

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XI.—No. 29.

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 21, 1947

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

PROFITEERS RENEW PRICE-GOUGING DRIVE

CIO Defies Political Ban In Slave Law

Union-Financed Papers Back Federal Candidates

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the CIO United Automobile Workers this week directly defied and violated the section of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law that bans use of union funds for campaign purposes in elections to federal office.

CIO President Philip Murray, in a front-page statement entitled "Test of Political Freedom," published by the July 14 CIO News, publicly endorsed a candidate in the special Congressional election in Baltimore on July 15.

Publication of such an endorsement in a union paper maintained from union dues is liable to criminal prosecution under the Taft-Hartley Act.

A similar endorsement by UAW President Walter Reuther was published in the CIO United Automobile Worker.

Murray "directed and requested" the editors of the CIO News to publish and to circulate among Baltimore CIO members a direct endorsement of Edward A. Garmatz, a regular Democrat who had been endorsed by the CIO and AFL unions for election to the House of Representatives.

Reuther urged the election of Garmatz, as well as Philip Storch, Democratic candidate in the Eighth District of Pennsylvania. He pointed out that five cents of each member's monthly dues goes to finance the union's paper. The UAW Executive Board authorized him to write and publish the statement with the "deliberate and studied intention of challenging the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act."

In the face of this challenge to what is generally conceded to be the weakest section of the Taft-Hartley Act, both its authors appeared ready to evade the issue by reinterpreting the meaning of the Act with respect to this particular violation by the CIO and UAW.

Representative Zartley declared that "any union newspaper, no matter how it is supported, can legally take a stand on a political candi-

date. I am convinced my interpretation of the law will be backed up by the experts and if I am incorrect, I am willing to amend the act to make it clear."

In the very act of defying the Slave Labor Law's political restrictions, however, the CIO and UAW leaders revealed once again where their real weakness lies. They chose to back a candidate of one of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats, 60% of whose members in Congress voted for the Taft-Hartley Act.

All Garmatz had to do to get the endorsement was to say he is for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. He is also an outspoken supporter of the Truman Doctrine of American imperialist intervention and war preparation. The Taft-Hartley Act is the domestic application of this reactionary doctrine.

A more decisive and effective challenge of the law would have been the endorsement of independent labor candidates.



MURRAY

More Unions Ban NLRB Procedure, No-Strike Clause

The CIO United Automobile Workers announced from its national office in Detroit on July 16 that it would have nothing to do with the National Labor Relations Board set-up under the Taft-Hartley Act. This follows similar action by the CIO Steelworkers, Electrical Workers and other unions.

Locals of the CIO Shipbuilding Workers, including 67,000 on strike in East Coast yards, were advised by their President John Green that "it would be extremely dangerous to include no-strike clauses in your agreement."

Shipyard Strike Holds Firm in Fourth Week

NEW YORK, July 17 — Some 67,000 CIO shipbuilding workers at 19 East Coast and Gulf shipyards are holding firm as their strike enters its fourth week today.

Their walkout began on June 26, three days after passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

The major shipbuilding corporations, headed by the Bethlehem Steel Company, have arrogantly refused even to consider the union's demands for a 13-cent an hour general wage increase. This is equivalent to wage gains already granted West Coast shipyard workers.

Instead, Bethlehem has countered with demands that would reduce wages of men on bonus or incentive pay.

"GETTING NOWHERE"

The United States Conciliation Service has intervened in an effort to get the men back to work with a quick settlement. Union officials report that the USCS is "getting nowhere."

Negotiations are proceeding under a 30-day contract extension with the large Todd Shipyards Corporation. So far Todd has offered only an 8-cent raise. If a contract is not signed by July 24, the Todd yards will shut down.

Bethlehem Steel, which is the major obstacle to a new contract, was one of the major recipients of war contracts and vast new government-built plants. It is notorious as a war-profiteering corporation.

'Unifying' Europe



Paris Parley Sharpens Struggle Over Europe

By Joseph Hansen

The Paris conference of Wall Street's Western Bloc of European capitalist powers was a cut and dried affair. The delegates of the 16 attending powers played their parts as smoothly as trained seals. They set up a so-called "cooperation" committee to draw up a report by September 1 summarizing the well-known facts about Europe's desperate economic plight. Then they adjourned.

The Marshall blueprint calls for submission of this report to Washington for action in the light of the economic and political interests of American capitalism. Truman may then call a special session of Congress to provide the billions of dollars required from the U. S. Public Treasury.

The conference had been ballyhooed as the first step in the creation of a United States of Europe. But the results of the conference show what false and lying propaganda this was. The unification of Europe remains as distant as it was before the meeting. Even Premier Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium, trying his best to paint up the confab in the most favorable colors, could only say "the hope exists"

that "there will eventually grow a greater economic unity among these nations."

The widening gap between Moscow and Washington was marked by the Kremlin's orders to boycott the countries in Eastern Europe to boycott the conference. In return Moscow signed a five-year trade pact with Czechoslovakia and a one-year trade agreement with Bulgaria.

OTHER FACTS

Other economic pacts were either announced or were reported in the making between the East European countries. At the same time the Kremlin took another step in consolidating its political control in Rumania by arresting leading members of the National Peasant party on July 15.

The capitalist press called these steps the "Molotov Plan" — the Kremlin's answer to the Marshall Plan.

Meanwhile Washington moved ahead on other fronts. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson on returning from an International Cereals Conference at Paris told the press, "We do not intend to ship grain into areas which are being supplied from other sources." This was a threat to deny food to the people

in any country controlled by Moscow. "We are not contemplating sending any grain to Czechoslovakia," he said specifically.

The War, Navy and State Departments issued a new directive on "military government policies in Germany" to General Lucius D. Clay, commander of the U. S. zone. The aim of this directive is to rehabilitate German capitalism and (Continued on Page 3)

CIO Demands Michigan State Rent Controls

DETROIT, July 15 — R. J. Thomas, national CIO housing director, this week called on Governor Sigler to immediately convene a special session of the State Legislature to enact rent control legislation. Joining Thomas was Charles G. Edgecomb, executive secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission, who last week appealed for enabling legislation to permit Detroit and other Michigan cities to control their own rents.

Mayor Jeffries of Detroit today ordered the city legislative representative to go to Lansing to ask for state rent control legislation, including enabling legislation.

Given the great strength of the CIO in Detroit, city control of rents would virtually neutralize the rent-raising provisions of the new rent law. There is strong sentiment in Detroit for the freezing of all rents.

Meanwhile, tenants are being warned by the United Auto Workers housing department not to sign any leases for "voluntary" rent increases.

A fight against evictions is being gotten underway through the courts. It is expected that the legal channels in the Detroit area will soon be completely bogged down with trials by jury. This is regarded as an inexpensive yet effective method of delaying evictions.

Thus far, attempts to combat the new rent law in Michigan have been mainly verbal. No effort, to any marked degree, has been made to mobilize the great strength and power of the CIO—the rank and file in the auto plants—behind an active and militant campaign to break the back of the new rent law and to force the Big Business governor to establish state rent control.

Living Costs Hit Record Despite High Production

In the wake of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and the Rent Decontrol Act, American Big Business has renewed its price-gouging, inflationary drive.

The profiteers are pushing prices on basic commodities to new record highs.

So alarming is the trend that President Truman on July 14 issued a direct appeal to the coal and steel barons not to raise prices for fear this would "renew the inflationary spiral."

This "spiral," however, has been ascending continuously with brief inflation-breeding war debt and the war. It is based primarily on the inflation-breeding war debt and the staggering military expenditures in preparation for World War III.

On July 11, the general index of basic commodity prices published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, rose to 365.3 from a level of 100 in August, 1939. That is a boost of more than 200%. The July 11 figure represented a gain of 2.1 points in just four days.

Almost all predictions of industrialists and businessmen forecast still higher prices. They follow the line of Clarence Francis, chairman of the board of General Foods Corp., who stated last week that the long-promised decline in prices would be deferred until the "harvest" of 1948.

PRICES TO GO HIGHER

According to an "officer of one of the larger grocery chains" quoted by the July 11 N. Y. World-Telegram, there is no "consolation in the immediate price picture. Even higher prices are predicted for the next few months on certain basic foods."

Attempting to foist the blame for capitalist price-thievery on the workers, Wall Street propagandists are now accusing the mine workers through their recent wage victory, of giving a "new impetus to the inflationary spiral."

Truman himself was compelled to point out that the coal and steel companies are "enjoying their full share of the high profits which are flowing to industry today" and that there is no basis in the recent coal wage settlement for higher coal and steel prices.

To Truman's appeal, the coal and steel profiteers, like the meat trust last year, turned a deaf ear. The prompt answer was: "Prices of basic commodities are going to increase

All Incomes Rise But Wage-Earners'

While all other categories of income receivers had substantial increases of income in 1946 over 1945, the annual incomes of the combined skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled wage-earners showed "no significant change," according to the July Federal Reserve Bulletin. Such wage gains as were secured were cancelled out by "substantial increases in prices of consumers goods."

The top one-tenth of all spending units, with incomes over \$5,000 a year, got 33% of the national income in 1946. The bottom tenth received about 1%.

and nothing the government can say or do will stop the rise. That's the reaction of many industrialists in the Pittsburgh area to President Truman's appeal." (Wall Street Journal, July 16.)

Coal prices in Pittsburgh were jacked up \$1.20 a ton average, although the United Mine Workers Journal has pointed out that the wage increase will add only 61-65 cents per ton to the production cost of coal. This cost is expected to be offset by increased productivity through the more efficient and steady operation of the mines.

The latest record-breaking spurt in prices, despite peak production, is further proof that the capitalist government will not halt price-wobbling. Truman's appeals to the profiteers to "voluntarily" reduce prices are so much wasted breath. It is an effort to fool the people into thinking the government is going "to do something about it."

Workers must have their own means of protection against the rising cost of living. A sliding scale of wages in union contracts, providing automatic wage rises for every rise in living costs and a minimum wage floor, remains the most direct and effective defense against constantly mounting prices.

Rent-Gougers Open Big Eviction Drive

Evictions and eviction proceedings have increased sharply in the first two weeks since Truman signed the Rent Hi-Jacking Bill that permits landlords to coerce tenants into signing leases for 15% more rent.

Where tenants refuse to sign such leases, the landlords are devising new methods to extort rent increases and to get around the few remaining restrictions in the federal rent law.

From July 1-7 in New York City,

the number of eviction warrants issued rose 82% over the same period a year ago. Dispossession cases for reasons other than non-payment of rent rose 25%. The report shows a steady rise in evictions for non-payment of rent, revealing the effects of low wages, high prices and unemployment.

COURT SWAMPED

In Cleveland, two additional judges were assigned last week to hear eviction cases in municipal courts, where the docket is loaded with the largest number of cases in years. The cases so far are only "a drop in the bucket" to what is impending, according to Karl M. Duldner, area rent director.

Landlords in New York have started the "ownership" racket. They are "selling" apartments at outrageous sums to people with the money and the need for an apartment. Tenants in these apartments can be evicted to make way for the new "owners," according to a ruling of the Appellate Term of the State Supreme Court, First Division.

While legally a tenant may not be evicted for refusing to accept a 15% increase lease, landlords are effectively holding over many tenants' heads the threats of eviction or exorbitant rent boosts when the Rent Decontrol Act expires next March 1.

Pointing out that tenants are more fearful of testifying against landlords than against racketeers, the New York County Criminal Courts Bar Association is offering a reward of \$250 "for information resulting in the first conviction of any person arising directly out of illegally evicting or attempting unlawfully to evict a tenant."

MORATORIUM DEMANDED

A decision of the Office of Rent Control, interpreting the new rent law as permitting local and state laws implementing rent control, has increased demands for local ordinances to halt evictions.

The labor movement in New York City, where there are more than 2,000,000 tenants, is demanding that the City Council place a one-year moratorium on all evictions.

Witch Hunt and Anti-Labor Bills Are Signed Into Law in Michigan

DETROIT, July 15—Continuing their murderous offensive against labor, both parties of Big Business in this state have united to put through the most vicious laws in the state's history.

First was the Callahan Act. This bill, under the guise of controlling "foreign agencies," establishes a Gestapo stranglehold over anyone daring to think against the powers-that-be. "Foreign agencies" means any group serving even "indirectly" the purposes . . . of a foreign power."

And what does not serve a foreign power "indirectly"? Merely to speak against the drive toward war can come under this heading and result in five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. The state's Attorney General has complete power to declare any organization a "foreign agency!"

Provisions also make it illegal for groups serving the "objects" of a foreign power to "influence public opinion." "Objects" of a foreign power might be any statement opposing speedup, wage cuts, or war. Moreover, any such group must reveal to the Attorney General all information demanded, thus exposing the names of union militants fighting speedup or war. Fines of \$5,000 and imprisonment of five years can be imposed. Any union might be smashed this way.

And anything printed by such an organization must carry on its masthead the statement: "Published in compliance with the law of the state of Michigan governing the operation of foreign agencies."

Then to make the these binding: "The Attorney General is authorized at any time to make, amend and rescind such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act,

and establish such other rules and regulations as are deemed necessary or pertinent to the purposes of this act, as he may from time to time require." A complete Hitlerite method of giving the Attorney General dictatorial control over any person or group in the state.

The State Senate rushed this bill through without public hearings, while the House of Representatives subcommittee called a short public session at which Homer Martin (former auto union leader who became a tool of Ford Motor Co.) testified. The hissing of auto workers was the pretext for adjourning the hearing. Governor Sigler signed the bill, ignoring the labor movement's calls for a veto.

Nevertheless, the opposition was so great that Big Business and its legislative stooges of both major parties are as yet afraid to use the law. After its passage, State Attorney General Eugene Black declared he would not enforce the Act for the next 18 months because the legislature failed to provide funds.

The pressure of the unions was not wholly in vain. The legislators gave way on some of the most obnoxious provisions of the bill. These would have permitted the Attorney General to deny any union its bargaining rights should part of the leadership be declared "Communist." This section would have given the Attorney General the power to choose union leaders.

Other anti-labor bills have also been rushed through the Legislature. The state "omnibus labor bill" parallels many of the worst Taft-

Hartley Act features. It provides that a majority of a bargaining unit must vote favorably before a strike can be called. Regardless of provocation, a partially organized union will find it extremely difficult to call a strike, because non-members are entitled to vote. Every worker who fails to ballot is counted in effect as having voted "No."

Few politicians in this country could be elected to office if support of the majority of eligible voters were required.

The "omnibus labor bill" bans mass picketing; allows the employer to get an election at any time to "find out what union his employees want to join"; prohibits "jurisdictional" disputes; permits court actions against unions; sets up compulsory mediation for all utility workers, and if this fails, then compulsory arbitration.

Michigan has also passed the Hutchinson bill. This outlaws strikes of public workers, placing these thousands at the mercy of politicians who need only refuse wage increases or improved working conditions.

Under the guise of eliminating "delays" in payment of unemployment compensation, a bill was passed depriving thousands of workers and veterans of the right to draw this pay. The bill disqualifies a worker for the duration of his unemployment and eliminates his accumulated wage credits if he leaves his job voluntarily, has been discharged for misconduct or fails to accept suitable work offered by the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission.

Clayton E. Johnson, representing the Michigan CIO, said, "That is a death sentence for individuals caught in these provisions."

'Cops-and-Robbers' Theory of Politics

By Art Preis

Most of us, when we were kids, played a variety of games involving "good guys" and "bad guys." A favorite on our block was "cops and robbers," with the cops as good guys chasing the robbers as bad guys.

In the movies, we yelled: "Here come the good guys!" when the hero and his pals came racing around the bend. "There go the bad guys!" we shouted as the villain and his mob rode off in flight.

We could always tell who the good guys and the bad guys were in the movies. There was no mistaking them. They looked and acted their parts.

But, as we grew up, we learned how hard it is in real life to tell a "good guy" from a "bad guy." In relations with real people, the good guy-bad guy formula doesn't work out so well.

Unfortunately, this child-like good guy-bad guy concept continues to pervade the most serious and vital sphere of adult American life—the sphere of politics. It is the stock-in-trade particularly of the trade union leaders. They are still in the adolescent stage of "good guy-bad guy" politics.

Take John L. Lewis's recent comment on the role of the Republicans in Congress. Speaking of those who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, Lewis said: "Of course it is obvious that the Republican Party sold out to American industry for cash contributions to the Congressional campaign."

Now, the Republican Party didn't sell out to anybody. The Republican Party was organized by the industrialists of the North prior to the Civil War and in opposition to the Democratic Party which was then controlled by the Southern planters and slaveholders.

CAPITALISTS CONTROL BOTH PARTIES

The Republican Party has always been financed by the capitalists. They own it. They don't have to bribe Republican politicians to vote for their measures. They control the Republican machine. The

Republicans don't need to be bought; they're selected. This holds true for the Democratic Party as well. Did the industrialists buy the votes of the majority of Democrats in Congress who also voted for the Slave Labor Law? Not exactly. The Democratic Party is also controlled by the capitalist class. Big money is poured into its campaigns. This money is invested not in an effort to buy the Democratic Party, but to support it as a tried and tested machine serving the interests of capitalism.

In 1936, Lewis had Roosevelt tagged as a "good guy." So he invested \$500,000 of union funds in Roosevelt's campaign. Four years later, Lewis invested in Willie as a "good guy" in opposition to Roosevelt. In 1944 and 1946, Lewis found most of the "good guys" in the Republican camp. Now, he complains they have turned into "bad guys."

Lewis isn't much different on this score than the other union leaders. They, too, are always looking for the political "good guys." AFL President William Green tells the workers to "reward their friends and punish their enemies." Politics, according to him, is a game of lining up the "good guys" to chase the "bad guys." CIO President Philip Murray is always talking about kicking the "reactionaries" out of Congress and electing "progressives"—from the capitalist parties, of course.

The trouble is—after every election we find the "good guys" lining up with the "bad guys." And then the workers are sent off on a new search for "good guys"—in the same Democratic or Republican mob.

The fallacy of the good guy-bad guy idea of politics is that it is based on a myth. This is the myth that politics in America is not based on class interests, and that the two major parties are not based on class lines.

POLITICS INVOLVE CLASS RELATIONS

But politics in America, as in the rest of the world, is above all else the expression of class interests and class relations. This fact has been concealed by the

mechanism of the two-party system, which skillfully manipulates mass sentiment between the Republican "outs" and the Democratic "ins," and vice versa. In this fashion, mass discontent is channeled into one or another of two parties, both of which are owned and controlled by the ruling capitalist class.

Labor will grow up politically only when it ceases to reduce politics to a childish game of seeking out the "good guys," the capitalist "friends of labor" who promise to protect labor's interests before elections and who line up with their party machines against labor after elections.

Labor will reach maturity politically when it understands politics in class terms. The struggle of two classes—the working class that produces all and owns nothing, and the capitalist class that owns, all and produces nothing—that is the starting point of all realistic politics today. And parties are the instruments for political struggle between these two major classes.

As yet, American labor has no such instrument. It is urged by its leaders to use the instruments designed to keep its class enemies in political power. It is advised to try to find "good guys" in the enemy camp as the means to defeat the enemy.

This has already brought us to the era of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. Tomorrow it will lead to the era of American fascism, unless the workers force the union leadership to a different and opposite political policy—a class policy.

We must put an end to kindergarten politics based on "good guys" and "bad guys." We must adopt the program of grown-up politics in the real world. American labor must fight politically as a class in its own class interests. That means: Build the Labor Party!

No Need for Mass Picketing



As members of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers remain solid in their strike against major ship companies, mass picketing has stopped in many places with token pickets doing the job. These two at this Camden, N. J. shipyard look very comfortable with their chairs, newspapers and cigars.

Stalinist Faction in NMU Raises 'Unity' Smokescreen

By C. Thomas

After devoting three articles in the *Daily Worker* to smearing the anti-Stalinist opposition in the CIO National Maritime Union for "conspiring" to destroy the organization, Stalinist labor editor George Morris, in a fourth article, proposes a one word solution to the internal struggle: Unity!

The cry for "unity" is always the last resort of the Stalinist scoundrels. For years they maintained an iron grip on the NMU membership. They took the union through every crooked twist and turn of Stalinist policy. During the war they preached and practiced a policy of abject surrender of union rights and union conditions. Were it not for the vigorous opposition of other seafaring unions, the American seamen today would be hopelessly enmeshed in the web of government regimentation.

During this period there was complete "unity" in the leadership of the union. Critics were muzzled and opponents were framed and purged by the Stalinist hatchetmen. It is precisely against this type of "unity" that the revolt in the leadership occurred. It is against these methods that the internal struggle is being waged. One of the main planks in the opposition platform is the demand to democratize the union by curbing the power of the Stalinist-controlled National Council.

The Stalinists yearn for a return to the "good old days." In his article on "unity" Morris tries to frighten the NMU members into once again placing their necks under the Stalinist yoke.

"The NMU," he observes, "may well be one of the first targets of the Taft-Hartleyites precisely because of the internal strife in its ranks. It will surely need the good old unity and fighting spirit that marked its earlier years. Seamen better unite or they will march singly and meekly to re-establish Pink Halls."

The Stalinists were unable to drive the seamen "singly and meekly" into the government "Pink Halls" with their wartime policy of unconditional surrender and the "Taft-Hartleyites" will have no better success. If and when the attempt is made to reestablish Pink Halls the seamen will fight to the end—for

officials, of course, as trade unionists, refused to do. The response of our membership proved conclusively that as trade unionists we were correct and we won gains. We would have won more if Harry Bridges and the others would have gone down the line making demands for wage increases as trade unionists should."

Curran was 100% correct in his contention that the cowardly action of Bridges and Co. weakened the fight of the NMU for concessions. The objective conditions were favorable for a substantial victory. Shipping was at its peak with passenger ships booked solid until October. The ship operators were coming fabulous profits.

The administration in Washington, maneuvering to regain its labor support, was anxious to avoid a showdown. Truman could not risk another such blow to his prestige as he received in 1946 when he threatened to use the Navy to break a seamen's strike.

John L. Lewis demonstrated what gains could be made under conditions not much more favorable. But the Stalinists were running for cover. This is the essence of their "fight" against the Taft-Hartley Act. And now, pen-prostitute Morris of the *Daily Worker* has the cast iron gall to threaten the NMU membership with the Pink Hall unless they meekly submit to Stalinist domination.

"Unity" on the basis of the Stalinist policy is the surest way to undermining and weakening the fighting capacity of the seamen in their struggle for union existence.

Threat Of Price Slash Frightens Canned Goods Manufacturers

A sad scene took place last week before a hearing of the House Agricultural Committee. Spokesmen of the food canning industry and wholesale grocers told a moving story.

It seems their warehouses are loaded to the ceilings with 67 million cases of canned vegetables and fruits they claim they can't sell. Naturally, they want the government to do something about it.

Of course, they could put the goods on the market at a lower price. But this mountain of processed food was deliberately kept off the market last year to push up prices. The processors don't propose now to give the consumers the benefit of their miscalculations.

Unloading such a volume of canned goods on the market might drive the current out-of-this-world prices down somewhat nearer the consumer's reach. But what it would do to the profits of the canned goods profiteers was the subject of loud lamentations before the House Agricultural Committee.

SIMPLE PROPOSITION

The canners have a different proposition. They want the government to buy up the 67 million cases of canned peas, string beans, cut beets, sauerkraut, etc., at presentance.

inflated prices. They propose — out of sheer altruism, mind you — that the canned goods be shipped to the hungry people in Europe.

Certainly, there are enough hungry people in Europe — and in this country, for that matter — to make short work of the consumption of 67 million cases of canned foods. But these canned goods contain a lot of water. And the government relief experts don't like to foot the expense of shipping so much H₂O across seas.

So here are the hungry masses of Europe and here are the low-wage earners of America who want and need more vegetables. And here are the vegetables to satisfy part of their needs piled up in great warehouses. But the people must go without, because the canners don't want to forsake a penny of their anticipated profits.

Meanwhile, the consumer continues to pay through the nose for canned foods. Vegetables are rotting on the farms because canners won't buy until their present gigantic stocks are disposed of at a maximum profit.

This is the picture of capitalism, where hunger marches hand-in-hand with plenty, and high prices flourish in the climate of abundance.

We the People

By Marvel Scholl

The cynical disregard by the courts of this country for the rights of the common man was graphically illustrated during the past few weeks in three cases, each involving a different level of the judicial system.

Last January, Children's Court Justice Matthew J. Diserio, in a fanfare of publicity, announced the conviction of Mrs. Genevieve Rivera for contributing to the delinquency of her 14 year old son. The boy had been arrested, tried and convicted for the "sniper" shooting of three West Side residents. He had been sent to the New York State Training School for Boys. Mrs. Rivera was sentenced to one year in the Women's Detention Home. She was tried behind locked doors, without the benefit of counsel.

Shortly after her commitment to prison she began "acting strangely," was sent to the Psychiatric Ward at Bellevue and from there to the Matewan Hospital for the Criminally Insane.

Indignation at the severity of her sentence was great. The Society for the Prevention of Crime took up the case. Attorney Ben Herzberg offered his services free and the case was appealed. During litigation for a new trial, the fact that Mrs. Rivera had been sent to an insane asylum was kept secret, even from her attorney. Evidence of her illness was not brought out by the city attorney in the preliminary hearings.

About two weeks ago Appellate Division Judge Edward Dore reversed the lower courts decision and ordered a new trial on the grounds that the "defendant obviously failed to understand the seriousness of the charges against her" and that a great deal of hearsay evidence had been introduced.

When and if Mrs. Rivera again becomes "legally sane," she is subject to another trial. She has already served five months of an outrageous sentence. Her real crime is poverty and ill health.

The Food and Drug Administration no longer has the legal right to confiscate and destroy foodstuffs found to be contaminated by rats, mice and insects.

The U. S. Supreme Court has

handed down a decision ordering the Food Administration to stop its thirty year practice of condemning and destroying vermin-infested foodstuffs found in terminal warehouses—unless it can prove that the contamination took place in inter-state commerce!

In 1945 inspectors of the department seized and ordered the destruction of several thousand pounds of macaroni which had been fouled by rodents after its delivery to a warehouse in Phoenix, Ariz. The owner took the case to court and won. The Department appealed the decision to the Supreme Court and again the owner won. Today that filthy macaroni is being packaged for sale on grocers' shelves.

Recently inspectors from the agency found a salvage merchant packaging for public sale, thousands of pounds of sugar which had been collected from broken, rat-fouled bags in a railroad warehouse in Cincinnati, Ohio. All the inspectors could do was notify the Cincinnati health authorities.

Most states do not have laws covering protection of food and drugs. The Federal Food and Drug Act, enacted at the turn of the century, under pressure from the labor and radical movement, has afforded whatever protection there has been. Now the country has virtually no protection of its foodstuffs whatsoever.

In 1942 the three big meat packers, Swift, Cudahy, and Armour, were indicted for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. They were charged with cornering the hog market at Sioux City, Ia.

On June 23, 1947, on a government motion, Federal Judge H. C. Craven dismissed the indictment. The companies had contended that their indictment was illegal because there were no women on the panel which indicted them! U. S. District Attorney T. E. Diamond agreed with the defendants' contention, and so asked for the dismissal of the charges.

Justice, they call it. Justice for the profiteers. But how about the rest of us, where do we come in?

Our Program:

- 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-gauging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
- 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!
- Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- Build an independent labor party!**
- Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- An 18-billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
- For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 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!
- 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!
- For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

- To join the Socialist Workers Party.
- To obtain further information about your organization.
- To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print)
STREET _____
CITY _____
POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

The Instinctive and Elemental Drive

By J. R. Johnson

Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process, namely, the instinctive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars.

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

One of our comrades works in a plant-making automobile bearings. The workers number about 300 and the plant is large, modern, with up-to-date machinery and everything systematically planned. As factories go, there is not too much pressure on the workers. They move around as much as their machines will allow.

During the war, most of the factories sent around coffee wagons. Now that the war is over, and there is no more cost-plus, this cut out because it takes the men away from their work too much. But in this plant the coffee continues to come.

There is a fine cafeteria and lately there is music in it. The factory is out in the country surrounded by trees. Wages are comparatively good. A plain laborer gets a minimum of a dollar an hour and this is something when the USES is offering so many jobs at 70 cents. A skilled worker can make between \$1.50 and \$2. More than half the men have cars, and most of them vote Democratic or Republican.

Where then is this organic tendency to begin the communist society, which Trotsky writes so confidently about, this instinctive and elemental drive?

To all who have eyes to see, it is never absent, an unceasing dissatisfaction and bitterness with the very conditions of their labor.

Here is one aspect. The men complain constantly about the inefficiency of the com-

pany. This inefficiency impedes them in their work. The company is advanced and up-to-date but the men complain that they haven't enough duplicate tools. When a tool is broken and has to be replaced, they have to go to the tool crib and exchange the broken tool for another one. That wastes time. Sometimes all the spare tools are out. They then have to go to the grinding room and wait until the grinder grinds it up for them. The workers express their conception of the boasted efficiency of American capitalism by the constant remark: "Look how they run this — place!"

But the response is not merely negative. There are men who have worked in all departments over a period of ten years. They know the factory routine inside out. They have little to say, but to anyone who knows how to talk to them and gain their confidence, it soon becomes clear that they would like to reorganize the plant from top to bottom in their own way. They want to do this not only to save themselves trouble. They want to increase the productivity of labor. They have worked on the machines for years and know more about them than any company engineer or supervisor. They have innumerable ideas as to how they can be improved to speed up the work and save labor and machines. But they say nothing. They see no reason why they should exert themselves to make more money for the company.

It is this conflict which keeps them in a state of continuous frustration. They want to help in the organization of the work. They want large-scale production, swift, efficient, not wasting a minute, not losing a bolt. They want to be able to devise ways of doing in ten minutes what formerly took half an hour. They want to be able to organize in such a way that three men can do the work formerly done by four.

But under capitalism, this for the workers is suicide. Every instinct for progress has to be stifled. It will drive others or themselves out of a job.

The whole capitalist machine knows no other way but to grind every ounce of production out of the worker. The worker is trained and organized to resist, a resistance imposed upon him by capital. But socialization of labor, organic to capitalism, prepares the proletariat for socialism. And it is the socialization of labor which implants these cooperative, creative and profoundly democratic instincts in all sections of the proletariat. The moment bourgeois society breaks down, the modern worker, released from the domination of capital, prepares to run production as he wants to. The workers of Japan have once more demonstrated this as never before.

This explains why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky always wrote so confidently of the revolutionary potentialities of the working class. They began with the premise that these potentialities were implanted there by capitalist production itself. It was an energy that had to be developed and released and directed by the revolutionary party.

But the party cannot set itself the absurd task of creating it, least of all of teaching it to workers by "education." The need to recognize this organic revolutionism permeated the teachings of Trotsky's last years. The urge to reconstruct society on communist beginnings is organic in the psychology of workers, i.e., it is of their very nature. This drive is instinctive in them. It is elemental. And today when wars and crises are rending society this revolutionary socialist instinct can appear with the most violent and startling rapidity. It is with this aspect of the proletarian revolution that I propose to concern myself and I am glad to be able to write this column and develop these ideas without inhibitions in the pages of *The Militant*.

PHILADELPHIA
A Series of Six Lectures
Why A Minority Problem Exists in U. S.
The Means for Elimination of Racial Antagonisms
Monday, July 28, 8 to 10 p. m.
FREEDOM ROAD—A comparison of proposed solutions:
Racial assimilation . . . Nationalism (the Garvey program in Africa and in the United States) . . . voluntary segregation . . . the Gradualists . . . the Negro middle class . . . The radical programs.
MAX GOLDMAN
Discussion Leader
MILITANT LABOR FORUM
1303 W. Girard Ave.

NEW HAVEN
"Will a Wallace-Led Third Party Help Labor?"
Panel Discussion
Audience Participation
Sunday, July 27, 8:30 p. m.
NEW HAVEN LABOR SCHOOL
855 Grand Ave., 3rd Floor
Free Admission

SEATTLE
Showing of Famous Film:
"THE INFORMER"
Saturday, July 26, 8:30 p. m.
1919 1/2 Second Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Heard
Vincent R Dunne
SWP National Labor Secretary
"LABOR'S FIGHT AGAINST THE TAFT-HARTLEY BILL"
Friday, Aug. 1, 8 p. m.
10 South 4th St.

CHICAGO
"Militant" Picnic
Softball - Dancing
Games - Refreshments
RYAN WOODS
Sunday, August 3, 11 a. m.
87th & Western

Mail This Coupon With 50c For A 6-Month Subscription to

THE MILITANT
A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the working people. The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world.

You may start my subscription to *The Militant* for 6 months. I enclose 50 cents (coin or stamps)

Send me *The Militant* at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months. I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order)

Name _____ (Please Print)
Street _____ Apt. _____
City _____ Postal Zone _____
State _____



Germany 1947

Strategy of the Fourth International

By Ernest Germain

Outstanding in the present situation in Germany is a feature well known to Marxist analysis: the phenomenon of *combined development*. This phenomenon raises problems for the working class which can be solved only through the process of the *permanent revolution*. It is an irony of history that the question of the permanent revolution, after having first been posed in the most backward country, should now arise in the most advanced country in Europe.

The situation in Czarist Russia on the eve of the 1917 Revolution confronted the Russian working class with the necessity of solving the problems of the bourgeois revolution: settling the agrarian question, freeing the country from its bondage to foreign capital, overthrowing Czarism.

The bourgeoisie class, which had already become conservative even before coming to power, was from the very outset of the revolution in the camp of the counter-revolution. The peasantry was incapable of leading a struggle on a national scale. The solution of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution made it necessary for the proletariat to take political power, which was possible only within the framework of expropriation of the capitalists.

BURNING NEED

The situation in Germany in 1947 sets before the German working class, the burning necessity of the proletarian revolution. In no country in the world is the situation so ripe for the taking of power as in Germany. No other class in society is capable of demanding the power. It is precisely because the Big Four are thoroughly aware that the only alternative to their own rule of Germany is a workers' Germany, that they are so determined to maintain their domination of the country right to the end.

The main force opposing the German proletarian revolution is the occupying powers. The German proletariat cannot put forth any economic or democratic demands, even the most elementary, without coming up against the necessity for struggle against the occupation. No form of struggle, not even the most elementary, can be launched without running headlong into the military and police apparatus of the occupying powers.

The solution of the tasks of the proletarian revolution in Germany requires a consistent struggle against the occupation, in the course of which struggle the German proletariat, like the Russian proletariat in 1917, can put itself at the head of all the toiling masses of the cities and the country.

In this struggle, which the proletariat must carry on in a revolutionary and internationalist spirit, we must be the best defenders of everything the occupation has robbed from the country: unification of its structure, political sovereignty of the people, disposition of natural resources and of current production by the producers themselves. This struggle must be combined with an all-out fight against reparations and annexations, and is climaxed in the slogan "Withdraw the Occupation Troops!"

Driving the occupation powers out of Germany means the same thing today as struggling for the proletarian revolution. But to struggle for the German proletarian revolution still does not in itself solve any aspect whatsoever of the vast problem of reconstruction of the country.

To raise Germany out of its ruins, to reestablish its national unity, to rebuild its industrial apparatus, to

The Ninth in a Series of Articles

save its civilization—only the proletariat is capable of fulfilling these tasks, but it can do this only with the aid of the proletariat of other countries. Any reconstruction of an isolated Germany, without aid from abroad, is a ridiculous utopia.

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

Only a free and unified socialist Germany, within the framework of a socialist Europe, offers a realistic alternative to a dismembered Germany, dominated by American capital, and the battlefield for the Third World War. This is the fundamental analysis with which the Fourth International must approach the German problem.

The basic strategic task—to overthrow the rule of the occupation powers and the miserable remnants of the capitalists supporting them, and to lead the proletariat toward seizure of power—requires a period for the mobilization of the masses, revival of their class consciousness, encouragement of their will to struggle; and these, in their turn, can result only from a number of preliminary battles which are victorious thanks to effective revolutionary leadership.

The immediate strategic task of the Fourth International in Germany is the building of a powerful revolutionary party, the regrouping of the working class vanguard of the country on the basis of its program, and the crystallizing of a centralized leadership.

This leadership will, on the one hand, systematically organize the struggles for immediate demands locally and regionally—the work of agitation; and on the other hand, will patiently educate the broad layers of conscious workers on the character of the tasks of the proletariat, starting from the causes of the 1933 defeat, going on to a clarification of the national question, and ending with the ideological and political preparation for the revolution.

MAIN EMPHASIS

At the present stage the main emphasis remains, of course, on propaganda. The possibility of forming hundreds of Bolshevik cadres is certainly an immediate one. It requires only the energy and sufficient organizational ability, but if we base ourselves on an overestimation of the immediate opportunities for agitation or a false conception of the dynamics of the German revolution, it will be out of the question.

It is essential to understand that in Germany the cadres of the Fourth International will for the first time have the opportunity to struggle against reformism and Stalinism on an equal footing, or at least under favorable conditions. In France, Italy, England, the United States, the new layers that move into action, as the working class movement grows, judge the various parties in the first place by their tradition; they come to the Communist Party, for example, because twenty years ago the Stalinist leaders were the best defenders of the working class.

But as the workers swing into action in Germany, they will not judge the parties in the light of

events prior to 1933 or even by their activities during the time of the Nazi dictatorship: The German proletariat will come to the party whose cadres show themselves, in the cities and in the factories, as the best fighters against the misery and the occupation, now and in the years ahead!

This, together with the personal experience millions of German workers have had of the "blessings" of Stalinism, gives our German movement a unique opportunity to become the revolutionary party of the proletariat. To achieve this, it will have to show an initiative and creative spirit in working out its slogans. As a matter of fact, the German situation is so exceptional that it requires entirely new slogans, adapted to the conditions and capable of showing the way toward immediate solutions of the most burning problems, the problems which are the immediate concern of the workers.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS

We will do no more than mention some of these problems: to keep in German hands all the current industrial and agricultural production (against requisitions for reparations and occupation costs, etc.); guarantee of a minimum living wage in actual rations for all workers; trade union control of industrial production and distribution; establishment, alongside the factory committees, of workers' cooperatives for buying and selling, which will seek, first of all on the basis of local and regional planning, to exchange the products of their work for the food and consumer goods their families need, as well as the raw materials and repair parts needed in the plants, etc.

Only the combination of such agitational work and our leadership in even the most partial and isolated struggles, with patient propaganda, will make it possible to develop all the opportunities for the building of a powerful revolutionary party, on which the entire future of the German revolution depends.

(To be concluded next week)

Fill Greek Concentration Camps As Terror Reaches New Height

U. S. Imperialist Administrator



Appointed as administrator of U. S. military aid to the Greek tyrants, Dwight Griswold leaves for Athens on President Truman's private plane. 35 million dollars worth of American arms are now en route to aid slaughter of the workers and peasants opposed to the Greek dictatorship.

Federated Picture

2nd Convention Of Trotskyists Held in India

Under the shadow of repression, the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist) had its national convention in Bombay last month. This was the BLPI's second convention since 1944, the intervening years being marked by bitter struggles against imperialism. Even now, the outlawing of the several trade unions influenced by the BLPI has very much aggravated the difficulties in the way of a smooth development.

The national convention of the party was attended by a full complement of delegates from all the different units in the mainland and Ceylon, and the political decisions which were thrashed out evoked an animation quite in keeping with the tense atmosphere outside.

Controversy centered around the question of the Constituent Assembly and the proposal for the Trotskyists to enter into the Socialist Party of India (formerly Congress Socialist Party). The adoption of the resolution on the Constituent Assembly in effect revised the 1942 party program and replaces the slogan of the Workers and Peasants Government as the central political slogan with that of the Constituent Assembly.

The proposal of entry into the SPI did not commend itself much to the majority of delegates and was defeated. In the opinion of many, the SPI does not so much as exist in many major provinces of India and where it did exist, it lacked a trade union base. In such places as Madras and Bengal the trade union base of the BLPI is much stronger than that of the SPI.

The convention marked the progress of the BLPI and revealed a healthy critical spirit in the face of the new and complex problems facing the Indian revolution.

Three-Power Talks End In Heightened Tension

By Jean Paul Martin

PARIS, July 4—The Paris "Three Power Conference" ended in a total failure. Bevin had set up a ring of silence for the journalists during the conference, but this was broken by Tass, (Russian Press Agency) through a series of press releases issued during the conference. These releases made clear the differences existing between the Soviet and Anglo-French bloc delegations over the interpretation of the Marshall offer and the means to go about obtaining it.

Molotov accused the British and French of having become the docile agents of Wall Street imperialism and of presenting a plan which (a) would be a blow to the national independence of the European countries, (b) would mean the suspension of Germany's reparations payments and (c) would divide Europe into two hostile blocs.

Molotov protested against the idea of setting up a "directing committee" composed of representatives of the large European nations which would be charged with the task of establishing an economic program for the whole of Europe, taking into account both the needs and resources of each country. He proposed instead that they limit themselves to an inventory of the needs of each country of Europe and then ask the U. S. to what extent it is ready and able to satisfy these needs.

MOLOTOV'S FEAR
Molotov's proposal was motivated by his fear that through the Marshall Plan, the Russian-controlled countries—and all of Germany—would get out of the USSR's economic control and get integrated into the economic system of Western Europe and through it into the American orbit.

Thanks to the different commercial agreements and to the various two-, three- and five-year plans, the USSR has gotten into shape in the countries it controls in Central Europe and the Balkans an economic circuit which is more or less closed to western influence and which favors its economy as well as the consolidation of its political influence on this part of Europe. The application of the Marshall Plan, however, would necessarily carry a new economic orientation which would inevitably draw all these countries into the American orbit in the end.

Put before this alternative, the Soviet bureaucracy prefers for the moment to let the Marshall Plan show what it will mean in Western Europe and decide its future policy in the light of that experience.

This, however, does not fail to carry a serious danger for the USSR. Its refusal to accept the Anglo-

(Continued from Page 1)

strengthen it under Wall Street's control. "Thus American policy on Germany," said the July 16 N. Y. Times, "was implicitly linked to the Marshall Plan."

The new directive gives General Clay the go-ahead signal on raising German steel production to twice the limits set in the Potsdam agreement. The production of vanadium, aluminum, machines and machine tools, banned at Potsdam, will now be permitted. Increased financial aid can be given the German capitalists.

OMINOUS DIRECTIVE

What is ominous in the directive is not the limited revival of German industry it permits but the rebuilding of the capitalist class that spawned Nazism.

At the same time, it was revealed that Washington is pressing a new agreement on London concerning the Ruhr. This area, the industrial heart of Germany now held by the British, is one of the great prizes of the Second World War. Wall Street wishes to reduce the British to secondary position in this area, possibly oust them completely.

The aim of the American monopolists is to gain a stranglehold on German industry, thus winning the key to economic mastery of Europe and assuring themselves the lion's share of the international cartels.

Secret discussions of the proposal are now going on between Clay and the British commander in Germany, between a British delegation and Washington officials, and between Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman, a leading member of the Truman brain trust, and British officials.

Great economic and financial pressure is being placed on Britain to force agreement. It has been implied, for instance, that Congress might not feel like rubber-stamping the Marshall Plan as rapidly as it did the Greek-Turkish loan—a frightening thought to the British.

The Marshall Plan has precisely the aim to incorporate these countries into the American orbit by means of long-term economic aid which would also give them a certain political stability.

—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.



Government, which hoped for financial under-writing for the next four or five years as part of the Marshall Plan.

This practical play to seize the spoils of war taken by a former ally is highly revealing. The Marshall Plan as it emerges from vague generalizations about charity and unification for Europe is seen to be imperialist to the core.

The general uneasiness among the American people over the implications of the Marshall Plan is causing some concern to the Truman Administration. Consequently the propaganda campaign to popularize the plan is being stepped up.

At a conference of Governors in Salt Lake City, Utah, Secretary of State Marshall in diplomatic double-talk raised the bogey of communism in Europe unless the "task" is finished "of assisting these countries to adjust themselves to the changed demands of a new age."

Then in a secret meeting with the Governors, Marshall spoke more plainly about the reactionary objectives of his plan.

These events took place against the background of renewed bloodshed in Greece. The puppet monarchy is attempting to consolidate its hold in accordance with the aims

of the Truman Doctrine. None of its major moves are taken without consulting the Anglo-American imperialists.

An entire week before the Greek Government conveniently "discovered" a plot for a "communist uprising," Lincoln MacVeagh, U. S. Ambassador to Greece, was consulted about the projected mass arrests. Reuters reported that MacVeagh said "the United States Government would have no objection to preventive measures if they were considered necessary."

As the bloody assault upon the peasant populace in the North reached new heights, Marshall bluntly proclaimed the "right" of a U. S. military mission "to advise the Greek Army on how to carry our warfare against the guerrillas." This is a proclamation of open American generalship in behalf of the despotic Glucksberg dynasty.

The week's events thus show how swiftly the breach between the USSR and the Western capitalist powers is widening and how deeply Wall Street is entrenched itself in Europe. The wedge is the Marshall Plan. It is better driven in with furious blows as the power-drunk Wall Street rulers carry forward their blueprint of world conquest.

Russian occupation forces are operating 12 concentration camps in their zone of Germany and purging numerous political opponents, according to a report released by the International Rescue and Relief Committee in New York. Three concentration camps being used by the GPU were also used by the Nazis.

The Social Democrats appear to be most heavily hit by the purge, but it is evident that dissident members of the Stalinist organization are also under attack. In Buchenwald, for example, there are 11,000 prisoners; of these 800 are German Social Democrats and 200 are "German Communists."

French High Commissioner Emile Bollaert has departed from France for Saigon with a new offer for "peace" in Indo-China. The offer is not meant for Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Nam Government, however; instead, it is intended to help mobilize conservative Indo-China forces against the Viet Nam Government.

Dana Adams Schmidt in a dispatch from Athens, Greece, to the N. Y. Times July 12 declared that "The Truman plan has unquestionably raised the morale of the army and the Government and of the Right Wing generally."

Schmidt cannot be accused of over-estimating the effect of the Truman Doctrine on the reactionaries in Greece. They have cast aside all restraint. The terror they have unleashed is reaching into every hamlet in the land.

Of the 15,000 population which the Greek government admits are in prison, a minimum of 5,000 are behind bars because of their political opposition to the puppet monarchy. As of April 1 another 5,185 political prisoners were held in the notorious island concentration camps in the Aegean. Some 2,000 more were shipped there in April, May and June. And on July 9, as reported in last week's MILITANT, a new witch hunt was unleashed by the government.

At least 3,000 victims were taken in the first day of this purge, bringing the total number of political prisoners in Greece to 15,000. And this, it must be emphasized, is a minimum figure.

The morale of Greek reaction is likewise reflected in the number of casualties inflicted on the population since last March when the monarchy launched an armed assault on the partisans in the north. Some 3,000 "guerrillas" have been killed "or otherwise put out of action," according to government reports. A "guerrilla" may mean any one liv-

ing in the area. The Army has ordered entire villages "evacuated" under excuse of "preventing" them from feeding the partisans.

TOLL OF CIVIL WAR
The government's renewal of the civil war has devastated northern Greece. In Macedonia and Thrace there are some 433,000 displaced persons. In the areas near Albania where the sharpest fighting is now going on, refugees are pouring from the villages, taking what few possessions they can carry.

Cattle and draft animals are requisitioned by the army. The combination of war and bad weather has affected the crops so seriously that in some places not even wheat for seed next year is expected. The army has even banned mountain grazing in its ruthless drive to smash all opposition to the monarchy.

The government propagandists, however, attempting to unload the blame claim that their army of some 100,000 has been attacked by an "invasion" of 2,500 men from Albania. These "invaders," says the Foreign Ministry, are "parts of an international brigade."

The witch hunt was launched on the pretext a communist "plot" had been uncovered to seize government buildings and assassinate some government officials. The "evidence," however, was so flimsy that not even the capitalist correspondents have dared to give full credence. To overcome the doubts of correspondents, ex-bandit Napoleon Zervas, now Minister of Public Order, promised the press he would show them the evidence.

But at his July 11 interview he showed them nothing. He claimed that he was "realy breaking a law" in giving out any information and thus it would not be possible to provide the press with copies of the alleged order for an uprising.

WITCH HUNT CONTINUES
Meanwhile, the witch hunt continues. Special committees set up by the government are empowered to pass sentences up to one year on "suspicion of endangering the state." But apparently even the formality of these tribunals and those arrested are shipped off to concentration camps the same day the police drag them out of their homes.

Two days after the mass arrests began, Dwight P. Griswold, administrator of the program for bolstering the Greek monarchy under the Truman Doctrine, announced that \$35,000,000 of military supplies were on their way for shipment to Greece. The supplies from U. S. Army stores include planes, artillery, small arms, ammunition, trucks, jeeps, mules and food.

This is the first major installment in the \$300,000,000 granted by Congress for the Greek monarchy in response to Truman's demand. The timing of the announcement indicates how Washington approves the reign of terror in Greece.

Among the victims of the terror are the Stalinists. Many intermediate leaders of the Communist Party have been thrown into prison or concentration camps; the top leaders are in hiding. Yet at the end of the war these same leaders were at the head of a great mass movement and could have taken power had they wished. They betrayed the Greek working class, and as often happens with such traitors, have now come under the fierce attack of the very forces they helped raise up.

STALINIST TREACHERY
When the Nazis retreated from Greece, the people began setting up their own government. The Stalinists, however, welcomed British troops to Greece. They did this in accord with the secret deal between Churchill and Stalin that divided up the Balkans into spheres of influence.

Once installed, the British unleashed civil war on the Greek people, drove the armed partisans out of the main centers and set up the puppet government that is in power today. The Stalinists attempted again and again to collaborate in this quisling government, hanging on to posts as long as possible.

At the same time they struck at outstanding militants in the labor movement who wished to resist the Anglo-American forces and free Greece from foreign dictation. They singled out the most principled opponents of reaction and consistent advocates of socialism. Stalinist killers hunted down the Trotskyists, murdering all they could lay their hands on.

The policy of the Stalinists played directly into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialists, made possible the re-seating of the Glucksberg dynasty and paved the way for the present reign of terror.

GOVERNMENT GOES EASY ON FRENCH MILITARY PLOT

PARIS, July 11—Action against the plot to establish a French military dictatorship is being dropped and buried. This became clear after a visit from General Koenig, commander of the French occupation troops in Germany, when the "Socialist" Minister of Interior announced that the whole matter is to be turned over to a judge for investigation behind closed doors.

The plot involved the officer cadre of the army of occupation. There is no longer any doubt about that. Nor is there any doubt that it constitutes a military counterpart of de Gaulle's political movement, the RPF (Rally of the French People).

Several officers have been arrested, but silence reigns concerning the facts about the real leaders of the plot, their objectives and the means at their disposal. Now this silence is to be extended to cover even the few facts which the government revealed in a moment

BUFFALO
Summer Lecture Course
"World Politics And Program Of Fourth International"
Fridays, 8 p. m.
629 Main Street

READ
Fourth International

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. XI—No. 29. Monday, July 21, 1947

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9390 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in the United States. 4 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in all foreign countries.

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



"Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Leon Trotsky

PAC'S Registration Drive

The Executive Board of the CIO Political Action Committee on July 10 announced its "answer" to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law—a "nation-wide registration campaign to encourage all members of the CIO and their families and friends to qualify to vote in the 1948 elections."

Every worker who wants to advance the political interests of labor will agree that a reminder about registering in time is a good thing.

But when the millions of trade unionists and their friends have complied with PAC's reminder to register, then the question comes up, what will their votes accomplish?

If only the Democrats and Republicans appear on the ballot, voting either way means voting for labor's enemies. Should the Democrats and Republicans succeed in keeping their monopoly on the ballot in the next election, many workers will say, "Why go to the trouble of voting?" They will show their feelings by staying home on election day. Why waste time voting for Tweedledee or Tweedledum?

Thus the correct first step to take in answering the Taft-Hartley Law is a nation-wide campaign to put labor's own candidates on the ballot in 1948. The unions must put up their own candidates against the Democratic-Republican twins. Then voting will count because it can oust labor's enemies from office and put labor's political representatives in.

If the workers, their families and friends are given an opportunity to vote for candidates put up by labor itself, then getting everyone registered will prove no problem. Union members will be keenly interested in a big registration to make sure that labor's own candidates get into office.

Why did the PAC Executive Board decide on a registration campaign and remain silent about the need for a Labor Party? Are they planning once again to end up in the election with that old song and dance about voting for the falsely-labelled "friends" of labor in the Democratic and Republican parties?

If labor expects to reap any benefit from this registration drive, isn't it necessary to have labor's own candidates on the ballot? Doesn't that mean that the most pressing need right now is a nation-wide drive for a Labor Party?

Year Three of the Atom Age

Two years ago, on July 16, 1945, an epochal event took place near Los Alamos, New Mexico. There scientists, under military command, opened the Atomic Age with the successful test of the first atom bomb.

At that moment, mankind had reached a peak of scientific achievement. The key had at last been found to nature's greatest storehouse of energy, the atom.

This achievement—of the greatest world historical import—was not immediately announced. Indeed, it was shrouded in utmost secrecy. Only two months later, with the obliteration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was this titanic discovery made known.

All previous scientific advances have been heralded in the name of progress. But this—the greatest of all—has evoked only universal fear and horror. The third anniversary of the Atomic Era is met not with jubilation, but consternation and despair.

What awe-inspiring vistas of human advancement the peaceful utilization of atomic energy conjures up. Yet what actual immediate terror it evokes!

For peaceful uses of atomic energy have been strictly proscribed by the capitalist rulers of America. They have converted this magnificent achievement of science into one exclusive use—as a military weapon. Through this weapon they command incalculable destructive power, a power they threaten to unleash on the world in their mad drive for global conquest.

Year Three of the Atomic Age finds American imperialism jealously guarding the secrets of atomic energy, while stockpiling atomic bombs at the fastest possible rate. It finds the scientists, under closest surveillance and iron supervision, slaving to produce bigger and better atom bombs and murder devices.

The Atom Age puts mankind at the crossroads of annihilation or progress unlimited. Which road we travel will be determined by one decision: Who will

control atomic energy?

Under capitalism, atomic energy must remain a fiendish weapon in the hands of the monopoly capitalists. It will lead to the destruction of civilization. Under socialism, where private profit is abolished and planned economy prevails under the control of the whole people, atomic energy will lift humanity to undreamed-of heights of plenty.

Open the Doors of America

More than two years after V-E Day there are still some 1,000,000 displaced persons in Europe. Many of them, thrown into concentration camps by the Nazis, their homes confiscated and sold, now have no place to go. They have been completely uprooted. Others from Eastern Europe dare not return there for fear of the despotic Kremlin regime.

These people want to leave Europe. But they are barred from finding homes in other lands by harsh immigration laws, particularly those of the United States. Consequently, the demand to ease these restrictions has reached great proportions. Even President Truman has been forced to acknowledge it periodically. On July 8 in a message to Congress he again declared that "the only civilized course is to enable these people to take new roots in friendly soil" by revising the immigration quotas.

Lip service, however, is about as far as the Truman Administration and Congress go in following "the only civilized course."

The Stratton bill if passed would admit a maximum of only 400,000 displaced persons. And there is a big catch to this; the 400,000 would be spread over a period of four years. Presumably the lucky 400,000 would continue to be held in camps in war-torn Europe while they marked the days, weeks, months and years off the calendar.

In addition none of the other present restrictive admission requirements would be lifted. A liberal-minded person can be barred as a "subversive." Arbitrary health standards must be met with no consideration for the years of famine and suffering. These victims have endured. Those "likely to become public charges" would be barred. In brief, the Stratton bill would admit only those immigrants able to meet Wall Street's brutal qualifications.

But even this grudging concession to the public demand for action has little likelihood of passing. After conferring with Truman July 14, Senator Vandenberg told the press that it seemed "all but impossible" to do anything about immigration restrictions this session of Congress.

Especially galling to the war victims in Europe is the fact that during the war the allowable quotas were far from filled. If they had been completely filled from 1940 to 1946 the total number of immigrants would have been 1,076,733. Because of the war only 161,971 could come, leaving a total of 914,762 unused quota numbers—almost enough to provide entry for all those in most need of emigrating from Europe.

A truly civilized government would open its doors wide to all the oppressed. A half-civilized government would at least permit its unused quotas to be filled. Congress, however, is keeping the gates locked tight. Can we call this cruel indifference to the plight of the war victims anything but barbarism?

Chiang Kai-shek Yells for Help

With Wall Street's drive to organize a reactionary Western Bloc of capitalist powers in Europe well under way, the spotlight may shift to the Far East. The dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek regime is yelling for more help from its imperialist patron.

When General Marshall left China, the armed forces under Chiang Kai-shek's command had been built to peak strength. They had American planes, American artillery, American arms, American ammunition, American military advisors and American ships to transport troops. And Chiang Kai-shek had gained valuable time thanks to the eagerness of Stalinist chieftains in China to make a deal with this butcher.

Plans called for Washington to follow a hands off policy while Chiang Kai-shek's armies stamped out "communism" in a swift, ruthless and bloody campaign.

But the plans appear to have gone awry. The American military advisors are rumored to blame Chiang's failure to follow their advice for the military defeats he has suffered. The corruption of his regime contributed. But most important of all, the mass hatred of Chiang and the longing for a new and better government have grown to such proportions that they corrode the dictator's armies as fast as they are built up. The civil war is obviously shaking the Chiang regime to its foundations.

Washington decided to relax its "hands off" policy. It recently turned over millions of rounds of ammunition to Chiang and gave the greenlight to American munition makers to start supplying him with additional war supplies.

But this was not enough. On July 6 Chiang made a red-baiting, racial speech that Hitler could not have improved on. He called for war to the death on "communism" to "prevent establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in China."

This speech was trimmed to fit the Truman Doctrine. It was a bid for more active intervention by Wall Street in China. It had the desired effect.

W. Walton Butterworth, American Minister to China departed for "consultations" in Washington. Truman on July 11 ordered General Albert C. Wedemeyer to fly to China to make "an appraisal." And it was intimated that Marshall may now "turn this attention to working out a more positive American program for China and the Far East."

It thus appears that a Far Eastern version of the reactionary Marshall Plan will soon be served up. Wall Street's blueprint for world conquest is proceeding at break-neck speed.



"We absolutely must put down the communists in Greece; that's where we get the very best olives for Martinis!"

BOOKSHELF

THE COMMONWEALTH OF ART by Curt Sachs, W. W. Norton & Co., 404 pages, 1946, \$5.

For many years Dr. Sachs has employed a profound knowledge of many diverse subjects — anthropology, art, history, languages, music, to mention only a few—in the service of his special field, musicology. In his latest work he invents an integrated study of all the arts in order to show that in spite of their diversity the various aspects of culture are governed by a common fate, that "they are one in spirit and meaning."

"Style," insists the author, "is not the haphazard result of the senseless, ever-changing caprices of taste." Even the ever-changing position of the waistline in women's fashions is only one aspect of a general trend which affects musical form as well. In this evolution there is a constant shift from one extreme to another, each style giving birth to an opposite and contradictory style in the next generation. Yet these smaller phases group themselves into larger cycles so that there is always repetition on a new plane. Not even the so-called static Middle Ages were immune from these "generational reversals."

Neither is style "the fruit of personal leadership," the author demonstrates. For "immeasurably strong as the importance and influence of individuals may be, the master, even the lonely genius, is never quite free from the bounds of his time and his nation; and while the things he has to say are greater, wider, deeper than those of lesser men, he says them in a language shaped by the anonymous, impalpable forces of ages and peoples. You may easily prove that a certain style was introduced in a certain country after some man had in such-and-such a year traveled abroad and seen the

advanced expression that foreign masters had found; and still you have failed to prove why the style he carried home was accepted, though there had been no readiness to accept it in a hundred similar cases a few years before."

What a welcome contrast this attitude offers to that of so many historians who still spend much time discussing the far-reaching importance of the personality of some ancient emperor's wife.

Similarly, Dr. Sachs rejects "the influences" on which so many historians live. He points out that an external factor can become an influence only when there is "a natural receptivity, owed to inner developments, for this very kind of influence." Therefore, to explain the unity of the arts and the history of style simply as the result of "influencing factors" is to explain nothing.

What then is the basis for the evolution in style? What power, to use Dr. Sachs' own simile, causes the tide to turn? Surely we have a right to expect a profound and revealing reply from this remarkable scholar. But his answer is disappointing. "The momentous impulse comes from impalpable forces which, while shaping both the outstanding individuals and the slower masses, cannot in their dimness be grasped." As the author himself admits, that is really no explanation.

Nevertheless, a few scattered and offhand passages in his own book suggest the proper starting point for a study of this question. In the introduction he states that there is "a ceaseless, ever-new adaptation of art to the changing needs of man." If art adapts itself to the changing needs of man, why not study the basis of those changing needs in social and economic forces instead of concluding that the forces are "impalpable?"

The unity that Dr. Sachs is seeking is not limited to the cultural

superstructure of society. Numerous passing remarks in his book hint that he has a deeper understanding. For example, he mentions the influence upon musical theory in 1300 of the rise of nationalism and the attack of the Church against the new music of that day, that Palestrina was "the patriarch of the musical counter-reformation," that the spread of the Roman chant in Charlemagne's time was related to its supra-national character. Certainly there is nothing "impalpable" about the social and economic forces that caused architects at a certain period to "focus on the Palace, not on the Church."

The author confines his explanation of his search for unity in a one-sided chapter entitled "Art and the Crises of History," in which he shows that most attempts to explain the relation between art and life have been vulgar and superficial. This is true and it applies especially to those self-styled "Marxist" critics who see not only socialism in the Soviet Union, but socialist art as well.

The fact that these relations have been traced "rashly" and "at random" does not justify the assumption that they lie "beneath the visible surface of society." In reality the cultural superstructure is rooted in the concrete material conditions of a given period and mirrored in it are the specific social, economic and political forces. A Marxist analysis of the material foundation provides an indispensable key to the superstructure.

The Marxist method not only establishes the "common root beneath the visible surface of society," it establishes the unity of the arts and life in theory, and eventually in practice when, in the words of Engels, there will be no painters but "men who, among other things, also paint."

—George Sanders

Congressmen At Work

Millionaire Envoy to Argentina

On July 11 the Senate considered Truman's nomination of James Bruce to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Argentina. William Langer (R., N. Dak.) opposed the nomination. Not because Bruce is a millionaire who "has accumulated much of this world's goods—under our free enterprise system I think that is most commendable." But because Bruce built up his bank account as the head of an organization which has raised the price of milk to little children.

For the benefit of the voters on North Dakota's farms, Langer thereupon proceeded to expose the National Dairy Products Corporation, of which Bruce is an officer. The Federal Trade Commission has been probing the operations of this giant octopus for violation of the anti-trust laws. Thus Langer had plenty of facts at his disposal.

He started with its operations on December 8, 1923, and followed them through to November 15, 1938. Here is a sample of Langer's exposure: "On the 12th day of January 1924, this corporation, of which, as I said, Mr. Bruce is one of the lights, bought the Rieck-McJunkin Dairy Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa. . . . The Pittsburgh company dealt in milk, cream, ice cream and other milk products. On the same date, the 12th day of January 1924, this millionaire outfit bought the Pittsburgh Ice Cream Co. . . . On the same date it bought the Rieck Certified Farm Co. of Rootstown, Ohio. Some of these concerns were bought in violation of the laws of this country. The company was thoroughly familiar with the fact that under the Anti-Trust Act it could not buy, in certain instances, the stock of a company, so it bought the assets and



thereby evaded the anti-trust laws of the United States."

Langer followed the purchases of the National Dairy Products Corporation from city to city. He described how they bought up as many as 35 companies in a single day. Among the companies absorbed, Langer mentioned the Newark Milk Co., of Newark, Sheffield Farms of New York City, the Breyer Ice Cream Co. of Long Island, the Crescent Ice Cream Co. of Rockford, Ill., Consolidated Products of Chicago, Breakstone Brothers of New York City, the St. Louis Dairy Co., the Akron Pure Milk Co., the Sanitary Milk Co. of Canton, Ohio, the Ohio Cloverleaf Dairy Co. of Toledo, the Wisconsin Creamery Co. of Milwaukee, the American Ice Cream Co. of Madison, Wis.

In one day it bought the Ebling Creamery Co., the City Dairies, the Highland Park-Schlaff-Wilson Co., the Highland Park Creamery Co., the John Schlaff Creamery Co. and the Wilson Creamery Co., all of Detroit.

The list goes like this page after page of fine print in the Congressional Record. They went into cheese and mayonnaise, buying up such big name concerns as Kraft-Phenix and Pabst.

But they did not stop here. They

moved into Canada, Cuba, England and Germany.

In all they acquired 362 companies, becoming the largest distributor of milk and other dairy products in the United States.

The names of the outfits it controls today reads like a Who's Who of the cheese, butter, milk, ice cream, evaporated and condensed milk industry. In 1937 the assets of this trust were listed at \$351,015,643.84. Even in the depression years it paid huge dividends to the monopolists behind it.

What kind of profits it rolled up during the war, Langer did not choose to reveal. "I purposely did not go into that portion of this man's record which comprises the war years," explained the North Dakota Senator. "I can understand, of course, that war will cause a rise in prices."

You would imagine that Langer had put enough evidence on record to put Bruce behind bars. But the Senate didn't take it that way. As Langer himself reported, the Attorney General wrote him "that, so far as he knows, no one man has gone to jail, under the anti-trust laws, except Eugene Debs. . . . the great leader of some 30 or 35 years ago."

Dennis Chavez (D. N. Mex.) summed up the general sentiment on Bruce's nomination: "I think he would make an ideal Ambassador to the Argentine Republic. . . . He has American common sense."

Langer asked, "Does the Senator think he is a great business man because he is a director of 14 corporations?"

Chavez responded, "I would say he is a great man because of these tremendous pieces of work he has been able to do."

And that was that. The Senate confirmed the nomination without bothering to take a roll call vote.

Most Union Bureaucrats Opposed to Labor Party

A survey on the political affiliations and outlook of AFL and CIO leaders, made by C. Wright Mills and Helen Schneider in the July-August issue of the magazine *Labor and Nation*, indicates that workers who want to form a labor party must overcome the opposition of a majority of the top union leaders.

The poll was begun in May 1946 and completed in April of this year. Questions were addressed to the presidents and secretary-treasurers of the national AFL and CIO unions; the presidents and secretaries of state AFL and CIO bodies; and one-half of the heads of the AFL and CIO city councils. A total of 1,026 was polled, and 410 answers (or 40%) were received.

One question addressed to them was: "As far as national politics are concerned, would you during the next two or three years prefer to work for labor's viewpoint within one or both of the major parties, or would you prefer to set up a new labor party entirely separate from either of them?" The proportion favoring a labor party was as follows:

	AFL	CIO
National leaders	8%	8%
State leaders	5	18
City leaders	17	30
All leaders combined	12	23

A similar question regarding the formation of local and state Labor Parties brought only a slightly higher percentage of favorable responses.

As Mills and Schneider point out: ". . . the CIO city leaders are the most interested; almost one-third of them are for a labor party. The CIO as a whole is, of course, more interested than the AFL. However, this difference does not appear at the top level. National leaders of the CIO are just like the national leaders of the AFL on this question."

Another question asked was: "Do you think that eventually (say, within the next ten years) gains for labor will be made by working within one or both of the major parties, or through a new labor party entirely separate from either of them?" The following proportion said they wanted a new labor party eventually:

	AFL	CIO
National leaders	16%	54%
State leaders	14	32
City leaders	27	53
All leaders combined	22	48

Thus there is a substantially greater number of labor leaders interested in a labor party sometime in the future than at present. These "waiters" of course cannot be relied on at all by the fighters for the labor party.

Combining their tables, the investigators draw the following conclusions:

"About three-fourths of the AFL leadership are against a labor party now as well as in the future, whereas less than half (47%) of the CIO leaders fall into this total opposition category. About one-fourth of the CIO go all out for a labor party; they want it now and they want it eventually; the remaining one-fourth are the political waiters; they don't see how you can do it now, but they strain towards it. In the AFL, apart from the three-fourths who are dead against the proposition, about 11% are political waiters, and 11% are all out for the labor party."

The survey also throws light on the present political affiliations of these labor leaders, showing that over two-thirds of them are now openly tied up with Wall Street's parties:

	AFL	CIO
Republican	10%	7%
Democrat	49	65
Other	5	8
"No Party"	24	17
No Answer	4	2

This survey was finished before the two capitalist parties united in enacting the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. But the statements of the labor bureaucrats since then show that they are still opposed to creation of a Labor Party.

Court-Martial Debate Evades Main Issue

The court-martial system aroused so much resentment among millions of servicemen during the recent war that the brass hats felt the need of a whitewash job and a few amendments in order to fool the American people into thinking that the worst features of this system are being eliminated.

The War Department set up an advisory committee last year, and this committee submitted "reform" recommendations which were so insignificant that the War Department accepted most of them. Now the House Armed Services Committee has concluded its deliberations and come out with similar proposals.

Among these are: Right of enlisted men to sit on court-martial juries trying other enlisted men under certain conditions; provisions for officers to be tried by special courts-martial; reduced punishments for murder and rape, and for officers drunk in wartime, etc.

The brass hats object to only one of the House Committee's recommendations—and they object to it so "strenuously," to use their own word, that public attention is being diverted from the more important issues involved in the court-martial system.

At present, a commanding officer selects the members of courts-martial bodies from officers in his command and subordinate to him. Since he has control over their promotions, this virtually insures that they will hand down the verdict he wants—or find themselves in hot water. In effect, therefore, the commanding officer is both judge, jury, prosecutor, defense attorney and court of appeal.

Now the House Committee proposes to have court-martial handled by a separate corps of specialists, whose military future would depend not on the opinions of the commanding officer of a particular unit but on the Judge Advocate General in Washington.

The brass hats, through Chief of Staff Eisenhower and Secretary of War Patterson, have raised a howl to the heavens against this proposal. They don't want a change of even secondary importance in the system of military punishment. And as a result of their protests, some reporters have described it in glowing terms as "a profound revision" and have called the proposed reforms "almost as novel in their way as was the civil grant of trial by jury."

Such statements are profound rubbish. Because, first of all, the Judge Advocate General would himself be a brass hat chosen by the Secretary of War and the top brass hats—and would therefore have no inclination to interfere with the brass hat conception of military justice. And because, secondly and more important, he too would be operating on the basis of the Articles of War which are the main source of injustice in the court-martial system. At most under this reform, the Judge Advocate General would be able to prevent some cases of rank favoritism; but he would not be able to guarantee anyone a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

What is needed is not some piddling reforms but the complete abolition of the present Articles of War and the adoption by Congress of a new military code recognizing the democratic rights of servicemen, including their right to a fair trial.

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.

Hopes Labor Unites For Political Action

I used to believe Norman Thomas was quite a Socialist but of late I'm quite positive he is far from being a leader. He never offers a program that people want and would support.

I sincerely hope all liberal and progressive forces, the Socialists, money reformers, Townsendsites, technocrats, farmers and unions unite for political action in 1948.

Chas. J. Hitchcock
Kansas City, Mo.

Gives Source of Quote Ascribed to Lenin

Some weeks ago one of your readers asked about a quotation supposedly from a work of Lenin, which declared the finest thing a man can devote his life to is the liberation of mankind.

I agree with him that this represents Lenin's philosophy, but the quotation itself is not from any article by Lenin. Instead, it is from a novel called *The Making of a Hero* by Nicholas Ostrovsky.

Reader
New York City

Recalls How Wallace Killed Little Pigs

Memorial day in the Memorial Building—a memorial speech by Henry A. Wallace. When Wallace came to Bismarck, North Dakota, as the guiding light, he sure dazzled these unsuspecting farmers.

Wallace compares with the leaders they use in the meat packing plants where well-trained sheep lead other sheep to the slaughter pens.

After the rotten deals the farmers had, you'd think they'd get wise to such noble prophets as Wallace. I was a farmer too and can't forget how Wallace helped the farmers solve their problems of 20 cents a bushel for wheat by dumping the wheat into the ocean.

You could buy a young hog for the price you have to pay for a pound of pork now. There were hungry starving people that couldn't afford to buy wheat at 20 cents a bushel or a hog for \$1.

The Farmers' Union President Glen Talbot of North Dakota, as well as the Farmers' Union presidents of Montana and Minnesota, are the Judases that will betray the farmers. I wouldn't trust them or Wallace any more than I would a rattlesnake.

Wallace mentioned FDR as a great "humanitarian." That sticks in my mind. I've been reading bound copies of the 1939 Socialist Appeal, (now *The Militant*) and just this one paragraph is a revelation and a prophecy:

"The grandchildren of the pioneers—young people of the present oncoming generation—can't go out and find new opportunities on unoccupied land," says Aubrey Wil-

Thinks Truman Speech At NAACP Was Good

Mr. William Charles in your July 5 issue reports on the 38th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, making several sad mistakes. In the first place, he is mistaken when he says "the star attraction was President Truman, whose presence was supposed to bring together the much advertised biggest meeting in history."

Well, he is giving the largest crowd the NAACP ever had and probably the largest of any colored organization has ever had, including the Baptist Convention, Inc. which boasts of the largest membership among colored church goers.

He said there were too many generalities in Mr. Truman's speech. That to me seems silly because no one expected Mr. Truman to say what Mr. Charles would have said, nor what any of the Lovestonites or Trotskyites or Stalinists would say, nor even what Karl Marx would have said, were he alive.

Truman said, and I believe out of his heart and in all sincerity, the right things, namely, that in the first place the NAACP has done a great job. Secondly, he said "all the people must have equality, all of the people must have a job, all the people must have a trial in a fair court."

He then went on to show that America must set the example by getting its own house in order so that other countries will look to this country as a great example.

I don't see how anyone could quarrel with that.

Mr. Charles said none of the speakers said anything except Mr. DuBois and that he made a mistake by saying, "We must depend upon the UN to bring about peace." I think Mr. DuBois knows, as well as does Mr. Charles, that the UN is about like the League of Nations, that there are too many nations left out, consequently England and the US are against Russia and of course Russia is against them.

However, it is a machinery set up and designed to work toward peace. So that Mr. Charles will not get apoplexy, I happen to be a Negro and was with "Big Bill" Hayward in organizing the IWW, the most radical labor organization this country has ever known.

I worked with Eugene V. Debs, the most sainted person I have ever known, while in the Navy in 1912 to 1918, for all the principles he believed in, and I was opposed to the war then and was wounded in the last war by President Roosevelt's dogs; because I was opposed to fighting Japan and Germany.

Most of the Communists of the 57 varieties supported Mr. Roosevelt; I worked for the liberation of all persons connected with *The Militant* and the *Fourth International* magazine, so I am about as radical as Mr. Charles but more practical.

I don't agree with everything the NAACP does but I know the Communists and all other radicals are more interested in helping themselves than in helping Negroes, and that they want to possess Negroes and I object to that.

L. F. Coles
New York

E. H. Bronx, N. Y.

Announcement
Console Sewing Machine Available for \$80
Write: Yvonne White
8 East 117 St.
New York City
Tel: UN, 4-5841

Marshall And Wallace Deceive People About U. S. Imperialism

By Art Preis

Secretary of State Marshall, chief diplomatic spokesman of the dominant Wall Street interests, recently assailed any assertion or implication "that the United States has imperialistic aims."

On the other hand, Henry Wal-

lace, spokesman for that section of American capitalism which seeks a deal with the Kremlin, denounces the policy embodied in the Truman Doctrine as imperialistic. He concluded his Madison Square Garden attack on this doctrine with: "No imperialist adventures!"

Wallace at the same time purports to see a vital difference between the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, although Marshall himself is co-author and co-sponsor of the Truman Doctrine.

In the July 14 issue of his *New Republic*, Wallace writes that "we endorsed in principle the program later developed by Secretary Marshall because in principle it offered economic aid to all nations willing to cooperate in world reconstruction. In this sense, the Marshall program was a clear break with the Truman doctrine."

Thus, Marshall, the co-author of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine of economic-military intervention against "communism" everywhere in the world, denies its imperialist intent; while Wallace, who calls this doctrine "imperialist," upholds one phase of its application, the Marshall Plan.

BOTH DECEPTIVE
Both are putting forth deceptive propaganda. American foreign policy, no matter how it expresses itself at any given stage of international developments, is inherently imperialistic. This is determined not by the expressed aims of Wall Street's spokesmen, nor their current attitude of "friendliness" or hostility toward the Soviet Union, but by the nature of the American economic and social system.

The great Marxist teachers, like Lenin and Trotsky, analyzed imperialism as a stage in the development of the capitalist system. They revealed imperialism as the capitalism in which finance capital is dominant; where the whole world has been divided up into colonies and spheres of influence by the various great capitalist powers; where these powers are in a continuous struggle for world markets, resources and new outlets for capital investments.

Until 1914, Great Britain was the world because it was the richest and most dominant capitalism. After the first World War, American capitalism surpassed British capitalism in wealth, in financial investments, in control over world markets. World War II brought Wall Street to a position of unchallenged financial dominance over the whole world, outside the Soviet Union and its sphere.

The Marxist analysis of imperialism shows that the United States today is the most imperialistic nation ever known. It has long since become the private preserve of gigantic trusts and monopolies, who own and control most of its productive apparatus and resources. This ownership and control is vested in tiny cliques of billionaire bankers and financiers.

These money barons have spread their financial tentacles into every spot on the globe. Their investments, their interest-bearing loans draw tribute from every continent. Their surplus of goods, which they cannot sell profitably at home, are poured into the world markets from which they have squeezed out or are squeezing out their rivals and competitors.

WALL STREET POLICY
American foreign policy is designed to implement this dominance and entrenchment of American capital throughout the world.

The Truman Doctrine is an overall expression of Wall Street's foreign policy. It combines the economic, political and military phases into one whole. In the case of "aid" to Greece, this has been expressed first of all in the shipment of military supplies to the Greek monarchy, from whom, naturally, Wall Street will exact certain political and economic guarantees.

The Marshall Plan is the application on the economic plane of the Truman Doctrine to Western Europe. It is designed to prop up completely bankrupt capitalism.

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.
NEW YORK—116 University Pl., Tel. GR. 5-8149 for information. Class in Marxism, Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Fridays Open Forums, 8 p.m. Sundays Hikes, Beach Parties.
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.



WALLACE

Europe as a bulwark of U. S. capitalism, while keeping Europe economically subjected to Wall Street.

The people of Latin America have long denounced Wall Street for its cruel exploiter. Wall Street has followed a consistent policy of intervention in their internal affairs to "protect" its vast holdings. Frequently this has taken the form of helping to establish or overthrow governments.

Other countries are under direct American military occupation. These include not only Germany and Japan, defeated imperialist powers, but colonial countries like Korea which fought Japanese imperialism for decades. The Philippines, while nominally independent, are actually an American military base and forced to submit to U. S. economic domination.

SEIZES COLONIES TOO

Wall Street seizes and rules colonies too. A glaring example is Puerto Rico. Those who think U. S. rule of colonies differs from that of British or French imperialism should read the article of Marc T. Green

published in the July 1 Cleveland Plain Dealer.

In a typical British colonial pest-hole like Barbados, writes Green, "there is nothing like the unemployment, misery and filth found in American-owned Puerto Rico, slum of the Americas." The slums of the Puerto Rican cities shock even a traveler who has seen the interiors of China and India.

Secretary of State Marshall tries to conceal U. S. imperialism by simply denying its existence. Wallace tries to whitewash U. S. imperialism. He supports publicly only certain phases, which he arbitrarily labels "non-imperialist."

Wallace was a spokesman during the war for Roosevelt's and Wall Street's program of world economic penetration by U. S. capital. He differs with the Truman-Marshall Doctrine only to the extent that the doctrine openly implies war on the Soviet Union. Wallace thinks this is a dangerous and costly method of asserting U. S. financial domination of the globe. He wants his imperialism "cheap." That is what his middle-class backers want.

Of course, if it should come to war between Wall Street and the Soviet Union, Wallace will go along with his class. He would then justify the war as "democratic" and "non-imperialist." But at the moment, he calls "imperialistic" anything that defeats the ends of an alliance between the Kremlin and the capitalist powers.

We can get a better insight into Wallace's position on U. S. imperialism when we ask: Why does he say nothing about U. S. occupation of Germany and Japan? Why is he silent about U. S. occupation of Korea? What does he have to say about U. S. financial and political domination in Latin America? Why does he not campaign for full independence of Puerto Rico and the Philippines? Why does he say nothing about the continuation of U. S. military bases in 55 other countries?

Wallace is silent on these questions because he is not anti-imperialist. He is as much an imperialist as Truman. But Wallace promises—Wall Street that "I can get it for you wholesale"—that is, at a cheaper price.

Capitalist Tycoon Looks At Labor Bureaucrats

By Joseph Hansen

Most workers have no difficulty sizing up politicians like Taft or Hartley. Their sponsorship of slave labor legislation thoroughly expose what little pretense they make of being friends of labor.

But many workers are taken in by the small group of liberals in Congress. A politician like Senator Wayne Morse will not support such savage measures as the Taft-Hartley Law. Morse, in fact, even went to the length of participating in a dramatic, although short-lived filibuster to delay the vote on the Taft-Hartley Law, thus gaining favorable publicity.

To regard Morse as a friend of labor because of this liberalism, however, is a serious error. Morse's views in the final analysis are not different from those of Taft and Hartley. He too wishes to preserve the rule of the capitalist class. He differs from the more reactionary politicians only on tactics. His policy, he believes, is the best one to keep labor from putting its own government in power in the United States.

Morse's real views are indicated by his approval of an article by Cyrus Eaton, "A Capitalist Looks at Labor." Eaton is a Cleveland industrialist and banker with big holdings in the iron-ore, steel, coal and railroad industries. He is a director of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway and the Sherwin-Williams Co., and a trustee of the University of Chicago.

LAUDED ARTICLE
Morse placed Eaton's article in the *Congressional Record* of July 9, lauding the author as "one of the great industrialists of America," and praising his article as "scholarly and interesting."

Eaton declares that "The one real threat to the capitalistic system in America today is the cleavage between capital and labor."

He means by this that his "fellow capitalists" and the government have been following a policy that can estrange the trade union bureaucracy. For example, in the coal

controversy last winter, "While publicly pretending a dispassionate aloofness, the mine owners, under cover, were working feverishly, night and day, to keep a torrent of abuse turned on the miners and their leaders, through every channel of publicity, and to urge all three branches of government—executive, legislative and judicial—to crack down on labor. This led to believe that the miners were out to destroy our economy, public opinion worked itself up into a dangerous state of hysteria."

Eaton then describes what this "hysteria" could have led to: "The Nation was driven from one fit of madness to another by ranting oratory on the radio and by blazing headlines, inflammatory editorials, and brutal cartoons in the press, until civil war would have been inevitable, had it not been for the wisdom and the restraint of the miners' leader."

NEEDS LABOR SUPPORT
Eaton underlines the role a labor bureaucrat like Lewis plays in maintaining capitalism even when he is made the target of abuse and assault: "Throughout the entire time, John L. Lewis never uttered a syllable of complaint and never issued a statement criticizing anybody."

This example points up the fact that "capitalism cannot survive without the support of labor."

The industrial tycoon then calls attention to the danger of pushing the labor bureaucrats too far. It

is thus clear that a politician like Morse, who consciously follows the general line advocated by Cyrus Eaton, cannot be classified as a friend of labor by any stretch of the imagination. Actually he is the most dangerous kind of enemy.

NEW YORK PICNIC
Sunday, July 27, all day
Tibbets Brook Park
Food, Sports, Swimming
(IRT—241st White Plains Train to 238th St. Bus to Park)
Sponsors: New York Local of SWP

NEW YORK
Joint Social at Cool Chelsea Terrace
130 West 23rd Street
Featuring
"TRIAL BY FURY"
A satire on the Minneapolis Labor Trial
Dancing Refreshments
Saturday, July 26, 8:30 p. m.
Sponsors: Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant & Downtown Brooklyn Branches

THE MILITANT ARMY

Buffalo Sub Chart Shows Steady Rise

The Buffalo comrades have been sending in 11 or 12 subs a week "from the various shops they are working in," but an analysis of their subs by month, reported by Charles Carlson in the June 30 issue of the *Literature Committee Bulletin*, is even more impressive. A chart showing sub sales since the beginning of the year indicates a steady upward trend.

In January, 1947 the comrades sold 16 subs. In February they sold 24, in March the number increased to 31, in April it jumped to 51, in May the number increased to 54, and in June the total subs went up to 58. "As you can see by the diagram,"

Comrade Carlson states, "there has been an increase in sub-getting each month since the first of the year. June, thus far, is tops and there are more June subs still to come in... Intense rivalry (friendly, of course) has flared up among three UAW comrades who have sold 30, 32, and 37 subscriptions in three months. Comrade Tony is doing the best sub work in steel with 16 subs.

"Competition is becoming keener and it wouldn't be any surprise to see the 'kingpins' toppled and surpassed. The comrades are doing a wonderful job. Keep the subs rolling in and show the comrades that sub-getting in the shop isn't tough at all."

According to Libby Jones, Buffalo's Literature Committee has just initiated the *Bulletin* which they "intend to put out about once a month. Only the members of the Literature Committee have contributed to it so far, but we hope to create an interest in other comrades to contribute. Rosemary and I are joint editors for the present, but we hope to encourage



another member of the Committee to take over the editorship in the near future."

We have asked Comrade Jones to send us extra copies of this well-executed Literature Committee Bulletin. As soon as we get them, we'll send a copy to the literature agent of every branch.

East Side Branch of Los Angeles Local set the pace this week in the local sub-getting campaign. Phil Baker mailed in 15 subs, stating that "these were obtained by the East Side Branch on one sub-getting expedition."

In addition to the subs mentioned above, "East Side got 16 subs in a housing project and sold 10 'Coming American Revolution' pamphlets. We have recently recruited some new members to the Socialist Workers Party from the housing project in addition to having a member who has been living there for awhile. This made the sub selling much easier."

Al Lynn, Los Angeles Local literature agent, gives us a comprehensive picture of the campaign: "Southside Branch sent out a group of six persons last Sunday and sold 30 subs. West Side Branch sent out 5 people a week later and got four subs. East Side Branch mobilized and got 13 subs. I don't have a section-wise score yet, but I do know that last week we sent in around 40 subscriptions and this week about 30."

The Boston comrades sent in 9 subs to *The Militant*, but no report accompanied them. A couple of paragraphs about the comrades who went out after the subs, their experiences, would have been interesting.

"One of our comrades, George," writes Irene Joyce of Seattle, "has been doing excellent work. He sells the paper from door to door each week, selling it to the same people, thereby establishing a route. He sells about 20 copies of *The Militant* each week. At the end of 5 or 6 weeks, he plans to ask for a sub, pointing out that it will save them money to get the paper for 6 months for 50c instead of 5c a week. He is trying this method because the biggest argument we get on sub work these days is 'I haven't got 50c.'"

The following report is from Winifred Nelson, Militant Agent for the St. Paul Branch: "We had a very good literature expedition yesterday, and got three new *Militant* subs out of our work as well! The campaign was for selling literature—we weren't even trying to sell *Militant* subs. The *Militant* simply sold itself by people seeing it and being interested. Seven comrades went out for just about an hour—we sold 74 pamphlets, three single copies of *The Militant*, and three new subs to *The Militant*. Next month we are going to do some further work on new *Militant* subscriptions."

H. C., a Militant booster in Cincinnati, Ohio, sent in 6 subscriptions. He comments briefly about one of the subscribers: "I called this person by telephone since he lives about 20 miles from me. He renewed his *Militant* sub."

S. T. of Madison, Wis., another live-wire Militant booster, sent in a renewal-sub for a subscriber. He also sent in a \$4.50 contribution to *The Militant* Fund.

Will all literature agents please send us the following information:

- 1. The date your bundle of this issue reaches you.
- 2. The date this issue reaches the subscribers in your area.

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**—30 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 12 to 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. 5-8149.
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866.
Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
• **BRONX**: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
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 P 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 Pawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4. O. Open daily. Phone MAIn 8919.
YOUNGSTOWN—35 1/2 South Ave., Youngstown 3. O. Open 12-5 p.m. Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

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
(check one)
List all who will attend:
Name
List of Children and Age
Name of Applicant
Address
City & Zone State.....

What the Joke Is

By John G. Wright

It's a rare joke indeed that doesn't lose its flavor in translation. The flying saucers' joke is apparently just such a rarity. It not only spreads rapidly from coast to coast, but after passing to Canada, it leaped across the ocean to many European countries, bidding fair to circle the whole globe, adding to the gaiety of nations in transit.

A mere mention of flying saucers provides boundless merriment. Amateur and professional wits are everywhere stimulated to add some clever variations. Shrewd publicity promoters along with the garden variety of publicity seekers, from Catholic priests to local exhibitionists, have found a new rich vein to tap.

The newspapers, from the most staid and conservative to the most lurid sensation mongers, open their columns indiscriminately to this liveliest topic of the day. Photographs of women wearing saucers for hats vie with solemn commentaries by psychologists, sociologists, scientists, columnists, editorial writers, military specialists and others too numerous to mention.

Far from detracting from the joke, all this only adds spice, variety and universal popularity. Flying saucers get funnier and funnier all the time. Very few seem to know why and fewer seem to care. Mankind loves laughter far too much to bother about the ways and wherefores. Besides, nine times out of nine to probe into a joke is to kill it.

One of the reasons for this is that many, many jokes center round subjects which are by themselves sources not of fun but rather of grief, if not something more serious.

The ancients, including the highly cultured Greeks, used to find the antics of insane people very amusing. Very few of us still laugh at insanity. But many of the other afflictions, ailments, terrors and sorrows of mankind unflinchingly tickle us as much as they did our ancestors.

What's so funny about a mother-in-law? Or about a cemetery? Or about sick-beds, marital infidelities, and other sources of conjugal friction? Yet these and other similar topics have provoked, as they still do, countless jokes and quips and gales of laughter through the ages.

But so far as I know, sudden death, especially death raining from the skies, has never yet served as a source of laughter for any people, ancient or modern. Unquestionably old as jokes and laughter are, ours is the distinction of having added this grisly topic, too, to the lexicon of wit and humor, under the general heading of "saucers."

To be more accurate, the credit for this achievement belongs not so much to you or me, as to the gentlemen who now determine the destinies of mankind, and who are busy stock-piling all sorts of saucers of death, atomic, biological, gaseous and so on. They are probably laughing the loudest, like all people do who think they are enjoying themselves at somebody else's expense.

When these jokesmiths are finally told off for good; when the indignant and desperate peoples of the world show them just how unfunny they really are, then all of us will have something monumental to laugh at, for a change.

The Negro Struggle

Politics and the NAACP

By Albert Parker

William Charles, who attended the NAACP convention in Washington last month, told us this: "Many of the delegates were plainly in favor of the Negro people helping the unions to build a Labor Party. But at the same time most of these delegates were confused and did not know how to answer the arguments that the NAACP is non-partisan and cannot meddle in politics, and so on."

But how can anybody, or any organization, be really "non-partisan" in the fight between the masses on the one side and their plutocratic enemies on the other? Take the case of the NAACP. Here is an organization dedicated to the struggle to protect and extend the civil rights of the Negro people and other minorities. But in order to win this fight, it is necessary to get rid of the Republican and Democratic Parties and politicians who are responsible for maintaining Jim Crow. Isn't it something like shadow-boxing to fight against the laws passed by these parties and yet at the same time to be "non-partisan" and refuse to fight these parties themselves? Where is the rhyme or reason in refusing to fight the enemy in the place where he is most vulnerable?

Of course the NAACP adopted a resolution on "political action." But it was a pretty sorry substitute for what is actually needed. It consists of printing the records of the various candidates and telling each voter to decide for himself. But 99 times out of 100, the Democratic and Republican

candidates are equally unacceptable. What then? Real political action means helping to give the voter a real alternative—that is, providing a candidate and a program and a party which will represent his interests. Today that means helping to form an independent Labor Party.

But—it is objected—if the NAACP does that, it will lose influence and members. True, the NAACP by helping to build a Labor Party would lose some "influence" with the capitalist parties—who don't do anything to help the Negro struggle anyhow. True, it might lose the use of some of the big shot Republican and Democratic names that now adorn its letterheads. But in return it could become 500% more effective in its work and win the enthusiastic support of millions of Negro toilers who would see that the NAACP really meant business when it talked about fighting Jim Crow wherever it existed.

We recall the time, not too long ago, when self-styled Negro leaders used to say the Negro organizations had to be "non-partisan" in the fight between the corporations and the unions or they would lose the donations of a few capitalist philanthropists. Well, experience has proved that Negroes could not be neutral in that fight and that they benefited greatly by joining labor's side.

In the same way, the Negro people and their organizations must decide which side they are on in the great political battle now impending between labor and capital. We have no doubt that again the Negro people will be found on the right side. The sooner they enter into that fight, the sooner the struggle for Negro equality will be won.

Insurance for the Doctor

By Grace Carlson

For years, the American Medical Association opposed every kind of health insurance plan. Lately, organized medicine has begun to give public support to certain so-called voluntary health insurance programs. In some states, medical societies have even sponsored prepayment health insurance plans. Although these voluntary health insurance plans have been proposed primarily in order to prevent more adequate public health programs from being put through, the organized doctors have also come to realize that health insurance is insurance for the doctor.

Chief emphasis of all health insurance plans has been placed upon paying the doctors' fees and the hospital bills. And the chief beneficiaries of these insurance plans have been the doctors and the hospital administrators—and the insurance companies!

It is true that the average worker feels that he has benefited tremendously when his health insurance pays off even a part of his colossal medical bills. For when serious illness strikes a worker's home, economic catastrophe results and any kind of financial help is welcomed. That is why so many trade unions have insisted on health and security provisions in their contracts. During the war years, when wages were frozen, it was sometimes possible for trade unions to obtain management-financed health insurance plans. Usually carried by commercial insurance companies, these health insurance plans vary greatly in the protection which they offer. Some provide for sick benefits, some for hospitalization, some for partial payment of doctor bills and others for a combination of these.

But as Dr. Richman, Director of the St. Louis Labor Health Institute, points out, none of these insurance plans provides for a complete program of health care for the workers. All such plans have strict limitations—age limits, no provision for cases of chronic illness, time limits on hospital care, etc. Dr. Richman's words on the inadequacies of the Blue Cross medical care program deserve special attention because millions of trade unionists and their families have been enrolled in the Blue Cross.

At the present time, more than 18 million people throughout the nation are Blue Cross members—far more than the hospitals can possibly accommodate. This fast-growing movement, which bills itself as a non-profit organization, has reached the point where it now holds a virtual monopoly over hospital services and facilities. There is little consumer control or labor representation. There are the usual limitations in fine print. Labor unions find out to their sorrow that their members are only half-way protected. When someone becomes ill, he discovers that Blue Cross does not guarantee a bed—it guarantees only to pay for a bed—if the patient is lucky enough to find one.

During 1945 it has been estimated that more than 90 million dollars was paid into Blue Cross either by the members themselves or by Management to cover the members. This membership and this money represents a tremendous responsibility and power which should be held accountable to the consumers.

What proportion of the costs are being returned as benefits? And what about the amount being retained in reserve funds? Is the amount reasonable or should part of the reserve be used for increasing the benefits? . . . The Blue Cross, like so many plans is insurance, and frequently worthless insurance at that, rather than a plan for service."

(Fourth in a series on Health for the Workers.)

Notes from the News

Grand Dragon Samuel Green of the Ku Klux Klan says that "the Klan Doctrine has become the Truman Doctrine," according to Stetson Kennedy, author of *Southern Exposure*.

The New York County Executive Committee of the American Labor Party was placed in the embarrassing position last week of having to publicly rebuke its own vice-chairman, License Commissioner Benjamin Fielding, for proposing the 8-cent fare along with other members of an O'Dwyer appointed committee.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has voted to postpone action "indefinitely" on a resolution calling for a Senate investigation of Attorney General Clark's conduct in the Kansas City vote fraud scandal. All Democrats on the Committee voted to kill the investigation.

The CIO has come out against the peacetime conscription plan presented by Truman's committee. "It will increase our taxes, use up large quantities of irreplaceable raw materials like iron ore, oil

and lumber, and lead ultimately to war to solve the economic problems it caused," a CIO spokesman told the House Armed Services Committee.

Because the House Judiciary Committee has refused to hold hearings on the anti-lynching bill, a discharge petition is being circulated to get 218 signatures to bring the measure to the floor for a vote. The Senate bill has also been bottled up in a sub-committee. Chances for action on the National Act Against Discrimination in Employment (FEPC) are also considered slim during this session.

Despite testimony that he was a member of the anti-labor Black Legion, Rep. Robert F. Jones (R., Ohio) has been confirmed as a member of the Federal Communications Commission by the Senate.

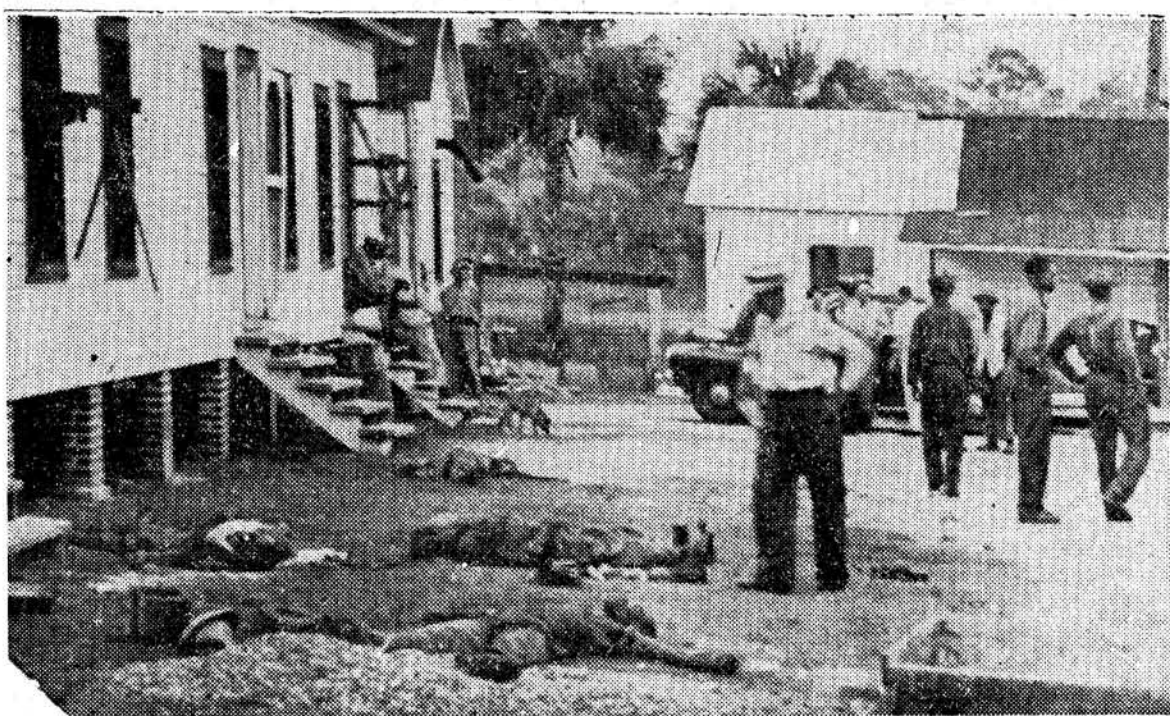
Out of 15 million women workers in this country, three million belong to unions.

The terminal leave bill passed by the House and now before the Senate not only permits cashing of terminal pay bonds on Sept. 1 but also extends application for such bonds to August, 1948.

THE MILITANT

EIGHT NEGROES MURDERED IN GEORGIA PRISON-CAMP

Killed in Cold Blood



The bodies of four of eight Negroes killed at this Brunswick, Ga., prison camp are sprawled on the ground. The warden it is reported, shouted: "Let 'em have it," and the guards shot to kill. An investigation is under way; already it has been revealed that the warden was drunk.

Fodcrated Picture

Eight Negro inmates of a Georgia state prison-camp were blasted to death with shotguns and rifles on July 11 in a cold-blooded massacre by race-hating white prison guards led by a drink-inflamed warden. Five other prisoners in the all-Negro hell-camp were seriously wounded.

The prisoners were murdered inside the Angulla stockade, near Brunswick, where 27 of them had been herded for objecting to work in snake-infested swamp waters under the boiling Georgia sun.

Testimony of Glynn County officials, including Police Chief Russell B. Henderson who witnessed the slaughter but did not participate in it, has established that the killings were unprovoked.

Newspaper stories of the "deliberate massacre," as it was called by the Georgia director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spread the lie that the prisoners inside the 12-foot barbed-wired walls were "shot while attempting to escape."

Henderson, who had been called with county police to the stockade by Warden H. G. Worthy, stated there was little likelihood that the men were trying to escape. "I saw one body over the fence," he was quoted as saying, "but it's likely he was trying to get out of the range of Worthy's fire."

Even more emphatic in his denunciation of the massacre was Glynn County Commissioner Sam A. Levine, who charged prison guards threw the body of one dead Negro on top of the barbed-wire fence to create "evidence" for their "shot-while-attempting-to-escape" story.

Levine stated: "This was deliberate and outright murder. Not one of those prisoners attempted to escape. One was killed when he crawled under the bunk house when he attempted to get out of the way of a fusillade of bullets. Three more died directly in front of the bunk house."

The brutal details of the mass lynching were described at the county inquest by surviving prisoners. William H. Bell, one of the five wounded, testified that Warden Worthy was enraged and drunk when the prisoners were lined up inside the stockade after they complained about working in the swamp waters.

Bell, whom guards call the "leader" of the prisoners, said that Worthy called out to him: "Come out, Pee Wee, I want to kill you." When Bell didn't move, Worthy shot him in the leg, at the same time shouting, "Let 'em have it!"

Fear-stricken by the hail of bullets and shot-gun pellets, the 27 men broke and ran for whatever cover they could find. Thirteen sprawled in their blood on the ground. Five

That's What We Like About the South

Harvey Jones, 23 year old farmer and war veteran of Alhokite, North Carolina, bought a \$1 lottery ticket for a \$3,200 Cadillac offered by the local Kiwanis Club at a festival "to help the underprivileged." Jones won the lottery but he didn't get the Cadillac because he was a Negro. Instead he was given back his dollar.

At 1:30 in the morning Jones was awakened by Sheriff Charles Parker, who told him his name had been drawn as winner of the Cadillac, but there had been some mistake. According to the sheriff, Jones was not eligible to attend the Kiwanis festival dance so he should not have been sold the ticket in the first place.

The ticket stated: "You do not have to be present to win." Another drawing was then held, and the big Cadillac sedan was given to a retired white doctor.

Now, after a nation-wide storm of protest, the Kiwanis Club has promised to give Jones another Cadillac.

RAILROAD FARE RAISES HIT BY SWP CANDIDATE WILLIAMS

NEW YORK, July 18—Robert Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Senator in the 23rd Senatorial District, denounced the fare increase recently granted railroad companies operating in intra-state traffic. "This is another outright gift to the railroad magnates at the expense of the working people in the state of New York, who are already groaning under the burden of taxes, inflationary prices and high rents," Williams declared.

"One of the objects of this fare increase on suburban trains is to set the stage for an increase in fares on New York subway and surface lines."

"Suburban train fares were raised in a completely arbitrary and dictatorial manner," Williams continued. "The tens of thousands of commuters had no say whatever in this decision, although they must suffer a cut in their income as a result."

"There is no reason, however, for New York workers to be thankful for the right they may be granted to vote on the subway fares. Taxing power rests completely in the hands of the state government and the city cannot raise its own funds except by permission of the state government. This system permits the two capitalist parties to avoid responsibility for their actions."

"The local Democrats pretend that they are in favor of maintaining a five-cent fare on the subways but see no way out of increasing the fare because the Republicans in the state government refuse to make the grants necessary to cover operating deficits and bankers' charges."

"The Republicans in Albany stay clear of the five-cent fare issue but very slyly grant the Democrats in the city government the right to levy additional sales taxes. In this way the capitalist politicians can make the working people pay for running the city government while preserving their own political reputations."

"The workers must demand that the city of New York be granted the right to tax the rich to the

Seattle Tenants Organize Action Against Bill to Sell Project Homes

SEATTLE, July 12—Threatened with eviction if the Cain-Russell Housing Disposal Bill passes the Senate, angry residents of public housing projects in this city have been engaged in a series of militant protest actions against this vicious bill.

Companion measure to the Wollcott Bill already passed by the House, the present bill, quietly introduced into the Senate by Senators Cain of Washington and Russell of Georgia, calls for the quick cash sale of projects. Present veteran tenants would have first priority, with second priority going to vets not living in projects, and third priority to non-vets in projects.

Few vets or non-vet workers, however, can afford to buy or desire to buy these hastily constructed homes at their present inflated prices. Furthermore, many projects are composed of buildings containing over four units, and these are not available for sale to individual vets or non-vets—only to real estate interests. As a result, real estate and banking firms would take over the majority of projects.

Mass protest meetings were held in each of this area's many projects as soon as news of the bill became known. Feeling against Cain—who was also an active supporter of the Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Law—ran very high, and his resignation has been demanded by a score of project clubs and trade unions.

On July 3, residents representing every local project and organized into the United Projects Council, formed an impressive picket line in front of the Chamber of Commerce Building where Cain was holding a Senate sub-committee hearing on steel. The pickets—men, women and children; white and Negro—bore colorful placards reading: "Cain anti-housing bill equals a foxhole for every vet"; "America Needs More Homes, Not Less"; and "Out in the Rain with Cain."

As the Senator left the building, smiling affably, he was photographed with the pickets. This representative of Big Business then delivered a three-minute oration on "our marvelous American democracy" in his best Fourth-of-July manner, and invited the pickets and their friends, "who are all my good friends," to a special open hearing he was scheduling on housing later that afternoon.

At the hearing, the picket representatives of the United Projects Council, plus delegates from veterans and minority groups and government housing officials, proceeded to "raise Cain with Cain."

There were laughs and catcalls when he spoke of the bill as a great "incentive" for workers and veterans to save money and buy good homes at reasonable cost. Whereupon the smooth Mr. Cain lost his polite Senatorial temper and barked

ACEWR Urges Aid Be Rushed To European Anti-Fascists

NEW YORK, July 17—A recent communication to the American Committee for European Workers Relief from a grateful recipient of a food package in Austria tells a story that it is almost impossible for well-fed people to comprehend. This valiant anti-fascist has taken the food he received and portioned it out into lots of 250 calories per day—in order to make it last as long as possible!

250 calories is less than is contained in a bread and butter sandwich. Less than is contained in one 5c candy bar.

The Austrian letter was very short. "I write from my bed. My words of thank-you can only hint my feelings. I am too weak to write more."

The ACEWR has been sending cabled packages of food to the British Zone in Germany where the official rations—never realized—were recently cut to 650 calories a day. Our funds are exhausted as a result of this emergency.

The ACEWR feels that it must answer the appeal of the Austrian anti-fascists, just as it did in the case of the British Zone in Ger-

SWP Candidate For City Council In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, July 17—Irene LeCompte will be a candidate for the City Council from the 7th District, on the program of the Socialist Workers Party. Her candidacy marks the first time that a Trotskyist candidate for public office has appeared in the State of Pennsylvania. The support and assistance of all Socialist Workers Party sympathizers in Philadelphia is being mobilized to gather signatures for the Nomination Paper which will assure her appearance on the ballot in November.

Irene LeCompte, a life-long resident of Philadelphia, comes from a working class family of "Brewery town" and has been an active participant in the class struggles of Philadelphia's labor movement since her high school days. When the 18 defendants in the famous Minneapolis Labor Trial were imprisoned during the war, Miss LeCompte was active in their defense as local secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The district in which she will run is the large working class and Negro area within the approximate boundaries of Vine St., Broad St., Lehigh Ave. and the Schuylkill River. Though the Socialist Workers Party urged the unions to organize independent political action in this election, no other independent labor or Negro candidate is running for the Council in this District.

The immediate aim of the Socialist Workers Party campaign is to secure 1,200 Nomination signatures by August 20. Philadelphia readers of *The Militant* who are interested in aiding this campaign should get in touch with the Socialist Workers Party at 1303 Girard Ave.

First Day Nets 1,800 Signatures in Drive

NEW YORK, July 13—The campaign to put Robert Williams on the ballot as the SWP candidate for State Senator in the 23rd Senatorial District got off to a magnificent start today.

About 1,800 signatures were collected by 70 members and friends of the SWP on the first mobilization. This represents 40% of the goal set by the campaign committee, which hopes to obtain 4,500 signatures, or 1,500 more than the required minimum.

Nominating petitions can be secured at either the Harlem headquarters of the SWP, 103 W. 110 St., or at New York Local headquarters, 116 University Place.

