

Recent Upsurge of Labor Movement in China

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII—No. 26

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

WORLD MANIFESTO OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Against Wall Street and the Kremlin! For the Program of the "Communist Manifesto"!

For the World Socialist Revolution!

Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Fourth International to the Exploited Masses of the World

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Paris on the hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, with representatives from 33 sections attending, considers it necessary to give, on the basis of its communist ideas, aims, and tendencies, its answers to the problems now facing the revolutionary vanguard and humanity as a whole.

After living through two world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis and terrible experiences under dictatorial regimes, humanity is now confronted with the threat of a new economic catastrophe and a new world conflagration.

The present situation is the inevitable culmination of the capitalist system. With unequalled clarity, the authors of the Communist Manifesto a century ago described the laws of motion in capitalism. They revealed its tendency toward unlimited expansion, and its need to refashion the whole world in its image. Today capitalist production has penetrated the most backward countries of the globe. It has unleashed miraculous productive forces. It has constantly revolutionized its own technique, substituting the combustion motor and electricity for steam, and breaking down matter to feed its insatiable need for energy.

Capitalism has made these advances between economic crises, by means of its own contradictions. Having previously destroyed the former modes of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, as it advances, continually destroys the most inefficient of its own.

Acceleration of Crises

After completing the entire cycle of its existence, capitalism has begun to reject the very principles attendant at its birth. The merging of trusts and cartels into veritable industrial and banking monopolies eliminates free competition within a country and even between countries in many branches of industry. Just when its feverish advance appeared free of all obstacles, capitalist expansion imposed artificial restrictions upon production. Having reached its natural limit toward the creation of the world market, all its explosive force turns upon the bourgeoisie itself. Then the system begins to decline, as the two authors of the *Manifesto* predicted.

Economic crises succeed one another at an ever faster pace, paralyzing the life of whole nations, and reducing entire layers of society to complete ruin. Social crises convulse all countries, undermining governments and precipitating revolutions, counter-revolutions and civil wars.

The immense technical achievements are diverted from general use or utilized exclusively for destructive ends. The sudden spurts in production which periodically still take place no longer enrich but rather impoverish the vast majority of mankind. The perfecting of the division of labor on a world scale shatters the world market. The evolution of history completely changes its course. Instead of bringing civilization to the backward peoples of the world, capitalism in its decline destroys the political con-

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SWP CONVENTION ON RADIO

Thurs., July 1—11:15-11:30 p.m. (EDT) over American Broadcasting Co.	Sat., July 3—2:00-2:30 p.m. (EDT) over American Broadcasting Co.
KEYNOTE ADDRESS by James P. Cannon	"SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM" by Farrell Dobbs
Fri., July 2—11:30-11:55 p.m. (EDT) over Mutual Broadcasting System	"THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS" by Grace Carlson
"WORKERS & FARMERS GOVERNMENT" by Farrell Dobbs	Tues., July 6—11:15-11:30 p.m. (EDT) over Columbia Broadcasting System
"THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE" by Grace Carlson	"WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY" by Farrell Dobbs

(All times listed above are Eastern Daylight Time. Subtract one hour for Central Daylight, two hours for Mountain Daylight, three hours for Pacific Daylight.)

80th Congress Record: All for Big Business, Nothing for the People

Behind the Velvet Curtain



Actions of Bi-Partisan Gang Show Need for Labor Party

The bi-partisan 80th Congress adjourned on June 20 after achieving a perfect record: Everything for Big Business, nothing for the American workers.

As a fitting climax to their unrelieved record of reaction, the Republican and Democratic legislators rammed through the peacetime draft bill and billions for the ERP program.

The draft bill will drag young men between the ages of 19 and 25 into the armed forces for 21 months. Amendments to eliminate anti-Negro discrimination and to limit war profits were, naturally, shouted down.

They approved more than \$6 billion in appropriations for the militarization and bolstering of the capitalist states in Europe and Asia.

They adopted an anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic bill to permit the entry of "up to" 205,000 refugees—so designed as to exclude all but about 16,000 Jewish refugees, keep Catholic entrants to a minimum, but leave the door open to former Nazis.

Congress, in its closing sessions, also found time to run roughshod over a presidential veto and enact the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, permitting the railroads to fix their own rates by mutual agreement without being subject to anti-trust prosecution.

Ignored real needs. Naturally, with all this "important" last minute business to transact, Congress just didn't have time for "minor" items of benefit to the people. Among the bills Congress scuttled were:

- To increase minimum wages above the present 40 cents an hour;
- To outlaw the poll tax, curb lynching and illegal racial discrimination;
- To establish a government health insurance system;
- To initiate a long-range public housing program;
- To extend social security to several million workers excluded by the present system;
- To provide federal funds to aid

Rail Trust Gets Congressional Green Light for Another Steal

By Arthur Burch

In the closing days of the Congressional session both Senate and House overrode the veto on the Bulwinkle-Reed bill by overwhelming majorities. Under the terms of this new law the railroads as well as the rest of the transportation industry can fix rates, schedules and timetables without fear of the anti-trust laws. Although previously, approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission was required, now such approval is made virtually mandatory.

Never was a more brazen steal jammed through Congress. Senator Hill of Alabama said it meant the establishment of a "super-government." Senator O'Mahoney pointed out that the transportation companies would be permitted to set up "a private collectivism to regulate the whole transportation industry. We have a government of big business, by big business and for big business."

Although the anti-trust laws never actually stopped the carriers from milking the public and

by means of boycott, coercion and intimidation force independents into line, yet on occasion, investigations and actions were instituted against the railroads when the steal was too flagrant. Now in the words of Senator O'Mahoney "all the agreements which affect rates, fares, equipment, facilities and service can be made in secret meetings, without supervision."

CRIMES MADE LEGAL

At present, suits are pending in Georgia and Nebraska against the railroad companies for violation of the anti-trust regulations by the use of boycott and intimidation against independent carriers. When the Bulwinkle-Reed Bill was originally before the Senate, provisions were enacted to safeguard these suits. Another clause prohibited boycott and duress. Both these provisions were removed before final passage thereby legalizing the railroad's past as well as future crimes. When even some members of the Justice Department claimed that the bill was too raw, Senator Reed of Kansas merely shrugged his shoulders and called them

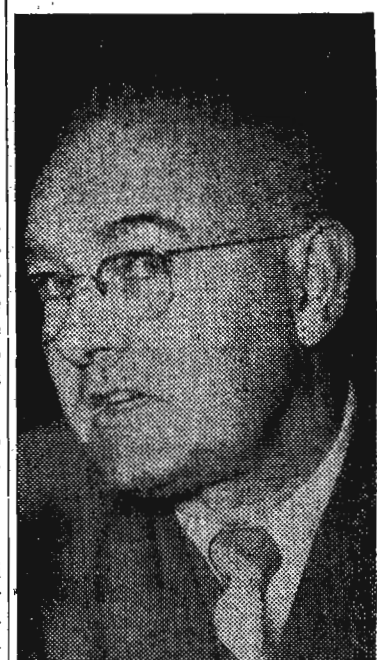
"screwballs."

Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the two great railroad investment banking houses left nothing to chance in jamming this bill through Congress. Their man, Mr. Fletcher, organized a country-wide lobby which put pressure on every single legislator. In his letter to his state organizations, Fletcher wrote: "I am seeking to assemble here in Washington a very complete record of each member of Congress with particular reference to the influences which control him and the persons on whom he relies for support." That Fletcher deserves his salary is made clear by his diligence in getting more than two thirds of both Senate and House to pass a measure so dishonest that even Truman was forced to veto it.

In a desperate last effort to get his colleagues to look, stop and listen, Senator Hill blurted out some truths that The Militant has long expressed:

"By passing the bill we shall have taken the first step leading inevitably to government ownership and operation of the rail-

roads, for the people will soon come to realize that if we are to have a monopoly cartel, a super-government controlling the transportation industry, then the super-government should be their government, and they will insist



President W. T. Farisy of the Association of American Railroads and his fellow magnates are exempt from prosecution for rate-fixing by passage of the Reed-Bulwinkle Bill over presidential veto.

Federated Pictures

that that monopoly cartel be turned over to the Government of the United States, which will mean Government operation and control and ownership of the railroads."

That's the next logical step: Government ownership of railroads and operation under control of the rail workers.

Connecticut SWP Hits Half-way Mark

NEW BRITAIN, June 21—A total of 4,600 signatures was reached by last week in the drive to get the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Connecticut. The law requires a minimum of 8,300 signatures to be filed by Sept. 2.

SHOT-GUN TACTICS

Now the government is intervening immediately and directly in every major labor dispute. It becomes a party to the negotia-

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UNION WAR VETERANS SPLIT FROM LEGION

130,000 members of the American Legion, organized since 1938 in the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, have withdrawn in a body from the American Legion.

At a convention two weeks ago, the NCUILL voted to quit the American Legion, condemning it as a hopelessly anti-labor organization which cannot be reformed from within.

For ten years, American Legion posts composed of union men, all war veterans, have attempted to make the Legion leaders conform to the Legion's charter, which states that the organization is against "the autocracy of both the classes and the masses." In practice, they have been exclusively against the masses.

AN IRON GRIP

Since the Legion was formed in 1919, it has been outstandingly and notoriously anti-labor. It has been run from the top by an oligarchy of brass hats and reactionary business men who have maintained an iron grip on the organization.

During the '20s and early '30s, the Legion leaders incited and organized vigilante and strike-breaking violence against union picket lines and broke up many a union meeting. Even so conservative a publication as *Time* magazine wrote in 1935 that: "Ever since the Centralia, Wash., massacre of 1919 (when Legionnaires led by businessmen smashed up an IWW meeting and lynched Wesley Everett), the nation's most potent strike-breaking force has been the American Legion."

Since the rise of the CIO and

the tottering public school systems.

Earlier in its sessions, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and outlawed portal-to-portal pay. It handed the corporations billions by reducing corporate profits taxes. It added more billions in the form of huge reductions in income tax for the rich, with a few crumbs thrown to the workers. These crumbs are being snatched back through the price inflation to which Congress has given a big impulsion by:

Voting more than \$14 billion for the direct military budget; handing out more than \$6 billion for "foreign aid" against "communism"; cutting the guts out of rent control; renewing wartime government subsidies to bolster prices of the meat, grain and dairy interests.

"PROGRESSIVE VICTORY"

This is the Congress which the union leaders and the CIO-PAC helped to elect and which they hailed as a "progressive victory" in November 1946. We will have more such "progressive victories" if they continue to support the old parties.

This Congress puts a thousand punctures in the myth of a fundamental difference between the Democrats and Republicans. On the war program, as well as domestic issues, the majorities of both parties consistently lined up together in the interests of Wall Street.

These Senators and Representatives have adjourned to reconvene in smoke-filled rooms behind the scenes of the Republican and Democratic conventions to determine what presidential candidates will be most acceptable to the bankers and industrialists who finance the capitalist political parties.

Their record is conclusive proof that the American workers need their own labor party, backing their own candidates and fighting for their own class interests.

the growth of the American labor movement, the American Legion leaders haven't dared to use violence against strikers. Most of them are too soft and fat for that anyway. The veterans of World War II haven't taken to the Legion very much, and many of them have been found on the picket lines since they came home.

ENDORSED REACTION

But the Legion oligarchy continues to demonstrate its hostility to labor at every opportunity. It has sought to discourage union legion posts and expelled legion leaders of local posts. It has endorsed every anti-labor and reactionary measure before Congress.

The disaffiliation of the NCUILL from the strikebreaking American Legion is a welcome step. Decent union men don't belong in an outfit like that. The Legion does not now, and never has, spoken for the rank and file of veterans. It is a tool of the Big Brass and of Big Business.

The NCUILL could do a great service for union veterans and labor by enlisting the cooperation of the AFL and CIO to form a genuine veterans organization fighting for the needs of the veterans in the spirit of organized labor. The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany teaches what can happen when veterans become the prey of fascist demagogues. That will not happen here if the American labor movement organizes the veterans and fights on their behalf.

One Year of the Taft-Hartley Slave Law

By Art Preis

American labor has endured one year of the Taft-Hartley Law. On June 23, 1947, began the era of Taft-Hartleyism, ushered in by the bi-partisan Republican-Democratic coalition in Congress.

We have had ample time to measure in life the practical consequences of this law. We are able to weigh in the scales of living experience the attitudes and conduct of the union leaders since the enactment of the Slave Labor Law. Events themselves have already passed judgment on what they have said and done.

Servility, light-mindedness, cowardice are the least derogatory terms we might use in absolute fairness to describe the immediate response of most union leaders, both AFL and CIO, to the newly-forged legal

chains for labor. They whined or blustered with mere token words of protest. They rushed to get "under the wire" of compliance with the yellow-dog oaths and other special requirements of the Act.

SANCTIONED SURRENDER

The AFL convention last October witnessed the leaders of more than 7 million organized workers railing and ranting against John L. Lewis, who warned that accepting any part of the act meant bowing to the "first major thrust of Fascism in the United States." They voted eagerly instead to commit the entire AFL to its exactions. After several leading CIO international unions beat the bell and signed the yellow-dog oaths, the CIO convention sanctioned capitulation by any affiliate that saw fit to surrender. And capitulate they did, one after another, with the

auto workers taking the lead.

They were going to "live with" the law. They imagined that they needed only to swear they weren't "communists," to work out a few contractual formulas for evasion of the law and everything would be hunky-dory. Some even figured they could squeeze a bit of benefit from the law—it might be a good thing to keep the militant rank and file quiet, to use against the "communists" or to raid the jurisdictions of non-complying unions.

A brief summary of one year of the Taft-Hartley Law suffices to prove how wrong, how blind these union leaders are.

The machinery of this enormously complex law is just getting into swing. Yet, since it was passed a year ago, it has already ground out twelve federal injunctions to restrain acts or demands of national unions. This is a greater total than in any similar

time-period of American labor history.

ARROGANCE AND VIOLENCE

Behind the protective barrage of Taft-Hartleyism, the employers have moved with uniform arrogance to deny and whittle down labor's wage demands. They beat down with local injunctions, professional strikebreakers and police violence the strikes of the CIO packinghouse workers, Wall Street white collar workers and CIO cable workers. The steel, telephone and glass workers didn't get a cent. The shipyard workers have settled with one company for five cents. Railroad workers are still trying to settle the "second round" issue. The coal miners are fighting to enforce the health and welfare clause of their last contract, with new wages still up in the air.

Unions which signed the yellowdog oaths have brought 2,116

A Flaming Revolutionist

By E. R. Frank

"Everybody wants to get into the act," says Jimmy Durante, the radio comedian. Everybody nowadays wants to claim Gene Debs as their own. Stalinists, Social Democrats, FDR liberals, the venal time-servers, the career-grubbers and general all-around scoundrels—all have become ardent admirers of the great socialist agitator. They are like the crooked businessman, who lies and cheats and gouges and abuses people all day long; there isn't a good thing he can say for himself. But at least he'd like to claim some honorable forebears for his own.

The thing started a year ago when the publishers issued a monstrosity called "Adversary in the House" by Irving Stone. An insult to the memory of a great rebel—if there ever was one. Stone makes the axis of his book an alleged conflict between Debs and Katherine Metzel, his wife, who according to the author, was hostile to the socialist cause. Even worse than this cheap Hollywood scenario, Debs emerges in the book as a kind of Christian do-gooder who would be like a fish out of water on the picket lines, but could fit in perfectly as a fellow delegate with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on a UN discussion panel of an International Health Commission. This for Gene Debs, the intrepid fighter of a hundred class battles, who never gave an inch to the philistines, whose ardor never cooled, who entered Atlanta prison at the age of 63, as he said, "a flaming revolutionist."

The Norman Thomas crowd, who continue, out of old habits and inertia to call themselves "socialists," have now decided to put in their spurious claim for Gene Debs' memory by helping issue the recent book of his writings and speeches, which George Breitman reviewed for *The Militant* on May 31. Characteristic of this crew, sailing under a flag not their own, and by which they often seem slightly embarrassed, they got a big-name historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, to write the introduction to this work. What does it matter that Schlesinger is an officer of the Americans for Democratic Action, a typical career-grubbing FDR liberal? Schlesinger has a little difficulty deciding just what Debs did accomplish by all his street-corner speeches. But he finally comes up with the gem that Debs' work was after all not wasted because "Those years of education forced on the people . . . saved this country from civil war in the depths of depression and gave Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . the understanding public and trained workers for the immediate job he had on taking over." If Debs didn't accomplish a hell of a lot himself, he at least paved the way for the New Deal! That's the Norman Thomas Socialist Party "tribute" to Debs.

With all this renewed interest in Debs, the Stalinists figured they had better stake their claim. International Publishers got busy and just

issued a booklet, "Gene Debs: Story of a Fighting American," by Morris and Cahn, which is now being run serially in the *Daily Worker*. It's pointless trying to review this new biography at length. A typical Stalinist hack job. Everything the Stalinists touch comes out the same way—robot-like, lifeless, synthetic. Even when they repeat some worthwhile idea or genuine thought, it has, out of their mouths, all the indecency of a drunkard giving a lecture on sobriety.

There is nothing unexpected or surprising in this. How can hacks, whose spines have been caved in by an impersonal machine, who live by the lie and grovel before power, write about Debs, the rebel with the unquenchable flame and the great heart? It cannot be done.

You don't have to read very many of Debs' articles or speeches to quickly realize that Debs was indeed a man of great feeling, great sentiment, great nobility of character. He could talk of mother, of love, of a comrade's handclasp, he could recite the poetry of Victor Hugo and even James Russell Lowell—and with him it always rang true.

But don't get the false idea that Debs was just a good-natured, slightly naive slob simply spouting soap box speeches for the brotherhood of man, as his latter day "disciples" would have us believe. Debs knew exactly what he was about. I am making no attempt here to write the story of the great socialist orator, agitator and campaigner, whose revolutionary instincts were always true, who was always on the right side of the fight in every big question and dispute. That story still remains to be written—as one day it will be—for the example and inspiration of all revolutionists, living and to come.

Debs understood to a "T" his role in the movement and in life. And he played it out deliberately and surely, with consummate skill and passionate devotion. He not only spread the gospel from one end of the country to the other, and made socialism American and a power to be reckoned with and feared, but he kept the flame of revolution alive in the Socialist Party and in his period of activity, held at arm's length the growing tribe of lawyers, political climbers and middle class reformers and preachers. Time and again his voice rang out in denunciation and warning against the Hillquits, Boygers and their ilk, who wanted to convert the Socialist movement into a harmless reform society and a club for up-and-coming labor careerists. "I am willing to be charged with almost anything," he ironically remarked in his Canton speech, "rather than to be charged with being a leader. I am suspicious of leaders, and especially of the intellectual variety."

Nobody has any right to claim Debs but revolutionary socialists. And that's us—and nobody but us.

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Stalinists Push 'Rule or Ruin' Policy While NMU Faces Crucial Struggle

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK CITY, June 22 — American shipping magnates, their high priced legal hirelings and Truman's agents are on the battleground they love best, the Federal courts, seeking way and means to strangle the CIO National Maritime Union and the other waterfront unions.

Upon the expiration of the union's contract last week the government secured a temporary injunction against a strike. This injunction was observed by the union only because it specifically upheld the status quo, particularly the all-important union hiring hall.

Under the legal fiction the period of the temporary injunction is supposed to be used to reach an agreement. However the operators' strategy is not to leave the field they have chosen. They have made no serious attempt to come to an agreement. Upon the expiration of the temporary injunction two days hence, the government will undoubtedly secure an 80-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The key issue of the present controversy is the union hiring hall, which the shipping operators are now trying to eliminate. Under the hiring hall procedure, the union dispatches the men for the merchant vessels on a democratic rotary basis. This was won only after seamen waged bitter struggles on both coasts and finally wiped out the previous vicious practice of buying jobs and being helplessly victimized by shipping crimps.

MANY UNIONS INVOLVED

Involved with the NMU in the present critical struggle are the West Coast longshoremen, West Coast Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Engineers, the Radio Operators and the Marine Firemen's Union of the West Coast. Although the AFL sections of the industry are not directly a party in the injunction proceedings, they are nevertheless closely tied up and will be vitally affected since the NMU settlement will set a pattern for the entire industry.

There is no mistaking the temper of the seamen on the hiring hall issue. The membership of the waterfront unions are determined to fight for this. However they might be divided on internal union matters, their ranks are closed on this issue.

Should the government move in on behalf of the operators and declare the hiring hall illegal, then injunctions notwithstanding, they will have asked for and will confront a national maritime strike.

The present crucial struggle is being carried on by the NMU under the most difficult conditions. The Stalinist faction that held the union in an iron grip for many years, faces almost certain ousting when the results of the election are announced after June 30. In the interim, the Stalinists are seeking to extract the last factional advantage out of every development in the union-shipowner battle.

FACTIONAL BATTLE

Being concerned exclusively with discrediting Curran and the rank and file caucus that he leads, the Stalinists are carrying on an hysterical and utterly reckless factional battle. Unfortunately, their control of the union's leading body, the National Council, still exists until the election ballots are counted.

Despite the fact that this lame duck council is thoroughly dis-

credited and despised by the great majority of the seamen, it continues to act as if it were the leadership and had the full confidence of the membership.

The Stalinists in the NMU are now calling for an immediate strike against the government injunction. They act on the basis of "Rule or Ruin." These factional hacks, who spent so many years trying to discredit the very idea of striking, now wish to appear as the super-militants of the union.

The maliciously demagogic character of this Stalinist "super-militancy" is illustrated by contrasting their big talk in the NMU, where they are on the run, with their attitude in the West Coast unions where they are in the leadership.

Harry Bridges, Stalinist president of the West Coast longshoremen, is quoted in the press as saying: "They think they are going to give us an 80-day cooling off period. We'll switch it around and make it a warming up period. 80 days is just fine to get tightened up." In other words, Bridges is going to respect the injunction. This is a far cry from their deliberately-fomented hysteria in the NMU.

Not the least of the crimes committed by the Stalinists in the maritime industry has been their cynical exploitation of the great sentiment for unity to institute a series of shabby maneuvers. These have brought about increasing disunity and division of the labor unions in the maritime industry, which naturally seriously handicap the seamen's fight at the present time.

The sad fact today is that the NMU, entering a fight which will affect not only its own existence but that of every other maritime union in the industry, is fighting

practically a lone battle.

The leadership of the independent Marine Firemen's Union of the West Coast, whose contract has similarly expired and which will be immediately affected by the outcome of the present battle, announces very simply to its membership that its strategy is to "sit tight" and wait for developments on the East Coast.

The AFL Seafarers International Union, whose contract expires July 23, is presently engaged in negotiations but refuses a joint front with the NMU.

All other maritime unions will win or lose by the outcome of the NMU's fight. But their leaders are concerned for the most part with possible factional advantages and narrow prestige considerations. Thus, in effect, anti-Stalinist AFL union leaders have joined with the Stalinists in a treacherous guerilla war upon the NMU now proceeding both from within and without.

But despite the difficulties, the chips are down. On one side, the government and shipowners are lined up under the banner of the Taft-Hartley Act. On the other side stand the seamen and longshoremen of the maritime industry. An attack upon the union hiring hall means war on the waterfront. For the hiring hall is the foundation of the maritime unions.

There will be no middle or neutral ground in this fight. Now as never before every maritime worker must close ranks with the NMU in this struggle. All inter-union differences must be subordinated and all good union men unite in the battle to preserve the fundamental union gains. The life of the maritime unions—and what it means in the way of tolerable conditions aboard ship and ashore—is at stake.

Klan Terrorism



A band of 100 men wearing the white hoods and robes of the Ku Klux Klan invaded a Negro girl Scout camp near Bessemer, Ala., and ordered instructors Katherine Nickel of Birmingham and Elizabeth Hams (r.) of Knoxville, Tenn., to leave. The two women had been training the girls to become Scout camp instructors. Federated Pictures

TEAMSTERS SCAB-HERD IN STRIKE AT BOEING

SEATTLE, June 21—United States District Judge Bowen refused to issue an injunction requested by the National Labor Relations Board to force the Boeing Airplane Co. into negotiations with the striking Aero Mechanics Union. This was a blow to the 14,000 aircraft workers who are hoping for an early settlement of their eight-week-old strike.

Throughout a day-long session before a jammed courtroom, the Judge gave ample evidence of his antagonism towards the strikers. He warned them that applause or laughter would not be tolerated. He repeatedly overruled objections from the NLRB lawyers. His final decision—that the union was no longer the legal bargaining agent because it had violated the 60-day strike notice requirement of the Taft-Hartley Law—was based partially on evidence and opinions that even the company lawyers had not submitted. The only person testifying was Wm. M. Allen, president of the company, who arrogantly attacked the strikers and boasted of the 200 million dollar contract just awarded him by the Air Force.

But the crowning disgrace of the hearing was the intervention of Dave Beck's Teamsters' Union. Their attorney echoed all the company arguments about the "illegality" of the strike and asked the court to grant the Teamsters Union jurisdictional rights in the plant, where they are already at work signing up scabs.

The NLRB hearing on unfair labor practice charges filed by the union against the company at the outset of the strike is scheduled for July 7, and union leaders are making a great pretense of confidence in the out-

come. This hearing, however, could easily drag on for months—while the resources of the strikers are drained dry.

The demoralization resulting from the Judge's company-inspired opinion is due to the mistaken policy of the union leaders, which consists of a religious observance of every legal technicality and an hysterical throttling of rank and file action, by means of red-baiting. Every day thousands of scabs, both ex-union members and new hires, stream from the plant gates obscuring the handful of pickets, limited by a previous court order. Thousands of other ex-production workers have left the area or found jobs in other industries with the encouragement of the union leadership.

All offers of assistance from the rest of the Seattle labor movement have been politely but coldly received. Seattle labor is genuinely concerned about the crucial Boeing situation, but the advice of experienced unionists goes unheeded. Thousands of dollars have been spent for ultra-respectable radio and newspaper advertising; thousands more for relief and welfare. But the parade of scabs continues.

Motions passed by locals eight weeks ago to hold a mass membership meeting have finally borne fruit. This FIRST general meeting since the strike was called will be held on June 23, at which time the leadership has promised to recommend a "course of action." Boeing workers have thus far held out magnificently against the combined attack of the company and Beck. Determined militancy in the form of a mass picket line can yet rally the great majority of Boeing strikers at this low point of the strike.

"American Bedlam"

By Grace Carlson

Using the tragically appropriate title, "Minnesota Bedlam," Geri Hoffer of the *Minneapolis Tribune* recently completed a series of feature articles exposing the sickening conditions in Minnesota's mental hospitals. But the story of bad food, barbaric restraints, inadequate medical care, poorly equipped and over-crowded buildings is not just a Minnesota story. Actually, Minnesota is about average in the amount of money spent on mental patients in state institutions. It is "American Bedlam" that is exposed in these articles.

In most state hospitals for the mentally ill, the patients get very little, if any treatment. They are prisoners, not patients! Restraints of all kinds are in use—leather mitts, cuffs, sheets, and even chains. This, despite the fact that modern psychiatrists declaim against the use of such and point out that physical force is unnecessary if the hospital has trained personnel, proper equipment and scientific methods of treating disturbed patients.

Here is one heart-breaking description of a tortured patient in one of Minnesota's mental hospitals as told by Geri Hoffer: "At one hospital, a thick door was unlocked for us and we looked in at an emaciated woman. Her wrists and ankles were tied to the bed posts.

Her hair was disheveled and her thin body strained at the tight sheets, which were used as one more restraint.

"At another hospital, we saw a man in his '30's, tied to his bed in much the same way. 'He's a bad one,' the attendant murmured. 'He's had to be tied up like that for years. We never take him out.'

"How do you know that he still needs to be tied up like that if you never take him out," we asked. But the attendant just shook his head and repeated, "He's a bad one."

And this is a story from Minnesota, one of the "free" states in "free" and rich United States.

These and other terrible conditions described are not the fault of the doctors in charge. There is only an average of one doctor for every 500 institutionalized mental patients, whereas, the ratio should be one doctor for every 132 mental patients.

Nor can the attendants be blamed for these conditions. Overworked, underpaid and almost completely uninformed about modern methods of handling mentally disturbed patients, the harassed attendants in mental hospitals are nearly as miserable as the unhappy patients.

No, the fault lies with the outrageously insane rulers of our society, who spend our money for cruel and senseless wars, rather than for the humane and reasonable treatment of the mentally ill. Some day, we will restrain them!

Philip Murray—Self Made Man

By Joseph Keller

CIO President Philip Murray has climbed up there with the "rags to riches" boys. His autobiographical success story, "If We Pull Together," is featured in the June issue of *American Magazine*, a monthly devoted mainly to the glorification of "self-made" business tycoons.

Murray's right between the covers with the well-heeled citizens who build the *American Magazine's* circulation with their modest descriptions of how they got rich by hard work, intelligence, character, patriotism and other virtues—not to mention their talents for squeezing labor and turning over a fast buck.

Like most *American Magazine* success stories, Murray's suffers the minor omission of the most significant details, like how he succeeded John L. Lewis in the CIO presidency by playing politics with a certain U. S. President known as the "unofficial leader of the American labor movement."

All Murray tells us of his career from the time Lewis put him on his payroll to the present day is modestly contained in the few words: "Position and power likewise hold no lure. I have never played politics to gain or hold a union office, and I never will. Naturally, I'm proud to have had a hand in creating the Congress of Industrial Organizations and in organizing the United Steelworkers of America."

Certainly, Murray is too modest in omitting from his personal success story his most recent achievement—getting the steelworkers convention to boost his salary \$5,000, to \$25,000 per annum, after his failure to get the membership even a cent more in wages.

We can understand better why Murray rates space in the *American Magazine* when we read the conclusions of his article. There we learn the

ideas which have made Murray the "labor statesman" he admits he is.

"Today, progressive businessmen regard their workers, not as antagonists, but as welcome partners. . . They accept trade unionism. . . In the steel industry, especially, we have found that the free and frank exchange of ideas by management and labor at all levels has generated a better spirit and better understanding of our mutual problems."

That after the steel moguls had just slapped the steel union in the face with a flat rejection of any wage increase!

We read on to the bitter end to find out that Murray does not offer "a class program" because, you see, "we have no classes in this country; that's why the Marxist theory of the class struggle has gained so few adherents. We're all workers here."

Now isn't that nice. The parasite billionaires who own the steel industry and live off the labor of the workers are really in the same class as the workers they exploit. The Taft-Hartley Law isn't "class legislation," as even Truman termed it. The strike struggles that have engulfed this country, rising to a crescendo in the past three years, are just "misunderstandings." The heirs of the Morgan, Rockefeller, Astor, Vanderbilt, Mellon, DuPont and other giant fortunes are just "honest toilers."

Yes sir! "America is still the land of opportunity"—even with an atomic war on the horizon, monopolies in the saddle, inflation blowing up the economy, the draft due in 90 days, and strikebreaking injunctions the law of the land. After all, hasn't Murray—the one-time pit boy—made the *American Magazine*!

VIGILANTES BURN UNIONIST'S HOME, TERRORIZE NEGROES

LOS ANGELES, June 19 — Arson, fire-bombings and death threats were employed this week against a prominent former CIO official and a Negro family. This is a manifestation of the national wave of terror inspired by the government's "red-drive," and carried out by fascist-minded vigilantes.

The home of Morris Zussman, former State CIO president and a Murray supporter, was fire-bombed for the second time in a month and a note left warning him to "Get out of town." On June 9 the same house was bombed by pieces of wood covered with gasoline soaked rags, and a small wooden cross planted on the lawn outside the house. A note left at that time contained red marks of "racial" animosity.

Death threats as well as several arson attempts were directed at the family of Dr. Geraldine Burton who had moved into a new house in South Los Angeles on June 4 following the recent Supreme Court covenants decision. The note read, "Blacks, go out or we will kill you."

Three separate attempts were made on the same day to fire the house, two of which were put out

by the fire department. Another Fontana tragedy was barely avoided as the 84-year old mother of the doctor and her two young children were home alone. The family was forced to move out for safety the following day.

READ

Fourth International

Status of the Labor Movement in China

By Chen

The Chinese labor movement was silent for about 20 years after Chiang Kai-shek took power in 1927. The movement rose strongly again after V-J Day.

During the Japanese occupation, half of China and the eastern sea coast was under Japanese military control. At this time it was almost impossible for the workers to fight, although their living standard rapidly went from bad to worse.

With the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, a political vacuum existed for a while. The labor movement, which was already fermenting during the Japanese occupation, grasped the opportunity and emerged into the open.

For the first time, the workers openly battled for two major demands, the "Rehabilitation Fee" and "Victorious Allowance," winning on both issues by their powerful strikes.

After the Kuomintang took over the power from the Japanese, they were forced to concede to the workers the right to strike and to organize into trade unions.

FOUR MILLION OUT

The workers' victory pushed the movement to a higher level. Strikes soon spread to every industrial city, centering especially in Shanghai. According to statistics of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Shanghai municipal government, there were more than 2,000 strikes from September, 1945 to April 1946, involving FOUR MILLION WORKERS. These are the official figures. The actual numbers were far higher. The sliding wage scale was won the first time by the Chinese workers in the course of this gigantic strike wave.

The material base of the Kuomintang regime had been deeply undermined. Even Washington's economic and military aid was largely in vain because the violent Stalinist-led peasant war was exhausting Chiang Kai-

shek's regime. This regime is weaker than it has ever been before. The fact that it is still in power is primarily due to the opportunist policy of the Chinese Communist Party rather than the help of American imperialism.

When the labor movement first surged forward, the members of the Chinese Communist Party were far from Shanghai in the "guerrilla area" of the mountainous hinterland. Shortly afterward, the Stalinists dispatched members to Shanghai and penetrated the mass movement. With their policy of class collaboration, they dampened the workers' militancy and helped end the strike wave. It was then that the Kuomintang began a banning strikes, arresting a lot of the militant workers, and restraining the unions.

The economic crises again came to a head in February, 1947. The capitalist government announced an emergency law of freezing wages, and thus plunged the workers into a condition of semi-starvation. The Railway and Postal Workers Unions there-

upon called a national convention at Nanking to prepare for a general strike. The workers in Shanghai went out on a general strike just after Labor Day in 1947. Over 200,000 workers from the main industries, a quarter of the labor population of Shanghai, participated in the strike. The government was forced to retreat and announced the partial abrogation of its policy of freezing wages.

In September, 1947, under the influence of their "left" line throughout the world, the Stalinists called an adventurous strike at the Shanghai Tramcar Co. Due to lack of preparation and the strike's isolation, it was badly defeated and more than 200 workers were dismissed by the company. The movement temporarily declined because of this defeat.

In February 1948, the workers of the Shen Sun Cotton Mill called a sit-down strike for a yearly allowance and rice as well as coal rations. The Stalinists led the workers into another impasse by ordering unprotected workers

to fight against the policemen. Several policemen were wounded in the course of the fight and withdrew from the scene. After a few minutes, the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison troops were mobilized. Thousands of soldiers and policemen, equipped with tanks and armored cars, surrounded the mill, fired upon the strikers with machine guns and tear gas shells. The unarmed workers, most of them women, resisted desperately and with unusual heroism. Unfortunately the whole act on was not prepared for by the Stalinists. About 400 workers were injured or killed in this engagement. We see here how the Stalinists exhaust the resources of the working class.

In order to wipe out the labor movement, the government at the present time arrests a lot of the active union members. Despite the treacherous and adventurist policies of the Chinese Communist Party which was responsible for the defeats, the movement has not been wholly destroyed. A new crisis will again thrust the labor movement forward.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year: 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 5, 1970. THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucracy are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism. —Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.

Supreme Court Rulings

Most union leaders have been spreading the notion that you can depend on the capitalist courts to nullify the Taft-Hartley Act. The logical conclusion is that labor doesn't need to fight militantly against the Act. All we have to do is wait for the federal judges to make their rulings. This false idea has just received a rude jolt. Far from nullifying this Act or any part of it, the U.S. Supreme Court on June 21 struck three rapid-fire blows against labor in defense of the Slave Labor Law. The Court put three sturdy judicial props under the law. 1. It refused to rule on the constitutionality of the section barring union expenditures in federal election campaigns. 2. It sustained the constitutionality of the section requiring union leaders to swear yellow-dog oaths that they aren't "communists." 3. It upheld the section requiring unions to submit their financial reports to the government.

News he did not violate the Taft-Hartley Act. It did not say that the CIO, or other unions, may contribute directly to a campaign fund, run their own candidates for federal office or build and finance their own labor party. On these decisive questions of political freedom, the Supreme Court demonstratively left the door open to future support of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Off the shakier ground of politics and freedom of speech and press, the Supreme Court took a more forthright stand. In the case of the yellow dog oaths and financial affidavits it backed the Taft-Hartley Act unambiguously. It has already given its opinion on the use of federal injunctions in the miners case during the Spring of 1947. Thus, the Supreme Court—the final court of appeal—has made it amply clear that it intends to uphold the Slave Labor Law.

This should surprise no one. The idea that the Supreme Court is, or ever was, "impartial" on class issues has been disproved by its whole history. It is made up of hand-picked legal sharks, all of them political time-servers of the Republican and Democratic parties. Like Congress itself, they are part and parcel of the political rule of capital, carefully selected to serve Big Money.

Palestine Truce

Under cover of the UN truce in the Palestine war, Count Bernadotte is trying to tighten the imperialist hold over the new Jewish state. He has already established a certain control over all immigration and seeks to further impose the imperialist hold by calling on the major sea powers to regulate and actually embargo all immigration from their home ports. In addition, the imperialists are again getting their hooks into the local situation by the dispatch of the so-called truce commission to Palestine and the arrival of planes and ships to blockade the coast in order to see that the conditions of the truce are enforced. Thus the imperialists continue their filthy barter in the blood of the Jewish and Arab peoples.

order to eventually squeeze the Jewish state out of the picture.

The proclamation of a Jewish state has thus solved nothing. A significant statement, recognizing this fact, was just made by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America. "I am convinced," he said, "that after the war is liquidated, there will be a continual political war directed against Israel. The eggs who may have been defeated in war or checked by international political action will not long remain at rest. There will be a large Arab population within Israel, and it will be surrounded by vast Arab hordes."

In other words, the Jews still have the problem of finding a way of living and co-operating with the Arab peoples—or they will be wiped out. Zionism thinks it can build an independent state, in absolute hostility to the whole Arab world, by maneuvering with the UN and in alliance with Washington. On that road lies ruin and calamity for the heroic Jewish fighters.

The Jewish people of Palestine can find a path toward co-operation with the Arab masses only by dropping the Zionist program, organizing a joint struggle against all the imperialists and their agents, and calling for the establishment of a Palestinian State, on the basis of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Boring From Within

In the old days, employers sought to disrupt the unions from within through secret agents and spies. There is plenty of that still going on. But now the companies have added a new twist to their tactic of "boring from within."

Under the guise of fighting "communism," they are openly attempting to influence union elections. An example is the electioneering leaflet addressed by the Inland Steel Company to Local 1010, CIO United Steel Workers, at Indiana Harbor, Indiana.

The leaflet is headed, "If You Pay Dues To Local 1010. . ." and is signed by Works Manager F.M. Gillis. It offers five "suggestions" to the union members on whom they should support in the union elections against the "communists."

Another recent instance of outside interference in the internal affairs of unions is New York Mayor O'Dwyer's move to split the United Public Workers and set up a dual union of red-baiting elements. Patrick J. Brady, vice-president of Local 111 of the UPW, met with O'Dwyer and discussed the "formation of a new CIO union."

The employers and their political agents have become slicker since the days when they relied primarily on labor spies. Now they serve their ends better and cheaper by supporting conservative and reactionary elements within the union against the "communists"—by which the employers very often mean genuine militants.

This follows the tactic advised by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in its guide to employers, *Communists Within the Labor Movement*, which states: "When the employer is confronted with American-minded union officials, he should treat them with friendliness and trust. They should not be compelled to fight both him and the Communists. . . he will encourage the decent elements in the union to remove subversive leaders."

To the C of C, a "decent" and "American-minded" union official is one who plays ball with the company. This insidious "outside interference" is encouraged very often by union officials themselves. In the June 14 *Militant*, we quoted the letter of a Murray lieutenant, the director of CIO Steel Workers District 38 in California, in which he directs his staff to notify employers "in whom you have confidence" of any union dissident the leaders want fired. You don't get "favors" like that from a boss without giving favors in return.

When the employers and their government agents tell the workers who to elect as union officers, what program to support, what kind of a union to have, that is the beginning of the end of independent unionism. That's the main "outside interference" menacing the unions today. The union ranks must tell the employers and their agents in no uncertain terms—"Keep your dirty snouts out of our affairs!"

The Kremlin's Newest Revelation-- Marx's Doctrine Found 'Outmoded'

By John C. Wright

The revision of Marxism, publicly launched by the Kremlin in 1942, has become more avowed. Stalin's "Red Professors" are today openly indicting Marx and Engels for a whole number of "errors."

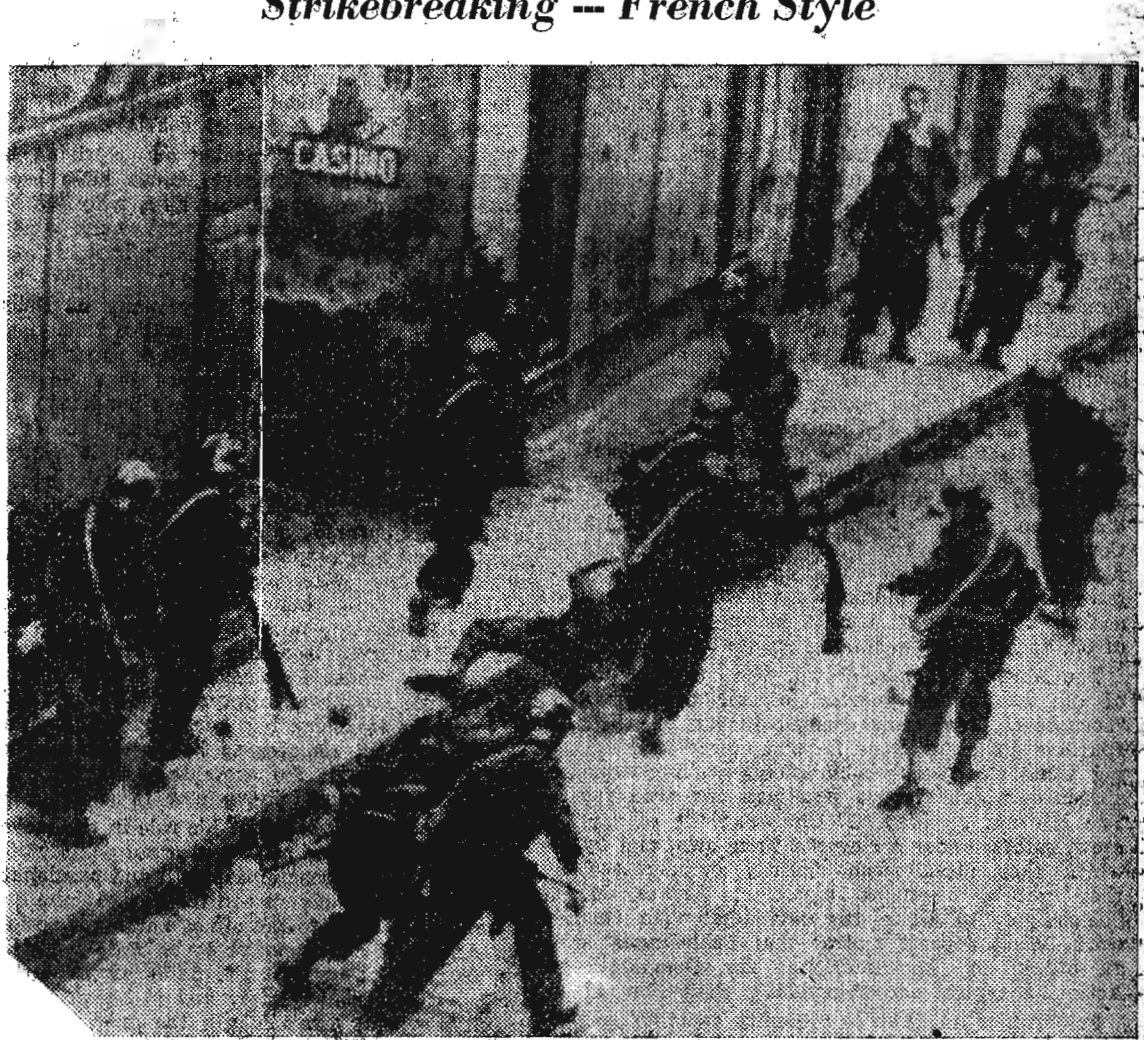
Marx and Engels were "wrong" in declaring that with the introduction of socialism, the law of value would no longer operate. They were "wrong" in maintaining that under socialism all distinction between mental and physical labor would disappear. They were "wrong" in maintaining that with the destruction of skills, all wage differentials would likewise disappear, and that socialist society would reward its members on the basis of the axiom, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." And so forth.

This sweeping attack on many of the basic Marxist propositions is contained in the new periodical *Voprosi Ekonomiki* (Problems of Economics), published by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union.

"THEORETICAL" JUSTIFICATION The whole purpose of this revisionism is to provide a "theoretical" justification for the enormous discrepancies between the living standards of the mass of the workers and that of the parasitic privileged bureaucracy.

The Stalinists pretend that Russia is "socialist." In reality, Russian economy is a transitional one, far closer to capitalism than to socialism. The October Revolution laid the social foundations for the transition to socialism, but this has not been accomplished. Nor can it be achieved within the framework of a single country.

When Marx and Engels, and after them Lenin, spoke of socialism, they invariably meant a world system that would encompass from the outset two or more advanced countries. They had in mind a productive apparatus far surpassing that of any capitalist country. Under socialism, there will be an immense increase in



French police attack strikers with rifle butts and clubs in the streets of Clermont-Ferrand, French tire capital. More than 600 strikers were injured and 3 killed in an 11-hour battle as 15,000 police and troops sought to break the 10-day old strike of 30,000 workers, who are demanding wage increases. Federated Pictures

labor productivity; a reduction in working hours, replacement of primitive modes of production in every sphere by collective and perfected labor, and so on. None of this exists in present-day Russia. Her industry far from surpassing that of advanced capitalist countries, still lags behind. Productivity of labor in Russia remains far below even present-day Western Europe. Primitive modes of production still prevail in one sphere after another. PEDDLE VULGARITIES Under these conditions of economic backwardness, it goes without saying that the "law of value" continues to operate, even if in sharply modified forms. The correct conclusion is that Russia cannot therefore be considered as a "socialist" society. But to acknowledge this is to proclaim the bankruptcy of Stalin's notorious theory of "socialism in one country." The Kremlin understandably prefers to declare Marxism "outmoded" and to peddle instead the same anti-Marxist vulgarities as do the apologists of capitalism. An example of this is the Stalinist glorification of the division between mental and physical labor. Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out time and again that this division is a special creation of the capitalist mode of production, and not a law of "human nature."

On the one hand, capitalism converts the worker into a mere appendage of the lifeless machine. On the other hand, capitalism makes of science and technology a productive force distinct from labor, pressing them into the exclusive service of capital. It is modern industry that completes the separation of the intellectual powers of production from the manual labor.

The Stalinists have taken this division of labor inside the capitalist factory and have proclaimed it to be one of the conquests "of the political economy of socialism created by Lenin and Stalin."

Lenin's name is dragged in fraudulently. Like Marx and Engels, Lenin recognized that a modern industry, even under capitalism, recognizes no form of production as final, but must continually revolutionize production. Modern industry necessitates variations of labor, fluency of function, undermining in one sphere after another skills, and

above all, the artificial distinctions between manual and mental labor. Socialism will complete this process. Modern industry, Marx correctly pointed out, drives society "under the penalty of death to replace the detail worker of today. . . by the fully developed individual, fit for a variety of labors, ready to face any change of production, and to whom the different social functions he performs are but so many modes of

giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers" (Capital, Vol. I, p. 534).

Socialism alone is capable of accomplishing this. The Stalinist bureaucracy obstructs the cultural development of the Soviet masses, and thereby of Soviet industry. That is why the Kremlin needs these new "theories" to justify its plundering of the economy for the aggrandizement of the privileged bureaucracy.

Letters from Our Readers

Wants Analysis Of Palestine War

Thank you very much for mailing me your two sample issues of The Militant, (May 17 and May 24) which I had requested in connection with Mr. Farrell Dobbs' radio speech over the NBC network. According to your news coverage (in these two copies), either Arabs or Jews are not in battle (and dying) or if they are, it is apparently not worth your considering or reporting. If this is your consistent policy I shall have to look elsewhere for a Socialist analysis of the Palestine situation about which I am deeply concerned. I'm not saying, nor implying that you have no position on the Palestine question, but I am stating that it is deplorable that during the height of the Palestine crisis, The Militant is silent. C. K. New York City P.S. I'm voting for either Mr. Dobbs or Mr. Thomas in this election.

Takes Issue With Palestine Position

As a member of the Socialist Workers Party who takes pride in the wonderful work performed by The Militant, I regret to have to take strong exception to your recent editorial on "The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine." The following are the main criticisms I have to make. The editorial acknowledges that British imperialism is backing "the feudal princeling rulers of the Arab States." But, on the other hand, it implies that Wall Street is behind the Jews. This implication is not supported by the facts. It is very well known that there is a rift inside the administration between Truman and the forces within the State and National Defense Departments which represent the oil monopolists. Truman wants Jewish votes and he is ready to back the Zionists; but everybody

Hear the SWP Convention on Your Radio

For additional information on speakers and topics, see p. 1. NEW YORK Thursday, July 1 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WJZ-770 on dial *** Saturday, July 3 2:00-2:30 p. m. (EDT) WJZ-770 on dial *** Tuesday, July 6 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WJZ-770 on dial *** BALTIMORE Friday, July 2 11:30-11:55 p. m. (EDT) WCBM-mutual *** Tuesday, July 6 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WCAO, Columbia *** CHICAGO Saturday, July 3 5 pm Chicago Daylight time WENR-890 on dial *** PHILADELPHIA Friday, July 2 12:10-12:25 p. m. KYW *** Saturday, July 3 2:00-2:30 p. m. KYW *** Tuesday, July 6 11:45-12:00 p. m. WCAU ***

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- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p. m. BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wofe 1753, Daily 9 a. m.—9 p. m., O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale. 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 3900. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—717 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DBArbom 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—8108 Linwood Ave., Phone TY 7-6277, 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., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St., Phone VANDyke 8061. SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214. WATTS—Militant, 1720 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. 6th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRoadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St., Phone Main 7781, Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.—8 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri., 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 105 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre). NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:30-10 p. m. NEWARK—428 Springfield Ave., Phone Bignon 2-2077, Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m. NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)—116 University Pl., Phone GR. 5-8149. SEATTLE—Marion Bldg., 1st Ave., East Side—251 E. Houston St., 1st fl., HARLEM—103 7th St., 110 St., Rm. 28 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p. m. BIRMINGHAM—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl., Phone LU. 9-0101. BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St., Phone CH. 2-9454. OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4. PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl., Phone Stevenson 4-6329. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m. PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 8:30 p. m. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m. Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett. TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily. YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302, Phone 3-1355, Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

World Manifesto of the Fourth International Congress

(Continued from page 1)

quests which marked its rise in the more advanced countries. A fetter upon human progress, the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary force in every sphere.

War epitomizes all the destructive and barbaric features of declining capitalism and dominates all human activities today. Technique, science, industrial production, politics and literature, all place themselves more and more exclusively in its service.

The global character of the imperialist war is derived today from the world character of capitalist production and its crises. The war of 1914-1918 was still essentially a European war. Referring to the Second World War, which left the three Americas as well as large sections of Africa and Asia intact, Trotsky stated in 1938 that the South Pole alone would be excluded as a base of operation. It is profoundly significant that the present strategic preparations for a Third World War point to a desperate struggle for the domination of the Antarctic continent. In such a war no people or continent would be spared, no national capital would be left intact, not a single oasis of civilization would be overlooked. The unchained forces of destruction would destroy in a few years what it has taken centuries of labor to build and would cover the whole globe with flaming ruins.

Danger of Total Destruction

Mankind is horror-stricken at the rapidity with which the military alliances for the next carnage are being forged even before the last war is formally ended by a peace treaty. This horror is focused upon the atomic bomb in particular. Just as the war seems to divest itself of all human control, and follow its own sinister logic, independent of the activity of thinking human beings, so the innumerable implications of the atomic bomb elude the plans of both experts and diplomats, upsetting the calculations of generals as well as of the stock market sharks. Never has man stood so aghast before one of his own creations, never has the worker been dominated by so formidable an object, never has living labor been so subjugated by dead labor. But at the same time that atomic energy leads capitalism with all its contradictions to the total destruction of human civilization, it also opens up the perspective of a new epoch of peace and well-being in a society ruled by the working class.

Intellectuals and petty bourgeois scholars are seeking a palliative for this permanent threat, which imposes a reign of terror over mankind, in the form of a "world government." For some this proposal is simply a theoretical justification of Wall Street's thirst for power. Others are sincerely striving for a magic formula to control the forces of destruction constantly unleashed by declining capitalism. Neither of them grasps the chain that links the global war with the decline of capitalism.

Only production for war is capable today of creating new outlets for capital, which is stifling in its own world market. War is nothing but the special mechanism with which the declining bourgeoisie tries to surmount its own contradictions. Far from succeeding, it can only provoke new contradictions while striving to eliminate the old ones. Far from eliminating competition, the monopolies give it a more sharpened form, manifested as much in the struggle between the monopolists themselves as in the competition between the middle men, who are being ruined in the process. Far from ending international conflicts, the epoch of the Big Four, Three or Two aggravates the conflict between the dominant powers.

To eliminate Germany and Japan as independent powers, American imperialism had to permit the rise of Russia and the revival of previously eliminated countries like France and China. To fight Russia effectively, it will be obliged to return independence to Germany and Japan tomorrow. This is not a question of errors on the part of Roosevelt or of the Machiavellian nature of MacArthur, but expresses the fundamental laws of capitalism. A single world power like the United States which hypothetically might survive all others could only leave the globe in total ruins, a prey to endless convulsions in national and colonial conflicts. "The war to end all wars," proposed by Burnham today, like the war led by Wilson yesterday, will not lead to Pax Americana, but to general chaos.

The Gravedigger of Capitalism

Just as capitalism at its zenith was incapable of controlling the forces of production, so in the period of its greatest decline it is equally incapable of controlling the forces of destruction. In the period between the two stages, it has dug its own grave and created its own gravedigger — the working class. The revolutionary struggle of the latter is the struggle to give conscious direction to society, as opposed to the blind forces which are inevitably dragging the capitalist world into global war. The fate of capitalism is already decided; its knell has already sounded. But if it is not to vanish into atomic dust, its fall must give way to the world communist revolution.

For over a century, capitalism was an expression of the most brutal negation of all human relationships. Its rule has been extended solely through the mechanism of its laws of production. The state was cherished by the capitalists insofar as it interfered as little as possible with the free functioning of these laws. All servitudes and all freedoms were, respectively, imposed and realized in the one freedom of trade — the worst of human bondages.

But this very mechanism of the laws of capitalist production which permitted the bourgeoisie to deny all human relationships so long as its merchandise played a revolutionary role, compelled it to make desperate efforts to modify the operation of these laws as soon as they became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Born under the sign of "laissez faire,"

capitalism now clings to the most parasitic kind of regimentation. It came to power in fierce struggle against absolutism, but today seeks the establishment of the totalitarian state.

Living for four decades on the narrow ledge between collapse and prosperity, terrified by constantly renewed threats of revolutionary overthrow, sensing in their balance sheets the repercussions of the disintegration of their economy, the monopolists inevitably must subject all spheres of social activity to their rigid control. The state, whose progressive disappearance the liberal attorneys of capitalism celebrated a century ago, is becoming a monstrous machine controlling men before birth and coining their corpses into gold after death. Liberal parliamentarism and imperialist democracy are succeeded by the epoch of totalitarian dictatorship.

Totalitarianization of Capitalism

Through the continually expanding mechanism of the capitalist state, the monopolists subject all economic life to their rigid control. By forced trustification, state distribution of raw materials, state control of credit, and nationalization of certain inefficient branches of industry, they impose their autocratic control upon the bourgeoisie itself as well as on the petty bourgeoisie. By incorporating the trade unions in the state, by forced arbitration, the restriction or total suspension of the right to strike, company unions, corruption, spies, and terrorism, they try to bridle the labor movement where they do not succeed in destroying it altogether. Through control of the educational system and with the assistance of their obliging ally, the Church, they try to prevent the development of class consciousness in working class children and to mold them for their own sordid interests. The press, the movies, and the radio have become gigantic institutions for molding public opinion, that is, for deceiving and corrupting the public for the benefit of the monopolists. They do not stop at enrolling the doctor, the lawyer, the poet, and the scholar as wage workers. They also dictate to them their own concepts of public health, law, literature, and science, stifling cultural life under the weight of their social conservatism. Rising capitalism reduced human values to exchange values. Declining capitalism crushes them under the heavy boot of its totalitarian police.

The totalitarian character of present-day capitalism shows itself in finished form in the fascist dictatorship. Organizing the desperate and impoverished middle classes, and utilizing all the crude age-old prejudices, German monopoly capitalism built a barbaric state which instituted the assassination in cold blood of seven million prisoners in concentration camps. But, as the Fourth International predicted, the "war to end fascism" has itself led to the introduction of totalitarian methods in the remaining democratic countries. The inability of the British Labor Party to solve the social crisis by miserable reforms, is throwing thousands of petty bourgeois into the arms of fascist demagogues. Under the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison, the British government, so proud of its liberalism inside the country, dismisses scientists suspected of communist sympathy. The penetration of military men in the main government posts in the United States, the close fusion of the "Sixty Families" and the "Brass Hats" in the diplomatic apparatus, the anti-Communist hysteria, the spy scares, the reactionary offensive of the church even within the trade unions—all these phenomena mark the progress of the totalitarianization of the capitalist state in the United States. What remains of bourgeois democracy in the different countries takes on an increasingly rotten and

putrid form, with generals and adventurers in the service of Big Capital invited in to help give it the finishing blow.

The totalitarianization of capitalism is the clearest proof that the social contradictions are henceforth incompatible with the "normal" realization of capitalist profit. Far from signifying a new stage of capitalist stabilization, it is the most violent expression of the death agony of this system.

Beneath its leaden crust, all the forces of decomposition within capitalism are continually at work. The system reels from social explosions which are leading to an international conflagration. The "highest" stage of capitalist organization is revealed as the organization of bloody chaos, which places the communist revolution on the order of the day.

Germany and China are mirrors in which humanity can see its fate if capitalism continues to exist.

Germany today has ceased to be a political, economic and social entity. With five provinces amputated, its body is divided into four zones of occupation. Its cities are in ruins, its fields impoverished, its inhabitants have taken to the roads by the millions to escape hunger or fear. Its economic structure is broken down and its national wealth destroyed or removed from the country; its labor force is pauperized and its trade paralyzed.

Scarcely 20 years ago, in spite of its defeat in the war and the crushing of the revolution that followed, Germany still possessed the most powerful industry, the most rationalized agriculture, the most highly skilled labor, and the most extensive trade on the European continent. On three occasions the German working class clearly wanted to take the fate of the nation into its own hands. Its seizure of power would have permitted the peaceful alliance of German technique with Russia's vast economic resources. The barriers which prevented the constructive use of its enormous productive power would have burst asunder. Devoted mainly to the satisfaction of human needs, this power would have ushered in an epoch of peace and well-being on the old continent. But on each occasion, an incompetent or treacherous labor leadership uselessly wasted the magnificent fighting energy of the German working masses. Exhausted after 15 years of futile effort, the workers were finally delivered without a struggle into the clutches of the Nazi dictatorship. The bourgeoisie then organized the powerful German economic machine for its own greedy purposes and developed it to such formidable and explosive strength that it finally buried all Germany in ruins, while overturning all Europe and sowing devastation in every country.

Treachery of Labor Leadership

China has been floundering for two decades in the convulsions of an aborted revolution. To the innumerable victims of natural catastrophes are added the millions of victims of social cataclysms. Wars, civil wars, insurrections, and punitive expeditions continually ravage this vast country. The old handicraft industry is falling more and more into ruins, but modern industry fails to grow. Usury devours the harvests, but capital fails to build roads. Inflation ruins the cities, but the landless and starving peasants continue to pour into them by the thousands. The government posts are offered to the highest bidder, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek exploits the national economy as if it were a family enterprise. Ruin, stagnation and decay are to be seen everywhere.

In the crucible in which the new Chinese society took shape, under the shock of imperialist penetration, a young industrial proletariat came into being which rapidly acquired a communist consciousness. Supported by tens of millions of poor peasants wanting emancipation, the workers had a remarkable opportunity to overturn the whole rotting structure of Chinese society, and at the same time, rid the country of the domination of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie. By unifying the country and rationally utilizing its immense national resources, the Chinese revolution would have been the signal for revolt throughout the entire colonial world, and would have sounded the death-knell of imperialism in all countries. Thus humanity would have been spared the Second World War and its disastrous consequences. But the Stalinist leadership caused the defeat of the Chinese revolution, so rich in promise, and thus condemned the country to an epoch of endless convulsions, while the living forces of the nation decayed.

Germany and China — a Warning!

In Germany and China are to be seen the horrible effects of the destructive forces unleashed by declining capitalism. While it reduces the most advanced and civilized nations to a state of brutish barbarism, it also bars the backward peoples from the road of progress. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, the advanced countries mirrored the future of the backward countries. Today Germany and China mirror the fate of whole continents if society does not free itself from the yoke of the decadent bourgeoisie.

If all the decaying tendencies in contemporary society seem concentrated in Germany, all the unspent powers of resistance to declining capitalism seem to be concentrated in the United States. While the American bourgeoisie emerged immensely enriched from two world wars, the old European continent was impoverished by the wars. The ruin of the European nations resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Yankee industry, agriculture and finance. The United States holds two thirds of the world's gold and capital investments today; half of the world's commerce passes through her gates. The Yankee dollar dominates the stock markets, the Yankee air force controls the heavens, and the Yankee navy rules the seven seas. From Nanking to Paris and from Athens to Rio, governments can maintain themselves thanks only to American credits. U. S. bankers divide up Latin America, while American oil companies buy up Arabian Sheiks. American military advisers direct the armed forces in Turkey and Greenland, and American merchants mete out the rations for Rome and Tokio. The Pope and the British Labor Government, the Franco dictatorship and the Australian democracy vie with one another for Wall Street's favors and the White House blessings. American films, dances, books and canned goods determine the mode of living in all countries.

But if the power and wealth of the United States are carved out of the stagnation and decline of the rest of the capitalist world, this decline in turn reacts irrevocably against the United States. The American bourgeoisie is today in danger of suffocating from its own wealth in the midst of a world dying from want. The entire planet does not suffice as a market for American industry. Wall Street is affected by every shock in every part of the world. It is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the American bourgeoisie was still seriously discussing isolationism. Today the Italian elections, the trouble in Palestine and the strikes in Japan have become vital questions for American imperialism. Just as monopoly capitalism tends to totalitarianize the life of a nation, so the dominant imperialism increasingly strives to Americanize the world. "One world or none"—these words of a politician mean, above every-

thing, the ultimate transformation of the world crisis into an American crisis.

American economy, politics and culture show all the signs of an approaching crisis. The terrible burden of public debt devours the nation's reserves. A raging fever of inflation, speculation, and unproductive investments, which always precedes a severe financial crisis, has gripped the nation. The decrease in profits will soon put a brake on production, which in turn will experience a decline as violent as its previous rise was unparalleled. Moreover, the crisis of the two-party system, the slow political development of the workers' movement, the growing influence of the Catholic Church, the pro-fascist tension charging the atmosphere (heightened chauvinism, anti-communism, race prejudice) forecast a complete overturn in the next ten years of the traditionally accepted concepts of American politics. Just emerging from their provincialism, the American imperialists find themselves confronted with the task of protecting capital throughout the five continents. Their enormous wealth can never compensate for their manifest lack of political experience. British imperialism was able to maintain world supremacy through economic power alone. American imperialism is today obliged to equip mercenary armies in every country. The British capitalists, in their period of ascendancy, were able to corrupt their own working-class movement with crumbs from their world profits. But Yankee imperialism in the period of capitalist decline cannot establish world domination without completely militarizing its own country and housebreaking its own proletariat. That is why the world offensive of American imperialism serves, at the same time, to educate the American proletariat in world politics. The forces liberated by the American crisis will line up in direct opposition to Wall Street's imperialist policy. The American working class will find itself for the first time face to face with its communist destiny.

Perspectives of the American Revolution

The American bourgeoisie, concentrating the world's most powerful industry between New York and California, has created a numerically very large and highly skilled working class. The U. S. proletariat faces a stormy development that will make up for the historic backwardness of its labor movement. Under the whip of the great crisis of 1929, the working class made a formidable leap ahead, and attained a very high level of trade union consciousness. With the magnificent rise of the CIO, the American trade union movement became the most powerful in the history of capitalism. Under the whip of the next economic crisis, the consciousness of the American workers will make a new leap forward and will acquire political consciousness. The politicalization of the American working class movement will be the most explosive and the most threatening that capitalism has known since the Russian Revolution. This development confronts American capitalism from now on. To prepare themselves for boldly taking over the leadership of this movement is the duty of the American Trotskyists. The absence of a strong reformist and Stalinist tradition provides them with an unusual opportunity. The country which today concentrates within itself the whole capitalist development will tomorrow give the revolutionary movement its highest expression. The sweep of American imperialism throughout the world will surely cause the American revolution to be the signal and the motive force of the world revolution tomorrow.

(Continued next week)

ONE YEAR OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

(Continued from Page 1)

tions all along the line. It abrogates the right to strike in advance of a threatened walkout. It dictates the terms on which a union must settle and with whom it must negotiate. The capitalist government, in effect, puts the Taft-Hartley shot-gun to the union's head and says "Sign on the dotted line as I dictate, or else."

Consider some of the recent uses of the Taft-Hartley Law. Take the ITU case, for instance. Federal Judge Swigert last March ordered the ITU and its affiliates to "cease and desist" from making certain demands which had been in ITU contracts for 50 years. For the ITU leaders even to raise these issues in current negotiations places them in jeopardy of huge fines and imprisonment for "contempt." The effect of this injunction, if observed within the interpretation of the NLRB and the employers, would be to compel the ITU to sign a contract on the employers' terms. They cannot even refuse to sign a contract. They must eventually sign one within the framework of the judge's order or be subject to "contempt" penalties.

Or take the case of the Taft-Hartley injunctions that Truman hurled at the AFL atomic workers in Oak Ridge, the railroad workers and the maritime workers. These unions hadn't even gone on strike. They were merely threatening to strike. Truman's injunctions said in each case that such strikes were barred IN ADVANCE. This is a new and unprecedented use of federal injunctions. The very right to strike, under this procedure, becomes a dead letter.

GOLDSBOROUGH DICTATED

In the case of the United Mine Workers, the use of injunctions was carried an unheard-of step further. Federal Judge Goldsborough dictated to the UMW that it must sit down and draft a contract with certain specified coal operators' agents, with whom the union refused to deal. There is no way labor can "live with" such a law. To play around with it is like playing catch with a bottle of nitro-glycerine, or

dancing on a combination time-bomb and multiple boobytrap.

In the past, you might hear put down the union leaders' mess around with the Taft-Hartley Act to ignorance or fool-hardiness. We have seen enough of its explosive and damaging effects now to place on such generous interpretation on their continued failure to take adequate measures to nullify this law.

The experiences of the past year have demonstrated that you can't "get around" the Taft-Hartley Law. You cannot deal with its hundreds of deadly provisions piece-meal. You cannot depend on the capitalist courts to safeguard labor's rights.

The only way to escape the Taft-Hartley Act is by a gigantic, unified effort of the whole labor movement to nullify in action every word and clause of it, and wipe this tyrannical act from the statute books.



Irwin Rogers, 37, of Sunshine, Ky., paralyzed from the waist down as a result of a mine accident, is carried from a train at Oakland, Calif. He is one of the first 12 miners who will undergo special treatment under the United Mine Workers welfare program.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seven new subscriptions from Colorado this week heralded the opening of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign there. Henry Adams reported the seven new readers will join others there in circulating petitions to put the SWP on the Colorado ballot this fall. Everywhere *The Militant* will be in the forefront of the party's campaign for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. Every new reader will be a potential campaigner.

Three renewals and one new sub, plus a new sub for Fourth International, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, came from Connecticut, where the petition campaign to put the SWP on the ballot is at its height.

Subscriptions continue to come in from radio listeners who heard one or both of the national broadcasts by Farrell Dobbs.

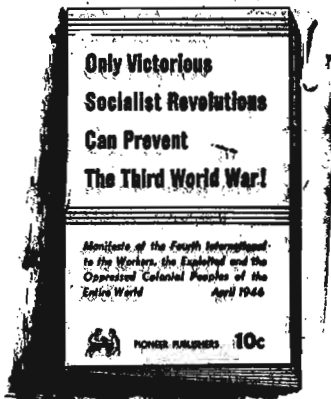
Seattle Branch sold 200 copies of the May 21 *Militant*, containing the first Dobbs radio speech, and gave away 150 copies to Boeing workers on strike. The sales were made at union meetings, house-to-house, and around a steel mill.

With these copies were distributed leaflets announcing a public forum built around the Dobbs broadcast. "We had a fairly good attendance," wrote Marianne Stanley, "but the most

important result: We recruited three new members. We also hope to get subs from several of the people who bought single copies of *The Militant* and showed much interest in our program."

San Francisco obtained 11 subs in two Sunday mobilizations. Of the last five, three were sold by Sara and one each by Frank D. and Barbara.

Chicago South Side turned in four renewals from the first of five callback mobilizations that are planned. "We intend to call on all those subs have expired," said T. Hook, literature agent. Two other new Chicago subs were sent in by Joy Langer.



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