clarence Francis and he's Chairman of the Board of General Foods Corporation. Considering how the capitalist press played up his prediction and recalling how the food trust has been raking in the biggest profits in all history, we got to wondering, can you really trust this forecaster?

Somehow our memory clicked. All at once we remembered a prediction Senator Wherry of Nebraska made June 12, 1946, to wit: "Mr. Bowles has said that if price controls were eliminated, the price of meat would go up 50%. Mr. Bowles is trying to scare us. My prediction is that without price control meat will cost less than today."

And the National Association of Manufacturers ran advertisements that same month, predicting that if controls were lifted, "Supply will quickly catch up with demand. Prices will be fair and reasonable to all."



"Should I Unload My Oil Shares and Invest In Flying Saucers?"

BOOKSHELF

END AS A MAN
by Calder Willingham
Vanguard Press
1947, 350 pp., \$2.75

THE END IS NOT YET
by Fritz Von Unruh
Storm Publishers
1947, 540 pp., \$3.00

These two novels, quite different in most respects, have a significant feature in common. Both authors, one a German and the other an American, examine some of their fellowmen shaped into inhuman monsters by the capitalist system in its decline and death agony. Unruh shows the behavior of the finished product in the notorious Nazis, while Willingham demonstrates how military academies are laboratories in which human raw material is processed into the same inhuman type in this country.

Unruh, son of a family of Prussian soldiers, served in the First World War. Liberal minded and apologetic, he entered the organized resistance against the Nazis until he was forced to flee Germany when Hitler came to power. Through the intervention of Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, he found refuge here. Unruh's book is vague and mystical in the main. His vagueness recedes, however, when he gives rein to his imaginative portrayal of the private lives of the Nazi leaders. Facts and fancy are interwoven to magnify all their evils like huge, menacing shadows, overpowering in their effect. One unforgettable scene, for example, shows a young Jewish girl tossed into a cage with an ape while Hitler and his satellites watch the proceedings as though at a show. There are other scenes equally bestial.

Unruh makes no attempt to analyze the roots of this evil. Transfixed with horror himself, he pleads for men to hang on to what remains of sanity and human attributes in a chaotic world, but does not explain how or by what means.

Willingham, a young and promising new American author, is more concrete. He directs his satirical fire against the American brass hats and their schools where the moral fibre of young men is systematically undermined until it is destroyed. In Willingham's book we find that the normal daily activities of the Nazi beasts, including torture, robbery, double-crossing, perversion, dope-taking, etc., become normal activities of "clean-cut" elite American youth. These smartly drilled young men are impeccably dressed from the tip of their heads down to spottish white gloves. But inside, they are rotted to the core.

Willingham's book exposing the diseased insides of the military academy and its inhabitants, but in demolishing the lie that Nazi bestiality is something strange and peculiar only to German's and other "foreigners." The American men in his book are indistinguishable, so far as their manhood goes, from the "foreign totalitarian" monsters.

The difference lies in the tempo of social and political degeneration of the countries involved. In Europe the Nazis were able to exercise their fiendishness upon millions of working men and women, when German capitalism took the fascist road to save its crumbling rule. American capitalism, wealthier and more powerful, has not yet taken that road. Thus Willingham deals with his brute-men within the confines of the Academy.

But they are products also of the capitalist ruling class, conditioned to serve them in similar fashion if and when the time becomes ripe. In both instances, these proponents of the "Master Race" are designed to serve the master class.

—Evelyn Atwood

Congressmen At Work

Call It Anything But That

Are there some things that not even the worst of men would stoop to? The conduct of Rep. William J. Miller (R., Conn.) indicates that there is such a limit.

Miller is a political hatchman who takes his cues from the private power interests. Recently he sponsored two bills in behalf of his backers. His collaborators in the power trust lobby apparently decided that the best strategy to ensure passage was to lay low and let the legislation roll through Congress in the general torrent of measures favoring the monopolies, without calling special attention to Miller's bills.

This well-financed lobby which can fill the capitalist newspapers with editorials, features, and skillfully slanted "news" stories when it opposes something progressive like flood control projects, now exerted itself to keep news about the items sponsored by Miller out of the press.

The legislation moved quietly ahead in committee. But someone tipped off certain Washington columnists on what was up and on July 1 and 2, three of them ran exposes that were almost identical.

Here is how Miller reacted: He read the columns containing the charges against him into the Congressional Record.

Charge No. 1: He would re-define the term "navigability" of streams in such a way that the federal government would have no jurisdiction over rivers that would float anything less than a battleship, thus freeing the power trust from even the light federal restraints that now exist. No comment by Miller.

Charge No. 2: He would transfer about 75% of the utilities now subject to federal regulation to the jurisdiction of the states. This would give the power companies the possibility of returning to the notorious days when they evaded both state and federal controls. In many states the power companies wield decisive influence over the local governments. No comment by Miller.

Charge No. 3: He would give a new definition of interstate commerce so that a company could sell power across state lines without federal regulation. No comment by Miller.



make outrageous write-ups, water stocks and operate with the pirate freedom they enjoyed in the days of Samuel Insull and his breed. No comment by Miller.

Charge No. 5: The proposed legislation would mean stiff boosts in power rates and a further increase in the cost of living. No comment by Miller.

Charge No. 6: The power companies are attempting to run this shocking legislation through "from the rear by stealth."

This is where Miller drew the line. He hit the floor of the House with blood in his eye. "They talk about a sneak attack to get legislation through a committee," he stormed. But this is no "sneak attack" at all. The bills "were intro-

duced on the 7th of April this year," the interested departments of the government were notified and open hearings were held June 22 and 23. How can you call that a "sneak attack"?

What aroused Miller most of all was the low moral level of the person who tipped off the three columnists. It is a "clear-cut illustration," he said, "of how the federal bureaucrat peddles his propaganda." He denounced the scurrilous way in which this bureaucrat had led all three columnists to believe a "sneak attack" was plotted. "I hope he feels ashamed, for he is a shameful person."

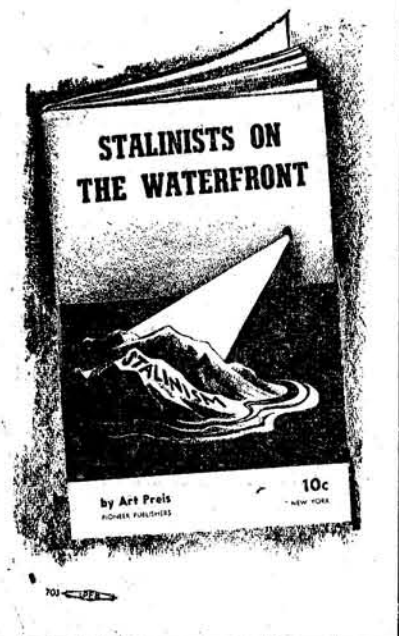
Then, since you can't count on a scoundrel feeling ashamed over his misdeeds, Miller announced he was "calling this matter to the attention of the House subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to Investigate Publicity and Propaganda in the Executive Agencies with the suggestion that it use its widespread powers to investigate these propaganda activities."

All of which goes to show that you can accuse a political footpad of the power trust of anything you want, but don't say he pulled a sneak attack. That ain't fair. Even the power trust draws the line on some things.

—A documented record of betrayal in the American labor movement.

—An exposure of the reactionary role of Stalinism in the Maritime Unions.

By ART PREIS
Labor Editor of THE MILITANT
32 pages 10 cents
Order from Pioneer Publishers
116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.



What Happened To The Building Boom?

It was confidently predicted by government officials and private experts that the year 1947 would be a record year of construction. Not less than 1,000,000 new homes were promised.

Yet not only have the hopes for a construction boom in 1947 gone aglimmering, but it is virtually certain that construction this year will fall sharply below last year's poor levels. Thus the number of new non-farm dwelling units started in January-April of this year fell several thousand units below the same period in 1946. May and June have brought no improvement. Even Washington's reduced goal of 750,000 new homes appears to be out of reach. This is obviously a condition of serious slump in a key branch of industry which is bound to have grave repercussions in the country's economy as a whole.

Capitalist spokesmen, both government and private, console themselves with the hope that this condition of the construction industry is purely temporary. To account for the building slump, they cite the high prices, although under capitalism high prices are as a rule a spur and not a deterrent to production. Once the prices level off, they expect construction to revive rapidly.

UNDERLYING CONDITIONS CHRONIC

Declining prices may indeed, under favorable conditions, bring about a certain improvement in the field of construction. But underlying the current slump are conditions that are chronic rather than temporary. Plant expansion and construction have been reduced by many industries in the recent period not on account of high prices but rather because the existing productive facilities are adequate to take care of any and all foreseeable markets.

In the field of home building, the existing shortages are nullified by the fact that the mass of the population, pinched by these shortages, lack the purchasing power for new homes.

The previously existing purchasing power for new homes has been rapidly drained by the real estate profiteers. The housing shortage has compelled veterans and other homeless people to pay through the nose for whatever housing was available. Millions of families have thus gone deeply into debt.

EXTENT OF GROWING INDEBTEDNESS

The extent of this growing indebtedness may be estimated from the figures released in June by the Federal Reserve Bulletin. According to these figures, the outstanding mortgage debts on houses have increased since the end of the war by 6½ billion dollars, or one-third. This sharp increase has come about not because of purchases of new homes but "chiefly as a result of a large amount of financing accompanying active trading in old houses," acknowledges the Federal Reserve Bulletin.

Millions of others who might have purchased new homes last year are no longer in a position to do so, because soaring prices have already wiped out their meager savings. A survey of consumer prospects for 1947 sponsored by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, whose results for 1946 proved quite accurate, concludes that "many consumer units, and more particularly those in lower-income brackets, have disappeared from the list of prospective purchasers of houses."

This tendency for home purchasers "to disappear" will not be reversed in the next period. It has "limited" the market for new houses up to now and it will continue to confront the building industry as an insuperable obstacle.

German Paper Charges Deliberate Starvation

By Eugene Shays

In the following extracts from an article which appeared in the Bielefeld (Germany) Freie Presse, the despair of the German masses finds expression of rare eloquence. At the same time the author of the article has let out, in the subdued and cautious manner of one watched by military censors, some facts on the German food situation which are not generally known in the U.S. In their full implications these facts mean: Deliberate destruction of at least part of the German people by the Allied imperialists, comparable—in every way but the form it takes—to the destruction by German imperialism of the Jews and parts of other European peoples.

"The starving people must be fed—this, and this alone, is the task confronting those in positions of responsibility. That means first and foremost the occupation authorities, and secondly the German agencies. What is at stake is not to 'form governments' or to make 'coalition agreements' but to get people fed."

STAND AT EDGE OF ABYSS

"To belittle this situation would be utterly irresponsible. People stand at the edge of a horrible abyss and live in fear of being plunged into it. They have survived the terrors of war. As far as their tired hearts permitted it, they had looked with hope and confidence towards the occupation powers. They were bitterly disappointed. Starvation, immeasurable misery, an endless winter have exhausted them. Is the end to come now?"

"Can it be that beyond the German borders there are vegetables, grains and fats, notwithstanding the assertions of the occupation powers that nothing is obtainable? Holland offered vegetables—to be delivered free of charge, except for freight expenses. The Dutch may have reasons of their own for doing this—they may hope that they will thereby create or preserve a market for themselves. Other nations may do the same, they themselves wish to control the market. It is a matter of indifference to us. It should be a matter of indifference to all those who are responsible for human lives in Germany, for human lives in general. What has been offered to us should be accepted!"

"Denmark offered fats and meats. In return, German industrial products were requested—not to be delivered immediately, but later, when industry would be going again. This is a way out! Why is it not chosen?"

"Why are German crews not permitted to man the Liberty ships that are laid up on the other side of the ocean? Lack of space for grain shipments—isn't that the constant refrain? Why can't German seamen go whaling? There can be no conceivable reason to prohibit this. We could noticeably improve our fat rations or, rather, would at least be in a position to distribute such rations."

NOT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IS DONE

"It is just this which is so completely incomprehensible in the situation in Germany: None of us knows, no one tells us why such reasonable proposals are not accepted and immediately carried out. We know that not everything that is possible is being done."

"We have never been able to understand why ships were destroyed only because at one time they were equipped with cannons—although they could have been put to immediate use to carry food from overseas to starving people."

"We have never been able to understand why people must vegetate in cellars and dungeons in which tuberculosis becomes absolutely inevitable, while tens of thousands of only slightly damaged houses could easily be repaired, but cannot be because a hard-headed 'No' prohibits cement production, shuts down brick works or compels other factories to close."

"The number of our children's graves in the cemeteries grows terribly fast..."

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.

Laura Gray Recovering From Serious Illness

I have noticed, as I am sure other readers have, that your front page cartoons are not being drawn by Laura Gray any longer. What has happened — is she on a long vacation, or what? On the whole, I would like to compliment you on your cartoons. They always have a real punch. And Laura Gray is one of the best in the field.

L. N.
New York City

Editorial Note: Laura Gray has been ill and has undergone a number of serious operations in recent weeks. Her friends will be glad to know that she is now convalescing and is expected to be able to resume her cartoon work sometime this year.

'Shocked Amazement' Over Vallin Article

I read your article, "British Terror in Palestine Recalls Scenes Under Hitler" by H. Vallin, with shocked amazement. Previously I felt that your journalistic integrity was above reproach, but after reading this article I am not so sure — but let me give you some samples:

"The Jews constitute 25% of the Palestine population and wish to impose on Palestine a dictatorship to deprive the Arab of his political sovereignty." What sort of a Socialist is Mr. Vallin who speaks of political sovereignty of the Arabs when he knows that they live in feudal misery and have no voice of their own politically, economically, or otherwise.

Another sample: Mr. Vallin refers to the Hagana as being used as "a strikebreaking organization" against the Arabs, etc. I would like to see some documentary evidence of this, because it so happens that the Hagana has always championed the cause of labor and even paid lip service to Socialism, and even though they may be nothing more than a "bourgeois outfit," they are still a long, long way from being strikebreakers.

Mr. Vallin says, "Each new immigrant is one more soldier and imperceptibly tends to change the relationship of forces between Arabs and Jews to the advantage of the latter."

Mr. Vallin neglects to mention that many of these people now coming into Palestine are women and children and could not possibly be a military asset for Zionism. The crucial and only important issue at stake in Palestine today is how many lives can be saved from the jaws of death for the Displaced Persons (Displaced Palestinians) — "It's Palestine or we perish."

All I can say to Mr. Vallin is: Sir, you have a nauseating disregard for facts — and to you, gentlemen, let me say this, in the name of your high ideals and in the memory of the "old man himself," please do not exploit the miseries of a persecuted people for political advantage. Take care and re-check your facts. The ideals of your organization are at stake — nay, the ideals of Socialism itself; for how

can we build something fine and decent in the future if we lay the foundation on a sandlot of lies?

Jerry Spiegelman,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Vallin Reply Explains Situation in Palestine

Mr. Spiegelman ought to begin by not garbling quotations. The "extracts" of the article in question which he uses, contain two substitutions of the words "the Jews" and "the Hagana" for the word "terrorists," although we were very careful to draw a distinction between the Jews and the Hagana on the one hand and the terrorists on the other.

Doesn't Mr. Spiegelman believe that "the terrorists and their spokesmen abroad" wish to deprive the Arab masses of their political sovereignty just as the British imperialists do? Let him acquaint himself with the declaration issued by the general secretary of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, Mr. Samuel Merlin, at a press conference held in the Hotel Lutetia in Paris, on Dec. 23, 1946. That was only one declaration out of a thousand like it! Mr. Merlin set the following aims for his organization and for the Jewish "resistance" movement in Palestine:

1. To establish a provisional Hebrew government in Palestine.

2. To provide all the Jews in the world with the opportunity to enter Palestine.

3. To hold general elections only AFTER all these Jews have had the opportunity to enter Palestine.

What does this mean if not the imposition upon the Arabs of an exclusively Jewish government for a whole period?

It is quite true that thousands upon thousands of the Arabs still live under semi-feudal conditions — but that is the case also for millions of colonial slaves. But this fact never deterred the Marxists from demanding for all these peoples — including actual slaves such as thousands in Abyssinia — the right of self-determination from imperialism.

In fact, Marxists hold that the struggle against feudal and other vestiges in the colonial countries, proceeds above all through the struggle for independence, self-determination, and the political sovereignty of these respective countries.

This is why Marxists demand for the Arab masses the right to determine IN A SOVEREIGN MANNER — without interference either from the UN or from British imperialism or from world Zionism — the fate of their country, including the question of Jewish immigration. Any other policy is anti-democratic which seeks to impose upon the Arab masses any preliminary restrictions on their right to independence (for example, a "bi-national state," the right for unrestricted immigration, etc.).

Mr. Spiegelman would take the trouble to read the series of four articles which The Militant devoted to the Palestinian question (May 10 through May 31, 1947), he will see that we do not at all reject "the principle" of Jewish immigration into Palestine. All we say is that

this question must be decided in a sovereign and democratic manner by the Palestinian masses. He will likewise see that we constantly strive to tie up the struggle of the Arab masses for self-determination with the struggle against their oppressors.

The article did not say that the Hagana is a "strikebreaking organization." It merely stated that the Hagana at the beginning utilized for its own ends the terrorists who are anti-working class elements (and strikebreakers), as was clearly shown by the recent attack they launched against the locals of Hashomer Hatzair.

We may add, at the risk of incurring the ire of Mr. Spiegelman who unfortunately seems to be ignorant of the facts, that the Histadrut, the Jewish trade union upon which the Hagana rests, did not hesitate to act as scabs or strikebreakers when it was a question of taking advantage of Arab workers' movements in order to replace them in industry by Jewish workers. This is a fundamental part of the orientation of Zionism, which aims at establishing a closed Jewish economy in Palestine. (Actions of this kind took place, for example, at Acre in 1944.)

For Mr. Spiegelman "the crucial and only important issue at stake in Palestine" is to save the lives of the displaced persons. It is indeed very important to save the lives of these suffering people — that is why we consider as criminals the Zionist propagandists who, with false promises and shameless lies seek to draw these unfortunates into Palestine where far from being saved, there awaits them the growing hatred of the Arabs that threatens to break out on the morrow into a gigantic pogrom!

The elementary duty of American workers and democrats is to struggle to throw open the doors of their own country for these displaced persons, and to demand the opening of the doors of Australia, Canada, South America, where the arrival of a few hundred thousand human beings would not create any additional difficulties either in economic problems or in the mentality of the masses, and where they will not be utilized by imperialism in order to divide the oppressed masses.

As for the "crucial issue at stake in Palestine," it seems to us that this issue is the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed masses in that country against British imperialism. This struggle for the immediate independence of Palestine is obstructed by the nationalist struggle of the Zionists for a Jewish state. Taking an objective attitude and applying an internationalist approach to this question, every worker will understand the problem in this manner.

But I am afraid that the mentality of Mr. Spiegelman is inspired rather by an adage employed by one of the characters in the novel by Arthur Koestler, *Thieves in the Night*: "A people struggling for its survival cannot afford the luxury of being objective." These and similar adages, Mr. Spiegelman, have led those who accepted them along the Hitlerite road and not toward Socialism.

H. Vallin,
Belgium

Lives, Land, Food Destroyed As Profiteers Block Flood Control

By Evelyn Atwood

Rampaging floods in the Mississippi and Missouri River basins, the most destructive in 100 years, have swept through some 3,000,000 acres of fertile land, killed 26 people, driven almost 40,000 from their homes, wrecked the livelihood of thousands of farmers and destroyed mountains of food in a starving world.

R. H. Musser of Milwaukee, Regional Conservator of the Soil Conservation Service, estimated the damage in Iowa, Illinois and Northern Missouri at half a billion dollars. Valuable top soil loss accounted for more than half. Land and crop losses, estimated at \$850,000,000, are more than twice the federal government's foreign relief program.

Who is responsible for this terrible toll in American lives and natural resources? Not even the capitalist press dares to claim it was unavoidable. For the stretch of monopoly greed and ruthless drive for profits rose as high as the flood waves.

Everyone knows that today floods can be controlled. There are no floods in the Tennessee River basin where the TVA, with its system of storage dams and integrated control, starting with the rain that

falls on a hill-top and harnessing it all the way down to the sea. Thomas Stokes in the July 8 World Telegram points out that a program submitted three years ago to build TVAs in these flood-endangered areas through a Missouri Valley Authority (MVA), was promptly buried by Congress. Such a comprehensive plan would mean not only flood control, but make possible power development, improved irrigation, soil conservation and navigation.

But "selfish private interests," Stokes declares, above all the utility interests, are ruthlessly obstructing the building of the MVA. The erection of such a system of storage dams means that cheap electric power can be produced, and power monopolists prefer to destroy lives and natural resources to yielding any portion of their exorbitant profits.

In fact, the power trust is becoming more aggressive in its determination to remove even the present mild restraints upon its destructive policy. The Federal Power Com-

GREATEST LOSS

The importance of this auxiliary aid was revealed by Soil Conservator Musser, who reported that it was "amazing how well land treated with modern conservation methods held up" in the Missouri Valley basin even under the heavy rains and floods. He estimated that untreated land accounted for 75% of the agricultural loss.

There are some 200 major river basins in the United States, of which the main divisions are the St. Lawrence, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Columbia, Tennessee and Sacramento. The Tennessee River has been conquered by the TVA project. But the Missouri, Ohio and Mississippi are handled mostly by dams and levees. It has been repeatedly proven — and at appalling losses — that floods cannot be controlled by piling the river banks higher and higher in the form of levees.

As a result of the present emergency, the governors of ten Missouri basin states met to decide what to do. Unanimously they supported the Army's obsolete program, known in its new form as the Pick-Sloan Plan, which merely proposes piling up double levees along the main course of the Mississippi with 105 reservoirs or dams throughout the basin!

And Congress, which recently appropriated \$12,000,000 for flood control emergency, less than half of it to be used in the Missouri and Upper Mississippi basins, restricted its use to build only levees or rebuild those washed away by the floods.

The levee system may be bankrupt so far as lives and natural resources are concerned, but Congress and the Army know that it is guaranteed to serve the profiteering interests of the power monopolists.

Three Phases of the Stalinist Attitude to French Strikes

PARIS, July 4 — The Renault strike, which began April 25, has been a decisive stage for the French labor movement. In two months workers from the following industries have taken part in the strike movement: Parisian metal industry, textile in the north, flour mills, gas and electrical utilities, railroads, bakeries, banks, department stores, mines, laundry, milk, fuel distribution, etc.

It is not yet possible to list the number participating in these strikes, but one can surely count them in the hundreds of thousands and probably millions.

A movement of such amplitude could not be the work of some "clandestine directors." On the contrary, it manifests the enormous sum of revolutionary energy which has accumulated since the "liberation" and had been held back and repressed by Stalinism.

In fact, the extended character of the strike movement and the combativity of the workers have surprised the makers of even the most optimistic predictions. These things express the crisis and fundamental instability of French imperialism.

There was a first phase, very short, during the Renault strike, when the Communist Party, which was then part of the government, was the violent opponent of the strike. The strike movement then became overwhelming.

Then there was a second phase in which the Stalinists strove to regain the control of the working class, which is their sole bargaining card in dealing with the capitalists, by leaving the government and leading a class collaboration policy under the mask of the parliamentary opposition.

In this period they did not oppose the strikes, but neither did they start them; they dissipated them and put a brake on them; they took refuge in slow-down strikes. In a word, they did everything they could to avert a general strike.

Now the Stalinists have entered a third phase, beginning with the coal miners strike. They continue the policy of not calling for strikes, but they now think it is time to utilize the strike movement to force their re-entry into the government with a reinforced position on the basis of partial satisfaction of the masses' demands.

They are doing this, in part, because of the diplomatic situation created by the Marshall Plan; and in part because they can hope to return to the government only as a result of the social agitation and not as a result of the stoppage of the strike movement.

In short, the Stalinists, while now appearing "favorable" to the strikes, are trying to use them as a means of parliamentary blackmail. In this sense, they are degrading the movement by "politicizing" it in a typically Stalinist fashion around the slogan: "For a government of democratic unity."

But still the resistance to Franco goes on. Over 500 separate anti-government actions have taken place in Spain since January 1 of this year.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES
AKRON — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.
CHICAGO — Youth meeting Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet *Socialism On Trial*. Games and refreshments. 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.
NEW YORK — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3.
SATURDAY NITE HOUSE PARTIES: call GR. 5-8149 for information.
For information about Queens Youth Group, write M. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.
PHILADELPHIA — For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO
Invitation to July Social
Saturday, July 19, 8 p. m.
Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments
305 Grant Ave.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chalk Up 344 Subs In Chicago Campaign

The champ in Chicago's subscription campaign is Comrade Dave with 64 subs to his credit. He will enjoy a well-earned prize — a week of Mid-West Vacation Camp. Final campaign scores are:
Winner: Dave C. 64 subs
Runners-up: Frank F. 51 " " " " " "
Frank B. 31 " " " " " "
Hoosier 30 " " " " " "

Teams: West side 107 1/2 " " " " " "
South Side 104 " " " " " "
Northwest 87 " " " " " "
North 59 1/2 " " " " " "

The Chicago comrades obtained 344 subs — 44 over the goal. This is a big job well done.

San Francisco likewise went over its goal by 12 subs. F. Lester, Literature Agent, reports: "We obtained 112 and we all feel that this is quite an accomplishment. South-West Market team led with 69 subs. The Pace-Setler was Comrade Ida with 16 subs. We covered a housing project which had never been solicited before and an area in which we already had a few subs. Every comrade reported good response. In a number of cases we had difficulty getting away and had to spend from one-half hour to an hour discussing the Socialist Workers Party program. We feel that we made some very good friends and are going to follow up on them."

Ed Smith, Literature Agent for Unit A, Southside Branch, Los Angeles Local, sent in 15 more subs this week. "These subs as well as last week's 20 subs," he writes, "are part of the current sub drive in which the Local is offering a reward to high scorer of a free stay at the West Coast Camp in September."

The Akron comrades obtained 11 subs during the week and Patrick O'Conner reports that "Comrade Andrews is still leading in the campaign. Betty (a youth), Chuck and O'Conner tie for second place."

Eight more devoted boosters sacrificed a part of their meager earnings to help keep The Militant appearing regularly. The following contributions were sent in during the week:
Anonymous \$5
A Friend 1
G. L. Sinking Springs, Pa. 1
E. Dea, Long Beach, Cal. 1
M. M., Minneapolis, Minn. 1

Chicago 158
Detroit 145
New York Local 94
Buffalo 71
Los Angeles Local 69
San Francisco 65
Cleveland 41
New Haven 23
Akron 22
Boston 26
Philadelphia 16
Pittsburgh 12
Minneapolis 12
St. Paul 12
Milwaukee 11
Oakland 10
Newark 8
Toledo 7
Calumet 6
New Britain 5
Reading 5
Plint 4
Youngstown 3
Allentown 1
Rochester 1
Lynn 0
Portland 0
St. Louis 0
San Diego 0
Seattle 0
General 23

TOTALS 844

Vacationers Enjoy First Week At Mid-West Camp, Michigan

By William F. Warde
LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, MICH., July 3 — I am writing this brief report of the first days at Mid-West Camp and School on the wide veranda overlooking the blue waters of the lake. It's a warm, sparkling afternoon with a mild breeze stirring the treetops.

Before me I can see five campers stretched out on the raft, spending a lazy hour acquiring a coat of sun tan. Beyond them are a couple of energetic oarsmen exploring the lake in one of the camp boats. Closer to shore I can hear four of the youngest generation splashing about and shouting unheeded commands to each other.

Nearby there is a knot of trade unionists from Chicago and Detroit engaged in animated discussion of policy in one of the CIO unions. They are energetically plying each other with arguments and counter-arguments but are evidently far from reaching an area of agreement yet.

A few hundred yards farther on another and larger group can be seen under the trees listening intently to the speaker who is presenting the third in a series of talks on "The Coming Socialist Revolution in the United States." Glasses are always held out in the open on sunny days like this one.

A soft-ball game has been scheduled for four o'clock; the campers here from Chicago have challenged the easterners from Reading, Pa., and New York City to a contest. This will be the first game on the camp's new ball field. One of the wits here remarked that the former field was too much like 1929-1933 — just one big depression.

Thanks to the initiative of a couple of pioneering spirits, a large level plot of ground more suitable for a field was discovered in the vicinity. In a voluntary mobilization yesterday, a large number of campers set to work clearing the land and now it's ready for a full season's sport.

We're expecting an overflow crowd for the Fourth of July weekend and will certainly be filled to capacity the following week, because there are so many vacation shut-downs in the plants near here. Reservations are still open for the following weeks, and we urge everyone who is planning to come, to let Oscar Coover, the Camp Manager, hear about it as soon as possible. Use the coupon below and full instructions for getting to Mid-West Camp will be mailed to you.

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation at Mid-West Vacation Camp And School
Season June 29 to Sept. 2 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15
OSCAR COOVER, Manager
Grass Lake, Mich.
Reserve accommodations for below from _____ to _____
Family Couple Single
List all who will attend: (check one)
Name _____ (Mr., Mrs., Miss)
List of Children and Age _____
Name of Applicant _____ (Please sign)
Address _____
City & Zone _____ State _____

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON — 2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.
- BOSTON — 300 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
- CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.
- FLINT — 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES — Militant publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.
- SAN PEDRO — Militant publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE — Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Phone Main 7781. Library, bookstore.
Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.
- NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.
- NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave., Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
Friday-night forum, 8:30.
- NEW YORK CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8140.
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TY 2-1011.
Mondays 8 p.m., Round Table Discussion on "The Coming American Revolution"; Fridays 8 p.m. Branch meetings.
- BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
- CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.
- OAKLAND, Cal. — Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.
- PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.
- PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor.
Open Forum 2nd and 4th Mondays 7:30-9:30 p.m.
Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.
SAN DIEGO — Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213; open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.
SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor, open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.
SEATTLE — 1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri. 12 to 5 p.m. Sat. Phone SE 0453. Library, bookstore.
Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.
ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.
ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.
- TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
- TOLEDO — 108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily. Phone MAin 8919.
- YOUNGSTOWN — 351 South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m. Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1855.

Steve's Week End

By Theodore Kovalesky

It had been a blistering, murderous week. At first the days were bright and clear with the sun burning down out of the sky like the gas flames that shot out of the tapping hole at cast time. Then as the days passed the weather grew muggy, and the sun burned down through a pale yellow haze.

Up on the furnaces it seemed as though we had stopped breathing; there was no longer any air to breathe. There was only the heat, the constant, nagging, overbearing, monotonous torment of the heat that boiled the life and energy out of us.

Old Steve, the keeper, trudged his way around the furnace floor, pushing wheelbarrows of coal dust to pack the "monkeys," packing clay into the tapping hole, wedging broken brick into the skimmer. Like all the old keepers around the blast furnaces, Steve moved slowly and methodically; but this last week, he moved even more slowly than usual, and with less deliberation . . . for the 25 years of furnace work are growing heavy on his shoulders.

As the week wore on, Steve kept remarking, "Three more days," "Two more days." And each day, as he punched out his time card, his hand trembled a little more. Each day he plodded a little more slowly, a little more heavily toward the gate, at the end of the shift.

As we walked out of the gate on the last day, Jimmy remarked to me, "That old man's sure gonna enjoy this off-day!"

"He's been mentioning it for the last three days," I said.

Well, that's what you'd think, wouldn't you? Here was a little break for Steve. For two whole days there would be no iron to run, no bursts of flame and sparks at the gates of the runner, no fill and sweat and dry sandwiches, no wheelbarrows to struggle with, no shovels, hammers, bars, and best of all no heat. For two days there would be rest and relaxation.

Only it didn't turn out that way. It couldn't.

turn out that way. Maybe you haven't been on the furnaces for 25 years, so I'll explain.

When Steve got home he ate supper, sat on the front steps for a while and then went to bed. The next morning, the first of his two days off, he was up at five-thirty. Why, since there was no work? Well, you don't stay 25 years in the steel plant without forming habits to go with the job. To Steve it was quite simple: he wasn't on the night shift; therefore he got up at half past five.

During the morning he looked around the house for things to fix. But the smaller jobs were all done, and the bigger ones required money. He couldn't afford to buy cement for the front walk, and he couldn't afford wire for the fence around his old shack, so he couldn't get them fixed just yet. That meant there was nothing to do.

He walked out in the back yard to see if old Grobinski was around in the adjoining yard. His neighbor wasn't there, so he went back into the house.

The afternoon dragged terribly. Then, to make matters worse, he remembered that Potter was keeping on his "swipe" gang that would be working on his furnace while he was off. "That fellow," Steve thought with alarm, "he no fix furnace right. Lotta work when I go back!" He went into the kitchen to tell his wife Potter would be on his job.

That evening he clambered stiffly into bed before nine, glad the day was over. He grunted and muttered at his wife and went to sleep. The next morning, he was up again at five-thirty, worrying about what Potter was doing up on the furnace. The day after that, old Steve, with his usual faint smell of whiskey, garlic and biliousness, with the same old coffee bottle sticking out of his pocket, trudged grudgingly into the plant for the 3 o'clock shift, feeling vaguely relieved to get back.

But how else could it be? In 25 years on the furnaces you don't learn how to relax and enjoy the good things of life. You don't learn the golden value of leisure. You hate the strain and heat of the job . . . but what does a man do when he's not working? That is something that only Socialism will teach most of us.

Speeches Are a Dime a Dozen

By William E. Bohannon

At the mass meeting which closed the NAACP's 38th annual convention in Washington, only 10,000 people showed up to hear President Truman speak over a world-wide radio hook-up, although an attendance of 100,000 had been predicted by NAACP officials.

The attendance at this meeting was overshadowed by a previous meeting held by the March On Washington Movement in June, 1941, at the very same spot, the Lincoln Memorial. At that time A. Philip Randolph addressed a much bigger audience when he read Executive Order 8802 establishing the machinery of the FEPC, which was slowly strangled to death by Congress in 1945.

Many Negroes stayed away from the meeting addressed by Truman because they expected nothing but a lip-service speech, and that was what it was.

Truman said in part: "We must make the federal government a friendly, vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans. And again I mean all Americans."

But the Negro people haven't forgotten that for decades they have been trying to get the federal government—when the administration was controlled by the Democrats and when it was controlled by the Republicans—to pass anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws to secure some of those "rights and equalities." The federal government has shown its capacity for passing slave labor laws like the Taft-Hartley Act, but it has not been either friendly or vigilant about protecting the rights of the masses. And again, I mean all administrations, both Democratic and Republican.

Truman spoke of the American colonies: "I have asked the Congress to pass legislation extending basic civil rights to the people of Guam and American Samoa so that these people can share our ideals of freedom and self-government."

But we have reason to be skeptical about Truman's sincerity in this regard, just as we are skeptical about the rest of his lip-service declarations. The people of Guam will probably remain skeptical, too. Their land is controlled like a dictatorship by the U.S. Navy. It keeps the wages of skilled Guam workers down to one-fourth of what it pays to skilled white American workers doing the same job. Last October the Navy issued an order prohibiting any contractor from entering an employment contract with any Guam worker, thus forcing them to work for the Navy and at its wages, or else. That is what life on Guam has been like under the U.S. Navy—and Truman is the commander-in-chief of the Navy.

Truman also patting himself on the back for appointing a 15-member Advisory Committee on Civil Rights last December. Our grandchildren are going to look back on this period and shake their heads in amazement over the great number of national and state committees appointed every year to study the Negro problem. Such committees invariably bring back lengthy reports full of white-wash and mild recommendations rarely acted on. These surveys always turn out to be a success. The only trouble is that they solve nothing.

It isn't investigations or surveys we need, but national and state laws with teeth in them and a government willing and able to enforce them and punish their violators. Speeches are and will remain a dime a dozen until they are accompanied by such action.

Horse-and-Buggy Medicine

By Grace Carlson

Last month the American Medical Association held its centennial session in Atlantic City. Several high-priced doctors, who had arrived at the AMA meeting in luxurious Cadillacs, rose to pay tribute to the "horse-and-buggy doctor" of 100 years ago.

In fact, the "horse-and-buggy doctor" was used as something of a symbol of the system of private medicine, to which the AMA is so devoted. That the doctors of pioneer days, who travelled through the lonely wilderness by horse and buggy or on horseback, performed valiant services for their patients is a shining historical fact. But the "horse-and-buggy doctor" practiced at a time when all of a doctor's equipment could be packed into his medical bag, and one man could know all there was to learn about scientific medicine. How different today!

In the laboratory, American medicine rushes ahead at blitzkrieg speed in its onslaught against disease, but in social relations, it still moves at a "horse-and-buggy" pace. Although the crying need is for group practice—specialization and organization into clinics—99% of all medical care in this country is given by individual practitioners. It is chiefly the workers who are penalized by this "horse-and-buggy" system. The wealthy are able to go to one high-priced specialist after another or to privately-owned clinics. An outstanding example of successful group practice, the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, serves only that tiny section of the population that can afford the expensive

trip there, the high hotel costs during treatment and the medical fees.

In public, AMA bureaucrats shed many crocodile tears over the supposed plight of the worker who cannot choose his own physician in a cooperative clinic or labor-controlled health institute. This practice tends to break down the sacred relationship between doctor and patient, they wail. The assumption is that workers who do not belong to cooperative health groups have complete freedom of choice. But let a worker ask a high-priced specialist to treat his ailment and he will soon learn that his "free choice" of a physician is a pretty meaningless thing unless he has enough money to pay the doctor of his "choice."

Dr. Elmer Richman, Director of the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, has some interesting ideas on this matter. In a speech before the National Conference on Cooperative Health Plans at Two Harbors, Minn., last summer, he said:

"In its fight against what it calls 'socialized medicine,' the American Medical Association likes to kick around the phrase 'free choice of physician.' But actually free choice of physician is not always desirable. Many doctors leave much to be desired both from a standpoint of skill and knowledge and from the standpoint of understanding of the problems that confront working people. Too, in case of most serious illness, the old-fashioned family doctor has to send his patient to a specialist anyway so that the patient has not, after all, chosen the doctor who performs the operation or treats his gall bladder."

(This is the third in a series on Health for the Workers.)

Notes From The News

The defense attorney in the May-Garsson war fraud trial pleaded for their acquittal because "enemies of democracy" could say: "Look, there in America is the chairman of the powerful Military Affairs Committee and big munition makers convicted of fraud—of lining their pockets with gold." He asked: "Don't you think that would be a powerful argument against democracy?" His clients were convicted.

Despite the conviction, ex-Rep. May will continue to draw a government pension of \$3,376 annually for the rest of his life—as reward for his "services" in Congress.

Anti-Stalinist pressure has finally got Leon de

Caux removed as editor of the CIO News and CIO publicity director.

Profits of the Wesson Oil and Snowdrift Company, Inc., during the nine-month period ending May 31, jumped 392% over the same period last year.

The most frequent alibi for current high meat prices is that so much meat is sent abroad. The fact is that only 2% of U.S. meat is now exported.

Partisan Review, which no longer pretends to be pro-Marxist, has acquired a wealthy backer and soon will be published as a monthly.

The Pepper-Morse Equal Pay Bill of 1947, introduced into the Senate this month, would make it an unfair wage practice to pay women workers less pay for doing the same work as men workers.

THE MILITANT

O'DWYER RESPONSIBLE FOR 8-CENT FARE STEAL

By Charles Cornell

NEW YORK, July 9—Less than five months ago, Mayor O'Dwyer was maintaining the pretense of a "last ditch fight" against the proposal to increase subway fares. Now, a committee appointed by the same "champion" of the five cent fare, has turned in a recommendation to the Board of Estimate . . .

By posing as a "last ditch" fighter against the proposed increase, explained **The Militant**, O'Dwyer hoped to fool the workers into believing he did everything possible to keep the five cent fare. But the ominous fact remained that it was O'Dwyer who opened the campaign for an increased fare and who became the first New York mayor to hold hearings on the question. "The truth is," said **The Militant**, "O'Dwyer leaves the door wide open for an increase in the future."

O'Dwyer's main concern in the fare hearings last February was to place the onus for the plight of City finances, on Governor Dewey and Republican-controlled Albany. Although it was a foregone conclusion that the city could not get any funds from the State Treasury, O'Dwyer boasted that he would storm Albany and force the Republicans to part with the necessary funds. The Mayor's much vaunted storming of the State Capitol began amid great fanfare and ended in a fizzle. He and his high-powered advisors denounced Dewey, got nothing, and were silent about subway finances for a month or so.

And then, banking on the political prestige he gained on a silver platter by the AFL, CIO, ALP, Social Democratic and Socialist leaders during his mock fight against the bankers, O'Dwyer appointed a committee to bring in a "recommendation" on subway fares. **REMAINED SILENT**

The committee has turned in its report to the Board of Estimate, which now has it under consideration. O'Dwyer has remained silent, but Wall Street's press assumes that the "recommendation" for an 8 cent fare meets with his approval. No mention has been made of public hearings on the proposed fare increase. Perhaps the storm of protest at the fare hearings last February is still fresh in O'Dwyer's mind.

City transportation as a public service just as roads and highways are a public service. The subways have been largely responsible for the great value of Manhattan real estate. Without them New York property would sink in value. Bank and real estate earnings would decline with them. During recent years profits on real estate have been the greatest in history. Now Washington has favored the landlords with higher rents. Let the real estate interests pay their share of the subway deficit! Tax real estate to the statutory limit!

Instead of taxing the people who ride the subways, the city could tax the money barons. Pay the debt on the subways by putting a tax on Wall Street Transactions!

Bolivia Deputy Introduced Bill On Sliding Scale
The kind of legislation genuine political representatives of the working class fight for in office is well illustrated by the bill sponsored by a bloc of Trotskyists and miners' union candidates elected to the parliament of Bolivia last January. The bill was introduced by Guillermo Lora, one of the leaders of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party). Here is the text of the measure: Article 1—The Executive Branch shall designate a technical commission to determine within 90 days of the passage of this law the basic wage necessary for a decent living. Article 2—The basic wage shall necessarily be complemented by the establishment of a sliding scale of wages, meaning by this, a type of wage that will automatically follow the rising index of prices for the means of subsistence needed by the working class family. Article 3—The responsibility for determining the variation of prices in the means of subsistence shall rest with the trade unions. Article 4—The mere report of an alteration in prices and its verification by the bosses shall oblige the companies to raise wages at once in the proportion called for.



Most of South For Anti-Lynch Law

When Southern Congressmen prevent action on anti-lynching legislation, they are going counter to the wishes not only of the country as a whole, but of the great majority of the people living in the South as well.

With reference to the crime of lynching, the Gallup Poll asked a cross-section of the population: "Do you think the United States Government should have the right to step in and deal with the crime if the State Government doesn't deal with it justly?"

Nationally, 69% answered Yes; 20% said No; 11% had no opinion. In the South 56% said Yes; 35% said No; 9% had no opinion.

In addition, 62% of the people questioned in the South indicated disapproval of the South Carolina jury which set free the lynchers of Willie Earle. Only 21% felt that they should have been acquitted for the Greenville lynching.

Robert Williams is SWP Candidate for Senate

NEW YORK, July 10—Thousands of Negro and white workers in the 23rd Senatorial District of New York City will hear the program of the Socialist Workers Party over the radio, on street corners and in mass meetings this summer and fall when Robert Williams, youthful candidate for the State Senate presents his platform to the workers in his neighborhood.

Robert Williams, Tampa-born campaigner for Negro equality and revolutionary socialism, is known to hundreds of Harlem workers as an active member of the NAACP, one of the founders of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants' League and the Educational Director of the Harlem Branch of the SWP.

Young in years but educated and hardened in the struggle against Jim Crow and poverty, Williams is well qualified to represent the exploited and oppressed masses of Harlem. A graduate of Chelsea Vocational High School in New York City, he has worked on the docks as a longshoreman and later as a skilled mechanic in a radio factory.

"I had experienced discrimination down South in Florida where I was born and went to grammar school," says Williams, "but I learned that Jim Crow existed in the North, too. I saw it on the job and in the streets of New York City. That's why I joined the Socialist Workers Party—to fight for a program to end economic exploitation, the basis of all racial and national discrimination."

When the now-famous Preppert Case—the "cold-blooded" murder of the Ferguson brothers, Negro veterans, by a race-hating cop in Freeport, L. I.—happened in February 1946, Robert Williams was one of the most active fighters for justice for the Ferguson family. Thousands of Harlem workers heard his voice night after night on street corners and in mass meetings demanding a public hearing on the facts and urging the entire labor movement to organize a campaign to fight lynch law in New York.

Williams will campaign against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

White Hoodlums Attack Homes Belonging to Chicago Negroes

By Robert Birchman

CHICAGO, July 5—Violent opposition to Negroes seeking homes flared into the open this week when a mob of about 2,000 whites stoned the newly purchased home of a Negro family at 5620 S. Wells St. for two consecutive nights. Windows were broken and sparklers

tossed against the building. These attacks on Tuesday and Wednesday nights occurred despite the presence of a police guard. Cleo Eyrd, Sr., who had recently purchased the home, accused police assigned to guard the house of failing to give him adequate protection. Following this accusation, police did arrest two white men on Wednesday night as they tossed exploding fire crackers at the building. The two arrested men, held on an open charge, were not residents of the neighborhood, but from another section of the city.

POLICE IDLE
Byrd stated that the police stand idly by while white hoodlums are allowed to congregate in front of the building, where they throw bricks and stones.

Many of the mob were restrictive covenant signers of the 17th Ward. The area involved is located just across the line from the teeming "Black Ghetto" and only a couple of blocks from the scene of the arson bombing of the home of Mrs. Grace Hardy that started a wave of terror against Negro home seekers a year ago.

Police Captain Patrick J. Collins of the 15th District reported no violence, but a Negro youth was struck with a bottle by an unidentified attacker fleeing from the scene. The youth, Harold Cantrell, 19, was surrounded at 55th and Wells St. as he was going home. Cantrell was stopped and questioned by a detective riding in a black Buick. He was clubbed by the detective in front of the gang when he tried to flee. Cantrell claims that he can identify the detective who made no effort to hold back his assailants.

SECOND ATTEMPT
This is the second time within a

month that mobs have attacked homes of Negro families bold enough to move into restrictive covenant areas.

On the first Thursday in June a mob of 400 stoned the apartment of Andrew Miller at 6841 Wabash Ave. The mob gathered as if by a signal at 9:55 p.m. and hurled stones through all the windows of the first floor flat, despite police who were detailed to guard the home. An hour and a half later, after all the windows in the house were broken, reinforced police details dispersed the mob and arrested two men and a boy.

In Grand Crossing Court the next day, Judge O'Connell continued the cases against the two men who had been arrested on charges of resisting an officer. He reprimanded them and told them to get back to the community and spread tolerance. The case against the 16-year-old boy was continued for six months in juvenile court.

During the attack Andrew Miller, who is president of Miller Business College, was besieged inside his apartment. During a short lull in the bombardment of the building with stones, other tenants were allowed to leave. At the same time there was loud knocking on his door, with the mob shouting, "Bring him out!"

When the restrictive covenant case of the Park Manor Association vs. Guy Rudd, which involves the building where Miller lives and six other parcels in the neighborhood, came to trial in Circuit Court, Judge Philip Finnegan continued the case in status quo, preventing Miller from being legally evicted. This action also prevented six other Negro families from moving into the area.

Horsetrade Politics Behind Re-Passage of Tax Bill

The House last week jammed through the tax-reduction bill by a vote of 302-112, or a majority large enough to override a presidential veto by a wide margin. The bill has gone to the Senate, where it is sure to be passed.

Except for the date on which it is to go into effect—January, 1948, instead of July, 1947—all of the provisions remain identical with those in the bill vetoed by Truman last month. Truman's veto was sustained in the House by two votes.

The rich alone stand to gain by this bill. A worker earning \$2,500 a year will receive a reduction of \$29 which will add about 50 cents a week to his family's purchasing power, while capitalists with incomes of \$50,000 will pocket \$58,175, or more than \$1,100 a week.

The capacity of this raid on the public treasury for benefit of the plutocrats is matched only by the cynicism of the maneuver that made it possible for the Republicans to re-pass the measure.

The Republican majority is in a position to introduce an FEPC bill and to revive the proposals to abolish the poll-tax. By confronting the Southern Democrats with this threat of "embarrassing them politically," the Republicans were able to switch sufficient support behind the tax-grab.

As a result of this horse-trade, the Southern poll-taxers will be spared embarrassment while the

Horsetrade Politics Behind Re-Passage of Tax Bill

Republicans will receive the political credit for "reducing" taxes.

The victims of this horse-trade are, on the one hand, the millions of Negroes and white workers in the poll-tax states and, on the other, the millions of small tax payers.

Whether the Democrats or the Republicans have the majority in Congress, the tax burden will remain where it is now—on the backs of the poor.

And this tax burden must remain huge because the military budget continues to run into tens of billions of dollars; because the interest charges on the huge war debt run into more than 5 billion dollars a year; because the representatives of the rich will continue to serve only the interests of the rich.

Genuine relief to the small tax payers can come only from a tax-reduction program that exempts all incomes up to \$5,000 a year. And to pass such a bill through Congress it is first necessary to break the political monopoly which Wall Street exercises through its two-party system. To pass such a bill labor must have its own party and place its own representatives in Congress.

READ

Fourth International