Wall Street Rushes Aid To Ramadier's Cabinet

- See Page 3 -

VOL. XI - No. 20

CLEVELAND, May 8 - In the militant spirit that marked every hour of their four-day convention, the 400 delegates to the Fourth Annual Convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America answered the anti-labor drive of Big Busi-9

By William Charles

An example of the kind of

justice the capitalist courts

was revealed last week when

whose Bourbon members

were appointed by Roosevelt

and Truman, gave their se-

cond judicial OK to the legal

lynching of an 18 year old Negro

youth, Willie Francis, at St. Mar-

ness with fighting calls to action on the economic and Supreme Court political front.

Their answer to the Hartley-Taft straitjacket bills was "to urge the leaders of organized la-bor to consider such militant Negro To Chair joint national action as a oneday national work stoppage."

On the political field the packinghouse workers blazed the trail for the American union movement by breaking demon- have in store for minorities stratively with both the Democratic and Republican parties. the U.S. Supreme Court, Its political action resolution also called on the union's local to run and support "independent candidates dedicated to the interests of the electorate and that at the proper time along with all other groups in the community interested in the ob-

tinville, Louisiana. Francis was denied three times jective of the people's welfare, (they should) join together for appeals for mercy by the Louisithe purpose of establishing an ana Supreme Court, and twice independent political party so by the U.S. Supreme Court, as to give the voters an oppor- which thus upheld the convictunity to vote for representatives tion handed down at a mockery that will act in their interests." of a trial in a Jim-Crow lower

In presenting this resolution, court. the chairman of the Resolutions A year ago, young Francis was taken to the electric chair Committee, Milton Siegel, of Armour Local 4 in St. Paul, de- for a crime allegedly committed clared that "the Democratic at the age of 15. The first at-Party as well as the Republican tempt to electrocute him failed because of faulty equipment, and Party is a tool of the industrial and financial monopolists." He ever since then the wheels of "justice" have been grinding reminded the delegates how Truman broke the railroad steadily forward to send this strike last spring and that more youthful victim of Jim Crow Democrats voted for the slave- through a second ordeal of eleclabor Hartley Bill than voted trocution.

against it. Siegel got a big ova- Before his death, Francis tion when he asked: "Is there thanked the thousands of peowas sealed by the fascist-like ra-

This resolution came to the cial laws in Louisiana, which are litical Action Committee, tried terrorize the working people into

Fighting Policy Adopted By CIO Packing Union By Ted Selander

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

THE MULTANT

Build A Tank Trap!



tion when he asked: "Is there thanked the thousands of peo-any reason why we shouldn't ple in this country and abroad have packinghouse workers in who had supported the fight to congress representing our inter-save his life. Knowing his fate This resolution came to the floor only a few hours after Jack used by the Bourbon land-own-Kroll, director of the CIO Po-litical Action Committee, tried terrorize the working people into

Mahoning County CIO Council

Workers Of The World, Unite

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

By Harry Frankel

YOUNGSTOWN, May 10 -The Mahoning County CIO Council at its last regular meeting called upon the national CIO to initiate a 24throughout the nation. The Council favors such a stoppage as a blow against the plans of Big Business and the politicians Packinghouse Workers of Amof both major parties to hamerica last week urged "the leadstring labor, and as a protest ers of organized labor to considgainst the anti-labor bills now pending.

action as a one-day national. This is the latest in a series work stoppage" in answer to the f moves against the labor-Hartley-Taft slave labor bills. baiters undertaken by the labor The Mahoning County, Ohio, movement in Ohio. On April 30, over 2,000 CIO and AFL work-CIO Council on May 10 called ers crowded into the State Senfor a 24-hour general work stopate chamber in Columbus to page throughout the nation as protest bills to outlaw the clos-Business to hamstring labor. ed shop and hit at the labor movement in other ways. The workers hooted, cheered, whistled, sat in the aisles, and in consisting of 19 AFL, CIO and other ways broke the Senate rules and disturbed the decorum of that august body. stoppage if the bills pass.

READY TO FIGHT

Representatives of the AFL and CIO told the Senators that | was passed by the Greater Flint abor would not be intimidated. Labor, they said, has fought in Michigan, on April 26. They call- Street Journal reported that the past and is ready to fight ed on the National CIO "to im- Truman's strategy would be to again in the future. Passage of mediately call a 24-hour Gener- refuse to sign the measure and he law would only make a lot al Strike throughout the U.S." to make counter-recommendaof law-breakers, one of the AFL speakers said, and he for one would not advocate not break- Workers, held in Cleveland April lican-sponsored bill, but leaving ing the law.

The CIO speakers pointed out tional labor holiday of all mem- manded by Big Business. that this present campaign bers of the labor movement being conducted under the slo- CIO, AFL, Railroad Brother- strategy - to sponsor tough gan "Against the Labor Mono- hoods and independents-in pro- measures while at the same time poly" is similar to the cam- test against anti-labor legisla- gaining credit for "defending"

Urges Stoppage Anti-Labor Legislation As the Senate by a vote of 68 to 24 passed the worst anti-labor legislation in decades, an increasing number of union bodies called for a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike. Only by such militant

ionism in America.

er such militant joint national

401

action, they hold, can laaction, they hold, can la-bor hope to halt Wall Railroad Brotherhoods of Manshour general work stoppage Street's drive to smash un- field, Ohio, called for a one-day protest holiday. And District 3,

The Fourth Annual Con- New York Upstate Council of the vention of the CIO United CIO United Electrical Workers urged Philip Murray to call a one-day national stoppage.

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Meanwhile, the top bureaucrats of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, were banking wholly on a veto of the Taft-Hartley bills by President Truman. High-ranking Democrats predicted that Truman would exercise the veto, but Truman gave no indication of his views while the bills were being dea blow against the plans of Big bated, refusing to put pressure on Congress and refusing to mo-On May 11 the Western Mary- bilize public opinion against the

land Labor Unity Conference, Taft machine. Truman is known to favor independent unions with 20,000 strong anti-labor legislation; members, wired heads of all un- however he fears the conseions urging a one-day protest quences at the polls in 1948 if he goes on record for the Taft-

The first of such resolutions Hartley bills. A week ago (May 7) the Wash-Industrial Council of the CIO, ington correspondent of the Wall A conference of the Foundry tions, trimming off some of the Council of the CIO United Auto, most vicious items in the Repub-26-28, likewise called for "a na- in all the major provisions de-

This was the old Roosevelt

to blame the workers for the re- submission, he decided to di actionary Congress now in courageously.

Washington and warned they Despite his youth, he declared better get busy and provide the he would die "like a man," which funds for another "all-out fight was in contrast to the barbarous to elect friends of labor in 1948." judges howling for his blood. The packinghouse workers an- After hearing of their decision, swered Kroll and the other un- he invited his jailers to lead him ion bureaucrats who are trying to the execution and asked his desperately to keep labor chain- lawyer to make no more appeals ed to the Democratic and Re- on his behalf. Evidently he had the All-India Trade Union Conpublican parties, by saying: The concluded that a second trip to gress, together with several other Packinghouse Workers with the chair would be an act of labor leaders. 200,000 members are not going mercy compared to the agony of to play the game of tweedledee living under the "four freedoms" and tweedledum any more. We which were so lavishly promised the Pittsburgh Courier; Philip ped by the police. Meanwhile the Socialist Party, was arrested by are going to run independent the Negro youth who gave their Rahy, editor of Partisan Review; candidates and build an inde- lives in the last imperialistic Dwight Macdonald, editor of Pol-(Continued on Page 2) war.

Bilbao Strike Disturbs Franco's Fascist Rule

The Spanish workers have dealt a stiff blow to Franco's fascist regime. As reported in last week's Militant, work stoppages occurred throughout Spain on May Day. The Franco regime singled out the Basque workers of Bilbao for reprisals.

The May Day strike had, "Whatever penalties individuals been especially impressive in may suffer, the workers in gen- R. De Silva, Muttiah, and other arrested trade union leaders and ments of troops. Bilbao, second industrial cen- eral have scored in a way that members of the Bolshevik Lenter of Spain. For two days observers would not have be- inist Party of India were arrestthe workers had shut down lieved possible in defiance of the ed and imprisoned on April 16. tight the great steel mills, mines iron-fisted Franco police system." These men have been porting a Although Governor Riesta has strike by 14,500 workers of the and shipyards, including the Babcock and Wilcox machine told reporters that nearly all of Buckingham and Carnatic Texshops.

dered mass arrests, but the strike released, citizens of Bilbao con- demanded that the workers be Provincial Governor Riesta orremained solid. Then he decreed tradicted this statement. They provided with decent housing, a that all workers the head tradicted this statement. that all workers who had partitold reporters that at least sev- flated prices, and other necescipate in the anti-Franco deeral hundred workers were still sary benefits. monstration were to lose all senunder arrest and that many had iority rights, suffer pay cuts and been severely beaten by the pol- met with violence and terror. lose pension rights. ice.

STRIKE SPREADS

The strike spread to other strikes in Guipuzcoa were not Minneapolis Vote Basque cities. Guipuzcoa provknown to the outside world till ince was the scene of sympathy the authorities announced they R. Dunne, Socialist Workers quarters and appealed to the strikes which closed munition. machine and bicycle lieve that other sympathy strikes credited with 1,069 votes in yes- mernuss, chairman of the Hamsewing plants also took place. Although the news is suppress-Outside of the Basque area the

ed and the little that does get Franco government pretended official returns. This represent- the world that a man can not calories. Two weeks later General through is heavily censored, it not to notice the May Day stopis apparent that the announced pages. May Day in Spain strikingly 1943. penalties will not all be carried shows the weakness of the Franout. The Franco regime has been badly shaken.

The N. Y. Times reports that masses.

Asaf Ali, Ambassador from der the Public Safety Bill, a no- inist Party of India and further India to the United States torious anti-labor weapon re- ask that you transmit this reand delegate to the United cently passed by the Madras quest at once to your governlegislature. Nations, today received a

"In reply to this arrest of their strong protest against the leader, 100,000 workers struck in a 24-hour protest on March 31. Socialist Party Leader arrest in Madras. India of C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president of When, on April 8, a demonstration of women and children at- Arrested In Madras tempted to petition the Madras

George S. Schuyler, editor of tear-gassed, clubbed and whip- leader of the Indian Congress textile strike continues.

itics; Farrell Dobbs, editor of consistently supported the fight bay. The Militant; Emanuel Garrett, of the Indian people for freedom editor of Labor Action; E. R. Frank, editor of Fourth International; Max Shachtman, editor of New International; and James T. Farrell, novelist. strike to better their conditions.

The text of their protest fol-We believe that no country can be free if unrestricted exercise

"The undersigned have been of these elementary democratic informed of the following facts: rights is denied to labor organ-"C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president izations, or if their leaders are of the Madras Labor Union and persecuted for their political bemember of the General Counliefs.

"For these reasons, we urge cil of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with Colvin

These men have been persecuted the arrested strikers had been tile Mill in Madras. The union system, million of workers stopped work and in mass meetings demanded enough food for

> their families to exist on. "These just demands were

lows:

story.

120,000 workers gathered before MINNEAPOLIS, May 13 - V. the Hamburg Trade Union headwere over there is reason to be- Party candidate for Mayor, was world for more food. Adolf Kumterday's municipal primary elec- burg Federation of Trade Union-

> ed a 37% increase over the SWP live on 800 calories." The pla- Clay admitted the crisis and that vote for this office received in cards of the strikers read: "We the actual ration was to fall to are hungry — give us bread " and 915 calories.

Dunne ran sixth in a field of "We can't work when starving."

NEW YORK, May 9 - Mr. Antony Pillai was arrested un- members of the Bolshevik Lenment."

United Press dispatches from premier for the release of An- Madras, India, last week report-This protest was signed by tony Pillai, they were heavily ed that Jai Prakash Narain, Hyderabad state police on May "We, the undersigned, have 8 and ordered to return to Bom-

> Narain had come to Madras from all imperialist oppression. on a political lecture tour and We have no less consistently de- had refused to comply with earlfended the rights of workers in ier instructions to call off a all countries to organize and meeting he addressed on the evening of May 7. Widespread rioting broke out

> in strike-torn Madras after Narain was deported from the city. Many police were injured, according to the UP reports, and the disturbances were not quelled until after the police had the immediate release of the been reinforced with detach-

paign of 1900 Plan." All of these drives were reaction." masked behind the cries of

"Americanism," but none of labor movement.

"For the Open tion and as a demonstration of labor from worse measures writ-Shop," and the 1919 banners of labor's solidarity, unity and ten by Congress. On May 9 a big capital, "For the American | fighting determination to defeat | group of Democratic Senators offered such a "substitute" mea-

A number of smaller labor sure. Its "mildness" can be bodies have passed similar reso- judged from the fact that it them succeeded in breaking the lutions. For instance, a confer- would cut the heart out of the

ence of 200 shop stewards, re- Wagner Act.

Local Settlements Pave Way For End Of Telephone Strike

By Alan Kohlman

MAY 12 — After five weeks lution of the 49-member Nation- and prestige, is still intact. of heroic and inspiring strug- al Policy Committee of the Na- In addition, many reports ingle, the strike of 340,000 phone workers is slowing Workers paved the way for these members, though disheartened to a halt. Over half have al- divergent and uneven settle- by the setbacks they have reready signed new contracts, ments.

while final negotiations continue for Bell workers in 14 states as well as Western Electric factory and installation workers.

The strike settlements are be- the strikers, but that is only one spirit of the rank and file is a ing concluded on state and re- side of the picture. Equally im- sign of new battles ahead. gional levels, with wage raises portant are the facts that the IMPORTANT EVENT ranging from \$2.50 in the South phone workers did succeed in to \$4.79 in New Jersey. Most wringing pay concessions from other issues in dispute are being AT&T-Bell and that their young

settled by compromise or re- | and inexperienced union, though ferred to arbitration. The disso- weakened in influence, resources

tional Federation of Telephone dicate that the rank and file ceived, are not demoralized and The N. Y. Times gloats that are ready to reorganize in prethe strike has ended in "defeat." paration for new battles. What-

It is true that the settlements ever the Times may write, the fall short of the original aims of phone monopoly knows that this

It was no small achievement for the phone workers to challenge this powerful monopoly for five long weeks, especially under present conditions when Congress is engaged in the worst anti-labor drive in decades and most union leaders were ready to make any kind of wage settle-Most of the recipients of ment they could get. In fact, ACEWR relief are former con- the very launching of this strike centration camp prisoners who was an important event in la-

Only eight years ago, these phone workers were still in the stranglehold of company unionism and the "paternalistic" vise of the AT&T overlords. The great transformation of white collar workers, the majority of them women, from docile servants of the communications trust into front-line pickets, exemplifies the forward march of unionism into the nerve center of Big Business.

A Series of Articles By Special To THE MILITANT

The magnificent fight and high morale of these newly-unionized, forces achieved high levels of militancy in the best traditions of the American working class. Another development in this strike, of great political significance to the entire labor movement, was the determined stand

(Continued on Page 5)

Great hunger demonstra- Ruhr where general strikes are, the ration level is falling below, tions swept Germany last reported. Demonstrations are 650 calories.

week. Protesting the com- also reported in Hanover and plete breakdown of the ration plete breakdown of the ration they should call a two-day general strike.

This gigantic protest move-

There are two rations in Ger-

co police regime and the mount- 13 mayoralty candidates. See The protest against the star- in the great industrial cities of day — the equivalent of three

ACEWR Plans To Cable Packages

Hunger Demonstrations Sweep Germany

tain at least 2,000 calories a day. emerged after five to ten years bor history. with shattered health.

Speed means as much now as NEW YORK, May 12 - The dollars. Next week may be too American Committee for Euro- late. \$13.50 will cable ten pounds pean Workers Relief today an- of high-calory food to starving

> All checks and money orders should be payable to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 W. 23 St.,

New York 11, N. Y. **Beginning Next Week:** GERMANY 1947 Ernest Germain

ment has as its immediate cause In Hamburg the greatest mass the catastrophic drop in the the end of the war was the culthe vanishing point. mination of a general strike.

many: the "official" and the actual. The actual one is what the workers really receive and it is always less than the "official". On April 1 the official ration

ing revolutionary spirit of the next week's Militant for full vation diet has rapidly spread the British zone, has reached the five-cent chocolate bars. A minto Solingen and Hamm in the lowest point yet. In many cities imum healthful diet must con-

meeting held in Germany since meager rations to what is almost nounced plans to cable food Hamburg or the Ruhr. packages to the starvation zones of Germany. Cable food deliv-

eries take from 4 to 10 days.



tions, according to complete un- ists, declared: "We want to tell of 1,550 calories was cut to 1,200

Such orders will go to companies holding food stockpiles in Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and

tion is more critical than ever. In some parts of the Ruhr the Now the situation, especially ration is below 650 calories a



PAGE TWO

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

The Mad Dog Of The Labor Movement

Among the whole gang of corrupt and contented labor | The penalty of three other apfakers who infest the labor movement to its detriment - pellants was modified "in view especially the AFL unions - and fatten on their crimes of their expressions of repentagainst the workers, one in particular is striving, not with-

out success, to distinguish? himself as the greatest proved able to defend themselves scoundrel of them all. This is on this ground. Tobin's impor-Daniel J. Tobin, the \$30,000 tees then resorted to other techa year president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. who has already won for himself the title of The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement and is demonstrating his right to hold it against all comers.

personal benefit. In addition to and pre-paid vacation trips for driver with flaming gasoline." himself and family, and makes the union carry his son, whom he is grooming to become his successor, on the pay-roll at a himself, he fawns on the bosses and the capitalist politicians, but fights the rank and file workers erous impulse or a gesture of good will and solidarity toward the workers who pay his exorbitant salary.

A SKILLED OPERATOR

bosses to keep rebellious work- try, spending lavish sums of the vention of the IBT. ers from making a living at their union's money to fight another trade, and spilling blood in union. gangster raids on the jurisdic- WHAT'S ON THE AGENDA

tion of other unions, and he is getting more proficient as he gets older.

In the discussion, it was no-Tobin disposes of a huge trea-The Iowa delegation told in ticeable that speakers from the labor leadership which would a starting point for labor's next sury - \$14,800,000 at the last map out the strategy of a counpresent time approximately 40% week without reduction in pay; tion . . . detail how the Democrats and strong Stalinist delegation lim- a guaranteed annual wage; adreport - accumulated from the ter-offensive and inspire the of the local unions are under Republicans in the Iowa Legis- ited their speeches on this quesreaders about what kind of world. equate medical, health and hosdues payments of the hard- workers for the struggle, Tobin's "receivership" with appointed lature handcuffed the labor tion to exhorting the convention pital program financed by the working and underpaid members hand-picked Executive Board officers and no autonomous movement by passing the Anti- to "political action." They didn't employers; severance pay: more of the union, and he utilizes a occupies itself primarily with the rights. This simple fact in itself Union Security Law which wipes say anything about the Demo-Our Program: liberal vacation clause: timelarge part of it to maintain what is the most devastating testiout every closed shop, union cratic or Republican parties war against the workers. and-a-half for all work peramounts to a private army of mony of the extent of the rank The three principal items on and file discontent and revolt shop and maintenance of mem- they merely repeated over and formed on Saturday, etc. murderous thugs, recruited in bership contract in Iowa. The over: "We've got to start earlier the agenda of the latest meeting, against the tyranny and treachpart from the underworld, many law permits the checkoff of un- and ring more door bells, regist-On the third day, the conven-1. Defend labor's standard of living! as reported in the March and ery of this mean-spirited, vicious tion adopted a statement of poof whom have criminal records. ion dues only in the event that er the workers, get their dollars A sliding scale of wages -an escalator wage clause in all April issues of Tobin's official old man and the whole gang of licy calling for unity in its ranks These gangsters, under Tobin's magazine The International well-heeled labor skates and there has been a written, nota- into the PAC, get them out to "against the present wave of direction, usually operating unrized authorization signed by vote, etc., etc." Teamster were: meet the rising cost of living! witch-hunt hysteria as the common crooks who make up his der the benevolent indifference of the authorities who are "taken (1) Hearing of appeals from unsavory machine. the individual employe and his They kept shouting hysterical-Organize mass consumers committees for independent action weapon of reaction and monocare of" in various ways, wage rank and file workers who had ly about "political action" withagainst profiteering and price-gouging! poly whose goal is to destroy the wife, if married. war on the rank and file of the been suspended or expelled from REBEL TEAMSTERS The Canadian delegates stat- out saying anything about inde-Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' trade union movement." It also ed that they had learned more pendent candidates or a new Teamsters Union, and are at various local unions, which were With this tide of rank and file control! warned against "outsiders, in-(2) Unanimously "approving bin spits hydrophobic venom in than 10 years ago that they party. They were very careful present especially preoccupied of course denied; dividuals, organizations 2. Full employment and job security for oll workers with a jurisdictional war to force (2) Unanimously "approving bin spits hydrophobic venom in than to years ago that any rust in not to commit themselves and to or groups who attempt to infil-the brewery workers to guit the 'he acts of the general president the faces of the union memberthe brewery workers to quit the in acts of the general president the faces of the union member-union of their choice — ti- and his assistant in the brewery ship and threatens to spend their two, major parties, the litical action they stood for Apand veterans! Brewery Workers Union, one of and other matters," and "in- their own money - the money parently their orders are reduce the hours of work with structing and empowering the they paid into the treasury of ion sent in a number of men," Earlier, the convention had one well-respected in the labor general president to continue fi- the International Union — to he says significantly, meaning leave the door open so they can decided with only one dissenting to prevent layoffs and unemployment! movement — and to compel them nancial aid in these matters as fight them and beat them down. a mob of strong-arm men whose jump in any direction Stalin's vote, to place the full resources to pay dues into the Teamsters long as the general president He warns "any foolish group in assignment was to waylay the of the union behind a campaign foreign policy dictates. any district" that they "must strikers and beat them up ---to obtain the reversal of an orployment! deems it advisable"; and Last December the union sign-Union, whether they desire to "and every business agent and der to deport R. R. Martinez, (3) The adoption of a resolu- get this into their heads now — and every business agent and tion to take rigorous action that if they ever get so cocky officer of our local unions in this ed a two-year contract with the UPWA organizer, because he maining, incendiarism and dy-against "unauthorized" strikes, and self-important that they city of St. Louis pledged his full, "Big Four" packers for a 7½ had been a member of the Comor not. breaking! think they can defeat this In- and undivided help." It is known cents an hour increase and 8 munist Party in 1931 or 1932. No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! namiting are routine procedures i.e., strikes which the general and murder is not excluded. An- president does not approve, ternational Union they are mak- to Tobin that one of these local paid holidays. The convention The resolution stated explicitly No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration! that this order for deportation nouncing a "knock down drag- which he nearly always does ing the mistake of their lives. "business agents," in fact the instructed its officers to reopen out fight" against the brewery not. "By unanimous action the Ve don't want trouble and dis- boss of the whole Tobin set-up "constitutes a denial of a man 4. Build an independent labor party! Executive Board decided that all agreement, but when it is forced in St. Louis, is a gangster with a to freedom of political belief," army of professional thugs into unions bringing about unauthor- on us, we will never back down criminal record. **Meaning of Attack** 5. Tax the rich, not the poor! and is part of the growing anti-Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! labor and repressive drive now According to Tobin's account, ized strikes be censured and con- if it costs every dollar in the **On Henry Wallace** No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year! demned and if necessary that treasury." You fight me, and I'll the leading rank and file milicurrent in th U.S. Pittsburgh. They moved in on The real meaning of the Pittsburgh to convince the brew-One of the inspiring sights at hire more gangsters to fight you | tants in the strike - truck drivthe officers be removed." ery workers that they should furious attack upon Henry this convention was the large - that is Tobin's April message ers, not gangsters - also had The published proceedings of low-rent housing! the Executive Board dealing with to the rebel teamsters. There is the bad habit of "continuously Wallace by the capitalist number of colored delegates, give up their own union, now afsult of a free vote of the mem- the appeals of suspended and no doubt about it, one can buy finding fault with the union ofpress and Wall Street's repwho made up nearly one-third bership for that preference, and expelled members read like the a lot of professional thugs with ficers." Consequently, "the genresentatives in Washington is of the convention. Active in ev-End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism! explained in an article entiery phase of the union's activieral president ordered that sign up in Tobin's union. And minutes of an Army court-mar-\$14.800.000. this "convincing" process did not tial conducted by officers who Daniel J. Tobin employs yet charges be preferred against tled "Wallace and the War ties, they contribute a great deal Makers" by William F. Warde take the form of ideological dis- act from the premise that the another murderous weapon in them." And of course, "several to the militancy and progressive trade unions! quisition or logical elugidation. private soldier is always wrong his war against the rank and file of them were expelled from the in the May issue of Fourth character of the UPWA. International, now on sale. The convention adopted strong There is the appeal of 13 mem- of the IBT. He reinforces his union." Wallace criticized U.S. Tobin's mobsters relied on arresolutions for an anti-poll tax and war. bers of Local No. 549, Kingsport, brutal dictatorship over the local Next came the deal with the foreign policy for speeding guments of another kind learnbill; against lynching and police Tennessee, who had been ex- unions of the Teamsters Inter- bosses. Says Tobin: "The emthe drive toward war. But ed in their own school, which brutality directed against the people vote on the question of war or peace! pelled for unstated reasons, prob- national by the device of first ex- ployers were notified that those honors Capone and Dillinger U. S. imperialism is deter-Negro people; and called on all Against capitalist conscription! ably for striking or talking out pelling dissident workers and men were no longer members mined to brook no opposition, more than Plato and Aristotle. local unions to set up anti-dis-Abolish the officer caste system! of turn. "Decision sustained and then taking their bread and but- of the union and that our union no matter how mild, to its crimination committees to Full democratic rights in the armed forces! USUAL PRACTICE the appeals denied," in the case ter away from them by "taking shop agreement must be observplans for world domination. stamp out the disease of dis-Trade union wages for the armed forces! The usual practice of pulling of ten of the appellants. But them off the job." In the April ed. The employers complied with Tremendous uneasiness was crimination in their localities. drivers off their trucks and beat- for all that, the report shows, number of The International the agreement, and those indicreated among the American On foreign policy, a resolution but under control of the trade unions! ing them within an inch of their Tobin's Board will give a work- Teamster, Tobin boasts about viduals were laid off by the empeople by the Truman docwas adopted calling for world lives was tried first but did not | er a nickel's worth of justice if breaking up an opposition to the | ployers." By this combination of trine which was reflected in disarmament by the United Nawork very well. The Pittsburgh he humbles himself. Tobin, like gangster-ridden union machine anti-labor measures the strike a growing pressure of mass workers in all lands! tions; fulfillment of the declabrewery drivers, with the help of God, grants mercy to penitent in St. Louis which culminated in was broken. The workers were opposition on Washington. For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! ration of the Atlantic Charter: beaten and forced into line. It CIO fellow unionists, sinners — but not too much. a strike. "The International Un-The capitalist rulers feared other Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil! was "a famous victory," and To-bin gloats over it. "In a few establishment by the UN of a Wallace's warnings that food and loans agency similar to 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government! would "serve to expose their UNRRA, with full financial supdays," he writes, the men "beg-Mail This Coupon With 50c For A 6-Month Subscription To truly monstrous designs," and port by the U.S. It opposed ged to be allowed to go back to that Wallace himself would miltary aid in the form of men, work." Maybe the poor devils "become a rallying point for money and materials to any THE MILITANT had families to support. And the vast anti-war sentiment government or faction in any Join the Socialist Workers Party! maybe the families were hungry. within the country." country, and advocated imme-The proudest men have been Wallace himself is appraisdiate withdrawal of troops of all known to submit under such cired as a capitalist demagogue SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER nations except in Germany and cumstances. whose differences with the 116 University Place Japan until the establishment of 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. But proud men who beg administration are not funstable governments. Another re-New York 3, New York through clenched teeth are dandamental, and who diverts Published in the interests of the working people. solution opposed peacetime congerous animals to provoke. There the people from the real anti-I would like: scription. The only newspaper in this country that tells the are many of them in the Interwar fight. "The struggle To join the Socialist Workers Party. There were no officers elected national Brotherhood of Teamtruth about labor's struggles for a better world. against the war danger is inat this convention because the sters at the present time, and separable from irreconcilable To obtain further information about your or-You may start my subscription to The Militant for 6 months their number is steadily growing. struggle to get rid of the impresent officers were elected for ganization. One of these days they are go-I enclose 50 cents (coin or stamps) perialist power at Washingtwo-year terms at last year's ing to count noses and come to ton which breeds war and Send me The Militant at your regular rate of \$1 for 12 months. convention in Montreal. To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist the conclusion that they are profits from it. People like I enclose \$1 (coin, stamps or Money Order) Workers Party in my city. strong enough, if they all act Wallace . . . who preach con-READ together, to put a stop to the fidence in capitalism and its Name ... humiliations and defeats imagencies can only lead the NAME (Please Print) (Please Print) posed upon them by brutal vioanti-war struggle to disaster." STREET ... fence and treacherous collusion Apt. Single copies for 25 cents Street. Fourth with the bosses. That will be a or a year's subscription for \$2 CITY Postal Zone .. bad day for the Mad Dog of the can be obtained from Fourth City. Labor Movement. The dogcatch-Internationa International, 116 University POSTAL ZONE STATE ers will catch up with him. State Place, New York 3, N. Y. J. P. C

ance." Their sentence was commuted to one year of suspension with "probation for a period of two additional years." Whether

these three suspended members who "repented" will be permitted to work and make a living at in favor of the AFL as against their trade during the suspen-sion was not stated. Probably not. the CIO was the use of a little homemade gadget known as the fire bomb. These fire bombs, as MINNEAPOLIS RECORD

one reporter described them, Tobin's criminal activities in "were simple, devilishly destructive little devices consisting us-Tobin, a relic of the horse and ually of a 200 watt electric light that he tried to break the great buggy days of trade unionism, bulb, with a hole cut in one end. strikes in 1934. He didn't sucomic field. is a small-souled, grasping, self- These were filled with high test ceed then and could not prevent ish old reprobate who thinks the gasoline, and the hole then plug- a strong union being built up ion treasury for heavy expenses instantly sprayed both truck and union in 1941 by placing the un- equally and to urge the workers for a labor party. ion in "receivership." When the not to support either. Such a

beer, regardless of the possible bin's gangsters, armed with consequences to people living in blackjacks and baseball bats. with savage fury. In all his long the building. Testimony before were turned loose on the truckand malodorous career he has the House Labor Committee, ing districts, with the open connever yet been caught in a gen- which investigated the Pitts- nivance of the city police, to burgh "beer war," chalked up a force the truck drivers to wear score at that time of ten fire the button of Tobin's "reorganbombings of stores, five explo- ized" local. The State Labor

Fighting Program Adopted sive bombings, and seven trucks Board, under Governor Stassen, bombed and burned. That was denied the workers the right of **By CIO Packing Workers** Tobin never knew anything over three months ago. The lat- an election to register their preabout organizing workers and est scores are not in yet. At pres- ference. In return for that favor, leading them in struggle to bet- ent there is a "truce" in Pitts- the labor-hating Governor, auter their conditions. But he is burgh - the publicity about his thor of the notorious Minnesota an expert mechanic in the vile fire-bombers and dynamiters got "Slave Labor Law," was introtrade of breaking strikes, smash- too hot for Tobin — but he is duced as the guest of honor and pendent party pledged to the Tory and Liberal Parties. Back ing democracy in local unions, still recklessly carrying on his highly praised by Tobin at the cause and needs of labor. working in cahoots with the "war" in other parts of the coun- subsequent international con-

Having tasted blood in Minne-

Notebook Of An Agitator UPWA Call For A New Party **Represents Big Step Forward**

By George Breitman

When the convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers voted last week to break with both capitalist parties. it took one of the most encouraging political steps made formed only when it has suffi-

war. It gave voice at the same war. It gave voice at the same time to the aspirations of independent candidates, .pend-time to the aspirations wark for the election of independent candidates, .pend-tion if that is what it meant to it will not be "the proper time" "On t millions of American workers ing formation "at the proper say. who are fed up with capital- time" of an independent politiist politics and want to es- cal party. Only last month mem- DIFFERENT MEANINGS tablish a party of their own that bers of UPWA District No. 2 in Minneapolis have been rather will represent their interests on South St. Paul, Minnesota, showwidely advertised. It is known the political field as their un- ed what could be done in this diions represent them on the econ- rection by nominating and elect- mean, for example, that the pre- essary to clarify this question -

ing independent labor candidates The UPWA is not the first in- as Aldermen and members of ternational union to criticize the School Board. Political acteamsters' union exists for his ged with surgical gauze, provid- without him and in spite of him. both the Democratic and Repub- tion of this kind on a local scale ing a fuse to be lighted. Tossed He then tried to get rid of the lican parties; but it is the first throughout the country can position is taken by many union third capitalist party? his huge salary he taps the un- into the cab of a beer truck, they honest, fighting leaders of the in recent years to condemn them greatly strengthen the movement

The UPWA resolution is thor-These weapons were supple- rank and file revolted against stand — without any reserva- oughly progressive as compared proper time" for a labor party mented later with high explo- that, he called the federal cops tions, ifs, ands or buts - is ab- with the position taken by other sive bombs, charged with dyna- through his friend President solutely necessary if labor is to CIO and AFL internationals and mite, which were recklessly Roosevelt, and simply had the be able to defend itself against by the CIO-PAC, which are fancy honorarium. A rich man thrown through the windows of leaders thrown into prison. At the political attacks of Big Busi- committed to supporting so-call- er the capitalist politicians will distributors handling the CIO the same time, a horde of To- ness. For this bold and wise de- ed progressive candidates in the claration the UPWA deserves two capitalist parties. But it still the gratitude and support of the leaves some questions without clear or complete answers. whole labor movement.

(Continued from Page 1)

Similarly welcome is the UPWA decision to help nomin- by the formulation about creat- pendent political action at the

course cannot create a new par- the need for acting soon rather ty by itself. Such a party can be than late.

proper time" can have an entire- parties and assume the leaderly different meaning. It can ship of a new party. It is necsent time is not the proper time. and another one associated with politically speaking, no matter it: What kind of independent how much support the new par- party does the UPWA resolution ty movement may have. Such a advocate - a labor party or a leaders. If that is what is meant,

then it is dead wrong. For in a political sense "the is right now, or as soon as is ed it to express their desire for formation is delayed, the long-

remain in power. A resolution on labor political action should not be vague on this question, but should expli-What, for example, is meant citly stress the need for inde-

ing an independent party "at the earliest possible time so as to "third party" is needed, the edi-proper time"? The UPWA of educate and mobilize workers to torial declares:

"Development of the third party movement should not, of It must also be borne in mind course, mean abandonment by by any section of the union movement since the end of the cient union and mass' support. that many union bureaucrats op- progressives of the fight against reaction inside the two major

"On the contrary, through the for such action until the Walbuilding of independent politilaces, Peppers and LaGuardias cal organization, labor and its But on the other hand, "at the are ready to leave the capitalist friends must supply the leadership and the pressures for progressive struggle within these parties."

> Here it can be plainly seen that the Stalinists, while giving lipservice applause to the UPWA resolution, are actually very wor-

ried about it. They are afraid that From the entire tone and orit goes "too far." And it certainientation of the UPWA resolu- ly goes too far for the Stalinists tion, we believe the majority of who consistently refuse to adopt the convention delegates intend- comparable resolutions in the unions they control and who are humanly possible. The longer its a labor party and not for a new still spreading illusions about edition of the Democratic Party, the possibility of "progressive which would be controlled by un- struggle" inside both the Repubtrustworthy liberals whose only lican and Democratic parties ---commitment is to the maintenillusions which can only have the ance of capitalism. But the lack result of postponing the creation of exactness in the resolution of a labor party.

makes it possible to read differ-Such illusions must be fought ent interpretations into it. and exposed and rooted out, no

To show how this is done, and matter who spreads them - unhow much confusion can delib- ion bureaucrats or Stalinists or erately be created as a result, capitalist liberals. A good place attention should be directed to to have done it was the UPWA the May 8 Daily Worker editor- convention where the sentiment ial on the UPWA resolution. The of the delegates was clearly for Communist Party, it should be labor party action. The UPWA explained, is fiercely opposed to resolution - and the movement the wage clauses in existing con- the creation of a labor party. In- for independent labor political tracts and demand an increase of stead it favors a third (capital- action - would have been.

15 cents an hour, retroactive to ist) party when Wallace and oth- strengthened by preciseness on But even with these short-

comings, that resolution is the most hopeful sign on the politiforts for the 15 cents wage in- the Daily Worker editors begin cal horizon in a monthful of Sundays. It should serve to in-

"Hats off to the CIO Packing- spire similar action by militants house Workers Union for giving in other unions and to set the The convention also adopted a fresh push to the third party ball rolling on a nation-wide a program calling for a 30-hour movement at its annual conven- scale. Properly utilized, it can be

Then, in order to disorient its big stride forward to a better



union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unem-3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the 9. A working class answer to capitalist, militarism Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the Military training of workers, financed by the government, 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the

At this time, when the reactionary offensive against the workers on all fronts calls for a

campaign against any sign of independence or militancy in the motion to suspend the rules and labor's right to organize, strike ranks of the International Bro- permit the session to run over- and picket. therhood of Teamsters. At the time.

So many delegates wanted to ing the CCF as an independent action resolution that it was delegates from Saskatchewan. apolis, Tobin has been running necessary at adjournment time where the CCF is in power, read wild ever since in his violent for the chairman, President copies of their province's laws Ralph Helstein, to entertain a guaranteeing civil liberties and

April 1, 1947, from the Big Four er capitalist party liberals give this point. in the Thirties they began buildwho employ about 80,000 work- their approval to its creation. speak in favor of the political workers' and farmers' party. The ers. The officers were also di- Yet, because the UPWA resolurected to coordinate their ef- tion is not sufficiently precise, crease with the AFL Amalga- by saying: mated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

THE MILITANT

. NOE IMREE

The Prospects Of American Stalinism -By James P. Cannon –

(Ed. Note: This is the seventh of a series of articles on Ameri- | canism and anti-Stalinism.)

enemy of the workers in their struggle for a better life is plunged into the greatest difficulties, gave a new attractive American imperialism. This holds true on a world scale; power to Stalinism and its myth of "Socialism in one counand it is 100 times true as far as the direct struggle of the try." The critics from the Left Opposition, the Trotskyists, American workers is concerned. It is unpardonable to overlook this simple truism, and to see the main enemy in the person of the discredited, hounded and harried, and nu- inists were able to vastly expand their propaganda medmerically weak Communist Party of the United States.

The strength and influence of the Communist Party here is in no way comparable to that of European Stalinism. There the Stalinist parties command the support of millions trench themselves strongly in various unions of the newly and are the chief prop of the decadent capitalist system, which could not maintain itself anywhere on the continent without their support. Here the role played by the Com- tion and the influence of American Stalinism have demunist Party is a minor one, and most probably will remain so.

Historical reasons in the main account for this disparity. The socialist consciousness and tradition of the and alienated a large section of its intellectualistic peri-European proletariat attracted them very strongly to the Russian Revolution from the first. Since then, as the Soviet Union demonstrated its strength and viability, they with the temporary improvement of the economic conjunctransferred their sympathies to the Stalin regime, seeing behind its shoulders the image of the Soviet Union, and damn and expose Stalinism on every occasion as assidunot noticing or not taking full account of the frightful ously as they once praised it and glossed over its crimes. degeneration wrought by this usurping bureaucracy.

Moreover, the European workers, who in their vast majority are anti-capitalist, recognize American imperialism as an irreconcilable enemy of their socialist aspirations, and feel the need of alliance with a power to counter-balance it. They turn more and more to the Soviet Union since the latter demonstrated its power on the field of battle against the Nazi war machine. The national Stalinist parties profit from this sentiment of the masses by a great swelling of their numerical strength and their influence in the political arena.

How American Situation Differs

In America the situation is quite different. Due to a number of historical conditions peculiar to the country, the great masses of the American workers never attained a socialist consciousness, not even to the extent of inde; heads who had mistaken Stalinism for the champion of pendent political action on a reformist basis, such as even bourgeois democracy, pure and undefiled. At the next turn conservative Britain has experienced now already for several decades. In addition to that, the American workers have shared the isolationist provincialism which dominated almost the whole population up until the most recent years. Except for a very thin stratum represented by the class-conscious vanguard, they saw Russia as a faraway country in which they had little interest; and such interest as they manifested was more hostile than friendly. Besides all that, beneath all their apparent conservatism, the American workers have a not inconsiderable feeling of independence and of confidence in their own power. They see no need of the help of any "foreign power."

All these circumstances have operated up till now to restrict and limit the growth and influence of the Communist Party, which appeared in the popular mind as the most radical party. On the other side, Stalinism has perhaps been more thoroughly exposed, and subjected to more effective criticism from the revolutionary point of view, in America than in any other capitalist country. The forces of genuine communism, as counterposed to Stalinism, have made more headway with the development of their independent organization and the extension of their indepen- bles from all directions with a leadership of very low dent influence here than elsewhere. Thus for reasons which caliber. may appear to be somewhat contradictory, Stalinism in the United States has been stunted in its growth. And, if we continue to follow a correct policy, there is good ground to believe that American Stalinism cannot hope to attain the present powerful position, and thereby the capacity for evil and betrayal, of its European counterparts. The main strength and danger of American Stalinism lies not ir its numbers and its popular influence, nor in its apparatus, its money and its terrorist agents-although it disposes of considerable forces in all these fields and departments - but rather in its demagogical capacity to deceive, demoralize and disorient the more radical elements who have attained a conscious anti-capitalist attitude, or are awakening to it. These forces of the class-conscious vanguard are as yet not very numerous in comparison to the size of the American working class as a whole. But they are the most decisive for the future, for it is their destiny to lead the others. Once the class struggle in America is posed in its sharpest and most irreconcilable form, they alone can lead; and they will then represent the greatest power in the world. It is primarily on this ground, in the fight for the minds and souls of the awakening militant workers of the class-conscious vanguard, that the real fight against Stalinism must take place. Here we can already record considerable success; and we confidently count on more because we are gaining right along, steadily if slowly, thanks to our correct approach to the question.

In those days also the economic progress recorded by the Soviet Union under the Five Year Plan, while capital-The most reactionary power and the most formidable ist world economy, including its American sector, was appeared to be refuted by events and were pushed into isolation on the side-lines. Thanks to this, the American Staliums; to dominate the movement of the unemployed in the first years of the crisis; and then later to play a big role in the organization of the unorganized, and to increated CIO.

> But since the late thirties, both the organizational posiclined rather than advanced. The Moscow Trials, which were so thoroughly exposed in the United States, dealt powerful blows to the moral position of American Stalinism phery. The great majority of the latter, now disillusioned in Stalinism, acquired a new faith in capitalism coincident ture, and have since become professional red-baiters who

Led To Desertions And Splits

A smaller section of the former intellectual fellowtravelers of Stalinism carried their criticism through to its logical conclusion and joined the Trotskyist movement, and have contributed fruitfully to its ideological work. So also, numerous communist workers, who had mistakenly believed that Stalinism was communism, drew the necessary conclusions from the new events and revelations and transferred their allegiance to the genuinely revolutionary and communist party, the SWP.

consonance with the zig-zags of the Kremlin on the world diplomatic field, produced new defections, desertions and splits. The signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact brought with it the desertion of a small horde of careerists and muddlethe Stalinist support of the war, and their anti-worker jingo policy in support of American imperialism, steadily alienated increasing numbers of honest workers who had mistaken Stalinism for communism.

The betrayals, bureaucratic abuses, gangster methods and false policies inflicted by the Stalinists upon the unions of the Jewish Agency act in war, especially in Egypt, but also madier got by in the Council which had fallen into their control are now beginning to the interests of the majority in Palestine and elsewhere. This with a slim majority of 2,529 to bear fruit in widespread and violent revolts against the of the Palestinian popula- bourgeoisie is perfectly willing 2,125, but this vote was less a Stalinists. Increasingly numerous and militant oppositions are rising up against them from two sides: on the one side, from reactionary red-baiters who want to displace the Stalinist bureaucrats in order to take their places and appropriate their plums; on the other side, from militant workers, some of them former Stalinists, who want to throw out the Stalinist bureaucrats in order to provide the unions with a militant policy and an honest leadership. The CP of the USA, consequently, has been encountering a steadily increasing fire from all directions. Now it finds itself under the heavy guns of the Washington goverment as a these "noble" families. Any idea movement to dare issue an apdirect result of the present conflict with the Soviet Union. The Communist Party has to face these increasing trou-

Premier Ramadier's New Cabinet Wins Swift Aid From Wall Street

rises.

Evicted Into The Rain



John N. Meyers sits under an umbrella guarding his furniture after being evicted from a Chicago apartment. The placard tells the story. Federated Pictures

The Arab League Each turn and twist of American Stalinist policy, in sonance with the zig-zags of the Kremlin on the world VS. Arab Masses In Middle East

(Ed. Note: This is the sec- breakers. British imperialism ond of a series of articles on planned, long in advance, an cialist Party seeking approval the Palestine question.) pression of militant organiza-

By H Vallin tions of the Arab workers. We have seen that neither The Arab bourgeoisie tremen-

the terrorists nor the leaders dously enriched itself during the tion. Do the leaders of the to exploit imperialist difficul-Arab League act differently? ties in order to obtain a larger The political life of the Arab share in the division of the super-profits between the imperialpopulation of Palestine has been ists and the native capitalists. confined for a long time exclusively to the great semi-feudal It doesn't for one moment, however, consider mobilizing the landowning families. masses of workers and peasants The different political "parties" which existed before the in a decisive struggle against

war were nothing but clans, each imperialism. It is too terrified by the development of the workers' backed by a certain number of peal to the workers. It is too of fighting for the political sovclosely connected with the great ereignty of the masses was foreign to them. Their opposition landowners to want to set the to Zionist immigration and colo- agrarian revolution in motion.

nization was inspired by fear RACE FOR OIL

By Joseph Hansen

In Europe, the spotlight remained on France last week. A rank and file strike in two departments of the great Renault auto works had grown with lightning speed, bringing out more than 30,000 workers organized in the CGT (General Federation of Labor). A general strike committee elected by the ranks had sent 9

Additional nundreds of mildelegations to other plants calling for similar action and had lions of dollars will be granted, received a warm response. The in the opinion of Washington obmain demand of the Renault servers, if the Socialists prove strikers was an increase of 10 strong enough to retain office. francs an hour in basic wages The stake Wall Street sees in and a sliding scale to protect the new Cabinet is evident. The this increase from further price architects of the Truman "doctrine" are willing to pay high for

The political splash created such an agent as Ramadier. His by this strike was spectacular, party wields considerable influthe widening circles rippling ence among the French workers through Belgium and Italy and and as a "democratic" regime, even reaching Washington. At his cabinet can help counteract first the Stalinists tried to the effect among the American break the strike. They control people of Truman's supporting the CGT, hold posts in the man- the Greek monarchy and Turkagement of the nationalized Re- ish dictatorship.

nault works and, until the strike, If the Socialists prove unable to hold power, then Wall Street had five ministers in the French will throw its support to the se-Cabinet who supported a govcond line trenches where de ernment policy of wage freezing and speed up. The Stalinists la- Gaulle awaits under the skull and cross bones of Bonapartism. beled the strike leadership "Hit-The Stalinists in France meanlero-Trotskyist."

while are insisting on their re-But the swift spread of the strike and the equally swift rise luctance to go into opposition against the capitalist governof a rank and file leadership ment. The last thing in the confronted them with the specworld they intend to do is lead ter of losing their grip on the the French working class for-French working class. They made a switch, coming out in ward to a communist society. The May 12 Time magazine resupport of the strikers, but trying to trim down their demands ported that in the Political Bureau of the Communist (Stalinand replace the strike committee. ist) Party, Andre Marty pound-Premier Paul Ramadier then ed the table over the danger recalled for a vote of confidence presented by the Renault strike: on the wage-freeze policy. The "If we allow this situation to de-Stalinist ministers voted against. velop, we will have broken our When they refused to resign most important tactical rule, Ramadier kicked their posts, which is never to permit our left them out. flank to be turned.

On May 7, he appeared before In the Cabinet meeting called the National Council of the Soby Ramadier to discuss the situation, Maurice Thorez, head of operation for the complete sup- of this action. Previous Socialthe French Stalinists, explained, ist Party policy had been to reaccording to the same source: fuse to carry responsibility for 'The General Federation of Larunning the capitalist governe bor has been overrun, or is in ment without the Stalinists. Radanger of being overrun, by Trotskyist elements. In order to prevent this movement from getting out of hand, we decided last register of support than evidence night to support the workers' deof a deep-going split in the parmands.'

It was then that Ramadier an-Washington immediately rushnounced, "This Cabinet is no

ed to bolster up Ramadier who longer possible.' had obviously forced the issue Once they get the situation in response to the Truman "doc-"in hand," however, the Staltrine" with its proffer of aid to inists have indicated they intend reactionary regimes throughout to make a bid to retrieve the the world. The very day after posts from which they were oustthe Council vote, 36,000 extra ed. Duclos, a high party functons of grain were earmarked tionary, declared that the Stalin Washington for May delivery inists intend to act like an offito France. On Saturday, three cial government party even days after the Socialists decided though "we are momentarily out to back Ramadier's ouster of of the government. And remark he Stalinists, the World Bank, it well, I said 'momentarily.

Decline Of Stalinist Influence

Stalinism was a much more formidable danger when we first opened up the irreconcilable fight against it in 1928, and in the ensuing decade or so, than it is today, even though its numerical forces and its apparatus were smaller then than now. At that time the Communist Party dominated virtually the whole radical labor movement in this country. In the first years of the depression the party drew into its train a supplementary army of radical intellectuals, disillusioned in capitalism by the crisis, who rendered them great service in propagandizing and popularizing the lie that Stalinism was true communism.

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The sterile bureaucratic regime of the Stalinized party lest the industrialization of the prohibited any normal renewal of the leadership. The seed country bring with it the proof talent could not sprout and grow. Independent-minded letarianization of the Arab revolutionists could not breathe in that poisoned atmosphere. The party has to rely for leadership mostly on old hacks who know nothing but to do what they are told and lie to order, and characterless careerists who frequently desert them for greener fields. Budenz is only the latest of this unsavory crew, but by no means the last.

The present prospects of American Stalinism are not tary camp for the British Eighth very bright, all things considered. Only one thing could Army. An extremely prosperous rescue them from their difficulties and give them a new lease on life. A great wave of labor radicalism is in the making in the U.S. If the Stalinists are allowed to appear as the persecuted champions of the workers, instead of the cynical betrayers they are, there is danger of the radicalization being diverted to Stalinism. Therein is the tragic mercially cut off from the rest error of red-baiting, especially if the progressive workers of the world, Palestine was go in for it. That error must be avoided.

The American workers will turn toward Communism, and they will move swiftly and massively once they start; of that there can be no doubt. Will Stalinism be able to seize upon this great movement, pervert it and demoralize it, and turn it aside from its goal? That depends on us. If we explain things correctly and work with the necessary energy, the American workers will embrace communism in its genuine form and reject the Stalinist counterfeit. In mation of an Arab proletariat the great struggle for the American working class, Stalinism will be defeated by its revolutionary nemesis-Trotskyism.

Next week: The Revolutionary Fight Against Stalinism.

The Nature Of Stalinism

Ernest Germain compares the Social Democratic bureaucracy with the Stalinist bureaucracy in an article "Stalinism - How to Understand It and How to Fight It" in the May Fourth International, just off the press.

"Historically, both these bureaucracies are privileged layers which attain socially advantageous positions on the backs of the proletariat," he explains. But "The difference between the two bureaucracies appears when we examine the source of their privileges." The reformist bureaucracy issued out of the period of imperialist expansion before World War I. The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, "is historically tied to the phenomenon of the Soviet bureaucracy in the epoch of capitalist decay.'

The article explains the reasons for the increasing strength of Stalinism, and its attractive power for the masses who are still under the illusion that it represents a revolutionary movement.

The struggle against Stalinism "is a fight to break the influence of Stalinism among the masses." Germain states these are ranged on three different planes: "intransigent ideological struggle" against the poisonous Stalinist policies in the workers' movement; the ability to correctly apply the tactic of the united front; and the "patient penetration of our movement among the rank-and-file of the workers movement."

"The historical task confronting the Fourth International is to take leadership in the overthrow of Stalinism by the working class, and thus to prevent the crushing of the workers' movement by imperialism.'

Single copies 25 cents, yearly subscription \$2 can be obtained from Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York 3. N.Y.

masses and the sharpening of social struggles It was above all during World War II that industrialization of

> the Middle East advanced with giant steps. Egypt was transthe Arab nobles confidentially formed into an immense milithat the noisy propaganda of the American press in favor of Jewish immigration into Palestine industry, serving all the needs was only an election tactic which of the Allied troops, blossomed pursued, moreover, the aim of forth. Thousands of Arab peasstirring up trouble for the British ants left their wretched villages competitor. The president of the to work in these industries or in United States sent a secret letthe military installations. Comter to King Ibn Saud, assuring him that American imperialism and the president would efforced in large measure to profectively block Jewish immigravide for its own needs and, betion into Palestine. cause of this, began to manufac-Let us also note that the Soture a number of products forviet bureaucracy too has atmerly imported from the great tempted to penetrate more deepindustrial nations of the world. ly into this part of the world, This feverish industrialization employing two instruments for of the Arab world could have no other result than the rapid fordifferent "communist" parties which completely changed the which conduct an unbridled and

relationship of social and poabsolutely contradictory nationitical forces on the Middle East alist agitation. chessboard.

RAPID PROGRESS have no intention of freeing their Arab trade unionism made country from imperialist oppresrapid progress. The Egyptian sion. Their sole concern is choostrade unions became organiza- ing the master who will pay them ministry involved. Nevertheless, tions of tens of thousands of the most for their services. Formembers. Two Arab trade unions merly the exclusive instrument were organized in Palestine, one of British imperialism, the Arab sponsored by imperialism, the League is now divided into clans other distinguished by excep--pro-British, pro-American and tional militancy. In Syria, Leb- perhaps even pro-Russian. The anon and even in Transjordania, Arab masses can hope for notha trade union movement began ing from these exploiters. From to develop. There were great now on the task of leading the strikes all the way from the tex- struggle for the national and sotile industry in Egypt to the first cial emaneipation of the Arab strike movements among the oil world devolves on the Arab pipeline workers in Transjor- masses, and on them alone. dania. But that was not all. The workers movement also played

a leading role in the political Movement. struggle for independence which was unleashed against British and French imperialism toward the end of the war. In Syria and in Lebanon each wave of antiimperialist struggle culminated in a general strike of the industrial workers. In Egypt a committee of workers and students led huge demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British troops.

In Palestine the Arab workers movement had to combat many enemies at the same time. Jewish fascist terrorists acted as strike-

On the other hand American which is controlled by Wall imperialism entered the scene Street, granted the first loan during the war by securing oil since its formation - \$250,000,corporations have continued other countries, had been pendtheir penetration. Their political ing for months. agents have not failed to reassure

Meanwhile, the Renault strikers, after closing down the plant for almost two weeks voted by concessions in the realm of King 000 to France. The request for 12,075 to 6,866 to return to work. Ibn Saud. The American oil the loan, like the requests of They accepted a three francs an hour increase listed as a "production bonus."

International Notes

During the French elections too intimately involved in Gerlast November, the Stalinist pa- man life. One result is that "what was

per, Seine-et-Oise Marseillaise, for a long time a trickle of slanderously attacked the PCI Russian soldiers who deserted and its candidates, including and gave themselves up in the General Secretary Yvon Craip- British and American zones, has eau. The latter took the matter now become a steady stream." to court as a libel case, which Officers and troops who are compelled the Stalinists to try classed as "undesirable" are beto back up their slanders. They ing sent back to the Soviet Unfailed miserably.

The tribunal found that the its propaganda: (1) the Greek Stalinist "statements bear a de-Orthodox Church and (2) the famatory and lying character" and "it is felt that the claimant 500,000 francs as damages." Thus the Arab owning classes The case was dismissed. how-

ever, because of the failure of a the tribunal findings constitute a black eye for the Stalinist liars.

* * * A United Press dispatch re-A United Press disputer ported last month that "from borite "rebels."

Indian sources at London it is learned that the United States, Next week: The Arab Revolution and the Zionist Workers munist infiltration from the alization. **Bound Volumes** north.

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ion "for ordinary labor duties." * * * About 500 resolutions have been submitted by unions, local branches and affiliated organis within his rights in demand- izations to the next annual coning reparations and the sum of ference of the British Labor Party, which will begin in Margate on May 26. These include the demand for more nationalizations, abolition of conscripsary procedure of notifying the tion, reductions in the armed 21 resolutions on foreign policy. only two support the government. The other 19 for the most part follow the criticisms of government policy made by the La-

A number of strikes in Czechin application of their world oslovakia are reported in the campaign against communism, Mar. 15 issue of La Batalla, pahave recently taken part in An- per of the Spanish POUM. glo-Indian military talks at Among these was a strike against London, relative to the defense the introduction of the pieceof India after the withdrawal of work system in the Prague loco-British troops on June 1948. It motive works of the Kolben Danis believed that the talks prin- ek company; a number against cipally centered on necessary the rising cost of living in Pra-British and American aid to In- gue; and several in private indusdia for protection against com- tries, demanding their nation-

The strikes have been attacked in both the Stalinist and Social A large-scale purge of Soviet Democratic press, but the Czech troops in Germany and Austria General Confederation of Labor is under way, according to the has had to be more moderate in Berlin correspondent of the Bri- tone. However the GCL leaders tish Daily Mail. According to have asked Parliament, which is this report the purge is aimed formulating a new constitution, mainly at Jewish troops, those to recognize the workers' right not of pure Russian descent and to strike, but only when authorthose who have been living with | ized by the GCL. All other strikes German women or have become would be considered criminal.

PAGE FOUR

Published in the interests of the Working People Vol. XI - No. 20 Saturday, May 17, 1947 Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9330 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months.
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THE MILITANT

"We have entered

A Vote For War

127 Republicans.

and Turkey.

refuted.

By a vote of 287 to 107, the House of Re-

presentatives on May 9 rubber-stamped Tru-

man's demand for authorization to intervene

with U.S. funds, military missions and weapons

in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey.

The majority consisted of 160 Democrats and

to 1 against military intervention in Greece

The implications of the bill were revealed

even more clearly by what was rejected than

by what was included. An amendment to pro-

hibit sending atomic weapons, for instance,

was brushed aside. A motion to limit Greek-

Turkish aid to economic assistance alone was

A proposal to forbid sending any combat

troops into the two countries was rejected as

was another to limit the size of military mis-

sions. They even turned down a motion to post-

The Congressmen knew that they were vot-

ing for a policy of war. "The sons and daugh-

ters of America will die on the battlefields of

Asia and Europe to carry out this policy," Ben-

der of Ohio charged. This charge was never

In fact Rankin of Mississippi, one of the most vociferous in the majority, declared he

rejected without even a show of hands.

pone action for 60 days.

an epoch when the periods of economic revival are short-lived, while the periods of depression become deeper and deeper." Leon Trotsky

spread the work without lowering the standard of living. Other unions should pick up this demand and press for it while they are strong enough to secure its adoption.

A more far-reaching demand the unions should now begin considering is a sliding scale of hours. Under such a provision the avail-. able work would be divided up among all the available workers. Since this means a reduction in hours per man, the corollary provision must be included of no reduction in pay.

It is up to labor to consider right now what to do to battle the depression. It would be suicidal to postpone action under the vain hope that the capitalists or their government will initiate a positive program to save the workers from the dire consequences of the advancing depression.

Blow At Civil Rights

The U.S. Supreme Court, which inflicted heavy fines on the striking miners, delivered a new blow at civil liberties on May 5 by its decision in the Harris case undermining the Constitutional guarantees against arbitrary search and seizure.

The Fourth Amendment of the Bill of Rights was designed to prohibit general warrants which permitted police officials to ransack homes and arrest persons without specific charges. The use of such hateful "writs of assistance" by the King's men was a main grievance of the American colonists in their revolt against British tyranny.

Now the Supreme Court has opened the door to the reinstatement of these instruments of oppression. By its 5 to 4 ruling in the Harris case the high court upheld the FBI which arrested a man in his home on one criminal charge, tied him to a chair, and ransacked his house from top to bottom. Then, after finding no evidence sustaining the original accusation, the FBI agents arrested him on a completely different charge based upon papers found

Thanks to this decision, the FBI-Gestapo could break and enter anyone's home on trumped-up charges and then frame-up and railroad the victim to prison on real or alleged evidence turned up during the raid. This is precisely what hapened to hundreds of native and foreign-born workers during the infamous Palmer "Red Raids" of 1919-1920.

Court is helping set the stage for a duplication of these witch-hunts by the FBI. Justice Murphy correctly pointed out in his dissenting opinion that: "the principle established by the Court today can be used as easily by some future government determined to suppress political opposition . . . '

the democratic rights of American citizens; it is no less active in slashing at the gains of organized labor. Just prior to their action in decision which seriously damaged the Norristions in labor disputes.

Thus every branch of the government from

THE MILITANT



"Don't use so much polish. It's hard rubbing that does the trick, you know!



MARXISM IN THE UNITED | population. "Still, one-third of | measures. In the end this policy STATES by Leon Trotsky, Workers Party Publications, 44 pp., 1947, 35 cents.

This document by Leon Trotsky, now reprinted in convenient pamphlet form, was written as an introduction to The Living Thoughts Of Karl Marx, published in 1939 by Longmans, Green and Co.

In this exposition, Trotsky and misery at the other. underscores the essence of the revolutionary message which Marx was the first to bring to the world working class. "Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first pre-requisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and labor organizations, on the deeventually on a world scale." struction of social reforms and

Trotsky analyzes the development and decay of capitalism as a world system through an inspection of capitalism in the proletariat's class struggle." United States. Statistics of the United States are used, he says. the New Deal tried "to save imbecause this country is 20th Century capitalism's "most persops to the labor and farmer fect mirror."

aristocracy" and other emer-Even before the second World gency measures. But, Trotsky War, the U.S. held 40 per cent points out, even the richest will draw itself up to its full of the world's wealth although it | country in the world cannot in- | height." had only 6 per cent of the world's definitely afford these expensive

the nation, as Roosevelt himself also "leads unavoidably to feroadmitted, is undernourished, in- cious capitalist reaction and a adequately clothed, and lives un- devastating explosion of imperder sub-human conditions. What jalism. In other words, it is diis there to say then, for the far rected into the same channels as less privileged countries?" Trot- the policy of fascism." Events sky traces the basic economic today are reinforcing Trotsky's process of the imperialist epoch: analysis of 1939.

In a slashing attack upon the the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the monopolists at liberal and reformist agents of one pole, paralled by the accu- imperialism, Trotsky demonmulation of increasing poverty strates that the time is past for "partial reforms and patchwork." After the economic collapse of To save society from further 1930, the capitalist rulers sought wars and depressions, it is necto save their doomed system essary to "separate the means of through two different methods: production from their present through fascism in poverty rid- parasitic owners and to organize den Europe and through New society in accordance with a ra-Deal reforms in the richer Unit- tional plan." That plan can be ed States. "Fascism bases its realized only after the working program on the demolition of class has conquered power.

"Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from counon the complete annihilation of try to country with immeasurademocratic rights, in order to bly greater force than fascism forestall a resurrection of the spreads today . . . The contradictions which rend Europe and In the wealthy United States, the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful soluperialist democracy by way of | tion within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity

-Larissa Reed

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

Soviet Co-Ops Become Capitalist Enterprises

- By John G. Wright-

Stalin's regime has made the most far-reaching concessions to capitalist tendencies in the field of Soviet trade and production since the promulgation of the New Economic Policy (the NEP) 26 years ago under Lenin. This abrupt change in economic policy went into effect on Nov. 9, 1946 when the Council of Ministers issued a decree removing all previous restrictions on consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

The sole major restriction upon the current activity of these enterprises is that they are limited to the sphere of consumer goods. But within this sphere they are henceforth enabled to legally sell and produce on their own account, free from state controls, and independently of the plan for the economy as a whole. In addition, they have been extended exemptions from taxes. They are entitled to grants of land and allotments of buildings or building materials by the local authorities and they are to receive government subsidies in the form of state credits, allocations of raw materials, supplies, machines and tools.

· They are free to fix their own prices, with the sole proviso that these cannot go above the "free" prices set by the state-operated "commercial stores." They are free to produce and sell to non-members. There are no restrictions whatever upon membership.

While it is true that the bulk of the producers' cooperatives are on a handicraft basis, their operation is not confined to handicrafts. The USSR Information Bulletin, published by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, April 30, carries a picture of a mechanized winding shop of a cooperative knitting mill. The accompanying article boasts that: "A considerable number of these enterprises (producers' cooperatives) are well equipped with machinery; many of them work on electric power and have auxiliary shops.'

What we have here is in effect the legalization of private ownership of the means of production in a sector of Soviet industry, limited as yet in scope but deep-going in its implications.

According to the above-cited article these enterprises already number "some 70 thousand and (are) employing nearly one million persons." 2,500 new producers' cooperatives are scheduled to go into production during the current year. Last year's gross output amounted to close to nine billion rubles in 1932 prices (the amount in the inflated ruble prices is of course, several times larger). This sum is almost five times the value of all agricultural machinery supplied under the Second Five Year Plan. A largescale expansion is projected for the years ahead.

Private individuals and groups are henceforward free, under the guise of cooperatives, to invest capital, accumulate and reinvest. The doors have thus been flung open to the fusion of these enterprises with the restorationist elements in the bureaucracy and with the "millionaire" collective farmers.

This adds a new impetus to the centrifugal forces now ripping apart Soviet economy and especially Soviet agriculture.

It is clear that the Nov. 9, 1946 decree sets the stage for a new phase in the consolidation and expansion of neo-capitalist elements, already strong among a section of the ruling bureaucracy and in agriculture. Implicit in this development is the threat of capitalist restoration in the USSR, for which Stalinism has been paving the way since the death of Lenin.

Communist Party Outlawed In Brazil

By Charles Cornell-

during the search. This approval of the Truman "doctrine" of heading America down the road to war flew square in the face of public opinion. A recent Gallup poll showed 64% of the people opposing it; a Roper poll indicated a still higher percentage in opposition; a poll taken by radio station WINX in New York showed a 4 to 1 opposition; and Congressional mail has been running 3

By this Hitlerite precedent the Supreme

The Supreme Court is not only restricting the Harris case, the nine justices rendered a LaGuardia Law forbidding the use of injunc-

the high court to the White House and Congress, is being pressed into service by the capitalist rulers to further their anti-labor drive.

favored "breaking relations with Communist Russia" now and "if it is necessary" to "use the atomic bomb.'

The next steps in carrying out the Truman "doctrine" as outlined by the Congressmen will be similar aid, but on a far more extensive scale, to other reactionary regimes throughout the world. Passage of the measure, as Buffet of Nebraska put it, "will cause a rat race" for American dollars to combat "communism" by "every ruler abroad, be he tyrant or parliamentary politician."

Thus barely two years after V-E Day, the seeds of World War III are already sprouting. The vote in Congress once again shows how correct The Militant has been in warning that the war for "Four Freedoms" would turn out to be simply preparation for a still more frightful conflict.

Act Now!

Signs are multiplying that the paralysis of depression is starting to be felt in America. Goods are starting to clog shelves. Plants here and there are closing down. The ranks of the unemployed are growing.

In one respect the opening of this depression differs from the one that paralyzed capitalist economy in the Thirties. Only the Marxists saw the approach of the 1929-30 crash. All the capitalist economists saw only an endless highway of prosperity. But the present depression is the most widely advertised in history. Virtually all the capitalist economists have admitted its approach, differing only on its exact date and probable depths.

Even President Truman gave a speech warning about the approach of depression.

With such unanimity about the certainty of depression, it might be expected that the ruling class would take preventive measures. Neither the capitalists, however, nor their political representatives in Washington are lifting a finger to halt the swift advance of the depression. They only shiver in their boots and think of atomic war and reconversion to war production as a possible way to stave off the inevitable under their system of economy.

It is thus up to the labor movement to take action. The unions should not waste another day in drawing up a program to fight the creeping paralysis of depression. If they wait too long, mounting unemployment will seriously undermine their strength, thereby crippling ability of the unions to press for adoption of the program.

The CIO Packinghouse Workers have already called for adoption of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. A measure such as this will

Look At China

Toward the end of 1945 President Truman sent General Marshall as his special representative to China. According to the White House ballyhoo, the former Chief of Staff was going to settle the civil strife, democratize Chiang's despotism and clear the road for China's reconstruction.

Almost a year and a half have elapsed. General Marshall completed his mission and departed. What did he accomplish?

China's economic conditions are catastrophic. The value of the Chinese dollar is sinking toward zero. Prices for basic necessities mount beyond the reach of the masses.

Rice, the staff of life in China, is becoming ever more scarce and costly. In many towns the hungry have invaded rice shops and grainhoards in desperate search for food. In the cities the patience of the starving, underpaid, slum-dwelling workers has been exhausted. In Shanghai street-car workers, telegraph and radio employes, and others have walked out on "hunger strikes," demanding wageraises to meet the skyrocketing prices.

The Federation of Industrial and Utility Workers, Shanghai's principal trade union organization, has served notice upon the Mayor that it would call a general strike unless its wage demands were met. The Federation also demands an investigation into the private fortunes of leading government officials, reduction in the armed forces and heavy taxation of high incomes.

The Federation has declared it will take over rice stocks, halt industry, and form a workers' government if immediate steps are not taken to relieve the intolerable conditions.

These revolutionary mass movements have been directly provoked by Chiang's criminal civil war which drains the national resources and condemns the people to endless suffering and horrors. The rice shortage is caused by diversion of supplies to the army. For example, 2 million bags of rice destined for Shanghai and Nanking have just been taken by the generals. Government officials and rich merchants are exploiting this artificiallycreated scarcity by speculating in rice.

What is Chiang's answer to the cries of the angry people for food, freedom, a living wage, punishment of profiteers and an end to the war? More terror, more tyranny.

These are the real results of Marshall's intervention in China. This is the harvest of U. S. arms and aid to Chiang.

Today Marshal is applying the Truman Doctrine on a world scale. This program too, we are told, will bring peace, democracy, and prosperity to its beneficiaries.

What are these claims worth? Look at China.

Diplomatic War Goes On As Moscow Conference Fails

By Jean Paul Martin

PARIS, May 2-The Moscow conference has termin- it likes to or not. The conseated in complete failure. Not only on the German ques- quences of this orientation will tion, but on the Austrian treaty as well, no agreement show themselves on the French domestic scene by the break-up could be reached.

The "Big Four" have decid- @ ed not to meet before next general policy for Europe, which November, estimating that a of all European countries except certain amount of time will those under Soviet control. This have to pass before they can bloc will be led by the Amerhope to resume the discussion icans and British, and will be if the Right installs a "strong" with some possibility of arriving directed against the Kremlin. at an accord. Between confer-The keystone of this bloc is ences, diplomatic war continues France, and the U. S.-British between the U. S.-British imperimperialists are now putting joint ialists and the Russians. economic and diplomatic pres-

Marshall, in his April 28 speech sure on this country to accentuin the U.S., revealed that in his ate its division from the Kreminterview with Stalin at Moscow, lin-a division which already apthe latter expressed the belief peared in the discussion on the that, despite the failure of the Saar question at the Kremlin Moscow conference, "a comproconference. mise was possible on all the ma-For coal and wheat, as well as jor questions, including demilfor the capital necessary to fiitarization, the political structure of Germany, reparations and

THE TIME FACTOR

economic unity."

on American aid and on the But Marshall replied that "un-U. S.-British policy in Germany. fortunately we cannot leave out the time factor. The revival of Europe is a much longer process than people thought. While the doctors discuss, the patient them as many advantages as the morale of the army and of lies in agony. Therefore in my opinion, we cannot wait for a compromise that would come as the result of everyone being cards, and each one is in a hurry

tired out by long discussions." In other words, Washington has decided to carry out its own policy everywhere, without waiting for a compromise with the Kremlin. . It now believes that any compromise reached will be the result of ever-increasing pressure of the kind implied by the "Truman Doctrine."

It is expected that the immediate action planned by Marshall will be the further fusion of the U. S.-British zones in Germany with the French zone. This fusion would be both economic and political. The possibility of establishing a Government of Western Germany, eventually presided over by ex-Chancellor Bruening, who has just come back to Germany after a long stay in the U.S., is being spoken of.

This policy in Germany fits into the framework of a more

into the American orbit, whether of governmental unity, since the bourgeoisie is obliged to look forward to throwing the Communist Party out of the government.

But this plan can succeed only government, capable of withstanding the agitation of the Communist Party once it is thrown into opposition. Hence the arrival on the scene of de Gaulle and his RPF (French People's Rally), destined to be tomorrow's vehicle of the capitalists' "strong" action and to meet the new situation that will be created by having the Stalinists in opposition.

nance the Monnet Plan to set French Trotskyists the battered French economy on its feet, France depends directly May Face Prosecution

PARIS, May 2-The secretar-France's game until now has ies of the PCI, French Trotskybeen to play upon the antagon- ist party, have been called beisms between the "Big Three" fore the criminal authorities to in order to obtain from each of answer charges of "undermining possible. Now /it is a question the nation" in a PCI poster enof choosing sides because each titled "Down with the War in of the partners has laid out his Indo-China!"

The hearing was of a preliminto strengthen his future game by ary character, and it is not yet known whether a sedition trial

Revolutionary Marxism Or Petty-Bourgeois Revisionism

A Demarcation of the Programs of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party

A 32-page bulletin discussing policy on the Soviet Union; the Stalinist parties; colonial struggles during the war; the character of the present epoch; perspectives in Europe; tactics in the U.S. on the labor party, in the trade unions and the struggle against native fascism; military policy; concepts of the revolutionary party; attitudes toward the Fourth International; and many other important questions. (Price 35c)

Order from Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Effects of the Truman Doctrine were felt last week in Brazil where President Eurico Dutra's government, undoubtedly acting under pressure from Washington, banned the Brazilian Communist (Stalinist) party and suspended the Stalinist-supported Brazilian Workers Confederation for six months.

On May 7, the day the decision outlawing the Brazilian Stalinist party was handed down by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, Dutra's Army and Federal Police moved swiftly to padlock 445 Stalinist clubs. Action proceeded without delay despite provisions in the new Brazilian Constitution which allow defendant organizations ten days in which to appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Brazilian Stalinist party is the largest in the Western Hemisphere. It is credited with 140,000 members. It polled 800,000 votes in the 1945 presidential elections, elected a senator and 17 deputies and later helped elect eight state governors.

This widespread support was gained mainly through demagogic attacks on American imperialism. At the same time Brazilian Stalinists tried to curry favor with the Dutra regime which is completely subservient to Washington. Ever since legalization of the party in 1945, Luis Prestes, leader of the Stalinists, protested his party's loyalty to the Brazilian government and for the past year has been pleading for collaboration with Dutra.

Confronted with the present dictatorial blow Prestes has ordered his followers to "remain calm." Other Stalinist leaders stated that they have no intention of staging demonstrations or resorting to any but juridical measures.

The desperate plight of Brazilian workers and lower middle class people is driving them toward radical political action. Official records show that living costs are now more than double pre-war levels. Actually the increase is far greater than that. The May 13 World Report states that "many necessities are selling for five or six times as much as they did in 1939." Wages have increased very little. Unemployment is mounting.

Business fell off 10% in the first quarter of this year. Trade with the United States is running against Brazil. Under such conditions Dutra fears even the mildest political opposition. This plus the necessity of placating Washington, on whom the Brazilian government depends for economic and financial aid, were the factors determining Dutra's dictatorial action.

Although Dutra's move against the Stalinists was the most drastic and sweeping since Truman announced his reactionary doctrine, it was not the first in South America. In April, Washington's heavy handed policy was manifested in Chile. Stalinists were ousted from the Chilean Cabinet despite their electoral strength.

One of the chief causes for this action, according to the April 30 Christian Science Monitor, was "a growing sympathy with the stiffer line against communism as heralded by the Truman Doctrine."

Pressure from Washington to remove all political tendencies that are the least bit critical of American imperialism from the governments of South American countries has been increasing for the past year. Thus, representatives of the Apra - a petty-bourgeois anti-imperialist party in Peru - were forced to resign from the Cabinet last January.

making sure alliances. Capitalist France's situation is being planned against the as a whole requires it to enter French Trotskyists.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Why We Ballot As Trotskyists

Editor:

In a letter published in this the reason we have used the perialist atrocities, no matter name Trotskyist in election campaigns is for the purpose of clarfication, to distinguish ourselves Trotskyist position on Palestine, from the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party.

I am afraid he is somewhat off the point. We employed the ballot designation "Trotskyist" primarily because the law in many states prohibits more than one Stalinist Goons Attack party from using the same name on the ballot.

In the last gubernatorial election in New York, however, the challenged our right to use the Workers Party gathered to disname Socialist Workers Party. tribute our paper, The Militant, The New York Supreme Court rejected the challenge and upheld our right to use the SWP name on the ballot. We will Auditorium. continue to contest future elections in this state as the Socialist Workers Party.

George Clarke

Criticizes Editorial **On British Murders** Editor:

Your editorial in the issue of 11 26 on the recent execution Doy Gruner and three others by the British in Palestine falls wholly into the pro-Zionist line of the Workers Party and probelonged in their Labor n, not in The Militant. Zionist-Revisionist ter-The rorists whom these youths represented, far from being champions of ...e "Four Freedoms," are struggling to fasten upon the Arab masses, who constitute the great majority of the country's population, the harsh yoke of American imperialism.

In this endeavor they naturally meet vigorous resistance from the latter's British competitor. There is nothing whatever progressive in their struggle. On the contrary, they employ their reactionary terrorist means toward the reactionary objective of a Jewish state, ruling as an Editor: agency of U.S. capitalism over an Arab country.

It goes without saying, that ism. But toward Dov Gruner and surplus vegetables already dumphis companions we should show ed in a huge mound.

gretting that they, met a richly on the market, we workers

[Indo-China, China and the Phil- | to \$3.25 for a 100 pound bag at ippines without in every instance resale. Again I say," we workers have to buy potatoes at 50 cents explaining all our political differences with the victims. for 10 pounds. Before the war we used to buy potatoes for a Our sympathies in every case

lie with the victims of these im- penny a pound. According to Marquis W how mistaken we may consider Childs of the N. Y. Post, 90,000,their political aims or methods. 000 bushels of potatoes are being For an exposition of the destroyed this year. He further says that DDT was used on the we refer our readers to The Milifarms to kill insect pests; theretant's current series of articles fore, we have a surplus of potaby H. Vallin on this important toes. In so-called beom time we

Public Funds Used

To Extend Jim Crow

have poverty amidst plenty. Because we have too much, we have to starve. This is a preview of a "Militant" Distributor real depression that is to come. People used to starve because

Editor:

homes.

Editor: On May Day members of the Norman Thomas "Socialists" Chicago Branch of the Socialist day there is no reason for such to Stalinists attending the May Day meeting of the Chicago Communist Party at Ashland today.

> Five minutes after we arrived one of our girls was attacked by a group of Stalinist goons led by

question (see Page 3).

Leon Katzen, a United Electrical New York City Workers functionary, ex-chairman of the Chicago Area AVC

and well known Stalinist hack. Katzen was overheard telling his gang at the entrance to the Auditorium: "There are no cops around now. Let's get these Mili-

tant girls." Pretending to want to see one Work." of her papers, Katzen tried to seize her bundle. On failing this, he grabbed the girl, swingof her arms. Some bystanders, indignant at or alleys." this brutal violation of the democratic right to distribute a working class paper, immediately came to the girl's aid. After the brief skirmish that followed, the Stalinists retreated. We

continued to distribute The Militant for/ 45 minutes and then left in an orderly manner. Chicago, Ill.

Dump Surplus Spuds While Prices Soar

A Reader

This is a story about potatoes. All other food items could be connected with this story. At we nevertheless do not entrust Fort Fairfield, in the heart of a to British imperialism the de- potato farming region, workers fense of the Arab masses against were dwarfed as they added to able sacrifice." the reactionary designs of Zion- the thousands of bushels of the

no sympathy whatever-only re- If they placed these potatoes

Seven-Day Strike Forces Inland Steel Corp. To Withdraw Union-Busting Contract Clauses

By J. Lyons

THE MILITANT

EAST CHICAGO, Indiana, May 7-The workers of the tors to call off the pickets. Sev-Inland Steel Corporation, members of United Steelworkers of America Local Union No. 1010, concluded a highly successful seven day strike.

Although all major steel producing concerns in the U.S. tiations for 31 hours on one ocsigned agreements with the United Steelworkers before the April After seven days, the committee 30 deadline, Inland alone held out. This concern decided to test the basic loyalty of the steelworkers to their union by offering the 12¹/₂ cent wage increase

formula, but tying it in with more than a dozen union-busting proposals.

Among other things, it insisted on including in the contract a there wasn't enough to eat. Towhich would allow the corporaa situation. But when there is tion to fire any union steward over-production we go hungry who "condoned" a strike. In adjust the same. The greed for dition, the corporation sought to profits is what keeps prices high undermine the entire seniority principle by demanding the right Abe Davi: to exempt 120 of their chosen New York men from seniority regulations. This would permit the managers

to place their own stooges on any job in the plant and bump men with years of seniority.

16 SCHEMES

How the capitalist authorities The union listed 16 separate subvert public housing programs union-busting schemes which Inin the interest of racial segregaland wanted included in the contion is well illustrated in the report of the "Proceedings of the tract in return for the wage increase. When it became obvious National Conference of Social that the negotiating committee refused to accept a "yellow dog" As an excuse for driving minority groups out of areas they contract, the company appealed now occupy the authorities cite to the men directly. Posters tempting to pry the papers out the fact they "may beslocked in were placed throughout the giant an undesirable, pocketed area or steel plant notifying the men may be living in rear streets that the company had agreed to grant the wage increase. The intent was to place the blame "In such cases," says the book, the neighborhood can hardly upon the local leaders and to be termed desirable or well esstir dissension within the ranks. tablished." And under this On the night of April 30, sevhypocritical excuse the minority cral thousand union members group is forced out of their jammed the union hall to hear

the negotiating committee's fin-But this is not all. While al report. The committee did "local authorities" usually ex- not appear, because negotiations tend Jim-Crow segregation where were still being carried on. When it already exists, "there may be it became clear that no contract tendency to use public houswas forthcoming, the workers ing to displace minority groups | marched to the plant and set up -particularly the Negro-from the picket lines one hour before desirable neighborhoods in the old agreement expired.

which they now live." Under Several days later, each workguise of "City Planning" or "reer received a letter from the clamation," minority groups plant manager, in which the "may be forced to relinquish company again tried to bribe the areas in which they have c3- men into defying their leaders. tablished themselves at consider- The letter pointed out that the strike was not over wages, and

"In a desirable area long oc- that the local leaders were recupied by Negroes," the auth- sponsible for the lack of an orities build a housing project agreement. The workers reopen only to whites. As the re- sponded to this propaganda by trengthening their picket lines.

tee was held in continuous negocasion and 24 hours on another. returned with a contract which most activists consider even better than the basic steel contract All 16 of the company's unionbusting points were knocked out.

A number of concessions over and above the basic steel agreement

on including in the contract a vicious "responsibility" clause Local Settlements Pave Way which would allow the corpora-**To End Of Telephone Strikes**

(Continued from Page 1)

of the New Jersey operators, | strategy fully depended on the who defied state "seizure" and qualities of the national leaderonerous jail and fine sentences to show how strikebreaking laws could be beaten. settlement.

Against the combined forces of all state agencies and the kept press, these heroic girl operators refused to yield an inch. As a result, they forced a complete retreat by the state, the dropping of charges against their officers and revision of the new state slave-labor law. workers against the role of gov-

This resistance in New Jersey undoubtedly discouraged the federal government and other states from trying to swing a club against the phone workers. The fact that the New Jersey operators received the highest wage settlement yet negotiated in the strike is a direct result of their gent of Big Business. militancy.

EFFORT FAILED

On the other hand, the NFTW leadership failed in its effort to achieve nation-wide settlements, if not in one master contract, at least through NFTW review and approval of regional agreements. The main reason for this setback was the tremendous strength and high degree of centralization lodged in AT&T, which was determined at all costs MORE CHISELING to prevent nation-wide bargaining and to impose a divide-andconquer policy.

Aided by scores of government levels and the deliberate misinall sides, trying to split them a- chiseling with the formula of to protest anti-labor legislation, part. The non-NFTW New York "let's compromise the differ- and 14 to an AFL protest meet-

ally begging the union negotiaen days of costly production has been lost in an attempt by the company to split the union.

This was the fourth plantyears, and it represents the

fourth victory for the union. strike was the fact that the negotiating committee was headed by James Griffin, who was recently elected District Director of the Youngstown district in a contest with the Murray-sponsored incumbent. Griffin re-

paign. the Campaigner. Comrade How-

Heat with 9 points and Rosalie for a 6-month sub; 1½ points ship, its ability to maintain nafor a one-year sub.) The Camtionwide solidarity, sustain morpaigner ends with this reminder: ale and enforce its directives for "Remember-the grand prize is week's vacation at the Mid-

The NFTW leadership proved West Summer Camp! The four previous month. The subscripunable to hold out longer against | Pace-Setters listed above are out | tions received are listed by, the combined might of corpora- in front. Anyone else who has branch. tion and government attacks. ideas of winning had better turn While the leadership rejected on the steam in a hurry. It can government demands for arbitra- still be anybody's race. BE "A tion, nowhere did it warn the CHAMP-GO TO CAMP."

Boston's campaign netted 31 ernment conciliation and mediation, and the clearcut fact'that subscriptions during the week. government officials were using Rena Breshi who is directing the every lever to help AT&T divide campaign hopes that the weathand split the ranks of the strik- er will be good at least on Suners. This was due to the lead- days so the branch can continue ership's own lack of understand- its campaign without delay. ing of the government as an a-

Dick Carlson of the Minneapolis branch writes: "We were dis-This shortcoming was coupled tributing at a meeting of the with a weak approach to bargaining. When the CIO unions telephone workers vesterday. We began to sign contracts for \$6, passed out about 75 copies of The Militant and had an enthuthe NFTW leadership immediately halved its \$12 figure on siastic response. Some workers the ground that the trust would who received a paper came back be bound by the CIO figure as and asked for another to give to a "national pattern." Recogniz- a friend. One woman took a paing this as a sign of weakness, per and after reading it, came out of the meeting hall and paid AT&T and the government beme for it." gan to chisel still lower.

Los Angeles Local reports ex-

cellent cash returns from its dis-

When the government chipped almost a dollar from this tributions during the past few figure with a proposal of \$5.14 weeks. For instance, 67 Militants for the long-lines operators, the were sold to a mass meeting of mediators on national and state union hastened to accept. AT&T the telephone strikers, 14 to a refused, still offering \$1-3, \$2-4. meeting of the teamsters, 29 formation spread by the kept This then enabled the govern- Militants and 89 Labor Party press, AT&T hit the unions from ment mediators to do some more pamphlets to the CIO meeting

wide Inland strike in the last ten Special Bulletin Sparks An interesting sidelight to the Chicago Sub Campaign Chicago Local's 8-week cam- | week. They say that certain paign for 300 subs to The Mili- agents, certain branches, appear

THE MILITANT ARMY

ant got off to a flying start. in the column every week with During the first 9 days, the com- the number of subs sold. These rades chalked up 85 subscrip- critics would like to see some tions. Chicago's live-wire litera- new names and ideas in The

PAGE FIVE

We could write about all the tin called the "Militant Sub subs some of the branches aren't Campaigner," to keep Militant selling, but we think a better boosters in that area informed idea would be for the rest of , on the progress of the Cam- you Militant boosters and sub-The Southside team getters, who find it easier to get leads with 30½ points, reports subs than to write about it, to give our critics a break. Send ard is setting the pace with 13 in your sub-getting experiences, points, followed by Comrade the approach you use in getting Frank with 101/2 points, Comrade subs from workers in your shop, the method you use in telling with 8. (One point is credited your neighbors about The Militant. The Militant Army fans are clamoring to hear from you.

> Total subs for April were 665 as compared with 821 for the

i	oranch.	
	Chicago	112
	Boston	69
	Detroit	52
	Buffalo	51
	Milwaukee	47
	New York Local	39
	Los Angeles Local	34
	San Francisco	33
	Newark	27
	Minneapolis	25
	Flint	22
	Philadelphia	19
	Cleveland	18
	St. Paul	15
	Lynn	14
	Seattle	10
	Youngstown	10
	Akron	8
	Reading	8
	Connecticut State	7
	3t. Louis	7
	Allentown	6
	Pittsburgh	6
	Calumet	5
	Toledo	5
	Oakland	1
	Portland	1
	Rochester	0
	San Diego	0
	General	
	TOTAL	665
		in the second

Gala Floor Show To Be Featured

hours of negotiations, the com- the victory mass meeting of Loone-page mimeographed bulle-

pany representatives were liter- | cal No. 1010.

were granted. In the last few ceived a tremendous ovation at ture committee is putting out a Militant Army.



Diary of a Steel Worker -

The Unknown Child - By Theodore Kovalesky-

The spring is sweet, the tender spring is sweet, and good things grow in the black earth. It is fine to feel the sunshine, to see it flickering



through the leaves. Life is good, and it is good to hear the laughter of the children. But there are shadows still on earth, and the dark wind moans at sundown.

grotesque thing in the springtime, when life shoulders its way up from the earth, thickens on the boughs of the trees, spreads through the air with the happy odor of green things growing.

And the death of a child, or children, is even more horrible in the springtime, the season of earth's childhood.

But it is spring in the northern half of the world. It is spring in Prague, Czechoslovakia, where they have a new monument, a memorial to the Unknown Child of World War II.

. . . Fill your lungs, brothers, swell your chests with pride. We have grown wise and great through the centuries.

Once men lived in the caves of the mountains, in crude tree shelters in the forests, hounded by hunger and cold, hunted by wild beasts. Once men fought for food, armed with wooden clubs and stone knives.

But mankind has grown great and wise. Today we don't fight for food; we fight to make the capitalist parasites richer and more powerful. Today we need not depend on the stone axe or even the bow and arrow. We have harnessed the mighty energy of nature to blast and atomize the crowded poor as they huddle in the city slums.

It was only a scant quarter of a century ago, brothers, that our masters sent a squad of men out to gather up the few rags of bone and rotten flesh that were all that remained of one man, a broken, anonymous man who was sent out to die to make the world safe for the profit system in World War I. They called him the Unknown Soldier and made him a cynical symbol of human suffering and capitalist greed.

But the world marches forward, and we grow great and wise with the progress of modern capitalism. What a step forward, what a great advance! Today in Prague, Czechoslovakia, we see the monument to the Unknown Child of World War II! To whom shall we dedicate the memorials of World War III?

And you, child, unknown, remembered only as a symbol, could you forgive us for being so slow to learn, to act?

We have tried to build a world where you could know the joys of springtime, the happiness of play in the sunshine. There have been reasons why we have not yet succeeded. But could we make you understand?

There are millions upon millions of us in the crowded streets and factories of the cities, millions more in the hard-worked fields of the mortgaged farms and share-cropping plantations. The time will come when we'll smash the capitalist system of poverty and war and build a world of peace and plenty.

But nothing can change the horror that was your little life, the agony that was your death.

We have been slow to move, s'ow to anger. But the anger is mounting, and hard, stern action will follow. A little more time and we shall be ready. And then the workers of the world will claim vengeance for your death and give happiness back to the children of the future.



THE MILITANT

69.1%

48.1%

The Big Steal

Percentage Increase in Spendable Income (Family of Four) as a result of H.R.1 1'll be \$110,800.00

33.1% 18.6% 10.3% 2.79 1.8% 1.2% mcome-\$2500 \$3500 \$5000 \$10,000 \$25,000 \$100,000 \$300,000 \$500,000 \$50,000

Net income before taxes and personal exemptions

publican-sponsored tax bill. Federated Pictures

Against The Anti-Labor Bills -By William E. Bohannon-

Wall Street's anti-labor drive to cripple and destroy the unions seriously affects the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro

The Negro Struggle -



people. The labor movement is the natural ally of the Negro people. Both face the same enemy: the titans of Big Business who seek to drive down living standards by all types of brutal methods. Wall Street seeks to destroy the democratic rights of labor, even as it seeks to perpetuate its Jim - Crow

"divide and rule" tactics against the Negro people. Long ago Karl Marx emphasized that "labor in a white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." And the present onslaught against the unions poses an opposite lesson: The Negro people cannot gain an inch in the struggle against Jim Crow IF the labor movement should be crippled and hamstrung. Our fight to achieve democratic rights demands that we fight to retain the democratic rights of the labor movement. Every Negro has a stake in this fight to defeat Wall Street's Congress in its dastardly legislative plot against the union movement.

The future and the hopes of America's 14 million Negroes are therefore solidly linked with the future of their natural ally, the organized labor movement. These ties are made even more binding by the fact that close to 2 million of these 14 million Negroes are themselves union members, part and parcel of the great American labor movement.

One of every seven Negroes is a unionist. We can be very proud of this fact. It shows that the Negro workers are well aware that the unions are their best protection as exploited workers.

It is true that the Negroes have had a tough fight on their hands for admittance into the unions, especially in the AFL. Once in the unions we have proved our right to full participation in all union affairs. We have made many gains in these respects, including gains in seniority rights, upgrading, equal pay for equal work, etc. We did this because solidarity was achieved and proved in action with our white fellow workers. Now we must again prove that we are in the front lines of union action by lending every effort to defeat the boss offensive against the unions.

If the Negro people are to continue to play a progressive role in the labor movement, if we are to protect and further our gains on the economic field, if we are to help protect the democratic rights of the working class as the best way to fight for our own democratic rights for equality-then we must all, union member and non-member alike, close ranks with labor. and work with might and main to defeat the Hartley, Taft and other anti-labor bills.

GM Rehires 15 Men But **UAW Suffers Bad Blow**

DETROIT, May 11 - The 15 local union officers and unprincipled factional warfare committeemen fired by General Motors for supporting the in the top circles of the UAW April 24 Cadillac Square demonstration have been rein- ever since the Atlantic City convention; the weak-kneed constated as a result of negotiations between GM and the UAW. The a meeting held Friday with the duct of the Reuther-Thomasagreement with the company was victimized GM workers, to im- Addes leadership of the UAW reached late Thursday after a ply that if it was rejected, the and the other CIO unions in remeeting of 150 UAW local union disciplined men would be on their cent wage negotiations, which presidents Wednesday night had own. They even refused to refer have resulted in extremely limput the heat on the internation- the settlement to a meeting of lo- ited gains — all these have proal officers and had pledged all- cal presidents scheduled for duced moods that endanger the very life of the union. The deout support to the victimized GM | Monday night.

on the question.

In the face of this attitude and moralization in the ranks resultthe UAW leaders' obvious refusal ing from the criminal policy of However, the auto union has to prepare for a serious fight, the top UAW leaders enabled the received a severe setback from the settlement was ratified by the GM corporation to deliver this this settlement. For the fired 40 GM workers present, with 9 latest blow. Critical days lie amen, although reinstated, have voting in opposition. It was ap- head for the auto union. received penalty layoffs for per- parent that the leadership was The Cadillac Square demoniods up to 70 days (for carrying anxious to have the matter com- stration was forced on the top

through the instructions of the pletely disposed of by the time leaders by the pressure of the International Union.) The final of the next presidents' meeting. militants in the secondary lead-President Walter Reuther had ership of the union. The mass promised that the UAW Policy turn-out in Cadillac Square, the stoppage of any kind under the of the various local union lead-much to revive the fighting spirit ing, the capitalists "are a mite ment, in the first instance, the

of the various local union lead-ers before Monday if a proper and militancy which were so nervous about business holding unions in the building trades, settlement could not be achieved. much a part of the UAW in the up," says the Wall Street Jour- should assume the init

By Joseph Hansen

A cold wind is blowing in the construction industry. Already tens of thousands of building trades workers have been swept out of their jobs. Additional scores of thousands will follow as the postwar depression gains momentum.

In scattered areas employment, ing construction show a staggeris still holding up. But in a ing decline since last year. In 1946 some 1,000,000 units were number of key cities the picture started. Government housing ofis a grim one. In Washington, ficials expect that not more than D. C., for instance, about 25,000 half this figure will be started laborers are idle. in 1947.

One-fifth of Portland's 5,000 Private companies started only carpenters are out of work. Even 60,449 units in March 1946. This with hundreds of homes standing year, however, construction tounfinished, "stagnation" has hit bogganed to only 49,800 units in the building industry. March. In Little Rock, Ark., repre-

The decline for April is expectsentatives of the carpenters' union report that some 20% of the ed to reach as much as 40% of last year's figures. city's skilled construction work-

an opportunity to build them.

What should be done to meet

this acute crisis? The incapac-

ployment for the building trades

The productive machinery for

such a construction program is

available. Materials and sup-

plies are likewise at hand. The

labor force is more than ample.

Nor can the government plead a

lack of funds. If billions upon

billions of dollars can be divert-

ed-as they are-into maintain-

ing and extending the biggest

"peacetime" military force in

history, why can't the necessary

It goes without saying that this

Thus America is faced with ers are looking for jobs. Building "slumps" are reportone of the outrageous contradictions that mark capitalism in ed in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Des its period of decline. Never be-Moines, Oklahoma City, Salt fore has the housing shortage Lake City and San Francisco. been so acute. Millions of hous-In Columbus, Ohio, and Meming units are needed at once. phis, Tenn., present construction Yet instead of a steady increase may be completed, but further in construction, a steep decline plans are being shelved. has set in! The streets are Philadelphia contractors expect a "terrific" slump within a filled with people looking for homes and with workers seeking

NEW YORK HARD HIT

ew months

New York has been hard hit. By April 25 a conservative esti- ity of privately - financed conmate put the unemployed at struction could hardly be m 9,000 bricklayers, 5,000 carpen- obvious. The only serious hope ters, 2,500 painters, 2,000 plum- is a federal housing program of bers, 500 iron workers, 300 sheet a sufficient size to provide emmetal workers and 300 excavat-"Since then," an official and get the homes built that are ors. of the Building Trades Employ- so sorely needed. ers Association declared two weeks later, "all these figures have jumped. Some place the number of unemployed bricklayers at 12,000-more than 25% of the union members available

for work." In Manhattan alone an estimated \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 in projected housing construction has been abandoned.

The excuse commonly advanced by the capitalists for the billions be earmarked for housslash in housing plans is the "high cost" of building materials and labor. But a more impellwill not be done by the governing consideration is revealed in the pigeonholing of innumerable ment of its own volition. But blueprints for plant expansion mass pressure can compel acand new factory construction. tion. Committee would call a meeting greatest in Detroit's history, did With depression signs multiply- The organized labor move-

Beating A Rent Gouger

CHICAGO --- This is the story of how a rent-ber of other ways. Preparations were made for

Chart from the April issue of CIO Economic Outlook giving the real facts on the Re-

gouger in a big city was beaten when his tenants organized. It is a true story, scores of families can testify, and it is a story with a happy ending, as was demonstrated last week when the tenants won their ten-week long fight by receiving \$5,500 in payment for lack of services in the past year, refund of bonuses extorted from apartment hunters, and compensation for money spent by tenants to decorate their apartments.

Residents of the Sterling Apartments a North Side building with 97 units, were angered by the extortion of huge "bonuses" from apartment seekers, the arrogance of the manager, and the elimination without rent reductions of all services, including weekly linens, window washing, clean curtains, repairs, painting and decorations. When individual complaints to the OPA failed to get results, the Sterling Apartments Protective Association was organized on Feb. 23. Officers were elected, a dues system was instituted, and an attorney, M. J. Myer, was retained.

The next day a committee went to work on the OPA, filing complaints against the landlord, Samuel Server, for violation of OPA regulations. At first the OPA officials were not interested, but when stories about the case began to appear prominently in the press and they saw the tenants meant business, investigators were sent to check on the complaints. The landlord then got an OPA notice to restore all services at once or a retroactive rent reduction would be ordered. Meanwhile the tenants proceeded in a num-

filing a collective suit in court against the land lord for recovery of treble damages for extortion of "bonuses." The Department of Building Inspection, the Fire Department and Bureau of Electrical Inspection were notified of various violations of municipal ordinances, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue was informed of income by the management for which it was suspected no income tax had been paid. A news bulletin, Sterling News, was distributed to tenants. Plans to organize tenants of other Serverowned buildings were initiated.

Faced with this well-organized campaign, the management gave in, after a feeble attempt at intimidation and red-baiting. Two collective bargaining sessions between Server and the association's executive committee, produced agree-ment on the following terms: 1. The much hated Labor Party At building manager was discharged. 2. All services were fully restored. 3. All apartments will be completely redecorated. 4. Return of \$70 to each of 65 tenants for lack of past services. 5. Return of \$720 to four tenants forced to pay "bonuses." 6. Repayment of \$238.50 to five tenants who had decorated their own apartments. 7. Recognition of the tenants association.

Enthused by this success, the tenants voted to continue the association as a permanent organization and to extend it by organizing other buildings on the North Side.

Does this give you some ideas? What was done in Chicago can be done elsewhere.

rendered the rights of the auto as quickly and quietly as possible, to dampen that militancy. workers to peacefully assemble regardless of the cost to the unand demonstrate for their rights. ion and without giving the local of the past ten years.

workers, including strike action

settlement also contains a com-

mitment by the International

Union that there will be no work

WHAT IT MEANS

necessary.

The top UAW officials not only agreed to this miserable settlement, but they had the gall, in

Delegates Urge Pa. AFL Parley

A key question discussed story. at the 45th annual Pennsylvania State AFL Convention, be properly understood merely which ended its sessions May 3, was formation of an independent Labor Party. A resolution favoring immediate was submitted by the Reading officers is something without ers the telephone strike has been Lodge No. 652 of the Brother- precedent in this union. hood Railway Carmen of America. Although it was finally voted down, it aroused great interest among the 1,576 delegates and was given considerable publicity in the press.

tion to the "deadly menace of other plants from even knowing Humphrey always announced he HIDE THE FACTS the big business government of- what was happening! To this was 'neutral' before he ordered fensive against the unions." It day there has been no union a police assault on the Tele- called practical politicians one pointed out that the "proposed statement on this matter in the phone Workers Union picket never hears an honest discussion anti-labor bills being pushed by press. The conspiracy of silence lines. However, Mr. Collins of these questions," Dunne as-Truman and Congress have as was broken only when Briggs Lo- withheld full praise because the serted. "And why not? Because their ultimate aim the very de- cal 212 officers sent wires to the Mayor wasted too much time in the top-flight leaders of the struction of the labor move- international officers, with cop- breaking the strike." ment." While the organized labor movement has displayed "tremendous power on the economic arena of struggle," on the pobe explained merely by the fail- tive trade union leader for more by their Wall Street masters if litical field it stands "as a puny

midget." The resolution declared that support the demonstration, crim- labor movement "to repudiate ple." millions of workers, shocked by inal as that sabotage was. What both Humphrey and Collins" the political developments of re- is glaringly revealed by this in- and thus "deliver a solid blow aroused in the Socialist Workers cent weeks, are awakening to the cident is the demoralization and against government strikebreak- Party election campaign in trade need for genuine independent passivity developing in the ranks, ing." labor political action through a especially of the GM workers, party of their own, a "Labor because of the criminal policies Humphrey has been endorsed forthright declarations in sup-Party;" and ended with a call for of the entire UAW leadership for re-election by the official port of workers' rights. No the state AFL to "institute action over the last year and a half. to unite the union ranks of AFL. CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods GM strike of 1945-46, which saw has not been that of a labor strikers. Although the Communto enter the political arena the 18½ cent increase won and Mayor. "Mayor Humphrey is ist Party (Stalinists) have en-

through an Independent Labor then wiped out by soaring prices busy and troubled about many tered Robert Kelly in the Mayor-'Party."

What this means in life is This promise was violated as years gone by. The newest capithat the UAW leaders have sur- Reuther moved to settle the issue tulation to GM has done much

> The time has come when the last fall is reported by this Wall ...ilitants must intervene in the Street organ to have declared:

ONLY PART OF STORY both the Reuther and the Thom- out in the field say stores are The Thomas-Addes forces have attempted to make political capibe called to their cowardly pol- ies."

this attack was being handled. izer and builder of General Driv- reys and the Collinses must hide

This whole experience cannot ers' Union, Local 544 and an ac- these facts. They would be fired

The reaction to the drawn-out Dunne charged that his record the hard-pressed telephone

in a few months; the constant things'," the SWP candidate alty race, he has been shielding

ure of some Reuther locals to than 25 years, called upon the they told the truth to the peo-

as-Addes leaders. A halt must heavily curtailing their inventortal of the situation by charging icy of retreat and capitulation. The over-all figures on hous- page 4.)

pressing resolutely for large scale A plant manager in Seattle federal and state grants to nawhere a new factory was finished tion-wide public housing programs. Such a campaign would As the Hearst Detroit Times sta- union leaders involved an oppor- situation or see their union dis- "We hope that our own prices meet with a hearty response ted, this is the boldest blow de- tunity to even express themselves integrate before their eyes. A and high sales will hold up long from millions of people now halt must be called to the un- enough to pay the bill. But we forced to live in slums and the principled factional bickering of aren't quite sure. Our salesmen ex-GIs who are still looking fo shelter.

ing?

(See editorial: "Act Now!"

the Democratic Party candidate.

Humphrey, from criticism for

the chief Stalinist criticism of

Much stronger language was

of the strikebreaking Humph-

ther-led GM plants to shut down and join the Cadillac Square rally was responsible for the victimizations. It is true that Dunne Winds Up Campaign such sabotage gave the corpora-tion an excellent opening which it did not fail to take advantage For Mayor Of Minneapolis it did not fail to take advantage of. But this is only part of the

By Grace Carlson

nal.

This blow to the UAW cannot MINNEAPOLIS, May 9 - Winding up a lively and spirited campaign, V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party can- phone strike. Despite the fact developments since then. The didate for Mayor of Minneapolis, tonight lashed out at the that Humphrey has become a "anti-labor records" of the Democratic and Republican leading red-baiter in this area, continued to operate in the face candidates in a radio speech

said, "but not about the wages the Mayor has been that "he is Pointing out that to the work- of working people!"

attempting to appease GOP re-Humphrey's record on housaction." a central issue of the Mayoralty ing, education, public health Just imagine: the leadership campaign, Dunne said, "On this and old age pensions was also found by the Stalinists for their of UAW locals in the major auto exceedingly important question, attacked by Dunne. The SWP attack on the Trotskyist candicorporation is decapitated and the public declarations of the program, which calls for diverdate, V. R. Dunne. In every yet the plants continue to oper- Democratic Party's Mr. Humph- sion of war funds to public radio speech and in all the Stalate and the leadership is permit- rey and the Republican Party's housing, education, medical and inist election literature, Dunne ted to follow a hush-hush policy Mr. Collins show little if any social services, was stressed by has been slandered as a "fasc-The, resolution called atten- which prevented the militants in difference. Of course, Mayor Dunne as the only solution. ist" by the desperate supporters

"But in the circle of the so- rey.

Considerable interest has been

union circles and in the daily

Despite the fact that Mayor press because of V. R. Dunne's

AFL and CIO of Minneapolis, other candidate spoke out for

Despite this maze of confusion and betrayal, V. R. Dunne emerges as the only candidate worthy of the support of the working class voters of Minne-Democratic and Republican paries to all UAW local presidents, Dunne, who was introduced to ties-as well as the little poliapolis in the primary election on condemning the manner in which the radio audience as an organ- tical climbers like the Humph-May 12.

	NEWARK
	Meeting and Dance
	Speakers:
	WILLIAM E. BOHANNON GEORGE BREITMAN Alan Kohlman
	SWP candidates for Delegates to N. J. Constitutional Convention
	Thurs., May 29, 8:30 p.m. Cadillac Restaurant
	Halsey and Hill Streets
j	Music Refreshments

Notes From The News

Selvation Army official Arthur Brewer told a business men's meeting in Los Angeles last week that bosses should sing as they enter their offices in the morning and as



during the day. "The happy effect will influence everyone in the plant, from manager to office boy, and increase the confidence of customers," he declared.

Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro yeteran backed by the United Labor Committee, was elected to the Winston-Salem City Council last week. He is the first Negro to win such an office in North Carolina since Reconstruction days.

Several hundred Ohio movie theatre owners are calling for a boycott against the showing of Charlie Chaplin's new anti-war film, Monsieur Verdoux.

The South's biggest lynching trial has begun in Greenville, S. C. Thirty-one are on trial for the mutilation lynching of 24-year-old Willie Earle last February 16. A lily-white jury is being selected.

The Stalinists are embarrassed by the new

they move among the workers

book about the NMU, The Dark Ship, although its author is the well-known New Masses writer, Richard O. Boyer. It contains a 68-page, highly flattering section about Joseph Curran, written before he and the Stalinists came to the parting of the ways in the NMU.

* * James Larkin, Jr., son of the famous Irish revolutionary and labor leader, is in New York. The CIO Transport Workers Union invited him to speak at a memorial meeting for James Connolly. Socialist leader executed by the British during the Easter Rebellion.

Oakland's striking AFL Retail clerks won an agreement from the department stores last week. Their seven-month strike reached its climax in a general strike of the city last December.

Harvey W. Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists, urged the 600,-000 members of his union to vote against reaffiliation with the AFL in next month's referendum. Brown led the IAM out of the AFL because of a jurisdictional dispute.

Actors Equity Association will refuse to sign up next year with the Capitol's only legitimate theatre, The National, unless the policy of barring Negroes from the audience is ended.

in light of the demonstration and very fact that the GM plants of the discharge of three union over WMIN. organization of a Labor Party presidents and 12 other leading