

Harlem's Firetrap Tenements Of Death

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Workers Of The World, Unite! THE MILITANT

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100 ANTI-LABOR BILLS IN CONGRESS

A Call To Action! No Retreat! Defend Labor's Rights!

By M. Stein

National Organization Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

The Big Business offensive against the labor movement, carefully prepared by press and radio propaganda and by a ferocious red-baiting campaign, has entered a new stage with the convening of the 80th Congress. Anti-labor bills are now flooding Congress. These bills aim to cripple the trade unions by curtailing their rights to strike, by prohibiting industry-wide bargaining, by outlawing the closed shop and maintenance of membership provisions. This campaign to destroy the unions as effective instruments for defending the workers' living standards has been carefully planned, well organized and energetically carried forward.

What are the union officials doing to combat this ferocious assault? Nothing. They continue to rely on weak lobbies at a time when Congress is openly acting in behalf of the monopolists. They are seeking a rotten compromise when the advantage is wholly on the side of reaction. They are hoping and praying that Congress will not be too harsh.

Strategy of the Monopolists

Controlling the destiny of the country by virtue of their monopoly of the productive machinery and the bulk of the country's wealth, the Sixty Families are in no mood for compromise. They are out to smash what they lilyingly call "trade union monopoly control of American production." This demagogic may appear ridiculous, just as Hitler's demagogic did in its early stages. But it is deliberately designed to turn the wrath of the middle class away from the profiteering monopolists and direct it against the trade unions, the only restraint upon the capitalists' monopoly control of the country.

This strategy of the monopolists is borrowed lock, stock and barrel from Hitler's arsenal. Today it is in the propaganda stage and is passing over to the legislative stage; but it must not be overlooked that this paves the way for the next stage, that is, direct physical assaults to break up the unions by storm troops.

Criminal Policy of Union Leaders

The criminal submissiveness and do-nothing policy of the trade union officials, their complacency in the face of this war being waged against the trade unions, can spell disaster to the American working class. The trade union militants who fought and sacrificed to build the giant trade union movement in this country must sound the

alarm, shake the trade unions out of lethargy, imbue them with a fighting spirit. They must weld the trade union locals in each city into a solid front that will beat back all attacks on the trade unions. They must demand of the trade union leaders that they act in defense of the workers' rights.

For Conference of Labor

For some time now we have demanded that a Conference of Labor, embracing the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, be convened for joint action against the anti-labor offensive. Numerous local unions have passed resolutions in favor of such action. CIO President Murray issued a call for such a Conference during the miners' strike. But the top bureaucracy of the AFL refused to respond. The CIO leadership for its part did not press the issue. The ranks are yearning for unity of action. They are eager to fight the anti-labor bills before Congress. But the top bureaucrats of the unions have blocked this sentiment.

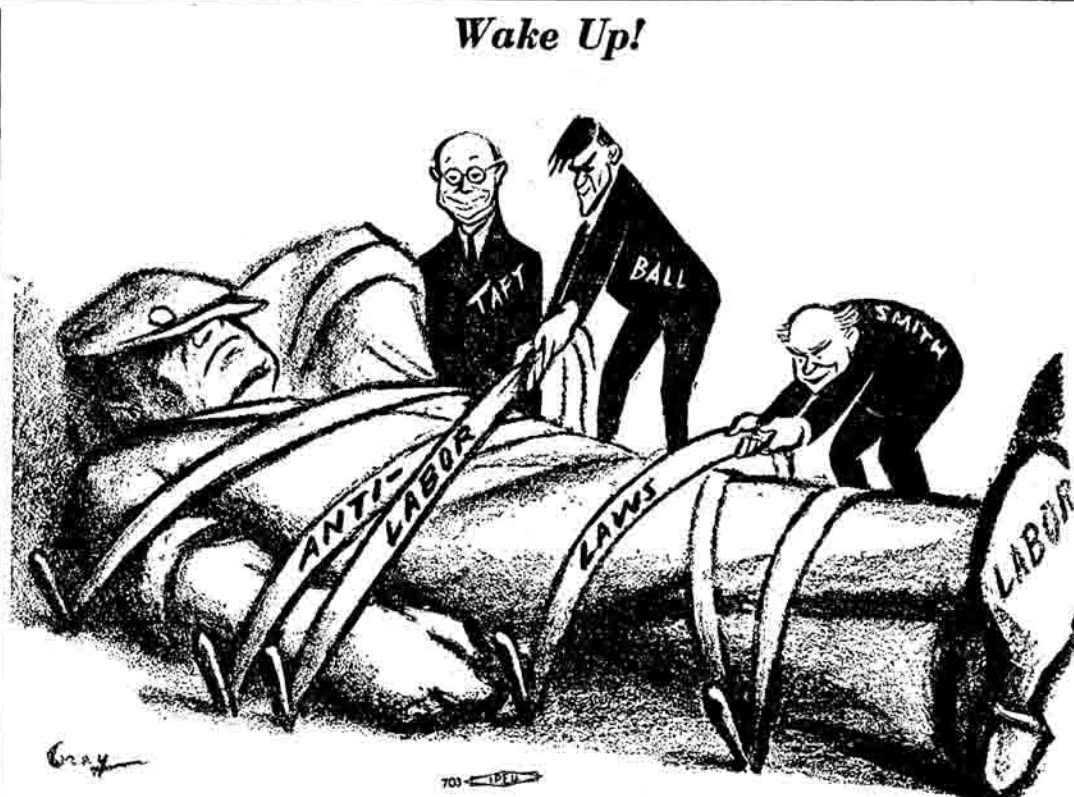
Congress must be made to feel the wrath of the working people. It must be told in emphatic terms that the trade unions will not submit to the legislation sponsored in behalf of the NAM by the arch-reactionaries, the Tafts, the Balls and the Smiths.

Labor's failure to build a party of its own deprives it of a voice in the chambers of Congress. But this does not mean that labor has no voice in the country. It has a powerful voice, the voice of 15 million men and women organized in the trade unions. This voice can become a mighty roar if it is properly coordinated.

Alert the Trade Unions

The initiative for this coordination must be assumed by the local militants. They must band together into inter-local committees, representing the whole trade union movement in each locality. They must organize joint protest demonstrations. They must send mass delegations to the hearings in Washington. They must organize their Labor Party forces NOW to oust the Democratic and Republican conspirators, and replace them with their own labor representatives.

It is the task of the most advanced militants to alert the trade unions, to unite them for common action, to put them on a war footing. The trade unions are facing a fight for their very existence. No worker can remain complacent about the outcome. Only the maximum mobilization of the power of the unions will guarantee victory.



Chicago SWP Candidate Files Nominating Petitions

By Robert L. Birchman

CHICAGO, Jan. 20—Petitions for Homer Lewis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward, were filed today with the Board of Election Commissioners. The three Aldermanic candidates of Reverend Copper and Brass Local 477, UAW-CIO were also supposed to file their petitions today.

These three union men, who have been endorsed by the CIO Council here, are Frank Wesolowski in the 32nd Ward, Charles Chikulas in the 35th Ward, and Sam Mazza in the 36th Ward.

Homer Lewis' candidacy has been received with great enthusiasm by militant Negro workers, and many friends of the party worked hard to secure signatures to place him on the ballot. The Third Ward is located in the midst of the over-crowded "Black Ghetto" on Chicago's South Side, where thousands live huddled together in firetrap tenements.

LEWIS' STATEMENT

"The need for labor representation in the City Council has been dramatically brought to the attention of the Negro people in

the past two weeks when eleven people lost their lives in fires that swept through the tinder-box firetrap tenement buildings in which they lived," said Homer Lewis in a statement today.

"The political flunkies of the Democrats and Republicans in the City Council have utterly failed to provide adequate protection against fires," Lewis continued. "Serving the interests of their capitalist masters, they have failed to enforce existing fire ordinances. Above all, they have completely failed to inaugurate a real low-rent public housing program."

"Only representatives of the workers themselves can and will take action to prevent further victims of fires. I advocate that the city government immediately act to force the landlords to repair buildings and provide adequate fire escapes. Additional fire-fighting equipment and firemen must be assigned to the tenement areas. Immediate temporary housing must be provided for all families living in buildings that should be condemned as unfit for human habitation. Temporary housing must be built in the 16½ square miles of vacant lots in the city while the fire-trap tenements are being torn down and permanent housing projects built."

"The people forced to live in these inhuman conditions must organize tenant unions, fight for adequate fire protection and decent housing, and demand that the city, state and federal governments immediately appropriate

sufficient funds for a large-scale, low-rent housing program."

The campaign to elect Homer Lewis and Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor, has gone into full swing. Thousands of leaflets will be distributed, neighborhood meetings and radio broadcasts are being planned.

The opening election rally of the SWP will be held Sun., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. at 777 West Adams St. Speakers will include V. R. Dunne, SWP National Labor Secretary, Homer Lewis and Michael Bartell.

Oakland Unions Call For United Political Action

By Ed Davis

OAKLAND, Cal., Jan. 12—Calling for united political action by the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, a special expanded meeting of the Alameda County CIO Council decided yesterday to enter the April municipal elections here. This decision follows similar action taken by the AFL Central Labor Union shortly after the recent general strike.

Oakland is especially ripe for the election of a labor slate. Here is the home of the notorious Warren-Knowland political machine, that dominates California politics and plays an integral part in the national anti-labor drive. Over a period of years, this machine has managed to secure a stranglehold on the cities of the East Bay. As the general strike revealed, this machine is now using its police openly to smash any attempt of labor to defend its living standards.

During the CIO conference discussion of the political action resolution, an amendment was made to call for the selection of candidates from labor's ranks, rather than from among those "friendly to labor."

The Stalinists, who dominated the conference, cut off discussion before an adequate presentation of the differences could be made. The resolution was passed as originally presented. Failure to provide for adequate control by the labor movement of the candidates supported, is the chief weakness of the present movement of the labor unions into politics.

Despite this weakness, the call by both county union bodies for unified action, marks a big step forward for Alameda County labor. What is most urgently needed now is an organized means for achieving this unity. A joint, delegated conference of the local AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods to select candidates and prepare for the campaign is the indicated next step.

Union-Smashing Laws Rushed Into Hearings

By Joseph Hansen

More than 100 separate bills aimed against the labor movement have been submitted by Wall Street's political representatives in the first two weeks of the 80th Congress. This mass of proposed laws shows with what deadly intent the powerful Republican steering committee is following up the program of action against labor it announced January 4.

In the Senate, Taft, Smith and Ball submitted a revised

version of last year's Case bill. It provides compulsory mediation during a 60-day period; denies supervisory employees the benefit of the Wagner Act; outlaws various types of strikes; provides for employer suits against unions; and compels unions to file financial reports with the government.

This bill appears ear-marked for passage. Taft, Smith and Ball are pressing to rush it through public hearing.

OMNIBUS MEASURE

Republicans in the House are concentrating on a single omnibus measure designed to cut the throat of the labor movement.

These bills embody the heart of the January 4 program of actions, signed by Senators Taft, Smith and Ball, which called for "creation of new Federal mediation machinery, overhauling of the National Labor Relations Act, some amendments to the Norris-LaGuardia Act, outlawing of compulsory membership in unions, establishment of Federal standards for unions as regards finances, election of officers, strike votes, etc., compulsory adjudication of major disputes, application of the Sherman Act to collective bargaining in certain cases and writing of a new anti-monopoly statute to apply to labor relations."

This program of action, if carried out according to plan, would smash the American labor movement. Some of the most vicious and unpopular points in the GOP steering committee's program of action have been embodied in separate measures, sponsored by Ball in order to relieve Taft of their onus. Taft is being groomed for the presidency in 1948 and may even try to assume a "liberal" hue during the coming period.

While readying these far-reaching measures, the capitalist politicians rushed emergency legislation to ban postal-to-portal suits and cheat millions of workers out of the back pay due them. The 80th Congress has opened with an onslaught against labor such as has not been seen for decades. The existence of the unions is at stake.

Stalinists Block Vote By NMU Rank-And-File

(Special To The Militant)

NEW YORK, Jan. 13.—The division in the CIO National Maritime Union leadership has been widened by the refusal of the Stalinist majority on the union's National Council to submit the question of continued affiliation to the Committee for Maritime Unity to a referendum vote of the membership.

In a statement distributed to the membership, NMU president Joseph Curran charged that the Stalinist refusal to allow a referendum vote is "a deliberate attempt to split our union." In view of this bureaucratic action, Curran declared:

"The real issue is no longer CMU. The real issue is—Do you, the membership in a rank and file union, have the right to pass judgment in a secret referendum vote on the major issues in your union? They say NO. I say YES!"

STALINIST STRATEGY

The Stalinist refusal to grant a referendum is based on their fear of being repudiated by the ranks. A flood of telegrams from ships and ports endorsing the position of the Curran group indicates they have the support of an overwhelming majority of the membership. The Stalinist strategy is to evade a final decision by maneuvering to postpone a referendum to the indefinite future and to avoid it altogether if possible. Instead of a referendum on

Flint Labor Party Movement Develops Despite Obstacles

By Sol Dollinger

(Special To The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 16—After one month of activity, the local Labor Party movement presents an over-all picture of progress. It has made some big steps forward as well as receiving some setbacks.

This past week the meeting of UAW-CIO Chevrolet Local 659, which initiated the Labor Party campaign, voted by a narrow margin to discontinue Kermit Johnson as a full-time paid labor party organizer. He will continue on a part-time basis as organizer of the Local's Labor Party Committee established several weeks ago.

The most significant feature of the meeting, however, was the agreement of all speakers on the urgent necessity to build the Labor Party. Those who opposed maintaining a full-time organizer pointed out that they are paying per capita to the UAW International and the local CIO Council, which bodies, they felt, should send in full-time organizers to build labor's own party.

The Searchlight, official organ of Local 659, today commented editorially that "after the last membership meeting there can be no doubt in anybody's mind that Local 659 is in favor of a

Trotskyists Elected In Bolivia And Ceylon

Three Trotskyists were elected to the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies and one was elected to the Senate in the Jan. 5 elections. (See next week's Militant for complete story.)

Three Trotskyists in Ceylon—Doric de Souza, Indrapala and Aboubacker—were also elected by large majorities to the Colombo Municipal Council, according to the January issue of the British Socialist Appeal.

meetings." During the past week, Jackie Waldo, a paid functionary in the UAW Regional Office who was recently removed as PAC Regional Director, has been stirring up the factional divisions in the auto locals. He succeeded in getting AC Spark Plug Local to rescind its previous action of reaffirming support for the Labor Party and to vote for a referendum on the question.

AC Local President Archie Myers, who said in a Militant interview last year that he favored building a labor party, announced his reversal in the daily press, asserting that the Labor Party is being instigated by "Trotskyites and Stalinists." When questioned on his stand by a Chevrolet local officer, Myers

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HOMER LEWIS

How Your Union Is Threatened

Here's how the anti-labor bills now before Congress would cripple your union and leave you defenseless before employer attacks.

Take the main anti-labor bill before the Senate—the Taft-Smith-Ball measure (S. 55). First, it proposes a five-man Federal Mediation Board. This hand-picked board of corporate-minded stooges would have the power to intervene in any dispute with employers and bar any strike for 60 days.

After your employer stalled your union as long as possible, and just when you were ready to strike, the Mediation Board would step in and halt your strike. For 60 days it would pressure you to whittle down your demands and tie you up in red tape. Meanwhile, the company would have 60 extra days to mobilize strikebreaking forces and beat down union morale.

If the employer provoked you into a so-called "wildcat" strike, you could be fired under S.55 and denied the protection of the Wagner Act. If you called an organizing strike against employer intimidation or a company union, if you refused to handle scab products, you would be violating S.55 and could be fined \$5,000 and sent to prison for a year. In addition the employer could sue you and bankrupt your union.

PRYING EYES

Jurisdictional strikes would be barred. This clause could be used to break strikes for wages and conditions. If your union went on strike, the boss could call in some other group that would claim jurisdiction. Then he would yell for the law, claiming your strike was a "jurisdictional" strike and "illegal." S.55 would make you file a complete report of your union's

finances with the Secretary of Labor. This would give the company a blue-print of your union's financial strength and expose its internal affairs to the boss's prying eyes.

But this bill, in its present form, is just a starter. It can be revised or amended to include any of the other vicious anti-labor bills before Congress. These include the two bills submitted by Republican Senator Ball of Minnesota (S.105 and S.133). They give a vivid idea of how far Wall Street's Congressmen are prepared to go to destroy your union.

UNDERMINES UNION

S.105 would ban all forms of union security, including the closed shop, union shop and maintenance of membership. It repeals Section 8 of the Wagner Act which legalizes closed shop contracts. All existing union security clauses would be voided.

For violation of this law, you could be fined \$5,000 and sent to jail for a year. What a field day the employer would then have undermining your union by hiring scabs and anti-union elements, and replacing union men with non-union men.

Ball's S.133 bill is the monopoly corporation's delight. It bars industry-wide bargaining. Imagine your local union in General Motors or U. S. Steel forced to bargain single-handed against the concentrated wealth and power of these giant corporations. All the power of great national and international combines could be thrust against isolated groups of workers. This is a bill to chop industrial unions to bits.

And if you violated S.133 the government would be required to slap an injunction on your union!

Proposal For Mass March On The State Capitol Made To Delegates At Michigan EPC Conference

(Special to The Militant)

LANSING, Mich., Jan. 18—The Conference for a Michigan EPC, held here last Saturday, was highlighted by the proposal of Ernest Mazey, CIO Auto Workers Briggs Local 212 delegate, that "we immediately renew our efforts to gain united action of the whole labor movement to prepare a mass march on Lansing to take place when the FEPC petition hits the House floor."

The conference of over 400 delegates was a continuation of the drive for a state fair employment practices act. This drive forced the introduction of a bill before the Michigan legislature by initiative petition for the first time in history. The former Attorney General had ruled the petitions with 185,000 signatures invalid on a technicality, but the new Attorney General forwarded the petitions to the State Senate Labor Committee. Under Michigan law the legislature must pass the bill in 40 days, or it must be put on the ballot in the next state election for referendum.

After pep speeches by prominent CIO United Auto Workers, Detroit CIO and Negro leaders, as well as Democratic Party politicians, the State Steering Committee presented the conference some proposals for action along the lines of a letter-writing campaign, delegations to visit legislators and lobby in the state capital, etc. Plans were also made for district mass meetings.

FOR UNITED LABOR ACTION

At this point Mazey spoke for transforming the campaign into a mass mobilization of labor and the Negro people for a march on Lansing. He pointed to the need for mass action at the state capital as the best way to back up the petitions and win the FEPC law.

He also urged intensified efforts to secure united action of all labor in the fight. The need for more solidified labor support was emphasized because the FEPC campaign has become a factional issue between UAW President Walter Reuther, Michigan CIO President August Scholle and their followers, and the Stalinists and their allies. The Reutherites boycotted today's conference.

Mazey concluded by urging the conference to set the tone for the campaign by adjourning for a brief picket line before the state capital a block away.

Following Mazey's speech, the Stalinist machine went into action. Hodges Mason, a leading Stalinist in the UAW, complained about "picket lines and demonstrations even before we have given the Governor and the Legislature a chance to pass the bill."

After another delegate was given the floor to attack the proposal, the Chairman bureaucratically put the proposal to a vote before delegates favoring it could speak. Under this pressure, the motion was defeated, with many delegates not voting.

Birds Of A Feather



Democrat Truman warmly claps the hands of Republican leaders Vandenberg, President Pro-Tempore of the Senate, and Martin, Speaker of the House. Vandenberg said Truman's proposals for anti-labor laws and pledge of cooperation with the reactionary Republican majority in Congress were "very constructive." Federated Pictures

L.A. Food Clerks Win Strike Despite Tobin-Green Perfidy

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 26—The two and one-half week strike of AFL Retail Food Clerks Local 770 ended here last Monday with a victory for the union. Despite strike-breaking ultimatums from the leaders of the Teamsters Union and back-stabbing by AFL President William Green, the union won the following:

Flint Movement For Labor Party Shows Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

is reported to have admitted sheepishly, "Well, you know union elections are coming up." Chevrolet Local President Tex Owens branded Myers' statements about the Labor Party as "grossly inaccurate." He said that Chevrolet local's 10-man organizing committee is "intact, active and being enlarged."

When elections for district organizers in the plant's 49 districts are complete, "we will have a Labor Party committee of 60 workers to represent over 11,000 organized workers in Chevrolet."

The big obstacle to the Labor Party here is that it is being made a factional issue for purposes of inner union politics in the coming union elections. Therefore, the Chevrolet Labor Party Committee is asking all factions in all locals to refrain from factionalism over the Labor Party.

The Committee plans to send reports of the Labor Party progress and activities to all CIO locals in the state and to the Flint AFL. The Committee also decided to have a big streamer with a slogan urging the building of a Labor Party displayed across the front of the Chevrolet union hall.

Once the local union elections are over and the factional atmosphere subsides, it is expected the Labor Party will cut across factional lines and make rapid progress.

How the Labor Party will be able to fight for the interests of the workers at all times was demonstrated this past week when two members of the Chevrolet Labor Party Committee, Kermit Johnson and President Tex Owens, appeared before the City Commission to support the bus drivers on strike here and to demand that the city take over the trolley coach company.

Robert A. Taft -- Kingpin Of GOP Senate Machine

Robert Alphonso Taft, Republican Senator from Ohio, has been described as "cautious, frosty and aloof." This GOP boss, through whom "all party decisions must be cleared," according to the *New Republic*, "is as clammy as Coolidge." Even worse, his ambition is "to be another Cal" and move into the White House in 1948. The Morgan-backed *Time* magazine, opening a campaign to "humanize" Taft, claims he "is not a cold fish" but an "amiable, approachable man with a dry-friendly wit, who likes to talk and mix whiskey with his soda."

Whether or not Taft is as clammy as a shark's belly or a whiskey-guzzling wit, these personal traits are least important of the assets that won him political leadership in the drive against labor now underway in Congress.

The Senator is a scion of the fabulously wealthy Taft family, owners of the *Cincinnati Star-Times*. Ferdinand Lundberg lists them in his authoritative book, *America's 60 Families*, as No. 33 in the dynasty of families who are the real rulers of America. Lundberg estimated their fortune at \$54,000,000 in 1924, most of it derived from real estate. They certainly haven't grown poorer since.

PROFITABLE FAMILY TIES
Robert Alphonso was reared in an environment ideally suited to develop him into a Wall Street politician. His father took over the White House in 1908 with the aid of a slush fund that included \$110,000 from his half-brother, Charles P. Taft, \$20,000 from steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie, \$20,000 from banker J. P. Morgan, and similar huge contributions from various Morgan partners, the copper-trust Guggenheims, etc. U. S. Steel's Henry Clay Frick generously tossed \$50,000 into the kitty and one of the munitions-trust du Ponts offered

the labor movement. At the same time he has cleverly associated his name with a few measures that enjoy wide public support. Thus he helped guide the vicious Case anti-labor bill through Congress last year, and he was one of the supporters of the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act. But he voted for a bill in 1940 to outlaw the use of strikebreakers and labor spies and he opposed the "forced-labor" bill proposed by Truman during last year's railroad strike.

This is the ABC maneuvering engaged in by all capitalist politicians. For the sake of the record they chime in with general sentiment on certain popular measures, the better to push through the laws they are crucially interested in. Taft is one of the sponsors of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill, which is supported by labor. Yet in 1939 he proposed an amendment to cut in half an appropriation for low cost housing.

During the war Taft campaigned for a 10 per cent federal sales tax, which would have slashed into low incomes.

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In sizing up its political enemies, labor should pay careful attention to Taft. Ever since he cut his teeth on a gold-plated spoon, he has been selected and trained to serve the giant monopolies as their professional political representative.

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\$20,000 but it "was delicately refused because there was a suit pending against his company for allegedly defrauding the War Department on gunpowder contracts."

The intimate and profitable family connections of the elder Taft have been dutifully kept up by his son. Lundberg reported him in 1937 as a Carnegie trustee. Besides membership in the corporation law firm of Taft, Stettinius & Hollister, he is a director of the Central Trust Company, the Covington and Cincinnati Bridge Company, and a fellow of the Yale Corporation.

In politics since the First World War, he was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives in 1921; moved up to the Ohio Senate in 1931 (there advocated shifting the main tax burden to the poor); and in 1939 appeared on the national political scene as a United States Senator.

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SERVES GIANT MONOPOLIES
Taft is one of the most powerful Big Business politicians in Congress. He is chairman of the Republican steering committee that decides on GOP strategy and tactics. He wields great weight in the Republican party, having hand-picked Reece to be chairman of its National Committee. Today the dominant figure in the Senate, he chose the chairmanship of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee as the most strategic post to wield the axe against labor. He is likewise senior member of the powerful Finance Committee.

TRADE UNION NOTES

CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran related a sidelight on Stalinist methods at last week's meeting of the NMU Council. He charged that Stalinist agents in several small ports where the union has had no quorum in four years had sent wires, allegedly from membership meetings, condemning Curran for resigning as co-chairman of the Stalinist-dominated misnamed "Committee for Maritime Unity."

An important development in the progressive movement for consolidation of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is the calling of a National Conference of district leaders of the Consolidation Committee of Enginemen. It will be held at the Midland Hotel, Chicago, on February 10-12.

Monopoly-created paper shortages are increasingly endangering the existence of the labor press. We note, for instance, the page-size of the *CIO News* has been reduced in recent issues. The last couple of issues of the *International Woodworker*, organ of the CIO International Woodworkers, have been cut to skimpy 8-page tabloids from a full-sized paper.

AFL and railroad union leaders have sided with Big Business in attacking CIO suits for partial-to-partial pay. Railway Labor, published by 15 standard railroad labor organizations, complains that "the immediate effect has been to arouse ill-feeling against labor" and will lead to anti-labor legislation by Congress. According to this theory, the way to fight anti-labor laws and avoid "ill-feeling against labor" is for labor never to demand its rights. Don't wait for the bosses to take your rights away — give them away first! That's some union leaders' motto.

The Jan. 3 *Seafarers Log*, weekly of the AFL Seafarers International Union, warns about the Maritime Commission's demand that a proportionate part of the peacetime compulsory military trainees proposed by the President be trained by the U.S. Maritime Service as a national reserve of merchant seamen.

The *Log* points out, that "they are asking free Americans to be drafted into the Maritime Service just as they are into the Army and Navy. If you refuse to join this bell-bottomed scabbard you would be called a draft-dodger and sent to a federal penitentiary. Once in, you would be governed by strict military law."

We warn again of a reactionary, red-baiting sheet, published in Detroit, called *The Wage-Earner*. It imitates the appearance of various regular union papers. The January 10 issue is devoted mainly to propagandizing for a more vigorous anti-democratic red-purge in the CIO — particularly the implementation of the CIO's declaration against the "outside interference" of the Communist Party (Stalinist).

Uninformed unionists will be unable, by the most careful reading of the paper, to know who puts it out. The only reference to its publishers is in tiny type at the bottom of the editorial page, where we read it is an "independent" paper published "by the ACTU Publishing Corporation." The ACTU stands for Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. No "outside interference", indeed!

AFL Teamsters Czar-President Tobin wants it known he did so issue a statement denouncing the Oakland General Strike. He just didn't give it in time to the press. He tells all about it in four pages of the January *International Teamster*, in answer to "considerable criticism" from "representatives of capital."

Our Program:

- 1. Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!**
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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HOMER LEWIS for Alderman, 3d Ward

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National Labor Secretary, SWP
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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7:30 p.m.

What Zionist Groups Are Doing In Palestine

In the anti-imperialist struggle of the native masses in the Near East, the Jewish people can play an important and progressive role. But only on one condition—if they follow a correct program. A prominent Palestinian Trotskyist, in the article reprinted below from the December "Socialist Appeal" of England, analyzes the arch-reactionary character of Zionism and outlines the only policy that can lead the Jewish masses out of the blind alley into which it has led them.—The Editors.

By T. Clift

Terrorist activity in Palestine has been revived on a larger scale than formerly, calling the attention of the entire press to the organizations of the Hagana, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Stern Gang and their activities.

Socialist internationalists must answer the question: what is the character of these organizations? Are they an anti-imperialist factor in the liberatory struggles of the colonial peoples?

The answer to this question is clear: the liberation of Palestine from the imperialist yoke cannot be realized without the liberation of the whole East from imperialism. There are tens of millions of Arab workers and peasants in the Middle East, and any organization which does not drive towards unity with these masses can objectively not be anti-imperialist.

All the Zionist terror organizations, however, daily declare that their objective is to turn Palestine into a Jewish state. Their leaders are the main organizers of the boycott of the Arabs, which casts Arab workers out of industries owned by Jews, and prevents Arab peasants from selling their products to Jewish customers, etc.

As regards their relation to imperialism, there is somewhat of a difference between the Hagana and the other terrorist organizations, but this difference is in reality only verbal.

Behind Terrorist Groups

Dr. Sneh, head of the Hagana, declared: "One of the bad principles of the traditional system (of British policy) is that the British authorities compromise only with the one who knows how to disturb and to break their peace, but are accustomed to treat lightly and betray a faithful, peaceful and patient ally. If this is the way to win the alliance of Britain, we cannot avoid trying to follow this path, as we are very interested in Britain's alliance with us. We cannot long maintain the present one-sided alliance in place of a mutual alliance. The Jewish population in Palestine does not intend to expel the British from the country and be their heirs. We do not see any contradiction whatsoever between mass immigration, a Jewish state, and wide and strong British bases in this country. On the contrary, we shall look upon it very favorably." ("The Essence of the Crisis," Ha'aretz, Oct. 26, 1945.)

The other two organizations, the Stern Gang and the Irgun Zvai Leumi, demagogically declare that they stand for the full freedom of Palestine from imperialism in

order to establish a Jewish State. They declare:

"The British to the sea: the Arabs to the desert."

The leaders, knowing the incompatibility of the two parts of this slogan, choose the second.

Do these organizations serve the interests of the Jewish masses of Palestine and the world, as they claim to do? Of course not.

Imperialist Aims

For more than 20 years British imperialism has been interested in building a citadel inside the Middle East, shut in economically, socially and politically from the Arab masses, a citadel which in its isolation and reliance on British bayonets will support an imperialist oppressive policy. British imperialism has accordingly allowed the Zionist leaders to settle tens of thousands of Jews in Palestine with this object: to use them as a buffer between itself and the Arab masses. The imperialists know that whatever the complaint of the Zionists against their master, in no case will they join with the Arab masses.

Sure of this, imperialism can use the Zionist movements, as it has done in the past and will do in the future, whenever there is an Arab-imperialist uprising in the Middle East. They will use the Zionists as a direct supporter; but they will also use them as scapegoats.

The stronger the activity of the Zionist terror organizations, the greater the isolation of the Jewish toilers in Palestine from their Arab brethren. Every bomb thrown for the Jewish state deepens the abyss between the Jewish and Arab masses and increases the danger threatening them.

The Zionist leaders, who say the solution of the Jewish question lies in Palestine, really precipitate a terrible new Jewish tragedy. The situation of the Jews in the Middle East is one of isolation in the midst of a hostile population. This is the result of the criminal imperialist policy of goading the Jewish minority to struggle for a Jewish State, of helping them to erect a closed Zionist economy which turns the anti-imperialist ire of the Arab masses against the Jews.

It is impossible for the Palestinian Jews to save the displaced Jews in Europe by bringing them to Palestine. Their task will be to save themselves from the abyss into which they are being driven. This can be done only by their renunciation of Zionism, by breaking down their isolation in the Middle East, and by extending their hand to the Arab masses who fight against imperialism.

The Jewish terror movements in Palestine are antagonistic to the interests of the Jews and Arabs alike. Objectively, they help the interests of imperialism; help the policy of divide and rule, and justify the concentration of big armies in Palestine under the guise of protecting the Arabs from the Jews, while really fortifying the imperialist position in preparation for future uprisings in the Middle East.

Fosters Divisions

It is imperialism which is responsible for the cul-de-sac into which the Jewish

masses of Palestine are being driven. It did all it could to maintain the differences in the standard of life of Jews and Arabs. While Jewish workers work mainly in the closed Jewish economy, based to a large extent on Zionist subsidies, the Arab workers are mainly employed by the Government and foreign enterprises.

Imperialist policy was first to pay the Arab workers wages which are far lower than those received by the Jews in the Jewish economy; insofar as it employed Jewish workers, it paid them higher wages.

The reactionary anti-labor legislation, the police suppression of strikes, etc., harmed the Arab workers with their weak organizations and lower cultural level, much more than the Jewish workers, whose labor organization Histadruth is on the whole supported by the Jewish capitalists. This organization serves mainly not the class struggle, but the boycott of the Arabs. There is no trade union where Palestine Jews participate with Arabs on equal terms; there is no common school or hospital; there is no political party in which Jews and Arabs are united (Trotskyists apart)—even the Jewish and Arab Stalinists operate separately.

The fact that the Health and Education Budgets together do not amount to 65 per cent of the Police Budget (in England they are five times larger than the latter), causes the standard of life of the Arabs to be dragged down much lower than that of the Jews, who have higher wages and receive large sums from the world Zionist movement for health and education.

Tool of Imperialism

British imperialism tries its best to keep the Jewish and Arab toilers in different compartments of the same train speeding toward destruction. The Zionists act in this as the tool of imperialism.

The fate of the country must rest in the hands of its inhabitants. The main leaders of the Zionist movement demand a Jewish state. The Left Zionists, Hashomer Hatzair, demand the control of the Jewish Agency over immigration, colonization and the development of the country. These demands cannot be realized without the support of British imperialism against the Arab masses.

The Arab feudal leaders also base themselves on the hope of receiving support from imperialism against Zionism. Thus Jamal El Hussein, the relative of the Mufti and his right hand, declared in 1937: "We agree that Palestine will be an eternal crown colony on one condition only, that Jewish immigration and colonization will be stopped."

The Arab feudal leaders try to cover their crimes against the interests of the masses by diverting the fear of the Arab masses of Zionism—a justified fear—into reactionary channels of anti-Jewish baiting. The Zionist colonization evicted 3 to 4 thousand Arab tenants. The Arab feudalists try to cover the fact of their role in suppressing tens of thousands of Arab tenants and peasants by the cry: stop colonization.

The Zionist leaders help the Arab feudal

leaders in this job by opposing any agrarian reform, knowing that until now 90 per cent of the land bought by the Zionists was bought from Arab landowners with huge estates while the masses of peasants did not show any inclination to sell their land.

The Arab feudal lords are no more interested in the real independence of Palestine by the action of the masses, than are the Zionists.

One of Two Roles

The Jewish masses of Palestine can fulfill only one of two roles: either they will be the buffer between imperialism and the desires of millions of Arab masses in the East, or they can be the allies of the latter. Jewish and Arab unity in Palestine must be based on abolishing those causes which keep them apart. First of all the

expropriation of imperialist enterprises which hold the key positions of the economy (three-fourths of the industrial and transport capital in the country), the abolition of the feudal estates and their transference to the committees of peasants and agricultural workers.

This will give tremendous economic possibilities of raising the material and cultural level of the masses—Arab and Jews alike. The equality between the Arab and Jewish masses cannot be realized so long as feudalism and imperialism and Zionism continue to exist.

When Palestine will become a province in the Federated Arab Workers and Peasants Republic of the East, the Jews of Palestine being equal and free, will receive their right of territorial and national autonomy in the places and the regions where they are concentrated.

Tasks of Working Class

The tasks of the Palestinian working class are clear:

Building of common internationalist trade unions.

Equal pay for equal work, regardless of race or creed.

Expropriation of the big landowners without compensation and transference of the land to the committees of peasants and agricultural workers.

Nationalization without compensation of imperialist enterprises and their operation under workers' control.

Convocation of a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly to decide all the major problems facing the country, including immigration and colonization.

No immigration and colonization against the wishes of the Arab masses.

British Strikers Jeer At Troops



Members of the Transport & General Workers Union in London, watch British soldiers deliver meat. Despite this strike-breaking action by the Labor Party Government, the union men stood firm.

Federated Pictures

"Socialists" Offer Deal To Spanish Generals

PARIS, Jan. 10.—The Spanish capitalists were planning to replace Franco by installing Don Juan, son of Alphonso XIII who was dethroned in 1931, at the head of a new monarchy. This regime was to be based on the Army,

which would "maintain order."

But feelers showed the Spanish people were cold to such a proposition and it has been dropped for the time being.

Now they envisage a "bridge" government, still based on the generals, but also including "republicans" and even "labor leaders."

This proposal is being strongly backed by the former "socialist" minister, Indalecio Prieto, leader of the most opportunist wing of his party and a spy politician. In a recent press statement he stated it was necessary to arrive at an agreement with the generals and monarchists. This is a resumption of the old People's Front policy.

MAKING HEADWAY

Prieto's policy is making headway among the Spanish leaders who, from 1936 to 1939, led the Spanish workers to defeat, and thereafter proved incapable or unwilling to even aid the resistance movement inside Spain with the funds they had saved from Franco's hands.

Prieto's policy is definitely on the ascendancy in his own party. The Giral exile government is therefore losing every vestige of authority. It was rumored recently that the "socialist" members had resigned from the Giral government. Prieto's paper, El Socialista, prints a correction which tends to confirm the rumor rather than to deny it. It merely says the news of the resignation is premature, and that the party executive committee has yet to act on the matter.

In Spain itself the Prieto policy also seems to be gaining ground among the "republican" leaders. The last manifesto published by the National Alliance of Democratic Forces (the new People's Front) doesn't say a word about a republic, which formerly was its main demand. A Socialist Party manifesto issued in Madrid also confines itself to the desire for the initiation of "contacts to conclude the political negotiations with all forces disposed to collaborate in the struggle against Franco."

14,000 Antwerp Dockers On Strike

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Jan. 3.—14,000 dock workers of the big port of Antwerp have been on strike for three weeks now, despite pressure by employers, union bureaucrats, reformists and Stalinists.

An organized campaign of intimidation and pressure against the strikers has included visits to individual dock workers and attempts to demoralize their families and to recruit scabs from nearby villages.

But despite the pressure and the fact that the strikers, receiving no relief at all, are forced to depend on their own slim savings, not one of them has gone back to work.

International Notes

The Communist Party in Paraguay and all communist activities were outlawed last week in a decree by President Higinio Morinigo two days after he had proclaimed a 30-day state of siege allegedly to forestall an uprising against the government.

Retiring Secretary of State Byrnes signed the final "peace" treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania this week. The final signing of these and the Finland treaty will take place in Paris on Feb. 10. Besides taking territory from most of the defeated nations and drastically limiting their military power, the treaties exact the following reparations from them within the next seven or eight years:

Italy: 360 million dollars.
Hungary: 300 million.
Rumania: 300 million.
Bulgaria: 70 million.
Finland: 300 million.

This kind of "peace" treaty was denounced and exposed by Lenin after World War I as a robbers' treaty. Stalin, besmirching the most elementary communist principles, not only signs such treaties but takes, in the name of the Soviet Union, the hog's share of these crushing reparations.

French officials now admit

that fighting in Indo-China has spread all the way down to the southern province of Cochinchina. Officials there even concede publicly that the French have lost control of all but the main cities in that province.

It is now recognized on all sides also that the French face a long and costly war. A French Foreign Legion officer in Saigon gloomily figured in an interview that it would take half a million men to subdue Indo-China, and that France would suffer an economic disaster if it sent that many. The present French force is 100,000 men, equipped mostly with U.S. arms and supplies.

The second issue of the monthly La Jeune Garde, organ of the French Trotskyist youth, vigorously condemns the French imperialist war on Indo-China and denounces the obligatory military three years' "preparation" or training for service in the Army.

Widespread expulsions are taking place in the Flemish section of the Belgian Communist Party. A whole group of students was expelled in Ghent last month. Many others, including national and local functionaries, have been expelled for "Trotskyism" at Bruges, Antwerp, etc.

Slogans And Perspectives Of The Revolutionary Vanguard In Spain

Resolution of The International Executive Committee Of The Fourth International, Adopted October 1946

The first part of this resolution printed in last week's "Militant" was a criticism of the attitude taken by the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI), Spanish section of the Fourth International, on the question of advocating a Constituent Assembly in Spain. The second and final part, printed below, deals with the slogan of the Republic in Spain.

—The Editors.

Concerning the slogan of the Republic, the IEC does not find foundation in fact for the contention that for the Spanish masses the term "republic" means and can mean nothing but the Republic of 1931, and that their experience under that regime makes the use of the slogan detrimental. Experience in all countries and periods shows that for the masses the term republic is inevitably a highly varied concept which each class, group and individual fleshes with its own aspirations, and that Spanish exceptionalism, in this case as in others, is unlikely.

The IEC further characterizes as purely formalistic the conception that such a slogan is appropriate only in case of an immediate threat of monarchical restoration in Spain. In any other than a formalistic conception, the slogan of the Republic is as antithetical to the fascist dictatorship of Franco as to the Bourbon monarchy of Juan, and it is so understood by all the Spanish masses.

Not only does our use of the slogan of the Republic immediately begin to differentiate us from those workers' parties which, in their haste to be rid of Franco "no matter how," are notoriously known to be flirting with the monarchists to work out some unprincipled deal; but it is at the present stage one of the most primary and preliminary of the democratic slogans leading to the slogans of the Constituent Assembly and the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

No Misunderstanding

Short of the socialist revolution and on the road to it, let there be no sectarian misunderstanding concerning bourgeois democracy: we are for every democratic right we can wrest from and defend from the bourgeoisie. We are in England in favor of a republic just as we were always in France for the abolition of the Senate. We are for freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, every other liberty we can obtain. Our demands for such liberties neither increase democratic illusions nor conceal mere demagoguery; even as we struggle side by side with other workers, for the fullest rights obtainable under bourgeois democracy, we honestly explain to them that the bourgeoisie neither will nor can accord them, and that even such liberties as can be wrested from it cannot of themselves, so long as capitalism endures, solve the masses' problems.

If the slogan of the Republic were to be used alone, divorced from the rest of our program,

it would be false, implying an unconditional support of a bourgeois republic. But, utilized in the closest conjunction with our entire program, it takes on rather the character of an algebraic formula. The class content of that formula will be filled in, in the final analysis, by the resultant of our efforts and of the objective developments. It goes without saying that we will make every effort to push beyond the bourgeois regime, to the end that that content be proletarian, and the eventual republic the workers' republic.

But the possibility that those efforts may in the immediate stage prove insufficient to bring about the consummation cannot, unless we are hopelessly sectarian, make us abandon the slogan of the Republic on the grounds that the historic process may stop half way with some more or less advanced form of bourgeois republic. Trotsky's words of 1931 here retain all their validity and timeliness: "The more boldly, resolutely and implacably the proletarian vanguard fights in favor of democratic slogans . . . so much the sooner will the democratic republic become identified in the consciousness of the masses with the workers' republic."

The IEC therefore recommends to the GCI on this point also to reconsider the decision of its recent Congress, and to inscribe the slogan of the Republic among the most elementary and preliminary of its democratic demands.

Concretizing Warnings

In the application of the recommended slogans, two concretizing warnings are useful, because—needless and obvious though they may seem to Marxists—centrists, ultra-lefts and opportunists are quite capable of deforming in their own way the principles enunciated above. First, regarding the slogans of the Republic and the Constituent Assembly as typical transitional weapons in mobilizing the masses for the socialist struggle, we in no way believe that they can in and of themselves solve the masses' problems and bring about socialism. And, second, there is implicit in this entire tactic not the slightest support, conditional or otherwise, of any provisional government that the Spanish bourgeoisie may set up.

Considering, finally, that these two questions are only symptoms of a tendency on the part of the majority of the GCI to create an artificial antithesis between on the one hand the democratic and transitional demands and on the other the full socialist program, and thereby to tend to reject the former as incompatible with the latter, the IEC recommends to the GCI a general re-examination of its policy in the light of this criticism and the preparation of an immediate-action program wherein by the correct and timely application of the democratic slogans, it can endeavor to bridge the present gap which separates it from the Spanish masses, and emerge from its current comparative isolation.

German Worker Sends Thanks To ACEWR

NEW YORK, Jan. 21.—The following letter from a German worker was received by the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

"After a fight for freedom which went badly in Spain, we were brought to semi-fascist France in the middle of the deepest peace. Behind barred wire in the concentration camp of Gers, where hunger, misery and want were our constant companions, we were kept alive only by the knowledge that our ideas would in time break through and that our friends all over the world would come to our aid. We were never destroyed. It is true that it is a hard road before we achieve the victory, but the day is perhaps nearer than we think. The day which will bring freedom and justice for all toiling masses."

"We fighters against fascism and against oppression in Spain

knew always that we were not the only fighters against the brutal hangmen Hitler and Mussolini and the dog Franco. We always considered ourselves one with our brothers and sisters in the entire world and that is why I have known you, for such a long time already, even though I have never seen you. You too, my friend and brother, must have looked misery and death and persecution in the eye. Perhaps your face too is ravaged from suffering as mine and the faces of our friends. Yes, we know each other, my brothers across the ocean, for in spite of suffering, our faces show the unshakable belief in a better future for all working people."

The ACEWR needs money and clothing to continue its work. Make a donation today. All checks and money orders should be made out to ACEWR and sent to 197 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

German Worker Sends Thanks To ACEWR

The government mobilized crack regiments to smash the strike. This brazen action so incensed British workers that within a few days more than 50,000 dockworkers, bargemen, food warehouse workers and others joined the picket line. Strikes and stoppages occurred in 15 other cities.

The Council met Jan. 16 and became hopelessly deadlocked when employers' representatives refused to concede to the drivers' demands. The government then set up a three-man Court of Inquiry, whose recommendations will be taken by Labor Minister

Jack London (probably The Iron Heel, which is directed against American Big Business); and Lenin's Imperialism. The reason? The directive bans books containing "propaganda against the United Nations."

DRASTIC DIRECTIVES

The directive controlling current literature is even more drastic, says Gollancz. Under it "a serious study of Potsdam by a German economist or objective comparison between Soviet Communism and Western Democracy . . . a novel or play about the frustration of German youth . . . these are a few of the pamphlets or books the issue of which is unthinkable."

The "denazification" procedure for individuals itself smacks of totalitarianism. An example of the hundreds of questions that must be answered in periodic questionnaires is: "Have you any relatives who have held office . . . in any of the (proscribed) organizations listed from 41 to 95 above?"

One directive on literature has removed the following works from libraries and bookshops: Romain Rolland's Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore's Nationalism; Fulo Miller's Mind and Face of Bolshevism; a book by

Cold Intensifies Misery, Halts Plants In Germany

LONDON, Jan. 10.—A wave of below-zero weather brought misery to a pitch and industry to a virtual standstill in all parts of Germany this week.

The authorities in the U.S. zone announce that lack of coal has paralyzed 60 per cent of industry. Factories closed Dec. 22, which were to reopen Jan. 4, are still shut down. Railroads have only a four-day supply of coal.

In the British zone, the situation is just as critical. Hamburg is plunged into total darkness every other day. Special coal trains sent to Hamburg have been pillaged en route by the freezing population.

Most seriously hit is Austria, where the government has ordered all plants closed until Jan. 20. Practically not a wheel has been turning in Vienna since Dec. 24. Lack of heating facilities is felt most sharply by workers living in half-demolished houses.

FOOD SITUATION WORSENS

The food situation is deteriorating steadily. While lack of coal impedes railway transport, the

freezing of rivers and canals prevents water transport.

Meanwhile, the force of the "re-education" of Germany is described in a series of articles in the Manchester Guardian Weekly by the well-known publicist, Victor Gollancz, who has just returned after a long stay in Germany.

One aim of this "re-education" is supposed to be the uprooting of militaristic ideas. But everywhere are signs of privilege for the British military. Gollancz says that the Germans, observing this, answer when they are lectured on the evils of German militarism: "But British militarism is just as bad."

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"At those crucial moments when the old order becomes no longer endurable to the masses, they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives and create by their own interference the internal groundwork for a new regime."

—Leon Trotsky

End Secret Diplomacy

The House Committee on the Armed Services announced January 14 it would make "no start" on extending the draft beyond March 31 and ordering universal military training until the State Department reveals the present state of foreign relations, including information about "what, definitely, are our commitments," and "what are the prospects for success of the various disarmament proposals."

The Committee's request underlines the utterly reactionary role of secret diplomacy. Congress does not know what the United States government has been committed to. It does not know who committed the government. It does not know to whom the government has been committed.

Yet on the basis of this ignorance, Congress is preparing to vote on a budget that demands some \$15,000,000,000 for military expenditures for the coming fiscal year alone!

The American people, of course, know still less than Congress does about the secret commitments Wall Street's agents have made. That is the purpose of secret diplomacy—to keep the people in ignorance of the rotten deals and imperialist plans that are paving the way to another world slaughter.

The labor movement should put the heat on Congress. End the draft! Block militarization of American youth! Not one cent for the war machine! That is the correct response to secret diplomacy.

The Ranks Must Act

Instead of attacking Truman's proposals for anti-labor legislation, both the AFL and CIO leaders have given clear indications that they are considering these proposals as a basis for a "compromise" on union-busting laws.

The Big Business press and the Republican leaders in Congress generally voiced approval of Truman's program. They understood its real essence. Their only criticism was that it didn't go "far enough."

Under the guise of attacking jurisdictional and sympathy strikes, Truman proposed to incorporate into law the principles of compulsory arbitration, the right of employers to sue unions for strike "damages" and restrictions on the right to strike. These principles are the heart of the Republican anti-union legislative program.

AFL President William Green had not a word of condemnation against Truman's proposals. His statement was one of general praise for Truman's "objectives." He promised to give "careful and sympathetic consideration" to Truman's specific recommendations for restricting unions. He withheld a definite opinion pending "further study."

But Green did indicate he is prepared to accept Truman's proposals for anti-labor laws. It all depends, said Green, on "whether the lawmakers will reject the constructive recommendations and limit their actions to the passage of restrictive legislation." Just give labor the few crumbs of social legislation Truman included in his speech as window-dressing, and Green won't object to legislative shackles on the unions.

Scarcely different, was the response of the CIO leaders. CIO President Philip Murray has not seen fit to pass opinion on Truman's proposals. The CIO News, in reporting Truman's speech, played up all the liberal phrases that covered up the reactionary content. On his anti-labor recommendations, the CIO News devotes exactly one paragraph, without comment, telling how Truman "limited" himself to a few specific proposals.

The union leaders' game is clear. They are afraid of a militant fight of the labor movement against the anti-labor laws. They are seeking a "compromise" that will enable them to avoid a fight. All they want is an "honorable" basis of capitulation. Truman has given it to them, they think, in the form of his proposals for "mild" anti-labor laws.

There is an added element of treachery in the union leaders' position. The truth is, they are not unsympathetic to restrictions on the right to strike. Many of them are bitterly opposed to militant unionism. Some would welcome legislation that would help them curb the militancy of the rank and file.

A real fight against anti-labor laws will be made only if the union ranks themselves initiate the fight and push it forward. A beginning along this line has already been made in several key cities. The unions in Roch-

ester last week set up a joint AFL-CIO-Railroad Brotherhoods committee to mobilize all unions against the Congressional drive to crush labor. Leaders of the Chicago CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods are meeting to formulate joint action. In Minneapolis and St. Paul, the Twin Cities Committee for Railroad Unity has invited the local AFL and CIO to form a joint body to resist union-busting legislation.

Against the top union leaders' plans for capitulation, the union ranks must press for militant united labor action. The workers must demand uncompromising struggle against any and all anti-labor bills. No deals! No retreat!

Warning In Georgia

"Coup d'etat" is a French political term of sinister meaning. Webster's defines it as "a sudden decisive exercise of force whereby the existing government is subverted." Napoleon III pulled a coup d'etat in 1852 to become Emperor of France. Mussolini gained power through a coup d'etat when he marched on Rome to become Premier in 1922. Hitler likewise took the road of the coup d'etat after he became Chancellor of Germany in 1933.

Now this political term is becoming Americanized. In Georgia former Governor Ellis Arnall charged he was ousted by a "military coup d'etat."

The "pretender" to the Governor's chair, as Arnall calls him, is Herman Talmadge, son and heir of Eugene Talmadge. Talmadge the First died before he could take office, after winning in a primary that weighted the rural vote against the cities to preserve the minority rule of Georgia's white supremacists. In the subsequent election less than 700 write-in ballots were cast for Herman Talmadge. On the basis of these few ballots, Talmadge the Second claims he represents the people of Georgia.

The Georgia usurpation of power has many of the elements of a coup d'etat. A docile legislature supported the claims of the pretender by a vote of 161 to 87. The pretender followed up with the use of force and violence against the incumbent Governor. He had the locks changed on the Governor's office in the dead of night and State patrolmen, acting the part of storm-troopers, barred Governor Arnall. The so-called "liberal" forces represented by Arnall meekly acquiesced and moved out, leaving Talmadge in power.

How this dispute finally turns out remains to be seen. At present the elected Lieutenant Governor, M. E. Thompson, claims office, since he would have succeeded to the Governor's chair had Talmadge the First died in office; and the dispute has been laid before the judges of Georgia's courts.

The American workers must consider the Georgia developments as another important link in a series of ominous events. The Ku Klux Klan openly backs Talmadge. So does the fascist outfit, the Columbians, which was recently uncovered in Georgia. The Columbians, advocating the same race-hatred doctrines as the Talmadge forces, deliberately patterned their drive for power on the lines followed by Hitler.

Along with these alarming manifestations in a single state is the increasing influence of the reactionary military caste over the entire nation. Already a brass hat has been made Secretary of State, the second highest office in the land.

These happenings coincide with the brutal legislative assault against labor unleashed by Wall Street in the halls of Congress.

Such storm signals show the mounting strength of reaction in the United States. Unless the march of reaction is halted, what happened in Atlanta, Georgia, can happen in Washington, D. C.

If the labor movement wants to avoid going down under the heel of an American dictator, it must vigorously set about organizing an independent Labor Party and put a Workers' and Farmers' Government in power in Washington.

"Sanctity" Of Courts

When a federal judge slapped an illegal injunction on the miners and then fined them \$3,500,000 for "contempt" of his illegal decision, the mouthpieces of the employers praised the judge to high heaven.

The miners had defied the "sanctity" of the courts, they declared. The federal courts are the "bulwark of free government," irreproachable in their wisdom and judgment. Anybody, especially a union leader, who showed contempt for a federal judge, should be locked up and the key thrown away.

Then, along came the court decisions on portal-to-portal pay. A federal district judge, basing himself on Supreme Court interpretations of the Fair Labor Standards Act, ruled in favor of portal-to-portal pay in the case of the Mt. Clemens (Mich.) Pottery Company. This has established the basis for suits against many big corporations.

Now spokesmen of the National Association of Manufacturers are howling about the "judicial law making" of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts. When it comes to justice for workingmen, to paying him the back wages due under law, the NAM spokesmen before the Senate Judiciary subcommittee last week found that the decisions of the courts, including the Supreme Court, are founded on "an unrealistic judicial conception."

It was all right for a federal judge to make his own law, act as prosecutor, judge and jury, and fine the miners millions of dollars. It's another thing for a court to force the employers to pay up according to laws passed by Congress. That's "judicial law making!"

Judge Goldsborough who handed down the miners decision is hailed as a savior of society. Judge Picard who handed down the Mt. Clemens ruling, is now being threatened with impeachment by anti-labor Senators.

Yes, indeed! Big Business is always ready to uphold the "sanctity" of the courts—except in those rare instances when the courts render a decision favorable to labor.



"Oh dear—if the workers take over France where will I buy my perfume?"

Workers BOOKSHELF

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF NONSENSE by Bergen Evans, Alfred A. Knopf, 275 pp., 1946, \$3.

All the old-wives' tales and popular misbeliefs are taken apart in this delightful and witty book. Marxists, who search for truth in all fields and at all costs, will find it valuable.

Mr. Evans explodes hundreds of common errors from trivial misconceptions like those about birds' family life and snake charming to the most dangerous myths like those of racial superiority. He examines facts, explores authorities, and with unanswerable demonstration, uncovers truth.

The origins of many of these myths are given. Careful examination of evidence and historical data shows that even the Encyclopedia Britannica is not sacred or infallible. Also the reasons why many people like to believe certain fallacies are shown. Some like to point a moral by comparing human customs with bird or animal life, often at the expense of the human race. But, alas! without scientific observation, and with faulty reasoning.

The myth of racial inferiority is used to justify the oppression and exploitation of men. The author tells of the Army tests which were given to determine the differences in mentality between Negroes and whites. "What the Army tests seem really to establish is not that this race is more intelligent than that, or that

this section is more intelligent than that, but that poverty is reflected in the intelligence quotient of a whole people. The correlation established is not between pigmentation and intelligence, but between diet, educational facilities, housing, and the general economic situation, and intelligence."

Appalled at the ignorance and prejudice of people with whom he came into contact in all walks of life, the well-educated as much as the uninformed, Mr. Evans set out to disprove legend and put truth in its place. "No error is harmless. . . . Obscurantism and tyranny go together. . . . It is very convenient for anyone who profits by the docility of the masses to have them believe that they are not the masters of their fate and that the evils they must endure are beyond human control. . . . The mist of mysticism has always provided good cover for those who do not want their actions too closely looked into."

An error Mr. Evans himself makes is in quoting from Pearson's *Studies in Murder*. The facts in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case disprove conclusively the contention that "there is no well-established and undisputed instance of the execution of the death penalty on an innocent person" in England or America during the past fifty or one hundred years.

—Ethel Preis

AMERICAN MEDICINE MOBILIZES by James Rorty, W. W. Norton, 358 pp., 1939, \$3.50.

Rorty hoped, when he wrote this book eight years ago, that the "mobilization" of liberal doctors would force the American Medical Association to change its reactionary character. Although time has proved that the title was wrong, the book is packed with valuable information on the need for more clinics, more hospitals, and government financing to make them available to the workers and farmers from coast to coast.

Out of 3,000 counties in the United States, he shows, 2,500 are rural. Less than 50 of these rural counties have facilities "in any sense adequate." Conditions in the cities are only slightly better. The result is needless sickness and suffering, and hundreds of thousands of premature deaths.

Rorty points to the American Medical Association as the main barrier to wider medical care. He exposes its monopolistic practices, its connections with drug manufacturers and food corporations, its control of "philanthropic" ventures like the Milbank Fund for medical research. The AMA is Rorty's villain—and villainous it certainly is! However, his evidence also shows that the profit system is the main villain which motivates all who bar the road to better health and longer life for the masses.

—Ruth Benson

Congressmen At Work

Lobbyists On Union Pay Rolls

As we reported last week, Big Business supplements its monopoly of Congress with a powerful group of lobbyists well-supplied with "expense" money besides salaries as high as \$65,000 a year.

Labor does not have a single man in either the Senate or the House of Representatives. Nevertheless, the trade union bureaucrats have been forced to recognize the necessity of at least token political representation in Washington. This is shown by the fact that both AFL and CIO unions pay lobbyists to compete with the well-heeled Wall Street lobbyists and to tag after Wall Street's Congressmen, hat in hand, begging for favors.

The CIO United Automobile Workers, for instance, lists as lobbyists, Anna Berenson ("\$70 weekly plus personal and travel expenses"); Richard T. Leonard ("\$269.24 biweekly plus personal and travel expenses"—does other work besides lobbying); and Irving Richter ("\$80 weekly" plus expenses for lobbying and other work).

Like the Auto Workers, most other unions pay their representatives at rates which make it difficult to see how they can successfully counter the influence of the Big Business lobbyists. And like the lobbyists of the Auto Workers, most union representatives in Washington devote only part of their time to "legislative" activities.

The CIO United Steel Workers lists three lobbyists. Robert K. Lamb at \$8,000 a year and expenses; Edith C. Pratt, \$3,240 a year and expenses; and Frank C. Fernbach, \$341.67 a month and \$10 per diem expenses to work for "the passage of a bill to establish a Labor Extension Service Division in the United States Department of Labor."

The AFL United Mine Workers pays James Mark, Jr., \$7,000 a year plus expenses and Robert E. Howe, Jr., \$7,500 a year plus expenses.

The AFL lists Lewis G. Hines



at \$7,280 a year and W. C. Hushing at \$140 a week. The CIO pays Nathan E. Cowan \$4,820 a year plus expenses.

Stalinist-dominated unions maintain an extensive lobby. The CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers pays Virgil Akeson \$265 a month, and Herman Clott \$3,900 a year. CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers pays Bruce Waybur \$80 a week and expenses, Ruth Roemer \$70 plus expenses, and Russ Nixon \$80 a week plus expenses. The CIO longshoremen keeps Harriet Bouslog at \$84 a week (\$28 of it for lobbying) plus expenses. The CIO United Office and Professional Workers lists Diana Farnham at \$55 a week plus \$3 per diem away from home plus expenses. The CIO Maritime Committee lists \$50 quarterly of Hoyt S. Haddock's salary for lobbying and \$10.50 weekly of the \$105 paid Seth Levine. The CIO United Public Workers estimates one-fourth of Donald Murray's \$4,000 salary goes for lobbying. The CIO International Federation of Technical Engineers states that part of Foster J. Pratt's \$600 a month goes toward lobbying. The CIO Food, Tobacco, Agricultural Workers pays Elizabeth Sasuly \$3,600 for legislative activities. The CIO American Communications Association lists Geraldine Shandros as a part-time lobbyist at \$43 a week plus expenses.

Other labor bodies that engage in lobbying are District No. 44 and District No. 66 of the International Association of Machinists, the National Women's Trade Union League, the Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees, the CIO Textile Workers Union, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, the National Association of Post Office Mechanics, CIO United Rubber Workers (T. R. Owens, \$3,640 a year plus expenses), CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Government Employees Council of the AFL, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, CIO Oil Workers, American Federation of Government Employees, National Federation of Telephone Workers.

The Railroad Brotherhoods list eight officers as lobbyists with salaries ranging from \$4,836 to \$12,180.

The Townsend Old Age Pension movement maintains 31 lobbyists. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has Leslie S. Perry at \$3,600 plus expenses and the National Council for a Permanent FEPC pays Manly A. Milo \$75 a week.

Without a single labor representative inside Congress, these lobbyists have demonstrated little effectiveness in securing legislation favorable to the labor movement. Even more serious is the inability of the union membership to check up on their activities since a lobbyist works behind the scenes instead of in the public spotlight as does a Congressman.

The salaries of the lobbyists come out of the union treasuries. The most important capitalist politicians, on the other hand, are maintained on the public pay roll through taxes largely taken from the workers. It is high time the unions went a step farther in politics than lobbying. If a union needs a lobby to put pressure on Congress from the outside, how much more does it need representatives inside Congress to battle for labor!

Food Company Heads Gloomy About Future

By John G. Wright

The food industry is confronted with a return to "normalcy," a readjustment is taking place from a "sellers' to buyers' market;" this "readjustment" is bound to be a painful one, but not "necessarily calamitous;" there will be a "moderate downward trend." This was the keynote of the publicity material prepared for the Jan. 13 *Journal of Commerce* by the "best minds" in the food industry whose processors, brokers and grocery wholesalers were preparing to hold their annual conventions in Atlantic City this week.

The most optimistic of these food executives, experts and analysts do not bother to hide the fact that there is alarm in their own ranks. A race is on to slash the admittedly huge inventories. The packers have resorted to an unprecedented device, namely, they have in many cases rushed with the processing and deliveries of an entire year's crop. The trend among the distributors is not only to cut inventories but to cancel many of their contracts because there has been a filling up, if not clogging, of virtually all the distribution channels.

PRICE STRUCTURE TOTTERING

The price structure of the entire industry is now tottering. Prices in citrus juices have already tumbled. The situation in dairy products, after a series of sharp breaks in the price of butter, is verging on critical. The frozen foods branch, whose prospects were deemed quite rosy only a short while ago, is in the throes of a "shake-out." Operators in those branches of the food industry which remain as yet unaffected are asking themselves "why can't it also happen to us?" and they are obviously preparing to unload while there is still time.

In the face of these ominous developments, Wm. T. Stewart, regional director of the National Food Brokers' Association, laments the "bearishness" prevalent among his colleagues and pleads that "we smother this temporary panic, stop this breaking your own markets."

The best argument this expert is able to muster is not drawn from economic facts but from psychology. There cannot possibly be a depression, he claims, precisely because everybody is expecting it. "Depressions usually come," he argues, "when you least expect them, not when everyone is looking for them." The inability of the capitalists to foresee crises in the past is now being offered as the best guarantee against another crisis.

The dominant mood among these captains of industry is perhaps best expressed by R. B. Caywood, "a prominent wholesale grocery industry leader" from Kansas City. He takes his place boldly among the most optimistic, with the proviso that his optimism is purely "near-term." "The long range outlook," he writes, "is black indeed," and he then goes on to add that "it would be an optimist, indeed, who couldn't see serious trouble eventually."

The "best minds" in the food industry are now obviously suffering from an acute attack of the jitters. Far from being temporary this condition is likely to prove chronic.

Some Doubts On The Army-Navy "Merger"

By George Breitman

While the press was ringing with praise for the new Army-Navy-Air Force "unification" plan last week and hailing it as a move that would save money and personnel and increase efficiency, I could not help feeling just a twinge of skepticism. Man and boy, I have seen some amazing things in my time. But the most amazing operation I have ever witnessed on land, sea or in the air is an Army "unification" or "consolidation."

Everyone else who spent some time in the armed forces must have had some experience with similar moves in the interests of greater "economy." To illustrate what happens in such cases, I cite one example from a letter to the editor in the Jan. 30, 1946 issue of *The Stars and Stripes* (European edition), long after hostilities had ceased and the Army could no longer fall back on its time-worn excuse that such things can't be avoided in wartime. It is a letter from a lieutenant in the Transportation Corps in France:

"Recently Seine and Oise Base Sections (of the Army) merged to form Western Base Section. Ostensibly this was a move designed to reduce personnel. I am not familiar with the procedure followed in other services, but if the Transportation Section is an example, there certainly wasn't any noticeable economy effected."

"Before the merger, Seine Section Transportation Office handled Paris and surrounding area; Oise took care of Reims and the surrounding area. Under the new setup there is a Paris District Transportation Office and a Reims District Transportation Office for these duties. In addition there is a Western Base Office to supervise the other two offices."

"Where originally two offices existed, we now have three. Each office has its transportation officer, chief of administration, personnel officer, chief of passenger, chief of freight, etc., ad nauseam. Western Base Transportation Office could easily handle the transportation duties of Paris, but too many officers would be out of jobs and the empire wouldn't be half as grand as it is now."

That, in many ways, is how the highly-touted Army-Navy unification plan will work out in practice. Where before there were two Secretaries (War and Navy), there are now four (War, Navy, Air Force and over them all a Secretary of National Defense). Where before there were two departments, there are now three (War, Navy, Air Force). And so on, down the line. Where formerly the Army at every level had one officer for liaison with the Navy, it will now need an additional officer for liaison with the Air Force. And so will the Navy, etc., etc. Even the most cautious ex-servicemen will give you odds that in the end the armed forces will cost more and be wrapped in more red tape than before.

Incidentally, the Transportation Corps lieutenant who wrote the above letter was roundly reprimanded by his senior officer and transferred to the dirtiest job in the section.



WORKERS' FORUM

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

"Safety-Conscious" After Death!

Editor:
In the recent cold spell huge icicles formed on the roof of the factory where I work. We noticed them, and several workers commented that something had better be done about them. For three days the company did nothing about this dangerous hazard. On the third day a young millwright was repairing the sidewalk under these icicles and was hit by one. His skull was crushed and he was killed instantly. He had been working at the plant for six days when he was killed.

Right after this terrible accident the company started a big campaign to clean off the remaining icicles. As one of the workers commented later, "These rats get safety-conscious at the expense of our lives."

Subscriber
Chicago, Ill.

Scores Imperialism In Indo-China

Editor:
Michael Bartell, Chicago candidate for Mayor and organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, sent the following letter to the Consulate of France in Chicago: "The Socialist Workers Party vigorously condemns the campaign of the French government to crush the movement of the people of Indo-China for independence."

"Under Viet Nam the Indo-Chinese are waging an heroic struggle for self determination and independence. French imperialism is conducting a full scale war with all the horrors of tanks, flame-throwers, and planes against the people of Indo-China."

Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Sunday afternoon, 2 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO. — Youth meeting Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet *Socialism On Trial*. Games and refreshments, 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES. — Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educational after every meeting. Refreshments served.

NEW YORK. — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3.

Open Forum: Every Friday 8 p.m., at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway (near 14 St.). Dancing, refreshments.

Saturday Night House Parties: call GR 5-8149 for information.

PHILADELPHIA. — For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.

Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free.

Sundays, 7 p.m. Public Speaking class.

BALTIMORE—For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.

BAYONNE—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.

BOSTON 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.



"This war being waged against a colonial people struggling for freedom exposes all the hollow pretense of the Four Freedoms."

"The fact that this war of oppression is being conducted by a government headed by Leon Blum and others masquerading as Socialists doubly betrays the colonial people and workers of all lands. These so-called Socialists, supported by the Stalinist leaders, are carrying out the dictates of French imperialism."

"Oppression of the masses of any country is the concern of workers everywhere. American labor cannot remain indifferent to this attempt to re-enslave the Indo-Chinese people."

"The Socialist Workers Party expresses its full solidarity with the Indo-Chinese fighters for freedom. We condemn all attempts of imperialism to reassert its rule."

H. P.
Chicago, Ill.

For Government Aid To Worthy Causes

Editor:
An editorial in a capitalist newspaper hit my eye and prompted this letter.

The Good Fellows Drive is a local affair. An annual Christmas charitable institution that drains from the workers' pockets nickels and dimes. This Christmas it fell short of its anticipated fund drive. Newspapers immediately came to its rescue with the following editorial:

"The Good Fellows Drive lacks \$60,000 from making its quota. There will be many children who will go without, whereas if everyone would have done his part as a loyal citizen, more children could have a happy Christmas."

Although the government favors and morally supports these institutions, do they give aid? They content themselves by spending billions for actual destruction of life rather than assist in elevating these appalling conditions.

Why doesn't the government appropriate the necessary money to finance these following institutions? 1. Red Cross, 2. March of Dimes, 3. Community Chest Fund, 4. T. B. Christmas Seal Drive, 5. Cancer Drive, 6. Good Fellows Christmas Drive, etc.

No matter where one turns, some money-soliciting enterprise stares him in the face. It is obvious that capitalism is not interested in spending money for such needy causes but will spend billions for the production of

the atomic bomb, a standing army in preparation for World War III, etc.

There is but one system that can and will pull the financing of worthy spending from the streets and appropriate the necessary funds from the Workers and Farmers Government. That system is socialism.

R. R.
Detroit

Scarce Jobs A Sign Of Coming Depression

Editor:
As a sign of the approaching (if it isn't already here) depression, the stores in this community found it unnecessary to call upon the USES for even one additional employee for the Christmas rush.

And as proof of the correctness of their lack of confidence in any buyers' spree, we noted that sales volume appeared to remain at the level of the pre-Christmas season.

I had an interesting discussion with the interviewer when looking for a job at the USES. In addition to pointing out to me that employers had failed to put in for extra Christmas help, he showed that no part time jobs have been available for almost a year now. That all jobs were scarce and the prospects were steadily growing worse.

For my own part, I note the steadily increasing lines in front of the building, and also note a very high preponderance of Negroes and Mexicans. They are last to be hired and the first to be fired. Especially since the defeat of the FEPC bill here, employers are becoming bolder in this policy.

Al Lynn
San Pedro, Cal.

Gen. Marshall and Army Jim Crow

Editor:
I was glad to see that you quickly showed where General Marshall stood on the trade union movement when you quoted him as saying the railroad workers' threat to strike in 1943 was "the damndest crime ever committed against America."

But where does he stand on Negroes and their fight for democracy? In this week's *Pittsburgh Courier* its executive editor, P. L. Prattis, tells a story of how as a lieutenant-colonel Marshall once sided with two Negro soldiers at Port Benning when some crackers tried to get them removed from training there. Did Marshall really have a different position than the other officers?

H. L.
Harlem, N. Y.

Editors' Note: On the contrary, Marshall as chief of staff during the war was the man responsible for implementing and strengthening the Jim Crow restrictions which dogged Negro soldiers from the day of induction to the day of discharge.

St. Louis Joins Buffalo By Reaching 100% In \$20,000 National SWP Fund Campaign

By William F. Warde
National Fund Campaign Director

The 100 Per Cent Club received a new member when St. Louis joined Buffalo in the top circle of contributors to the \$20,000 Emergency Fund Campaign for the Socialist Workers Party. Last week's returns came to \$799.12, bringing the total up to \$5,811.57 or 29 per cent.

"We expect to get quite a bit more," wrote Dick Clarke when he enclosed the money that put St. Louis over its quota. That promise was made good a few days later with the arrival of another payment boosting St. Louis to the head of the list.

We journeyed to Pittsburgh on Jan. 12 as a substitute speaker for Farrell Dobbs to help launch the SWP fund campaign in that city. The most impressive feature of this meeting was the spirited discussion by the audience on the problems of the American working class which followed the speaker's exposition of the Socialist Workers Party program. Representative members of the steel, coal and meat packers unions took the floor and related their personal experiences in the mines, mills and shops to verify the need for militant action to improve conditions.

"I don't have to tell you, since you saw it with your own eyes, that the Pittsburgh Headquarters House-Warming last Sunday was a real political success," writes Eloise Gordon. "As a result of the meeting we immediately added two recruits to the party and have drawn a number of friends closer who should be willing participants in making our headquarters a real workers' center. Enclosed is \$41 collected at the meeting which should bring Pittsburgh to the halfway mark on its \$150 quota."

Boston has been moving along at a fast clip. This branch followed up a hundred dollar payment the week before with a check for \$92 last week, reaching 82 per cent of its \$400 quota. Youngstown, its closest competitor, mailed in a money order for \$81 which brings the steel city to 73 per cent of its \$500 quota.

Together with the sizeable sum of \$135 towards the Minneapolis quota, Grace Carlson sends along these reassuring remarks about the Twin Cities. "Chester Johnson asked me to tell you that the collection of funds is coming along very well in the Minneapolis Branch. Present indications are that we will go over the quota. And St. Paul is facing the same happy possibility!"

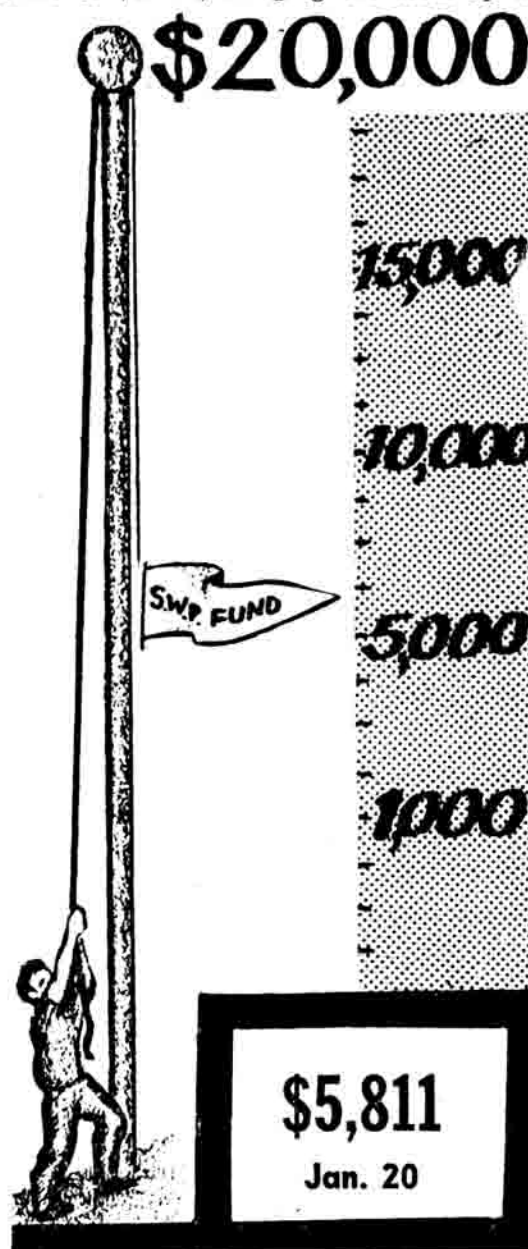
"Attached is a check for \$175 to be applied on our National Fund quota," writes Fund Director Julie Miller of the Los Angeles section. "Money is starting to come in now and we hope very soon to catch up."

"Total branch pledges add up to \$1,602 as follows: Central \$450; Westside \$427; Eastside \$350; Southside \$200; San Pedro \$175. The Westside branch deserves special recognition for its effort. Although the youngest branch in our area, it has taken the next to the biggest quota and has paid in the most on its pledge."

From the Mid-West, Cleveland sends in a second payment on its \$300 quota of \$54 with the hopeful comment from Mary Gladstone that "this takes us a little further from the cellar." Akron encloses a check for \$32 with an explanation by Doris Hilson of its comparatively low position on the scoreboard. "Many of the comrades have been working short weeks; this accounts for the meagerness of our donations to date. This condition should not last long however."

Flint, San Francisco, and San Diego came through with payments as usual last week.

"Most of the comrades here have made pledges on the fund," says Irene Lecompte of Philadelphia. "They are trying wherever possible to secure at least part of their obligation from our sympathizers. Thus far \$22 has been collected from this source."



SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
St. Louis	50	61.00	122
Buffalo	700	700.00	100
Boston	400	328.00	82
Youngstown	500	367.00	73
Pittsburgh	150	78.00	52
Minneapolis	670	335.00	50
Milwaukee	200	97.00	48
San Francisco	1,250	482.00	38
San Diego	100	33.82	34
Newark	300	100.00	33
Rochester	75	25.00	33
St. Paul	330	100.00	30
Reading	150	43.00	29
Chicago Youth	25	7.00	28
Flint	200	56.50	28
New York Local	6,000	1,686.18	28
Toledo	300	85.00	28
Cleveland	300	77.00	26
Philadelphia	500	132.70	26
Detroit	1,000	223.00	22
Los Angeles Local	1,500	302.00	20
Philadelphia Youth	25	5.00	19
Akron	400	75.00	19
Chicago Local	1,500	270.37	18
Oakland	250	30.00	12
Seattle	800	75.00	9
General	1,725	37.00	2
Akron Youth	10	0	0
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Baltimore	20	0	0
Bayonne	25	0	0
Connecticut State	120	0	0
Houston	25	0	0
Los Angeles Youth	25	0	0
New York Youth	50	0	0
Portland	150	0	0
Tacoma	100	0	0
Total	\$20,000	\$5,811.57	29%

PIONEER NOTES

The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, with an explanatory article by Leon Trotsky, recently republished as No. 2 in the Pioneer Pocket Library series (25c), has now been distributed to nearly all branches of the Socialist Workers Party. It is also selling extensively to dealers and the public. It was out of print for several years.

Hugh G. Cleland of Cleveland, ordering four copies, commented: "Your pocket library is an excellent undertaking. Keep it up." George Rock of Brooklyn: "The classic documents of our movement, in this convenient pocket size, will prove a boon to students and workers. Eventually these works, in the contrasting colors already appearing, will make an attractive home library as well."

Jeff Thorne of New York: "This size, or even smaller, would be good for all our pamphlets. I'm sure workers would like hip pocket or even shirt pocket sizes."

Pocket Library No. 1 is The Death Agony of Capitalism and The Tasks of the Fourth International, formerly published as The Founding Conference of the Fourth International, and containing the famous "Transitional

Program" of the world Trotskyist movement. It also is 25 cents a copy. In less than eight months more than 2,000 copies have been sold.

Jarvis Dusenberry of Rochester ordered a second 20 copies of Build a Labor Party Now, (10c) by George Clarke, and wrote: "This booklet is a great piece of organizing literature, according to my way of thinking. It is small, cheap and explains so much in a clear way. It is very convincing and has no surplus to tire the reader. I have no faith in large volumes, technical or flowery phrases, or large or uncommon words."

Send for free price list. Order these pamphlets from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

DETROIT

"The Road Ahead for The American Working People"

Speaker:
Bert Cochran
Former CIO Leader

Sunday, Feb. 2, 2 p.m.
Socialist Workers Party
6108 Linwood Ave.

Less than a year after the hard-won strike against General Electric and Westinghouse, "all of our gains have disappeared like chaff in the wind," said Price. Declaring that the bosses are engaged in a propaganda campaign to swing the public to its views, he promised that the electrical workers would vigilantly defend the union against any attempt to destroy its gains.

Cazz Miller expressed the gratitude of his union for the aid extended by the Militant Labor Forum and the Socialist Workers Party to the SKF workers during their 3-month strike last year. In its national contract, now being negotiated, the United Steelworkers union is demanding severance pay, a guaranteed annual wage, social insurance and greater benefits for ex-GIs. Despite the outcry of the reactionaries in Congress, he said the union will carry on its fight for the closed shop, the check-off and portal-to-portal pay. Miller concluded with the hope that labor would soon begin its own independent political action.

Rose Carey reported that the ILGWU workers are looking forward to substantial wage increases. At the present time the union is demanding a 20 per cent increase. She emphasized the value of the "escalator clause," and also stressed the immediate necessity for labor's independent political action.

Ben Turner took up the question of the desperate need for low-cost housing, particularly for veterans. He pointed out that although the so-called war against fascism in Europe is over, native fascists are growing bolder here. "Although Bilbo is not in the Senate at present, the Bilboic Plague continues," he declared, calling attention to the growth of Jim Crow in this country. Turner concluded by emphasizing the need for united action on the part of unions, minority organizations and veterans' groups, if labor is to go forward in 1947.

NEW HAVEN
Speaker: WM. F. WARDE
National Educational Director
'Lenin's Message to the American Worker'

Fri., Jan. 31, 8:15 p.m.
New Haven Labor School
855 Grand Ave.

SAN DIEGO
'Lenin and the American Workers'

Speaker:
MYRA TANNER WEISS
Los Angeles
SWP Organizer

Friday, Jan. 31, 8 p.m.
623 Sixth Avenue

PHILADELPHIA
Showing of Rare Film
'CZAR TO LENIN'

MAX GELDMAN,
SWP Organizer
Friday, Jan. 31, 8 p.m.
Militant Labor Forum
1303 W. Girard Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO
'Lenin and the American Workers'

Speaker: MURRAY WEISS
Sunday, Feb. 2, 8 p.m.
305 Grant Ave. at Sutter

THE MILITANT ARMY

Persistent Sub-Getters Boost Score For Phila.



Regularly in sub-getting is rapidly increasing Militant circulation in the Philadelphia area. Pauline Ryder, Literature Agent, reports the work being done by the comrades of that branch: "These 23 subs are the result of consistent work by the comrades. Six of them are renewals. Comrade Newell got from his shop. Four were gotten by Comrade Irene, who is our steadiest worker on visiting people whose subs have expired. Comrade Polen, who is also a steady worker for Militant subs, is canvassing a small veterans' housing project, on his own initiative, with excellent results. Comrades Garber, Stone, Blake, Vernon, Cutler, all helped make this a good beginning for 1947."

Supper - hour sub - getting proves successful for the Buffalo Branch, according to information received from Libby Jones. "Last Wednesday evening we had a mobilization of our Literature Committee," she writes, "which includes 15 comrades. Twelve turned out. We got 8 renewals. The mobilization was for renewals only. We met at 5:30 p.m. so as to catch people at home during supper time. It was a good plan, as we found 8 out of 10 at home—better than at any other time of the day. Our comrades were quite willing to postpone their own suppers until after the mobilization, especially as we explained this would happen only once a month and was really very little hardship compared to what our European comrades are enduring. Afterward we all had supper together at headquarters, which was a pleasant finish for the mobilization. Perhaps other branches might find a supper-hour mobilization successful."

A. Arbeiter of St. Louis is also out to get renewals. He states: "These three subs are for Militant readers who want to get the paper for another year. I visited 9 subscribers today. Those who did not take a renewal asked me to come back next week. All of them think The Militant is tops!"

The comrades of Boston Branch too are making sure Militant readers in their area continue to get the paper regularly. Rena Breshi sent in 9 renewals with the following note: "We receive a good number of our subs through shopmates and personal

contacts or former Militant subscribers. The paper is delivered to them for the regular price of 5c, for a period of 5 weeks, at the end of which time they will have to pay only 25c to obtain the sub for the remainder of the 6 months."

Comrade Manning will keep us posted on results.

Oakland Branch obtained concrete results from a distribution. Beverly Wise writes: "Last month we obtained 5 of our subs from a distribution to the NAACP where we attached government postcards to The Militant. The subscriber could drop the card into a mailbox requesting that his sub start and that an agent call to collect the money. We got 5 subs out of a distribution of 75."

at the Militant Labor Forum here last week.

Other speakers included Ben Turner, Negro veteran, and Rose F. Carey, member of the ILGWU Joint Board.

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"Man The Whole World Envy"

By Theodore Kovalsky

"He lives better, eats better... yes, and sleeps better... than most of the blue-blooded aristocrats of other lands," says the big ad that Republic Steel put in the daily newspapers.

"He owns a comfortable home, with inside plumbing and a real heating system. He drives a modern car, instead of a charcoal-burner or an oxcart."

"He is his own boss, and, if he wants to badly enough and is willing to try hard enough, he can get to be boss of his department, his company, or his country."

"His children can have college educations, and can go into any business or profession they choose. (There aren't many other places on earth where that's true.)"

"He's an American working man, living and working under the American system of free choice, free speech and free opportunity."

"Thousands of men like him work at Republic Steel."

Well, brothers, that's us! We're the men the whole world envies. Doubtless you feel you lead an enviable life. Still, it shouldn't hurt to inspect this ad a little closely. What about eating and sleeping better than the aristocrats?

I don't know what they eat, but here's the way I make out. At home we mix a little butter into a pound of margarine. Maybe that has more food value than caviar. We eat hamburger, heart or chuck. (Remember how steak used to taste in the good old days?)

I guess I sleep better than the blue-bloods. After I do eight hours on a blast furnace, I certainly sleep. If you work on a furnace, I guarantee you won't have insomnia. You'll just have trouble crawling out of bed for the next day's work, that's all.

How about the comfortable home with inside plumbing and a real heating system? Well, in

1943, just 84 per cent of the American steelworkers had inside water, and only 68 per cent had an inside bath, leaving 32 per cent with the good old fashioned privy. Heating? A man named Lopez lost his wife and two little children when his oil stove exploded one night while he was at work.

And about that modern car... If any blue-blooded aristocrat wants to get rid of a charcoal-burner or an oxcart cheap, and if he's willing to take small payments over a long period of time, I might be interested. The last jalopy I had was laid to rest years ago, and I haven't been able to afford any kind of car since.

And now we come to the part about being your own boss. (I wonder what the steel companies pay, all those foremen for!) It's true that you can get to be a boss (unless you're a Negro). If you're willing to be a scab and a stool-pigeon for years, but of course you have to have a little luck as well. Even then, it will be very, very strange if you get to be boss of your whole department. I never heard of such a case, except years ago when things were different in all industry. As for getting to be boss of your company or your country by trying "hard enough"—are they kidding?

And while you are thinking about Republic Steel, remember the 1937 Memorial Day massacre in Chicago, when men, women and children were shot and clubbed to death for the crime of picketing this benevolent company. They weren't even fighting to be men "the whole world envies." They were just trying to get union recognition.

The same hypocrites who paid for this ad were in control of the company in 1937. And they or others like them will continue to control it until it is torn from their greedy fingers by the workers and operated to benefit all the people.

When that happens, we'll all begin to lead enviable lives!

The Negro Struggle

A Letter To Truman's Committee

By William E. Bohannon

Jan. 16, 1947

The President's Committee on Civil Rights, Charles E. Wilson, Chairman, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Yesterday, after President Truman asked your committee for recommendations on legislation to protect the civil rights of citizens, you invited everyone to write you their views on "the basic causes of civil rights violations." I take advantage of this request to give you the Socialist Workers Party's views on why the civil rights of Negroes are violated.

These violations are, as every Negro knows, part of a bigger crime committed every single day in the year: the Jim Crow system. The constitution and its amendments recognize that the Negro people have the same rights as other citizens. But in most parts of the country that recognition is confined to the paper it is written on.

These rights are not recognized by the White House or Congress or the courts. Or by the daily press, the schools, the churches, the movies, the radio, the armed forces. And above all, they are not recognized by the big corporations, such as General Electric which you run as chairman.

And that brings us directly to the basic causes which you discussed. The corporations do everything in their power to maintain this Jim Crow system because it helps to keep the workers divided along color lines. They use the government, the press and all the other institutions they control, to foster and strengthen the idea of "Negro inferiority" so that Negro and white workers will not unite against their common enemy.

When we try to exercise our rights and demand equal treatment, then the corporations resort to violence against us. Either they use "the law" or they use illegal organizations like the KKK to beat us down and keep us "in our place." That, Mr. Wilson, is the basic cause of Jim Crow terror.

And that also is why we can have no confidence whatever in your committee, which is just a stooge outfit set up by the president to help him regain prestige and votes among the Negro people and the whites who are sick of lynch law.

We will fight for our civil rights all right. But to get them, we will depend on our own strength, on the power of militant labor and Negro organizations, united in struggle against the basic causes of our misery.

Yours truly,
William E. Bohannon

Veterans' Problems

Caught Short On The Campus

By Alvin Berman

There are 2,260,000 veterans who are enrolled in schools and colleges or are taking on-the-job training under the GI Bill of Rights and the Vocational Rehabilitation Act (for disabled vets). The GI Bill was inadequate when it was adopted. Today, however, \$65 for a single man or \$90 a month for a married veteran will hardly put crumbs on the table.

A poll taken recently by the Columbia chapter of the American Veterans Committee points very sharply to the plight of the veterans on the campus. Out of every 100 veterans responding to the AVC's questionnaire, 92 felt that the present subsistence allowance was inadequate. Thirty-two per cent of the veterans said they were forced to work part-time to meet expenses, while 67 per cent said they would be forced to do so in the near future if they wished to continue at the university. Seventy-six per cent said that their part-time work impaired their studies. One-third reported that they had to dig deeply into their War Bonds and savings to supplement the GI Bill allowance.

At the last session of Congress the Langer Bill was introduced and quickly forgotten. This bill provided for a blanket \$35 monthly increase in all veterans' allowances. The AVC pointed out that it made no provisions for veterans' dependents and urged that the bill be amended to grant \$25 a month for each dependent in addition to the general increase.

If the 79th Congress forgot the bill while the veterans were still supposed to be "heroes," the 80th Congress will now most probably attempt to bury the bill next to the graves of the bonus and Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bills. None of these bills would really solve the major problems of the veterans. Even extremely modest bills meet deaf ears, however, when they are placed before capitalist politicians.

The passage of the Langer Bill even with the AVC amendment would only be a start on the needs of student veterans. Only the sliding scale of benefits can give any assurance of economic protection against the rising cost of living. An automatic rise in subsistence allowances to meet every rise in prices—that is the need of the hour for every veteran depending on an allowance of the GI Bill.

Notes From The News

The UAW Veterans Conference to be held in Washington, next week will press for federal action on housing; a federal bonus (\$3 for each day's service at home and \$4 for each day overseas service); cash payment on terminal leave bonds; higher subsistence allowance for on-the-job training; unemployment compensation for veterans during strikes, etc.

Banker Herbert Lehman, former New York Governor, has joined the new Americans for Democratic Action. This strengthens the ADA financially and ties it still more closely to the Democratic Party.

The demonstrative indictment of former State Department employee Carl Aldo Marzani, on charges of having fraudulently concealed membership in the Communist Party, is regarded as only a warm-up for the much bigger attacks planned by the government against the CP and militant workers.

The Michigan Supreme Court this month upheld restrictive covenants barring Negroes and other minorities from certain neighborhoods.

The Labor Health Institute run by the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees in St. Louis, and financed in part by the employers, is a model health project. Besides providing excellent low-cost medical services to members and their families, it treats Negroes

on a completely equal basis in a town where they are segregated in the municipal hospitals and clinics.

A fire last week burned out the New York apartment of James T. Farrell, noted author, destroying scores of unpublished manuscripts and stories. Farrell is advertising for an apartment for his family, any kind, "furnished or unfurnished, temporary or permanent."

Food prices will go still higher, according to the Department of Agriculture: "Prices received by farmers during the next few months may average slightly below the mid-November levels. The general level, however, as well as the level of prices paid by farmers is likely to continue upward during the first quarter of 1947."

The NAACP, whose goal in 1947 is a million members, plans a mass demonstration for an anti-lynching bill some time next month in Washington.

One out of every five persons in Gadsden, Alabama is a member of the CIO.

The War Department pamphlet, advocating universal military training, published at the taxpayers' expense, states with a straight face that its plan to give military training to all male youth 18 years old "is not 'conscription' as practiced by European powers" and that in fact "it is a preventive for Prussianism."

HARLEM'S FIRETRAP TENEMENTS OF DEATH

Fear Haunts Every Household As Eight More Die In Flames

By George Clarke

(Extracts from a speech to a public meeting of the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Imperial Hall, New York City, Jan. 12.)

Eight lives were snuffed out in Harlem a week ago, and a few weeks before that, 37 men and women and children perished in an explosion. We are gathered here tonight to express our mourning at their departure, because these people, whether we knew them or not, whether we are related or not—these people are our kin. They are working people like us. They live where we live, the same poor lives, the same suffering, the same troubles. We know them as though they were our own relatives. We are gathered not only to mourn, because of mourning there is plenty for our kind. We are gathered to understand why, and having understood, then to see what we can do to stop these murders.

They teach methods of fire prevention in the schools. The mothers teach the kids not to play with matches. When you travel on the roads, they warn you not to be careless where there are forests.

But in general these warnings are useless in this city of ours. They are wasted breath. Because New York City today is like a big sun-dried forest and the least spark ignites a fire. How can you teach effective fire prevention in a city where there are at least 600 thousand families living in slum dwellings, that is, in houses that catch fire easiest?

One Room For Four Persons!

In some parts of the city as many as four persons live in one room. One room for four persons! I recently read an article warning New Yorkers not to smoke in bed because a great many fires result from people falling asleep or getting drunk with lighted cigarettes in their hands. What must a man, living in a crowded house, do when he wants to smoke? Can he retire to the drawing room? Or to a spacious living room? How can he avoid that bed if he would seek a little comfort in his house?

This is peace, they say. This is peace where there need not be any fears, there need not be any dread. But the people in the slums live in the constant dread of who will make the first mistake in the house, who, because of bad conditions, over-crowding, inadequate garbage disposal, faulty electrical connections—who will make the first mistake and start the fire.

And there was plenty of fear at 167 W. 129th St. when the McKenzies, in the early morning, smelling the smoke rising through the building, raced from their apartment to the roof and found the door to the roof barred by wire. They came back, but not alive. Out of seven in the family, four burned to death—Mrs. Lillie McKenzie, William, Arthur, Betty. Only four-year old Shirley and two others are alive and she hovers between life and death in the hospital. The Daniels family fared no better. Mrs. Daniels, her son Joseph and her grandson Joseph all perished. And on Amsterdam Ave. a few weeks before while the families were asleep—this time not Negro families, but white ones, for fire and poverty never respect colors or races—the building collapsed and 37 people perished under the stone and the mortar.

Who is responsible for these deaths? Could it be negligence of the people when the fire raced through the dumbwaiter on 129th Street? The question is asked—was the City negligent? We know some facts about this. We know that 10 to 15 years ago, gas seeped through from the ice-house on Amsterdam Ave. that the building inspectors had condemned, but it remained to crumble on the bodies of people.

Cutting Down On Fire Protection

Now when congestion is worse than ever, they are cutting down on the Fire Department staff. I have here an official bulletin of the Fire Department. Here in Harlem the 91st Engine Company, which had 1,745 runs to 614 fires last year, was cut down from a double company to a single company. That means that when the company goes out to a fire and another fire takes place at the same time, there are no fire engines in that station for the other fire. The 26th Truck Company, which made 2,183 runs to 1,270 fires in the last year, was also cut in half in the interests of "economy." Why are there cuts here in Harlem? Because the insurance underwriters have noted the fact that insurance rates are lower in Harlem than in other parts of the city and therefore the fate of these dilapidated, run-down buildings is not so important to them.

You contrast this with the new cops that are being put on the beat. You see all the young rookies—by the thousands all over town. So many of them, they send a few to snoop around in this meeting tonight. They are cutting the fire department, when firemen work more than 8 hours a day in many parts of the city. Meanwhile they are increasing the police force. We wonder what is the meaning of this? Perhaps because when the people get tired of these fires, when their anger and indignation forces them on to the streets in protest, there will then be enough cops to club them back into the fire traps.

But suppose that the City officials were as alert about fires and housing as they are about running down the fellow that fixed the football game a while ago? Don't be misled. There would be no fundamental change. Fires and collapses would go on as they do today. Because there are more than a million people in the city who are forced to live where fires are inevitable.

Homeless Veterans Camp In Park



These veterans and their wives settle down for the night in a Los Angeles Park. Their protest placards were used in a demonstration against the critical housing shortage. Scores of cops were rushed to the scene for possible use against the hundreds of ex-GIs. Federated Pictures

New Yorkers are condemned by the tens and hundreds to die in these disasters. Condemned by capitalist greed! Condemned by rapacious landlords! They are responsible for this situation. Slums you know are inexpensive to maintain. They don't bother about fixing up the buildings. The taxes are low because the buildings have deteriorated. But the rents are high because there is over-crowding in the city and people must live somewhere.

No, it is much easier for the landlord to maintain a tenement than to build. It is much more profitable. But don't think because of that, there is no building going on. I picked up the N. Y. Times this morning. Look at these beautiful office buildings and new apartments being erected on Fifth Ave. They are spending 200 million dollars for these apartments and office buildings. Under these conditions the landlords are satisfied with the housing situation. They make millions of profits every year from such conditions.

If you want to look for the fire-bugs in the city of New York, don't look for the kids on Amsterdam Ave. Don't look for a few children who didn't know how to use matches. Look to Wall Street. Look to the building companies. Look to the insurance companies. Look to the banks. That's where the fire-bugs are. The only trouble is that they don't send this kind of fire-bug to jail. If you want to find out who is guilty of murder, you will find them in the same banks and insurance companies that force people to live in rat-traps and death holes.

Guilt Shared By Politicians

But they don't stand alone in their guilt. Their guilt is shared by the politicians who cover them up, who act as their accomplices in high office in federal and state and city government. How would you know this? You only have to see what they have done in the face of this great danger. In the last three years Harlem's population increased by 120 thousand persons, but no new buildings have been erected for 40 years. Neither Truman in Washington, nor Dewey in Albany, nor O'Dwyer in New York have lifted a finger to correct this situation. They have built 16,000 apartments since 1936 in this city. And they have a housing program that will build 20 thousand more while a million people need homes. What is the slogan now? The slogan is now to send the people into the boarded-up tenements which will be patched up. The Mayor is fiddling while the city burns.

We brand the politicians of the Republican and

Democratic Party, together with the banks, equally guilty for the death of the people of a few blocks from here and on Amsterdam Ave. They are tied in, body and soul, with the real estate interests. We say that the city, state and federal administrations—O'Dwyer, Dewey and Truman—will one day be held responsible for every life snuffed out by their negligence, carelessness, callous disregard of the workers' housing needs.

There is much that can be done in this city. They could build homes. They have the facilities now to build playgrounds and gardens for the workers of New York—large roomy, airy apartments with trees and playgrounds for the children to play in. They have methods to set up prefabricated housing in a short time. They had the "know how" during the war. They had plenty of money, billions of dollars, and they showed miracles in the production for death.

Plenty of Money for Homes

The money is in the same place today. And they could build the new homes today, if they wanted to. They could find it by taxing the rich. There is plenty of money there for homes. They could re-assess the value of real estate in New York. They could get large subsidies from the state and federal governments. They could put a tax on people who pay \$200 and \$300 rents or more. In Washington they are appropriating 11 billion for war, and it would take only 7 billion to erect homes for one million New Yorkers.

Billions are needed and they are not found because the wealth of America rests in the hands of a few plutocrats. The question for you to think about, if you want to think in deep terms about these disasters and tragedies, if you want to think in terms of how they can be overcome by a good housing program—the question is, to whom shall the wealth of America belong? You must also ask, to whom shall political power belong in this country? Who will prevail? A handful of plutocrats or the great majority of the people?

It is possible for us to struggle effectively for our program. We can take the idea that billions must come out of Wall Street and from taxing the rich and by subsidies from the government to build homes for the working people. We can take that idea and plant it in every union in New York, in every Negro organization, in every veterans organization.

Only a militant fight based on an effective housing program will save the people from fire and disaster.

Government Does Little In Housing Crisis

By John Fredericks

Private real estate and construction interests, as shown in a previous article, have completely failed to produce needed low-cost, low-rent housing. They have deliberately obstructed every move to provide decent new dwellings for millions of desperate workers and veterans with low incomes.

These millions are now looking to government agencies for a solution to the terrible housing crisis. But the federal administration, serving the interests of the profiteers, has failed to take even the minimum measures required by the scale of the crisis.

The last session of Congress passed the much-touted Patman Housing Bill, which was supposed to solve the housing problem. Under the direction of Wilson Wyatt, the program set up by this bill produced only about 100,000 dwelling units over and

above the number of homes that became unlivable during the same period. Contrasted to the need for ten million homes, this figure plainly demonstrates the complete inadequacy of the federal administration's housing plans.

SPENT MORE FOR WAR

In the year ending June, 1946 the federal government spent only \$158 million for housing as compared with \$43 1/2 billion for war preparations. President Truman plans to spend \$525 million for housing this year, and only \$225 million next year. \$15 billion will go for war.

The administration is actually planning to spend less for housing next year than in 1943 and 1944.

In his recent housing de-control order, President Truman removed all restrictions from building and thus scuttled even the inadequate housing program adopted by the last Congress. The new policy allows private in-

terests to proceed with their building program of penthouse apartments for the rich, movie palaces, race tracks and office buildings. Far from producing any housing under private sponsorship, the Truman executive order will put an end to what little private home building was taking place.

Nor can we expect any progressive home-building program from the Republican Congress. A sample of the Republican concept of a housing program is what New York's Governor Thomas Dewey has done. Despite a 500 million dollar surplus in the state treasury, Dewey has appropriated only 35 million for housing 7,500 persons. One million dollars were divided among the State Universities for veterans' temporary housing. These grants ranged from \$300,000 for Utica down to \$6,000 for the State Teachers College. The latter appropriation will scarcely build a row of out-houses at today's prices.

FRAUDULENT PROMISES

Likewise, the Democratic administration in New York City, aided by American Labor Party, Stalinist, and Republican members, has not assumed responsibility to build new homes. Mayor O'Dwyer appointed Robert Moses as Housing Director for the city. Moses, in turn, announced a four-year plan to end the city's housing shortage.

The plan, which is supposed to provide homes for 1,268,400

persons in a four-year period, is a complete fraud. According to the plan, Moses expects "private industry" to provide homes for 900,000 persons. The city will provide actually for only 4,450 persons. This means that the city itself plans to build less than 1,500 new dwelling units over a four-year period.

A sample of Mayor O'Dwyer's "veterans housing" is the Elmhurst project. A garbage dump, containing a fill of garbage 15-feet thick, has been covered with earth and on this quonset huts for veterans' families have been built. Approaching this "mud hole," you can smell decayed garbage from blocks away. Veterans are supposed to wade through this muddy hole and bring their children in a stench that will turn any normal stomach. This is the best answer the New York city administration gives to the housing crisis.

(This is the third of a series on the housing crisis.)