

Truman's Economic Report And The Coming Crisis

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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TRUMAN URGES WAR-TIME AIR FORCE

ABC of Politics in 1948 For the Labor Movement

— An Editorial —

The Republican and Democratic Parties alike "continue to shadow-box with inflation while doing nothing to alleviate the cruel hardships which it imposes on the American people." Thus spoke Walter Reuther at a Detroit press conference on Jan. 16, shortly after the CIO United Auto Workers international executive board voted to demand a 30 cents an hour wage increase of the automobile manufacturers.

Reuther's statement certainly fits the facts. Despite their efforts to foist the blame on each other, the Republicans and Democrats share joint responsibility for the inflation that is steadily driving down the workers' living standards and making the capitalists richer than ever before.

Even now, when they are jockeying to win the 1948 elections, the spokesmen of both parties stand united in raising the military budget appropriations which will send the inflationary spiral still higher.

Reuther's statement was intended to justify the UAW demand for wage raises. It does that—and much more. Since inflation has a political as well as an economic basis, the bi-partisan responsibility for high prices also justifies a new political course for the labor movement—not only justifies it, but makes it absolutely necessary.

The problem is simple. (a) Inflation is No. 1 economic problem facing the American workers. (b) Both the Democrats and Republicans are to blame. (c) It therefore follows that the labor movement, in order to protect its living standards, must break with both these parties.

But Reuther, having said a and b, refuses to say c. At that point he stops short, just where the real question arises of what labor should do about its political enemies who take back on the political field what labor wins on the picket lines. Why?

Not because he doesn't believe in the need for political action. As a matter of fact, he is a member of the national CIO Political Action Committee, he heads the PAC department in his own union, and he is the author of the slogan, "the best guarantee to have good food in the ice-box is to see that there are good votes in the ballot box on election day."

The truth is that while Reuther will criticize the Democratic Party on this or that point, especially under the pressure of the UAW members who want wage raises, he is absolutely opposed to breaking with Truman.

All the major labor bureaucrats—Murray, Green,

Reuther, Whitney & Co. are committed to strike-breaker Truman. But they are compelled to move slowly in selling their company-union policy to the workers because they have been embarrassed by the Wallace candidacy.

The ease with which the still-small Wallace movement will get on the ballot exposes their hypocritical argument that labor is too weak to form its own party. The admission by Wallace that the Democratic Party is not a "lesser evil" discredits their propaganda about "reforming" that boss-dominated organization. The strength shown by Wallace in the first polls in New York and Massachusetts constitutes a warning that masses of people are fed up with both old-line parties.

The labor bureaucrats know they have to take these facts into account. They know it will not be easy to sell the workers Truman. But whatever tactics they finally decide on, two things are sure: They propose to use the workers' dollars in an effort to re-elect Truman; and they don't propose to consult the rank and file unionists.

The policy of the bureaucrats will therefore be a direct continuation of their past policy—which has brought the workers such benefits as the highest prices and highest taxes in history; the Taft-Hartley Act and its many vicious counterparts in the states, like the Bonine-Tripp Act in Michigan, the center of the powerful UAW; witch hunts; housing shortages; attacks on civil liberties; the militarization of the country; and the threat of another devastating war which this time will not spare American homes and factories.

To intervene; to prevent the labor bureaucrats from carrying through their ruinous policy; to enable the rank and file unionists to work out a new program in opposition to Wall Street's program—these are the tasks of 1948. The thing now is to demand a United Labor Conference of all CIO, AFL, railroad and independent national and local unions, where representatives of the workers can meet and decide what they want to do.

Once the issues are clearly put and the problems clearly faced; once the ranks get a chance to have their say, there is no question but that labor will decide to break with the Democrats and by-pass Wallace and his "Gideon's band"—and launch labor's own political party resting on the broad foundations of the trade union movement and responsible to it.

Flint Local Upholds Cost-of-Living Bonus

By Emmett Moore
FLINT, Jan. 14 — At the largest meeting of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO since the 1946 strike, the membership by a 10 to 1 majority voted to support the wage program of the Flint presidents and commended them for their leadership in the wage drive.

Prior to the meeting, the local Reuther group campaigned to block action on the sliding scale of wages clause. They deleted all references to the wage program in the local union paper. This was followed by an attempt to gag the local president from issuing any press statements on the wage issue. Finally they issued a leaflet in an attempt to muddy up the wage program by throwing in the popular issue of a pension plan as a substitute for the sliding scale of wages.

Despite this campaign, the overflow meeting voted to uphold the position of Jack Palmer, local president, on every controversial issue. Smarting under this defeat, the Reutherites rushed to the boss press to smear the wage program with red-baiting. Coburn Walker, financial secretary, and the Reuther whip at the Chevrolet local, stated "The resolution for a Labor Party was spearheaded by Jack Palmer and a small group of Communists and Trotskyists." The release also bitterly attacked the other four GM union presidents and their wage policy as opposed to the program of Walter P. Reuther.

The reaction was swift to this smear attack. All this week groups of workers have come to the union hall to personally tongue-lash Walker's stooging for GM. Letters to the editor of the Flint Journal denounced Walker.

Jack Palmer, president of the local, answered the financial secretary stating "The wage proposal will be decided at the national GM conference this weekend in Detroit and not by Coburn Walker. We regret to learn Walker sees fit to make a factional issue out of a bread and butter question for the auto worker. "In my opinion red-baiting of the wage issue does immediate service to GM and to them alone."

Palmer's statement was followed by one from the four GM union presidents challenging Walker to debate the wage question. The local presidents reiterated their intention to present the sliding scale of wages clause at the coming GM national conference.

The resolution passed by the Chevrolet local meeting on wage policy instructs the local president to go on the radio to explain the sliding scale of wages clause. It further requests the educational committee of the local to issue three handbills to explain the statement of policy of the five presidents.

Furthermore, Chevrolet Local 659, which led the fight for a Labor Party, again calls on the top officers to initiate a national conference of the political action committees of the CIO, AFL and the Miners Union to organize a national Labor Party.

Militant Sub Week Jan. 25 to Feb. 1

Jan. 25 to Feb. 1 is MILITANT SUB WEEK. We ask all our readers to make a special effort this week to obtain subscriptions from friends, neighbors and shop workers.

The Militant is the only paper that gives the answers to the pressing problems of today — high prices, low wages, insecurity and war.

Most readers are grateful to the person who first introduced them to The Militant. Do your friends a favor by getting them to subscribe.

Food Trusts, Ignored by Probe, Are Biggest Speculators

By Arthur Burch

The sensational charges made by Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota, that "administration insiders" were speculating in the grain market were sufficiently shocking to divert public attention from the really big market manipulators. So relentlessly did Stassen follow up his demands, that Congress had no choice but to force Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary of Agriculture, to publish a list of grain speculators. Anderson utilized every device to bury the names of the administration insiders in a mass of irrelevant data. Even then the officials involved tried to cover up their traces and went so far as to deny knowledge of their speculation.

However, the hearings before the Senate Appropriations Committee have confirmed Stassen's charges. It was brought out that Edwin Pauley, assistant to the Secretary for the Army, had "earned" for himself a cool million in a short period of time. Brig. Gen. Wallace S. Gra-

ham, President Truman's personal physician, had more than doubled his money in a few well-chosen transactions. Ralph K. Davies, wartime Petroleum Coordinator, built up a neat little nest egg for a rainy day. John Kerr Rose, expert consultant on world grain to the Herter House Committee on Foreign Aid, also dabbled in the market. And many others with inside knowledge appeared on Anderson's lists, not to mention those who cagily covered up their market speculations under "dummy" names.

SOURCES NOT REVEALED

Arthur Krock of the N.Y. Times stated that Stassen "was taking a chance" in making his accusations against the administration. But Stassen not only knew the names of the persons involved, some of whom have not as yet been listed, but seemed familiar with every single transaction. He was pretty cocky as to the reliability of the sources of his information but refused to reveal them other than to state that the facts were unearthed by his personal research staff and through

tips received from unnamed government employees. Unlike the treatment accorded the Hollywood writers, there was no mention of holding Stassen in contempt for his failure to divulge the exact sources of his information.

If Congress is really interested in getting the facts, Stassen, when he reappears before the investigating committee on Jan. 23, should be made to reveal his own connections with the big commodity speculators. Stassen, as Governor of Minnesota, was known as a political agent of these same interests.

We are not speaking of the "peanut" speculators like Pauley and Graham, but the giant grain gamblers and hoarders like General Foods, General Mills, Corn Products Refining Corporation, Pillsbury Flour, Quaker Oats and their multimillionaire officers and directors who are closely tied to the House of Morgan and other leading banks.

General Mills alone buys up 15% of the American wheat crop for its more than 200 mill plants throughout the country. These market riggers normally welcome "peanut"

speculators into the market to help boost the price. The small fry, with no inside knowledge fall victim to the false rumors which the giant monopolies spread in order to better manipulate market prices.

"OUTSIDERS" GOT IN

What disturbed these big-time operators was not the presence of additional speculators, but that a group of "outsiders" like Pauley, Graham and Davies also had access to reliable information and were therefore uninfluenced by false rumors. When the big traders were buying, so were the newcomers — thus making it more expensive for the monopolists to buy their grain. And since the holdings of the peanut speculators were small, they could unload more quickly than the grain manipulators.

Senator Taft correctly accused the administration insiders of "speculating on a certainty." Until now this privilege was monopolized by the monopolists. It is suspected that Stassen was supplied his information by these corporations, who have close connections with the brokerage firms, and who keep track of every

single bushel of grain traded.

The net results of the investigation has been to scare off the government insiders and leave the field free to the food monopolists. Prices however, will remain high and even continue to rise. Neither Stassen's solution of preventing government employees from speculating, nor Truman's phony proposals of meatless Tuesdays, wartime control of grain distillers, voluntary marketing of cattle at specified weights, or government encouragement of foreign production will perceptibly aid the harassed consumer.

REAL SOLUTION

Only government confiscation of the food processing industries and their operation under workers' control will reduce the food bill for the American people. Then the government can pay the farmer a fair price for his produce and sell to the retailers at prices that are not padded by the shady dealings of the food monopolists. This is the only way to stop all hoarding and speculation both by the government insiders and the real market manipulators for whom Stassen is stooging.



The Freedom Train didn't free New Orleans of Jim Crow. One cop ordered these three teachers, Maurice Provost, Bruce Neals and C. L. Speaker "to move along." When they refused he arrested them. 757 kids from their school who had waited in line for four hours never got on the "Freedom Train." Federated Pictures

Reuther Weakens Wage Demands at GM Parley

Walter Reuther's International Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers on Jan. 16 announced Point One of the UAW's "Economic Objectives for 1948" will be a general wage increase of 25 cents an hour, plus 5 cents for health and welfare benefits.

This wage demand was adopted in response to heavy pressure from a rank-and-file movement initiated by five General Motors locals in Flint. They called for a 25-cent hourly basic wage increase, with the addition of a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus.

Two days after the UAW Board issued its wage statement, President Reuther went into the Detroit conference of more than 200 GM dele-

gates and rammed through a proposition to whittle the 25-cent wage demand down to 15 cents if GM grants an "acceptable" retirement pension plan.

Reuther himself had previously voiced opposition to a similar pension scheme proposed in the last Ford contract, and his supporters had actively campaigned against it.

According to reports, a strong minority at the conference fought the Reutherite pension proposition. One third of the delegates voted against it.

At a conference of the union's Cleveland region after the UAW Board meeting, Board member and regional director Richard Reisinger informed the delegates that the 30-cent demand was not a bargaining figure and that no local would be

permitted to undercut the national demands without international approval.

In the light of this announced position of the International Board, many of the auto militants are especially critical of Reuther's stand at the GM conference. They believe Reuther's pension proposition weakens the fight for the 30-cent wage increase and virtually invites General Motors and the other corporations to whittle down the UAW wage demands.

Local leaders in Michigan are also critical of Reuther's ignoring their demand that a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus clause be inserted in all new contracts. This program, in their opinion, offers the only real protection against constantly rising prices. It was first proposed by the presidents of the five GM locals in Flint and has since been endorsed by locals representing over a quarter of a million auto workers. Just a week before the GM conference, the Chicago conference attended by 200 delegates from Illinois-Wisconsin Region 4 similarly endorsed the cost-of-living bonus program.

NO REFERENCE

The UAW Executive Board's wage statement contained no reference to this vital demand. This omission was a direct slap in the face to hundreds of thousands of UAW members who have strongly expressed their desire for the bonus demand.

The major CIO unions are going into the present wage fight in much the same way as they did in 1945. There is no coordination of their efforts. No unified strategy has as yet been worked out to bring the full weight of the labor movement to bear against the united might of the corporations. This will have to be remedied in short order if the unions are to win their demands.

Freedom's Shame

Wants to Add Billions Of Dollars to Present Huge Military Budget

By Art Preis

American capitalism is gearing its economy and military machine for another world war. That is the clear meaning of the report issued on Jan. 13 by Truman's Air Policy Commission.

This report, released with Truman's letter of commendation, projects a vast increase in U.S. military air strength. It sets Jan. 1, 1953 as "A-Day"—the date when American imperialism must be in position to fight an all-out atomic world war.

The Air Policy Commission proposes for this purpose that expenditures for the air forces, totaling four billion dollars in 1948, be increased starting this year until they reach an annual total of 11 billion dollars in 1952.

Truman—in his 40 billion dollar budget message — asked for more than 11 billion dollars for the military establishment, 28% of the total budget. But his Air Policy Commission the very next day called for an additional sum for military aircraft of more than 1½ billion dollars annually for the next two years. This would bring the direct military budget total in 1949 to 13.2 billion dollars to be increased progressively to 18 billion by 1952.

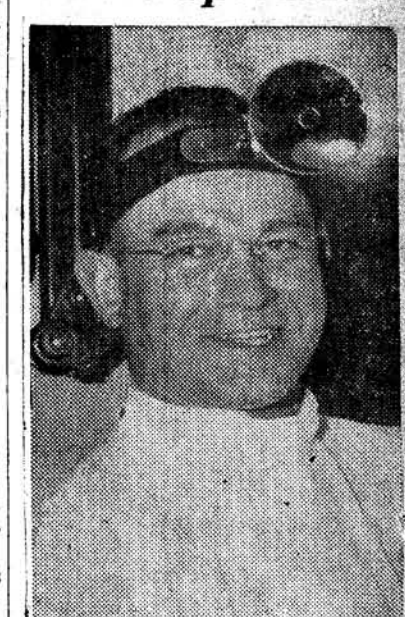
ONLY THE BEGINNING

This is only the beginning, however, as Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the N.Y. Times, points out in his Jan. 15 article, "Huge Arms Costs Loom." Direct military costs between 1948 and 1952 will range from 15 billions to 25 billions annually — and not the 11 billions Truman told the public in his budget report.

Universal compulsory military training as proposed by Truman and the Big Brass will cost two billions a year (400 million dollars in 1949 just "in anticipation," Truman's budget message says.) The National Guard is to be brought to a peak strength of 723,000 with a yearly federal expenditure of 700 million dollars. The Army's Organized Reserve Corps will get 400 million dollars as against 60 million now.

No estimates have been made by the Navy of what it is going to demand to bring its forces up to full wartime peak. The Atomic Energy Commission, now operating on a

Named Speculator



Pres. Truman's personal physician, Brig. Gen. Wallace H. Graham, topped a list of more than 100 federal, state and local government officials identified as grain speculators in the most recent release of Sec. of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson. Federated Pictures

budget of 600 millions, is asking for another 2 billion dollars for production expansion in the next "four or five years." A five-year program of "strategic stockpiling" of war materials has already been approved by Congress—cost 2.1 billions.

Billions more are being asked for various forms of military construction—new National Guard armories (600 million) new transonic and supersonic wind tunnels (500 millions); new laboratories, testing centers and proving grounds for guided missiles and new weapons (500 millions); modernized merchant marine adaptable to war purposes (600 millions).

"These lists are by no means complete." (Continued on Page 2)

PCA Convention Endorses Wallace

Henry Wallace went all-out in radical demagoguery at the convention of the Progressive Citizens of America held in Chicago on Jan. 17-18. It was his answer to the bid for the labor vote made by Truman in his State of the Union message.

This was candidate Wallace's first speech on domestic questions, and he was careful to make the record on most major issues confronting the labor movement.

The "big profiteering corporations" are responsible for high prices, he declared. "It is the big corporations who are the beneficiaries of inflation. It is the big corporations, through their political employees, who have brought inflation."

The first step in meeting the inflation crisis "is to give substantial wage increases to the workers," he said. The corporations can do that, pay more taxes, lower prices and "still make legitimate profits."

Together with wage raises, he called for "effective controls for holding down and rolling back prices and contemptuously dismissed Truman's "anti-inflation" program as a farce, the heart of which is a "wage freeze."

Wallace thus placed himself not only to the left of Truman, but also of the majority of the trade union bureaucracy.

In explaining the source of the inflation, Wallace said: "Today's inflation was born in 1940 when Big Business demanded extortionate profits, enormous tax concessions and a tighter grip on the nation's economy as its price for participation in the defense of America."

SITUATION "INEVITABLE"

Later, at a press conference he was asked if he blamed Roosevelt for this score. His answer was that

such a situation was "inevitable when you embark on a war policy." This was an attempt to whitewash not only Roosevelt, but himself. As is commonly known, the Roosevelt administration — which included Wallace—gave Wall Street a blank check in the war production program.

Wallace flatly demanded the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. "With this law," he stated, "Congress made the government an agent of monopoly to smash trade union rights."

At the same time he blasted Truman for merely going through the motions of opposing the Taft-Hartley Act: "His pretense that his veto was genuine is obvious sham. It is a fiction designed to win votes from the left in an election year. He not only failed to exert his power to sustain the veto but has interpreted his constitutional duty to mean the appointment of a notoriously anti-labor administrator."

SAME SUSPICION

When Wallace accuses Truman of adopting a pro-labor pose "designed to win votes from the left in an election year," he leaves himself open on the basis of his own record to exactly the same suspicion. The main difference is that Wallace, not having been president, has been able to stay in the background and keep his fingers a little cleaner than Truman. Another advantage he has in this battle of demagoguery is that he is now clear of the Democratic Party's skirts and can go the whole hog while Truman still has the Southern Democrats to satisfy.

Wallace went Truman one better on the minimum wage law, demanding that it be raised to \$1 an hour where Truman had asked for a 75 cents minimum; he called for pres-

(Continued on Page 9)

Truman Report Reveals Fear of Approaching Economic Breakdown

It is no trick to recognize the chief symptom of the disease of American capitalist economy. It is burning up with inflation fever. We measure it with the thermometer of our pay checks in the grocery store. Truman uses statistics in his Jan. 14 Economic Report to Congress.

Although he cannot diagnose the true cause of the fever or offer more than quack remedies, Truman is clearly frightened by the appearance of the patient. He admits the economy is dangerously ill.

In spite of the "heartening" production record in 1947, he says, the inflationary trend is "profoundly disturbing." There is "danger of a serious setback." Unless something is done about it quick, "we stand in great danger that runaway prices, overextended credit and unbalanced developments lead to an economic recession." Such a "recession" may be "severe and recovery slow and painful."

Truman isn't being a mere alarmist. He isn't simply raising a scare for political effect. His figures are on the conservative side and tend, if

anything, to gloss over the critical state of economic affairs.

They show that production has been rising and workers' hourly productivity is increasing. Prices are bounding up at a faster clip. Real wages and mass purchasing power are declining. The credit structure is abnormally swollen. Exports are not absorbing the goods which cannot be sold on the domestic market. Foreign economies are being undermined by the tremendous imbalance between American exports and imports.

PRODUCTION: Physical output in 1947 7% higher than in 1946; 76% above the 1935-39 average. "Productivity per man hour increased slightly over 1946."

PRICES: Wholesale prices rising at an annual rate of 20% since June 1947. Consumer prices going up 1% per month. Food soaring 15% annually; rent, 13%; fuel and lighting, 36%.

PROFITS: Corporation profits, before taxes, 28 billion dollars in 1947; 21 billion in 1946. Profits after taxes, 17 billion dollars in 1947; 12.5 billion in 1946.

CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER: "Real purchasing power"

declined 8% since April 1948. Wages "did not gain the ground lost when price increases exceeded wage increases in 1946." Total spending for consumption "was maintained by reduction of current savings, drawing on past savings and the rise of consumer credit to a new peak of 13.5 billion dollars at the end of 1947."

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS: Exports in early 1947 running at an annual rate of 20 billions "but declined later." Imports "much less than exports" with an export balance of "more than 11 billion dollars." "The ability of foreign countries 'to finance imports declined.'"

PRODUCTION CAPACITY: Up sharply. "Investment for construction, equipment and inventories increased by 24% over 1946 and net foreign investments increased by 83%."

CONSUMER DEBT: "Consumer expenditures were 3.5 billion dollars more than the increase in their incomes."

Scanning these figures, Truman finds they add up to a pretty sad total. "The continuance of such a relationship would not enable consumers to absorb, with their current incomes, the output of a maximum employment economy."

In other words, production is outstripping consumption, goods are piling up, a glut is setting in and the factories are going to have to shut down. We are heading for a depression.

When it comes to causes for the sick state of the economy, Truman particularly the inflation, Truman expounds the theory that "we are suffering . . . from the total excess of buying power over the available supply of goods."

GOVT SPENDING

His figures, however, tell us that production is mounting steadily, while consumer purchasing power is declining. So the "excess of buying power" isn't in the hands of the working people. Where is it, who is bidding up prices?

Truman himself, as the chief government agent of U. S. imperialism. He tells us in his report that in 1947 the government spent \$13.3 billion dollars.

We find a further source of the inflation in the huge inventories of the corporation, which are holding back goods to create scarcity and speculate on higher prices.

We find it also in the bigger slice the rich are taking from the total national income, so that, as the Economic Report states, "Families with high incomes and large accumulations tended to add to their holdings while many low-income families reduced their holdings."

Truman doesn't propose to attack these real sources of the inflation. He suggests nibbling at a few of its secondary manifestations.

His chief proposal is that Congress give him power to establish price ceilings on "some" commodities, together with the authority to freeze wages. Everybody knows the joker in this program. Roosevelt tried it during the war. He set up a big price-control apparatus. It didn't effectively control prices; goods were siphoned off into the black market. But wages were frozen.

Stripped of its fat, the meat of Truman's program is essentially nothing but a wage freeze. The rich will get richer, the poor will get poorer. What Truman forces, but cannot and will not prevent will come to pass: The Boom will Bust.

Truman Calls for War-Time Air Force

(Continued from Page 1)

plete," says Hanson Baldwin.

What it all adds up to is this: American imperialism is deliberately and systematically preparing for war. The swollen war budget, growing more gigantic each year, prevents any possibility of halting or controlling the price inflation that is tearing down the living standards of the American people.

WILL INCREASE

Truman's Air Policy Commission doesn't only propose to expand the war establishment now but expresses the belief that if conditions do not change "substantially for the better" by 1950, "the 1950 review will increase the size of the establishment rather than decrease it." In other words, the present proposals are just a beginning!

But suppose conditions do change "substantially for the better?" According to the Air Policy Commission (and that's Truman and the Big Boss speaking), that will make no difference!

Because "our will to carry the financial burden, which will increase from year to year for several years, may weaken, especially if we should have a period of depression combined with calculated changes for the better in the public attitude of

a possible enemy. That is our gravest danger."

As I. F. Stone commented in the Jan 15 P.M. "Heads or tails, higher appropriations win."

Quick support for the major proposals of the Air Policy Commission is anticipated in Congress from Republicans and Democrats alike. Senator Edwin C. Johnston, Colorado Democrat who has frequently lined up with Taft and the Republicans, has introduced a bill to increase air force appropriations by 4 billion in the next two years. His bill contains no profit-limitations clause. "I just overlooked it," he breezily told reporters.

QUICK SUPPORT

The Republicans, who talk "economy," are likewise expected to back the demanded gigantic expenditures. In a recent speech in Providence, R. I., Senator Taft demonstratively called for an expanded air force.

Truman's war budget, his Air Policy Commission's report, plus the tremendous increases in military expenditures envisaged in his universal training program, reveal the ominous trend. It is the trend to higher and higher prices, to a war-bolstered economy, to scarcity and want, to militarist regimentation, to atomic annihilation.

"Unbiased Opinions" on Air Report

Current foreign problems make the public aware of the soundness of the report's military recommendations.—Eugene E. Wilson, chairman of the Aircraft Industries Association.

...rightfully stresses the urgent necessity for vigorous action... in the field of applied atomic propulsion for flight.—J. Carlton Ward Jr., president of Fairchild Engine and Airplane Corp. and head of group of companies working on atomic power for aircraft.

...sound conclusions and recommendations... provide a blueprint for a strong and healthy aircraft manufacturing industry—once the wretchedness is made available by Congress.—Guy W. Vaughan, president of Curtiss-Wright Corp.

...clear and simple... an honest, concise answer to the problems of aviation.—Mundy L. Peale, president of Republic Aviation Corp.

...forceful document... best insurance that our freedom, our prosperity and our security shall be preserved.—Leon A. Swirbul, president of Grumman Aircraft.

...deserves special praise.—P. R. Bassett, president of the Sperry Gyroscope Co.

...authentic, unbiased and realistic statement.—Donald Douglas of Douglas Aircraft Corp.

...provides the basis for reflection by the public on what may well be its greatest future problem.—Robert E. Gross, chairman of the board of Lockheed Corp.

I agree with the Commission.—William M. Allen, president of Boeing Corp.

Important Documents in Fourth International

The November-December issue of Fourth International now on sale, contains two highly important draft documents of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. The first document is entitled *The Russian Question Today*; the second is *The World Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International*. In addition, the number contains a valuable analysis by Albert Parker, of the NAACP document presented to the UN. Australian labor's victory in the 40-hour week struggle is discussed in a final article.

New York ALP Splits



Protesting the American Labor Party's endorsement of Wallace for President, the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers led a group of unions out of the party. Top (l. to r.) Murray Weinstein, Mrs. Sidney Hillman and ALP state chairman Hyman Blumberg leave the meeting. Below, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.), talks to newsmen after being elected temporary party chairman.

Federated Pictures

Witch Hunt Steps Up

The witch hunt started by the Truman administration with its "loyalty" purge of federal workers continues to gather speed.

In Washington hearings are being held by a House subcommittee on the Cole bill. This bill proposes to bar all "un-American" parties from election ballots. The bill is aimed not only against the Communist (Stalinist) Party but against any party "which is directly or indirectly affiliated by any means whatsoever" with "any foreign agency, political party, organization or government." Such a broadly-worded law could be used to rule any radical party, or for that mat-

ter, any minority party of the ballot.

Spokesmen for the American Legion, the Regular Veterans Association and Amvets have already endorsed this bill which would end free elections for minority parties.

Another "red purge" bill introduced into Congress would compel all veterans seeking government benefits to give a loyalty oath. Thus left-wing veterans, disabled in action, would be cheated out of the meager pensions to which they are entitled.

The local politicians are eagerly joining in this national witch-hunt.

NEW YORK STATE

In the New York State legislature, bills were introduced to bar "reds" from government employment and prohibit them from holding office. Another bill tossed into the hopper proposes that all organizations listed by the Attorney General as "subversive" be barred from using public buildings.

In Massachusetts, the legislature is entertaining bills that propose to set up a state "un-American" committee, bar from the ballot anyone "directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party" or advocating a change in the form of government. Another bill calls for a purge of teachers and public employees. The height of unconstitutionality is reached in still another bill that would make it illegal to rent any hall or building to the Stalinist Party or any other party or person who believes in or advocates "overthrow" of the government.

The present witch hunt has reached such a frenzy that Wall Street's hired hands in Congress and the state legislatures no longer make any pretense of observing civil rights. Bills are proposed which openly violate the rights of free speech, assembly, ballot and trial by jury.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Old Subscribers Mail in Renewals

Practicing up for Militant Sub Week (which is this week), Brooklyn comrades have had excellent results getting renewals from readers whose subscriptions expired as much as two years ago. They have been turning in 6 to 16 subs a week. Frank and Gladys report this recent experience:

"I've been so anxious to get the paper again," one woman told them, "and I'm sure some of my friends will subscribe. When I first took the paper I was very ill and only paid the 50c to get rid of the girl who called. The paper just piled up unread while I was abed for months. When I finally got up again I was about to throw out the whole pile when my eye fell on a cartoon about the Ferguson brothers (it pictured a cop, shooting down the Fergusonsons—three of them in uniform, because they had tried to buy coffee in a Freepot, L. I. Jim Crow restaurant). I read that story and then read all the papers. Now you must see this friend of mine who has organized the tenants where she lives..."

Detroit branch has been selling Militant and Pioneer pamphlets at union meetings lately. "Fight the Slave-Labor Law is the best seller we've had in Detroit," writes Howard Mason, ordering 300 more copies. "We sold over 100 at recent meeting." Bea Allan adds that they sold dozens of Militants at union

and NAACP meetings. She sent 18 subs last week.

Six months ago an Akron rubber worker obtained his first subscription to *The Militant*. Last week he turned in his own renewal and five other subs for fellow workers in the shop. "An example of one sub producing six," commented E. Alexander, Akron literature agent.

Rena Bresli, Boston agent, sent 17 renewals last week.

A Cincinnati worker sent two renewals and a new sub obtained by giving a sample copy to a shopmate.

Our thanks to the hundreds of readers who are renewing direct by mail and thereby relieving the strain on the readers who give their spare hours to soliciting subs.

The date under your address on the paper is your receipt. The date is advanced for whatever period you renew. If for example, your present subscription expires Mar. 48, a year's renewal will extend it to Mar. 49. Please inform us at once if the date with your address is not properly altered within three weeks after you send in a renewal.

Prompt response followed publication of two appeals from Chinese workers for free copies of *The Militant*. Four \$2 donations were made by B. of Rochester, L.U.K. of Los Angeles and Tom and Jean of New York. Each \$2 pays for a foreign sub to some worker who could not raise the price.

The Young Coal Miners-- Key Problem of the UMW

By Morgan West

When the United Mine Workers Union was being organized, thousands of militant workers attended meetings, fought battles, endured jail sentences and hunger, and built the union from the ground up. Sometimes obligations were taken in the woods to escape spies. Sometimes week-long pitched battles were fought against police, the army and company thugs. Had it not been for the willing sacrifices of countless unknown militants, the UMW would today only be a memory. The rank and file built the union.

In the old days, local meetings were packed with men who had ideas and courage and were ready for action. The miners, called the "shock troops of American labor," were usually young men. Today, no more than 10% of the membership is generally present at any local meeting. And those who attend are the old regulars, old timers who helped build the union.

In the last depression few working miners were over 40 years of age. Today older men are being displaced by younger men and the work is being speeded up. The UMW contract has no seniority provisions. Very few men under 40 take an active interest in the union. What is to happen to the UMW in the coming depression when the old timers are displaced by young men

with no union experience and little union interest?

This problem is causing great concern to the militant miners throughout the coal fields. They know that unless the broad ranks are brought into union activity the UMW will fall on evil days. The coal industry is dominated by a few large concerns. For example, northern West Virginia is controlled by the Pittsburgh-Consolidated Coal Co., the world's largest. Most of the state could be shut down by a lockout. The Taft-Hartley Act shows that the owners are out to break the unions and the miners know that their union is one of the first on the list. The coming struggles may well be the toughest in the history of the mines.

The old militants wonder why 90% of the members are inactive, why most of the young men come to meetings only to take their obligations; and some don't even come then. Part of the reason is that the UMW has never made any attempt to educate its members, especially the younger men, to teach them what the union means. The UMW has a glorious history of rank and file militancy. Why isn't it put in pamphlet form and a copy given to every miner? Could it be that the leaders of the UMW don't want the rank and file to know who was really responsible for the building of the union?

Part of the reason for the apathy of the new members is that there is no longer any opportunity for the miner to participate in the making of the big decisions. Important decisions are handed down. The new member hears that he is in the AFL. Then he hears that he is out of the AFL. Every so often the operators and the union negotiate a contract which determines the miners' living conditions, and he may be asked to strike. But that is all he has to do with it. Democratic action built the UMW. The action is left but the democracy is gone.

Another part of the reason is that meetings are long and uninteresting. The real business of the union is never taken up as it is out of the hands of the rank and file. All that is left for the locals is endless discussion over unimportant details. A free day is too precious to spend wrangling over a few dollars that come from a coca cola machine, or something equally trivial. Some-

times new men come to meetings and try to discuss the health and welfare fund or political action. As like as not they are told they are out of order, or "to take it to the district." This is a good way to keep them from coming to any more meetings.

Ask some of the 90% who don't take part in union activity why they never attend meetings. They will tell you that "they never do anything down there but talk," or that the "local isn't run by the right people and anytime anyone who has any sense says anything they chase him out."

Why don't they think it worth their time to come to meetings when their fathers believed that the UMW was worth any sacrifice? Because, for one, the problems which the miners face today are different than those of 30, 20, or even 10 years ago. For example, 10 years ago a wage increase meant better living. But last summer, when we won the highest wage in mine union history, it took only about three weeks for that increase to be swallowed up by the higher cost of living.

A great many things have happened to the coal miner's world since the heroic days of the UMW but the UMW program remains the same. If the rank and file are going to make sacrifices they want a goal and a program worth fighting for. And the old program just doesn't fit the new conditions.

There are great struggles ahead. The depression will mean picket lines, scabs, hunger marches, and a fight for the very existence of organized labor. The militant miner sees these things and wants to mobilize the rank and file behind his union.

In my next article I shall deal with some of the complaints and demands I have heard from men who never come to local meetings, and the kind of program that is needed to inspire the new mine workers.

Seattle Forum on Manifesto Anniversary

Militant readers in Seattle will have an opportunity to attend a forum on "100 Years of the Communist Manifesto," led by Daniel Roberts on Sunday, Feb. 8, at 3 p. m. A supper will follow the discussion. The Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is located in the Maynard Bldg., First and Washington, No. 408.

New Haven Readers Invited to Open Forum

"Politics and Working Class Parties" will be the topic presented by the New Haven Labor School on Tuesday evening, Jan. 27, at 8 p. m. Militant readers are urged to attend. The address of the New Haven Labor School is 92 Main St.

WORKERS' FORUM

Hickman Thanks The Militant

I wish to thank this opportunity to check all those who helped me in my hour of need. It was a good deed that has been done for me. Words can't express my appreciation at being back with my wife and family.

The Hickman Defense Committee did me a tremendous service which in terms of material things is unrepayable. They took up my cause when it was an unpopular one and stood by me till I walked out of jail a free man. The steering committee composed of Willoughby Abner, Chairman, Charles Chiklowski, Treasurer, Franklin Fried, National Field Director, Michael Bartall and Sidney Lens did a splendid job in mobilizing material and moral support in my behalf. I also wish to thank the various organizations which stood by me in my hour of need: the CIO Council and many CIO locals, various AFL unions, the AVC, the Baptist Ministers Conference, the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Defense League, the Committee on Racial Equality, the Progressive Steel Workers, and many others, as well as the many thousands of individuals who rallied to my side.

I was fortunate to be represented by men like Leon Despres, M. J. Myers, and William Temple. These men were more than lawyers; they were friends when I needed them most.

This statement of thanks would not be complete without acknowledging the favorable publicity the Militant gave my case.

Respectfully,
James Hickman
Chicago, Ill.

Realized Stalinists Distort Marxism

Editor:

I joined the Communist Party U.S.A. with the firm belief that it adhered to the revolutionary principles as formulated by Marx and Engels. I believed I had joined a party which followed the principle of democratic centralization as practiced by the party of Lenin. However during this period I discovered that their interpretation of Marxism was designed to fit any given situation, nationally or internationally as long as it coincided with the policy of Soviet Russia. During the period I was in the Service I was not aware of their program and policy under

Browder of class collaboration; only during the period of being in the party and seeing the extension of Browder's policy was I able to discern tangibly their distortion of Marxism.

I realized that such a policy could lead only to disaster for the working class of America. What followed was an inevitable understanding of the class struggle. I attempted to find an organization which really carried on the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin. Reading the Fourth International I found it. I coincided with my idea of a real workers party. I investigated the Socialist Workers Party program and found it carried on the real struggle for Socialism. To the members of the branch I wish to say that the only party capable today of leading the Socialist Revolution is the Socialist Workers Party and every member would do well to make a class analysis of the Communist Party's distortion of the class struggle.

—H
Pittsburgh, Pa.

N. Y. LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

"What Next in Europe and America"

WM. F. WARDE, speaks on WALLACE AND THE THIRD PARTY

PAUL G. STEVENS, Militant Staff Correspondent

Speaks on EUROPE UNDER THE MARSHALL PLAN

FARRELL DOBBS, Chairman

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 28th, 8 p. m.
Central Opera House, 205 E. 67th St.
Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party, N. Y. Local

N. Y. MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL

(Winter Term - 1948)

Beginning Wednesday, Feb. 4th
"PRELUDE TO THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION"
U. S. Capitalism in Crisis: 1929-1941

Instructor: Sam Ryan Wednesday 7:30 p.m.

"BUILDING THE LEFT WING IN THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL UNIONS"
A Study of Current Trade Union Problems
Instructor: E. R. Frank Wednesday, 9 p.m.
Each class consists of four lectures.
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TROTSKY

In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Divided by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by slave labor for capital, constantly thrust back to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity around the "principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization, which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class.

—V. I. Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.



LENIN

Theory of the "Lesser Evil"

The parade of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" back to the fold of the Democratic Party has started. A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen emerged from the White House to tell a news conference that he just had a "wonderful chat" with Truman, that "we're in full accord," and that he was going to raise union money to try to help re-elect him.

This is the same Whitney who in May 1946 told the country that Truman had "double crossed" the railroad workers. This is the same Whitney who announced that he would use the millions in his union treasury to help defeat the "political accident" who demanded of Congress a law to draft striking railroad workers into the army.

It is naive to imagine that Truman made any special concessions to Whitney. He didn't have to. Whitney and his fellow labor fakery are ready to sell cheap. They haven't the courage for any other kind of politics—except the company union variety. They are prisoners of the theory of the "lesser evil."

The Brass Hat Invasion

Five leading shop stewards and officers of the CIO Electrical Workers local at the Sperry Gyroscope plant at Lake Success, New York, were summarily removed last week from a department of the plant on orders of the Army. The Army said they were "bad security risks."

This is no isolated incident. Several months ago, at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo, workers in certain departments were compelled to fill out Army questionnaires as long as your arm to determine if they were "good risks." Union committeemen, who refused to fill out these disgraceful "loyalty oaths" were "banned from even entering these so-called "secret" departments to service union members.

These ominous encroachments of the Brass Hats recall that during the war, the military walked into many plants and ordered numerous militant union members and stewards fired without appeal. Any worker who was making things a bit hot for the

Two Reactionary Bureaucracies

Having lost the battle against the Taft-Hartley Act, the American trade union leaders blossomed out as champions of free trade unionism — for the workers of Europe. They are determined to liberate their less fortunate brothers on the other side of the Atlantic from the grip of dictatorship — by agents of the Kremlin. Yet this display of energy to "free" the workers of Europe contrasts strangely with their capitulation to the Slave Labor Law at home.

In reality there is no contradiction. CIO and AFL leaders did not travel to Europe as advocates of "free" unionism. The role of these lackeys has been clearly established as salesmen for the Marshall Plan and drummer boys for American imperialism.

A Catholic priest complains in an article written for the CIO News that the work of James Carey, CIO Secretary-Treasurer, is not properly appreciated by the State Department. He writes: "He (Carey) did more in a single speech to take the curse off the Mar-

Wall Street's War Budget

World War II was supposed to usher in a period of lasting peace. But the people who believed that, who fought and sacrificed in the hope that that would happen, were stung. All you have to do is glance at the astronomical figures devoted to military expenditures in the 1948-49 budget, and you can see that Washington's perspective is not peace—but war.

Instead of lasting peace, capitalism has brought us an era of virtually permanent war. The years between the wars are not peaceful either; they are used primarily to pile up new war resources, to cement new war alliances, to perfect new war preparations. 1948 is such a year. No one can say for sure when active, "hot" war will begin, but it is well known that in the Cabinet,

railroad strike and had the courts slap a couple of million dollars fine on the mine union.

There is no end to this "lesser evil" theory. Last year, for instance, the labor leaders announced that they were out to defeat every Congressman who voted for the infamous Taft-Hartley Law. Now Whitney informs us that he will support Congressmen who voted for this law in the event that they are opposed by candidates who are even more unfriendly to labor.

Isn't this an inspiring goal for labor in 1948? You say we should elect Truman and the same gang of crooks and rascals who are in Congress—to prevent an even worse bunch (how is that possible) from coming in. What a program!

Lewis, addressing the AFL bureaucrats at the recent San Francisco convention, said they didn't have heads. Their necks just grew and haired over. That was very apt. These narrow-minded foolish men who advised the unions to "comply" with the Slave Labor Law, and who are now seeking to re-elect Truman, would lead the army of labor down the same road of destruction as did their counterparts in Germany in 1932.

We must not let them do it.

boss was discovered to be a "bad security risk."

The events at Sperry Gyroscope and Bell Aircraft demonstrate the spreading invasion by the military caste of every sphere of American life. This is simply part of the big push to militarize and regiment the American people.

The professional militarists are getting more powerful and more cocky all the time. They are already running the key government departments. They are taking over civilian functions all along the line in Washington. They are issuing brusque commands to Congress to enact their program, from the Marshall Plan to universal compulsory military training.

If the military get a grip in the plants, any and every good union man and woman will be given the boot as a "bad security risk." This is a threat that organized labor cannot afford to ignore.

The labor movement must speak out now—and in no uncertain terms—to halt military interference in the plants.

shall Plan than Secretary Marshall could have accomplished in a week of speeches."

The priest's point of view is, as a matter of fact, receiving the sympathetic attention of the State Department. These upper-class snobs have already been sold on the idea of using the yellow "socialists" of Europe as their overseas agency to line up the European labor movement behind the Wall Street program.

The fight between the AFL, CIO and the European "Socialist" leaders on the one side, and the Stalinists on the other, is thus not a fight between the proponents of a "free unionism" against the proponents of totalitarianism. It is rather a fight between two sets of labor bureaucrats — both reactionary — who would subvert the labor movement into an agency of either the Kremlin or the American State Department.

The labor movement can win independence and insure its survival only by freeing itself from the grip of both these "outside influences."

Congress and the General Staff there are many advocates of a "preventive war" right now.

War for the capitalist system in the period of its degeneration is like alcohol for the incurable drunkard. They waste their resources on it; their yearning for it grows greater all the time; they find it harder and harder to subsist on anything else. And yet its effect is to drag them faster to the grave. The chief difference is that the drunkard generally harms no one but himself and his dependents. But the capitalist system, saturated with militarism, threatens to plunge all of mankind to destruction.

The military budget is a warning to everybody who wants to escape that plunge. The direction of society must be taken out of the hands of the warmongers.

General Strikes Paralyze Ruhr As Workers Fight Starvation

Out in the Cold



It was cold in Chicago and a deep blanket of snow covered the ground, but that didn't stop the landlord from evicting Mr. and Mrs. Raschke and their four children. With their belongings in the background, the family huddles around a fire to keep warm.

Federated Pictures

Prodded by hunger, the German working class is returning to the arena of struggle. Dispatches from Germany report that 90,000 workers in Cologne have tied up the city in a general strike. 100,000 workers in Nuremberg are scheduled to walk off their jobs.

These strikes come on the heels of walkouts which occurred in various industrial centers of the Ruhr last week involving at least 150,000 workers in basic industries. The workers returned to their jobs with the clear warning that they would resume the strike unless drastic measures were taken to improve the food situation.

POLICY OF STARVATION

British and American military occupation forces who rule the area are responsible for a policy of starving the people in their zones. It is now openly admitted that the promise of the Anglo-American bizonal authorities to maintain the daily diet at 1550 calories has never been kept. During the last weeks the daily diet has dropped to the famine level of 1100 calories daily, and little hope is held out that it will rise to even 1400 calories in the next months.

The German puppet officials are howling that riots will follow in the wake of starvation. "We need 16,000 tons of fat for western Germany for one four-week ration period but only 5,000 tons are available," one of them declared. The Deputy Burgomaster of Darmstadt, stated that bakeries had flour for only one day. A similar condition is reported in Hamburg.

Quisling trade union officials frankly confessed their impotence in restraining the workers. Everywhere they pleaded with their British and American masters for increased rations as the only means of preventing strikes. But despite their cowardice, sabotage and treachery, the strike movement is spreading and the numbers involved mounting daily.

With typical perfidy, the British authorities tried to down the revolt against starvation by a characteristic Foreign Office ruse. The strike wave, they discovered, was nothing but a "communist plot" set into action by a so-called "Protocol" giving directives for the strikes. This was too much even for the Quisling union leaders who belittled the so-called conspiracy and laid

the cause of the strike movement to starvation.

Within a few days it was revealed that the British Foreign Office had been sufficiently aware of the situation to send a secret personal message to Secretary of State Marshall urging that food supplies from the U. S. be speeded up.

STALINISTS HALF HEARTED

As a matter of fact, the Stalinists were rarely in the lead of the strikes. They were reported as halfhearted in their efforts to organize the movement and not at all aggressive in pressing for a continuation of the strikes.

The bizonal brass hats are doing nothing to alleviate the starvation except to pass the buck to their German Quisling hirelings on whom

they place the responsibility for the failure of food collections and proper distribution. The so-called Dusseldorf Plan, on the strength of which the Ruhr strikers were persuaded to return to their jobs was nothing but a "share-the-misery" plan. Other provinces were obliged to give up their fat rations in return for the promise of a double-sugar ration. This in turn set off strikes in the provinces where the sacrifices were demanded.

The conqueror's rule of Germany is possible only so long as the people are passive. The present revival of the German working class, coupled with the strike movements in Italy and elsewhere, means that the imperialist plan to impose famine and dictatorship on the European masses is doomed to failure.

Anti-Imperialist Struggle Sweeps Key China Cities

By Ria Stone

Thousands of Chinese attacked and burned down the British Consulate and other British buildings in Canton last Friday, Jan. 16. The British were forced to move their citizens to Hong Kong. The stormy demonstrations in Canton were followed by giant anti-imperialist parades of students in both Shanghai and Hankow.

The immediate cause of the demonstrations was the action of the British imperialist authority in evicting Chinese squatters from Kowloon. Kowloon, together with Hong Kong, is still under direct British control and serves as a constant reminder to the Chinese of the exploitation and indignities which they have suffered at the hands of the British for over a century.

EXTREME CORRUPTION

There are strong indications that the demonstrations were originally stimulated by the C. C. clique of the Kuomintang. This clique, known as the Tammany wing of the Kuomintang, is directly based on the landlords and big capitalists. Notorious for its corruption, police terrorism and its refusal to entertain any compromise with liberal-

ism, this clique has been steadily losing ground.

Even the U. S. State Department has become skeptical of the ability of American billions to prop up Chiang Kai-Shek as long as the C. C. clique remains in control. Of the estimated two-and-a-half billion dollars which Wall Street has poured into China since the end of the war, about 75% has gone into graft and corruption.

TO GAIN SUPPORT

The British have been throwing support to the "Political Science Group" of the Kuomintang, the so-called Liberals. By encouraging the anti-British demonstrations, the C. C. clique evidently thought it could deal a blow to its rivals and at the same time gain popular support among the anti-imperialist masses.

But the peaceful demonstrations soon got out of hand. The violence of the masses terrified the Chiang Kai-Shek government; and as one man, the whole Kuomintang mobilized its police force to guard British property and arrest the demonstrators. Even news of the uprising was hushed up in the official press to keep it from spreading.

The "May 30 Incident" of 1925, is still fresh in the memories of

the Chinese capitalists and landlords, when British fire on a demonstration of students and workers unleashed revolutionary activity throughout the country.

FANTASTIC INFLATION

The civil war which has been going on in China with only occasional breaks since 1927 is proof that Chiang Kai-Shek, as the representative of the Chinese capitalists and landlords, can neither free the country from imperialism nor begin any serious economic reconstruction. 80% of the national budget today goes for military expenses. Inflation has reached the incredible level where a 10,000 dollar Chinese note exchanges for eight American cents. Three of Chiang Kai-Shek's generals, taking with them three Kuomintang divisions, have deserted the sinking ship of their leader and gone over to the Chinese Stalinists.

BRUTE FORCE

The Kuomintang maintains its rule simply by brute force. The whole country is in the throes of the spreading civil war. The crime of the Chinese Stalinist leaders is that, in the present explosive situation, they have refused to link the peasant movement in the countryside with the workers' movement, which is concentrated in the big cities along the East Coast.

Events such as the recent demonstrations in Canton, may be the spark, however, to rouse the workers into widespread action and the eventual leadership of the peasant movement.

Minneapolis Bazaar Features Bargains

Bargains in women's and children's clothing, imported jewelry, buttons, belts and art objects will be found at the Minneapolis Relief Bazaar, to be held at 10 S. 4th St., on Saturday, Jan. 31, from noon to midnight. An auction of tires, anti-freeze, electrical appliances, etc., will also afford Minneapolis workers a chance at some fine bargains. The Bazaar is being held under the auspices of the Minneapolis and St. Paul Chapters of the American Committee for European Workers Relief. All proceeds will go toward sending much needed food and clothing to the workers of Europe.

PCA Endorses Wallace

(Continued from Page 1)

ervation of the 40-hour week, now under attack by the NAM; denounced the speedup being pushed in the factories; urged the abolition of the House Un-American Committee blacklist system, etc.

VOTED TO MERGE

He ended his speech to the PCA by trying to buck them up with the prospect of growing support from the organized labor movement, little of which is apparent at the present time.

The PCA convention endorsed Wallace's candidacy, adopted a program embodying most of his demands and voted to affiliate or merge with the broader third party scheduled to be organized at a national convention on April 12.

The decisions of the PCA were unanimous, although it is known that there are important differences within its leading circles.

Robert W. Kenny, California Democrat and PCA national chairman, represents the group still aiming at a deal with the Democratic Party.

On his arrival in Chicago for the convention, he expressed the opinion that "developments in the next six months may bring the Democratic Party to its senses."

Kenny is not supporting the petition campaign to put Wallace on the ballot in California as the candidate of the Independent Progressive Party. Still working within the Democratic Party, he wants Wallace to enter the Democratic primary in California and Oregon, where he thinks Wallace could beat Truman. Such "preliminary victories," he says, would "make the Democrats take heed."

The Stalinist section of the Wallace movement feels it is necessary to go through with the third party campaign in 1948, to teach the Democrats the lesson that they must change their foreign policy if they want to win the presidency.

There was no discussion of these differences on the convention floor. Wallace's own stand is not known. Kenny, however, was re-elected national chairman.

Events on the International Scene

EXPOSE INDEPENDENCE FRAUD IN CEYLON

CEYLON—The following statement of Comrade Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist fraction in the Ceylon Parliament, on the bill conferring "independence" on Ceylon, was published in the "Times of Ceylon":

"Our Party is not duped by this 'independence' that has stolen upon us like a thief in the night. Even in the Sessional Paper that has been sprung upon us, the 'independence' on the cover dwindles into more 'fully responsible status within the Commonwealth' before the very preamble to the bill is completed...

"We demand the immediate publication of the secret treaty. We denounce the clandestine procedure which has gone into its making. We call unhesitatingly, and in advance, for the summary rejection of its terms, whatever they may be, as terms imposed on this country by the imperialist government through its native capitalist agents...

"We demand not a rotten independence Bill in the British Parliament but the immediate withdrawal of British troops, and repatriation of the British Governor and liquidation of the Soulbury set-up as a preliminary to the summoning, by a body independent of the present imperialist regime, of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. As a first step to this we demand that the 'treaty' shall not be considered by Parliament until it has been submitted to the decision of the people through a fresh general election. The people have a right to be consulted directly on so important a matter..."

TROTSKYIST CHALLENGES PRIME MINISTER

CEYLON—As on the Indian mainland, the biggest weapon of the capitalists against the masses is communal division. On the background of a savage campaign against the Trotskyists in Ceylon—the essence of which was that the latter stood for flooding the Island with Indian immigrants—a sustained demand has been made by the capitalist U.N.P. that Comrade Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist Parliamentary Fraction, should resign his seat and re-contest it on the Indian immigration issue. Comrade de Silva publicly issued the following challenge to the Prime Minister at a reception meeting to Opposition MP's held in Colombo recently:

"If Mr. Senanayake is willing to resign his seat in Parliament before Nov. 25 (when Parliament convenes), I will resign mine and fight out the election with him in the Wellawatte-Galkiss constituency on the Indian or any other issue. Let us see whether he has the courage to take up this challenge in the fortnight that is left him."

TRADE UNION UNITY CONFERENCE

PARIS—A group of revolutionary trade unionists of various tendencies, which include responsible officers of the Parisian Book Trades Union, National Teachers' Union, Building Workers' Union, as well as members of the Metal Workers' Union, militants of "Front Ouvrier" and "Ecole Emancipee" tendencies, and the independent militants of the CGT, issued a manifesto to all trade unions announcing the convocation in Paris on Feb. 1 of a national conference for Trade Union Unity.

The revolutionary trade-unionists, while condemning the betrayal of the reformist and Stalinist leaders, stand for trade union unity. They point out that the split in the trade union ranks only weakens the working class, and puts the factional struggle inside the unions ahead of the class struggle against the capitalists.

Their manifesto states that if the bureaucratic policy of the Stalinists has played into the hands of the splitters of the "Workers Force" group, the Social Democrat Jouxhaux and his supporters are no more democratic in their methods.

"It is sufficient to see how Capocci (leading member of the 'Workers Force') pushed through a vote at the National Council of the Employees Federation to affiliate with the 'Workers Force,' explains the manifesto. Thus, a group of fifty functionaries dared vote to split from the General Federation of Labor without any reference to the rank and file.

"Bureaucratism," the manifesto continues, "is a necessary consequence of the abandonment of a revolutionary policy... Both Franchon and Jouxhaux (the Stalinist and Social Democratic trade union leaders) remained united on the basis of a class collaboration policy so long as the Socialist Party and the French Communist Party collaborated with the government. They split when both parties opposed each other for reasons which have nothing to do with the workers' interests. If it is clear that every effort must be made to rebuild trade union unity, it is equally clear that this can only be achieved on a class struggle basis."

SECOND CONGRESS OF DUTCH R. C. P.

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 29—The second National Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party was held in Amsterdam from Dec. 25 to 27. About fifty elected and fraternal delegates, as well as two delegates of the sister parties and the International Secretariat participated in the Congress.

The main items on the agenda were: Discussion of theses on world situation, the situation in Holland and the Indonesian revolution, Statement of Principles and program of action drawn up by the Central Committee, organization report with respect to perspectives of economic struggles in Holland, Resolution on defense of the Soviet Union, Report and self-criticism on trade union movement and attitude of the RCP, Treasurer's report, etc.

This Congress, meeting two years after the foundation of the RCP, showed the political and organizational progress made in the intervening period. It proved that the Dutch party has been successful in building a collective leadership, and in striking deep roots in the working class and trade union movement.

The Dutch Section of the Fourth International intends to proceed from this successful Congress to transform itself, in the coming period, into the effective vanguard party leading the Dutch working class in the struggle for its immediate and historic interests.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun., 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun., 3 p. m.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3966. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—618 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.
FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily, 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 E. Pacific Room 214.
WATTS—Militant, 1729 E. 97th St., LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 Sat., 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. to 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Tues., 8:10-9:30 p. m.
NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.

A Militant Subscription

By Theodore Kovalesky

I don't think I'll ever forget how it was that first time. I remember standing in the hallway, a bundle of papers under my left arm, one copy of the current **Militant** in my right hand. I had that nasty feeling in my stomach, the feeling you get when you sense that something very unpleasant is going to happen.

I heard a step inside the apartment. The feeling in my stomach got a little worse. I wondered frantically how I was going to start. Where were the words I had practiced at home?

A large woman pulled open the door. I held up **The Militant**. "Uh," I said, "I've got a paper here..." She looked at **The Militant** and at me. She could see I had a paper. "So what?" she asked.

"But this is a workers' paper," I told her. The rest of the words didn't come. I was new in the Socialist Workers Party then.

"So it's a workers' paper," she said.

"Here's what I mean," I told her. "I'm trying to sell subscriptions to this paper, **The Militant**, that is..."

"Look, pop," the woman said, "don't try to tell me you're working your way through college." She shut the door and left me standing in the hallway, feeling like a fool.

Right then and there I wanted to go home. I wanted to stop in at Emil's place for a drink and go home. The only time I ever tried to sell anything before was once when I answered one of those phony "help wanted" ads during the depression, and that wasn't a success either.

Only I didn't go home. I remembered how the organizer had told us, "You never can tell who you may run into. There are people waiting for **The Militant**. There are workers looking for a way out of the trap that capitalism has thrust them into. Maybe you'll find some of those workers today. But whether you find them or not, you've got to do your best to sell subscriptions to **The Militant**. When they read it,

they'll learn. Their friends may pick the paper up in their houses. That's one of the ways we spread the word of Socialism. That's one of the ways we fight for Socialism."

I knocked on another door, a lot of other doors. Some people weren't home. Others weren't interested. I warmed up to the job, and a few people bought the paper just to get rid of me.

I was almost ready to go home when I tried one more house. A boy answered the door. I guess he was seventeen or eighteen, a typical teen-ager, wise-cracking, full of life and energy.

When I told him why I was there he thought it was a big joke. He wanted to know if he could own his own garters under Socialism, or whether he'd have to share them with the rest of the world. But I didn't mind that particularly. I like kids, and I've always felt I could talk with them.

I told him how the giant corporations control the world, how they make wars and depressions, how they run the government and keep the workers in poverty and insecurity. As an example I mentioned the Memorial Day Massacre, when the Chicago cops shot down ten men whose only crime was picketing for union recognition.

"Hey," the kid said, "I know a guy that was there. He was a pal of one of the guys that got killed."

The kid started asking questions. We talked for a long time, hours, I guess. Finally he said, "Well, maybe I'm nuts, but I guess I'm a Socialist too. I agree with what you say."

He didn't have much money. He bought the paper for six months instead of a year, but he wanted me to let him know when he could come to one of our meetings.

Walking home through the snow I remembered how silly I felt earlier in the day. I didn't feel silly any longer. I felt great. Because there was a kid, a wisecracking, energetic kid who had fine new thoughts that night, a kid with a new world opening up before him, and I had brought him the key to that world... a subscription to **The Militant**.

The Negro Struggle

An American Story

By Albert Parker

This week we are going to devote our column to a story reported in the Jan. 16 issue of the **Gary American**, a Negro paper published in the Calumet steel mill region of Indiana. We are not going to draw any moral from this story, because we think most of our readers will be able to draw it for themselves. All we want to do is repeat that this is a story about Indiana, and not Georgia.

On New Year's Eve a man was struck by a hit-and-run driver on Catalpa and Guthrie Streets in East Chicago. The victim's name was Paul Rybinski of 3637 Block Ave. Nobody knows who the driver was except the occupants of the car.

"Because the gas station on that corner had no phone, an unidentified man who saw Rybinski struck was directed next door, 3612 Guthrie Street, to call for help," the **Gary American** story reports.

"Mrs. Katy Mason, who operates a beauty shop at that address, immediately called the police headquarters and informed them of the location and urgency of the accident.

"The intersection of Guthrie and Catalpa Streets is in a section of town which is heavily populated by colored people.

"Just a moment," the desk man answered Mrs. Mason. "I'll give you the sergeant." She repeated the

facts to the sergeant on duty.

"Is the man white or colored?" the sergeant inquired bluntly.

"What difference does that make, he's lying on the wet pavement, probably dying," Mrs. Mason snapped and hung up the receiver.

"Several minutes later a patrol wagon drew up alongside the knot of spectators who stood about the injured man debating whether to risk their own unskilled efforts to aid him or await professional attendants.

"The patrol wagon driver shouldered through them, glanced briefly at the victim, and satisfied that the inert figure was not a Negro's, inquired for the nearest available phone.

"They sent me," he remarked casually to the spectators, most of whom were colored, "to find out whether or not he's a white man."

"Then he went to the beauty shop phone and called for an ambulance to take the injured man to the hospital."

Rybinski lay in the street "for more than 20 minutes after the accident was first reported by telephone." When the ambulance arrived, he was conveyed to St. Catherine's Hospital and admitted at 5:35 p. m. He died at 10:40 p. m.

The **Gary American's** story concludes: "Paul Rybinski, age 37, is survived by his widow, and two daughters and a son."

"Men Here May Speak and Think"

By Art Preis

We can breathe more freely now. We don't have to worry one bit about the status of our democratic rights and civil liberties. At least that was the gospel according to Attorney General Tom Clark in his speech last week at the Cathedral Club banquet in Brooklyn.

The author of the recent political blacklist of "subversive" organizations pooh-poohed the notion that Truman's "loyalty program" endangers free speech and political freedom. "Why," said Mr. Clark, "until danger appears clearly and presently on the horizon, men here may speak and think as they will, protected in that liberty by the Constitution's Bill of Rights."

Now, that sounds reassuring, Mr. Clark. But there's still a mite of doubt in my mind. Let's take Truman's "loyalty program," for instance. I've had the notion that it's a "disloyalty" purge. It provides for a secret investigation of the private lives and opinions of some two million government workers. They can be fired out of hand by department heads for even being of "doubtful" or "suspected loyalty."

They can appeal, all right—but they're guilty until they prove themselves innocent. They're fired first. They can get a hearing—but they can't examine FBI

evidence and reports and they can't confront their accusers.

Now what does that spell to you, Mr. Clark? It spells—and smells—G-E-S-T-A-P-O to me.

And how about that little political blacklist of yours, Mr. Clark, in which you on the basis of your sole judgment and authority, presume to publicly brand a number of working-class organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, as "disloyal" and "subversive."

I suppose that was intended to make the members and sympathizers of these organizations feel free to speak as they please—free, that is, of threats, intimidation and coercion from the government.

Civil rights, Mr. Clark? How free do you think the Negro people feel down in Louisiana, or in your own fair state of Texas, after those lynchings of Negro war veterans when your FBI couldn't track down and jail the killers with an eye-witness list? But you'll do better, won't you Mr. Clark, with your own little list—that bulwark of civil liberties.

It's surprising your blacklist isn't Exhibit No. 1 on the Freedom Train. But then the Freedom Train contains only historic documents. But some day yours will be too, Mr. Clark. In fact, it will probably be the only thing you'll be remembered by.

Notes from the News

NAACP DOCUMENT ON SALE—Under the title, **An Appeal to the World**, the NAACP last week published the document it had presented to the UN on conditions facing Negroes in the U. S. This important publication, which may be obtained for 50c from the NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, is analyzed by Albert Parker in the current issue of **Fourth International**.

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION — Mail received by Senator Gurney, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee is running 7 to 1 against Universal Military Training.

BARGAIN SALE—The War Assets Administration put up for sale 5,076 bronze battle stars in good condition at 3 cents a throw. The medals had no takers, even though it was explained that the bronze stars could be converted into costume jewelry for handbags and were also very handy as pendants for galoshes.

500 SHIPS—The CIO National Maritime Union plans to send a mass delegation to Washington to oppose the transfer of 500 ships contemplated under the Marshall Plan. The union points out this would dump 25,000 American seamen on the beach.

CIVIL RIGHTS—CIO President Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Carey issued a call for a CIO National Conference on Civil Rights to be held in Cleveland, Feb. 19 and 20.

SWEARING OK—An NLRB trial examiner solemnly ruled this week that even a lady, when walking the picket line may call a scab "a scab," and even

and they can't confront their accusers.

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Operation Rathole in Greece

Last March when President Truman enunciated his doctrine in relation to Greece and Turkey, I vigorously opposed it because I felt that while it pretended to be humanitarian and to promote the peace, it was actually militaristic and war-like, at variance with all historic peaceful traditions of the United States. I pointed out that it would not settle anything in Greece but on the contrary would aggravate the unhappy condition of the Greek people. I predicted that the large amount of funds sent to Greece and Turkey would be wasted, and that we would be starting what is now becoming known as operation rathole—the pouring of American dollars down an endless drain.

All reliable reports since have verified the correctness of that position. It is clear that conditions in Greece have become aggravated, that the money Congress appropriated has been squandered, and that soon the administration will ask for huge additional funds. Not only have we broken with our American tradition by sending a military commission into Greece during a peacetime period, but it has now been announced by the Truman administration that the commission will be tripled in size.

Only this week end, an American radio commentator reporting on his recent visit to Greece stated that the guerrillas now occupied more territory than they did last summer when the Americans first came. He reported that Communist influence is spreading in Greece. On the other hand, we are informed that the 300 million dollars already appropriated is practically expended and that the United States must withdraw or appropriate more funds.

Many Americans have wondered how a small band of 10,000 rebels could hold off a Greek Army of more than 100,000—an army on which the British had spent a half billion dollars and which was costing the American taxpayers another quarter billion dollars. I asked competent observers and was told a fact which I rarely see in print—that the Greek Army of the present Royalist government does not want to fight their brother Greeks. It appears that the Greek Army consists of men who would otherwise be unemployed. They are willing to get Army pay—financed incidentally by the United States—but they are unwilling to shoot fellow Greeks in behalf of the corrupt Royalists who are supported by United States funds.

(Speech of Rep. Bender of Ohio, Congressional Record, Nov. 25, 1947.)

TOLEDO—4,500 workers of the Spicer Manufacturing Unit, Local 12, CIO United Automobile Workers, left their jobs Tuesday, Jan. 13 in protest over the disciplinary lay-off of a fellow worker.

A drill press operator was given a 3-day suspension because he could not operate his machine at the killing speed demanded by company time study officials. The workers left their jobs after the company refused the union's request that the man be put back to work.

The walkout was completely spontaneous. The general feeling among the workers was that each one of them would have reacted similarly to the company's attempt to speed them up. "If this man is guilty of anything, then we're all guilty," was the way one worker put it, "so we'll take a 3-day penalty."

The present conflict is the outgrowth of a deliberate corporation campaign to reduce wages by demanding more work for the same amount of money.

Following the action taken by Spicer workers, 400 workers of the Swartzbaugh Co. left their jobs because the chairman of their shop committee had been given a 30-day lay-off. These workers have been out four days so far. They are determined to resist the efforts of the company to undermine their union.

THE MILITANT

NLRB Seeks Drastic Injunction In Move to Smash ITU Strikes

RR Barons Greed Kills Ten Kids In Sled Tragedy

TOLEDO, Jan. 14 — Ten children were murdered by the greed of the railroad trust at a crossing at Archbold, a small town about 40 miles from here, last week.

The children, from 3 local families, were out in a bob-sled pulled by a neighbor. He had promised to take them sleighing as soon as there was enough snow on the ground. The group had to cross the railroad tracks to get to where they were going. Approaching the track, the driver stopped to let a freight train go by. He then started to cross the track but did not see a fast passenger train coming at 80-90 miles an hour.

The speeding train struck the sled and scattered the children's bodies a mile down the right-of-way.

There are thousands of death traps like this all over the country. The railroad trust, which recently received a 2 billion dollar freight rate increase, refuses to spend money on elimination of grade crossings. The government cannot seem to find the money to eliminate these killers of hundreds every year.

The county coroner closed the hearing on the deaths of 10 children with the verdict that "there was no undue negligence" by anyone. However, it is clear that the greed of the railroad barons and the unconcern of the government stand guilty of murder of 10 kids who never had a chance.

Army Purges Sperry Unionists

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y.—Five workers have been arbitrarily transferred out of their departments in the Sperry Gyroscope plant here at the command of the U. S. Army. These transfers were carried out in complete violation of the union agreement. The company simply informed officials of CIO United Electrical Local 430 that the army had ordered the men off their jobs on the grounds that they were "bad security risks."

The army further threatened to withdraw its contracts if the company failed to comply with the order. Four of the five men involved are prominent in the local as Stalinist stewards and officers.

Efforts of local union officials to obtain assistance from the Stalinist-dominated leadership of UE District 4 have thus far proved fruitless.

Similar evasion was displayed by President Fitzgerald at an enlarged stewards meeting held at Manhattan Center on Jan. 15. Fitzgerald found it difficult to recommend a plan for union action beyond writing to Congressmen and approaching local community leaders for support.

Spicer Workers Protest Speedup

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Film Men Sue Studios



About to fly to Washington where they pleaded not guilty to contempt charges are (l. to r.) Edward Dmytryk, director of the movie **Crossfire**, and film writers Alvah Bessie and Ring Lardner, Jr. Lardner and Dmytryk have filed multi-million dollar breach of contract suits against their companies for having been fired because they defied the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Federated Pictures

Housing Crisis Worse Than Ever While Billions Are Spent for War

One of the most outrageous features of Truman's 40 billion dollar war budget for 1949 is his allocation of only 40 million dollars for a long-range housing program.

Housing remains the most critical social problem in America. The country, according to the government's own estimates, is 12 1/2 million units short of the necessary adequate dwellings for minimum decency and health.

Yet the atomic bomb project in Truman's budget is to get 17 times as much money in 1949 as public housing.

The latest Census Bureau figures show the housing shortage is getting worse, not better, since the end of the war. In October 1945 there were 1,200,000 families living doubled up. Today, as Secretary of Commerce Harriman told the Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee on rent control, there are more than 3,000,000 families doubled up.

Housing experts of the Truman administration have repeatedly stated this country needs 1,250,000 new dwelling units per year for the next ten years to overcome the housing crisis. Yet in 1946, the number of new units completed was 437,000; in 1947, they numbered 376,000. In 1925-22 years ago—new dwellings completed were 937,000.

Such residential building as has been completed is further contributing to the scandalous housing crisis because few workers and veterans can afford to pay \$800 to \$10,000 for a home worth \$4000 to \$5000 in 1940. They cannot afford to pay \$83 per room per month rent on new and reconditioned apartments.

JERRY-BUILT

Moreover, many of the hastily-constructed, high-profit dwellings erected in the past two years by greedy contractors and real estate firms are already falling apart. A big scandal is brewing in connection with the frauds perpetrated under the Veterans Housing program.

Morris Verner, compliance director for the Federal Housing Expediter, revealed last week that of the approximately 1,000,000 houses built under the priorities program that expired a year ago, an estimated 200,000 failed to meet specifications or were sold above ceiling prices. Contractors and real estate sharks rushed in to get materials priorities, promising to meet certain specifications. Now the defects of these jerry-built houses are beginning to show up.

Some 19,000 complaints are on file, but only 30 cases have as yet been turned over for court action because the housing authorities haven't enough investigators to check the complaints. In Sacramento, a veteran's son threw a ball right through the wall of the house into a bedroom. In Baltimore, a builder cut a foot off each house in a row and squeezed in one house more than specifications.

Furthermore, the veterans housing program was to deliver 2,700,000 new permanent dwellings in two years. It completed only 1,500,000—and many of those are defective. The most serious situation is in

The National Labor Relations Board on Jan. 16 petitioned in the Federal Court at Indianapolis for a sweeping nationwide injunction against the AFL International Typographical Union and its four top officers.

This is the most drastic attack on the ITU in the conspiracy of the NLRB and the Big Business publishers. It is a definite effort to break the strike of ITU Local 16 members against all the Chicago dailies, as well as walkouts in more than a dozen other cities. It is an attempt to force the ITU to sign open-shop contracts under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Federal Judge Luther N. Swygert promptly ordered the union to answer the petition by Feb. 2, although the official hearing was set for Feb. 9 in Indianapolis.

The injunction would restrain the ITU from making any agreements embodying the so-called "unfair labor practices" charged in NLRB complaints and now the subject of NLRB hearings.

DRASTIC RESTRAINTS

It would restrain the ITU anywhere in the country from "engaging in, ordering, calling, advocating or counseling strikes, slowdowns, or other disruptions of the operations of the employers, in further-

ance of the acts and conduct enjoined in other sections of the petition." Moreover, the injunction would restrain the union in advance "from taking or advocating any like or related action" after the NLRB has rendered its decision on the publishers' charges against the union.

About all this injunction would permit the union and its officers to do would be to breathe—and not much of that.

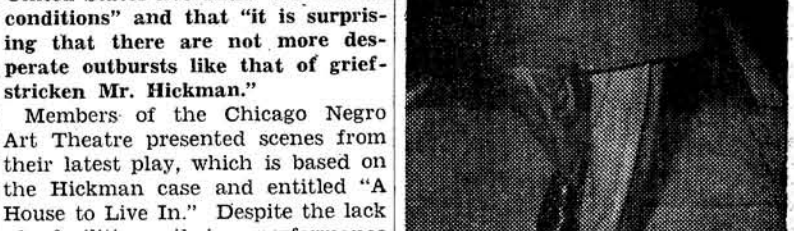
ITU President Woodruff Randolph said the NLRB "asks that the ITU officers be restrained from everything publisher aides claim we are doing that they do not like. The NLRB is shown up for what it is under the show-labor Taft-Hartley Law, a Simon Legree. Cracking the whip for Big Business in the newspaper field, the NLRB asks for an injunction based on the imagination of those preparing the complaint."

The NLRB and its general counsel, Robert Denham, have issued six series of complaints against the ITU. At first the Board insisted that spokesmen for the American Newspaper Publishers Association—800 newspapers with 90% of the national circulation—did not have to submit details of time, place, etc., of alleged "unfair labor practices." ITU attorneys finally compelled the Board to require specific facts from the publishers.

FOUND A STOOGE

Every hostile tactic against the union is being resorted to by the Board. When Randolph refused to submit union records revealing ITU strategy in fighting the Taft-Hartley Act, the Board found a traitor:

\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$



Those two volumes under the arm of Herbert L. Miller, U. S. Chief of Records Management, are the new 40 billion dollar war budget submitted by Truman to Congress.

Federated Pictures

Reese J. Highfield, secretary-treasurer of the Akron ITU local, to turn the material over to the union's enemies. Highfield was later overwhelmingly repudiated by the Akron local.

The Chicago strike was called after five months of fruitless negotiations for wage increases. The publishers refused to submit any specific wage offers unless the union agreed to sign a contract disavowing its traditional closed shop policy. Nothing in the Taft-Hartley Act says a union must sign such a contract.

Over 240 ITU locals have won wage increases ranging from \$7 to \$15 a week without signing a Taft-Hartley type of open shop contract. Most of these shops are now operating under "conditions of employment" posted by the union. Other locals have "gentlemen's agreements." Five have signed 60-day termination contracts.

GLARING WEAKNESS

The ITU struggle has brought out, however, a glaring weakness of the unions in the printing industry—craft division. With the aid of other unions, the struck newspapers are continuing to operate partially through a typewriter-engraving process. The head of the AFL Photo-Engravers Union in Chicago, William V. Clemens, has gone so far as to attack the ITU and support the publishers' lying charges of ITU "refusal to sign a contract."

The ITU is today bearing the brunt of the Big Business-Taft-Hartley board union-busting campaign. That is why the ITU is entitled to the unstinted backing of the whole labor movement.