

Workers Revolution And Bureaucratic Degeneration

By James P. Cannon

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Workers Of The World, Unite!

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Lynch Mob Of 28 Set Free By Lily-White Jury

By George Lavan

The acquittal of 28 lynchers in Greenville, S. C., last week served notice on the country that lynch law is still supreme in the South. It means that race-hating white supremacists can brutally murder any Negro they wish and go scot-free.

Many newspapers hailed the Greenville trial as a great step forward because it is the first time such a case has been brought to trial in the South. But there was nothing new about the Jim-Crow atmosphere pervading the courtroom. The rights and lives of the Negro people were under discussion, but the Negro people had no voice in the proceedings. Not one Negro was in the jury, nor was any Negro on the panel from which the jury was drawn, nor did either side in the case even comment on this matter.

While the holding of a trial was somewhat unusual, there was nothing extraordinary about the kind of justice dispensed at the trial. It completely conformed to the general pattern of Southern lynch law justice. Twenty-eight members of a mob that sadistically tortured and then murdered Willie Earle, a 24 year old Negro, were cleared of all charges. In fact, they emerged from the trial as local heroes.

The South Carolina state authorities, the judge and the FBI went through the motions of seeing that justice was done, but only the motions.

HANDY LOOPHOLE

The state with the help of the FBI drew up a case that had a handy loophole. This loophole was the fact that the prosecution's whole case rested on statements of the accused. No important witnesses were put on the stand by the prosecutor.

Then Judge J. Richard Martin accommodatedly ruled that the statements of the accused could be used only against the individual maker of the statement and not against other defendants named in them. This meant that although seven of the defendants named Roosevelt C. Hurd as the man who fired the death shots, the jury could not consider this evidence against Hurd.

Naturally each statement pic-

(Continued on Page 2)

Acquittal Gives Green Light To More Lynchings

Acquittal of the lynch mob in Greenville, S. C., gave new encouragement to lynchers in other parts of the South. This was shown 28 hours after the Greenville trial, when a mob of armed men took Godwin Bush, 24-year old Negro, from the jail in Jackson, N. C.

Only Bush's quick thinking and action saved him from the torture and murder that befell Willie Earle, the Greenville victim. He broke away from the mob and hid in the woods. After going without food for 48 hours he surrendered to the FBI and was taken to the State prison.

The charges against Bush are typical of the rape cases in the South. A white woman was walking along a dark row of tobacco warehouses when somebody stepped out of a doorway behind her. Immediately she started screaming. A group of white youths scoured the vicinity and seized young Bush. Charged with attempted rape, he was put in the jail and shortly thereafter kidnapped by the lynch mob.

Bush often waited near the warehouse to walk his girl friend home from the place across the street where she worked. Some white citizens of Jackson have since verified this fact.

In contrast to the trial and acquittal of the 28 Greenville lynchers was the trial of James Brown, 25 year old Negro, in Savannah, Ga. Charged with rape, Brown was sentenced to die in the electric chair after the jury had been out only three minutes. The whole "trial" lasted three hours.

Call On Labor Of All Lands To Help The German Workers

An important manifesto by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, calling for the creation of a "free, united German republic of workers and peasants," has been received in this country. Addressed to the workers of Europe and America, it urges opposition to annexations, reparations and the dismemberment of Germany.

"The manifesto calls on the workers of various lands to oppose the reactionary plans of their rulers in regard to Germany. To the workers of the United States, the manifesto says:

"The oppression of Germany by American imperialism, the final pauperization of the German workers, the definitive colonization of its riches by your own monopoly capitalists — the very ones against whom you have carried on such admirable strike struggles since the end of the war — all this must soon bear down heavily upon the further development of your own class struggle."

The manifesto appeals to the workers of the world: "Destroy the myth that the entire German people are collectively responsible for starting the war! Understand that the policy of the Big Four, far from laying the foundations for a lasting peace, only prepares the starting point for the race towards the Third World War. Don't forget that a new robbers' treaty, just like the Versailles Treaty after the First World War, will only create very fertile ground for the rebirth of another violent wave of chauvinism in Germany."

In opposition to the secret diplomacy of the powers "who are carving up the living flesh of the peoples," continues the manifesto, "the Fourth International re-affirms the inalienable right of the German people to self-determination."

24-HOUR STRIKE DEMAND MOUNTS THROUGHOUT NATION

Monster On The Loose



Ramadier Decrees Military Rule For 85,000 Utilities Workers

MAY 27 — Although the Renault workers are back at work after winning significant gains, the government crisis that was touched off by their strike continues.

Following the lead of the Renault workers, 85,000 workers in the nationalized gas and electric power services scheduled a one-day strike for May 28 to emphasize their demand for a 23% wage increase to meet the skyrocketing cost of living.

The Ramadier regime, however, is committed to a policy of wage freezing and "sacrifices" by the workers. Although Ramadier and his associates call themselves "socialists," actually they are running the government for the capitalist class of France.

Ramadier therefore met the demands of the gas and electric workers with a typical weapon from the arsenal of capitalist governments. He invoked a 1939 wartime law that does not lapse until next July and placed these industries under military control.

The Ramadier decree calls for the use of troops if the workers go ahead with their 24-hour strike. Savage penalties can be inflicted on strikers—up to 5

years in prison. Ramadier claimed that the current wave of strikes in France were "incited" by "anarchists and Trotskyists." The truth is that the rise in the cost of living is forcing workers to battle for wage increases.

While the government prepared to use troops, the rank and file of the union went ahead with plans to carry out the strike. "The government's decision makes no difference to us," one spokesman is reported to have said; "and we shall go through with our plans to the bitter end."

The leadership of the union, however, happens to be Stalinist. Jacques Duclos, top shot Stalinist leader, has announced that only "imbeciles" would call a general strike. And L'Humaine, the Stalinist paper, said there never was any question of a "strike" but simply of a "demonstration."

The Stalinists have suffered a great decline in the eyes of the French workers as a result of their continued support of the capitalist government.

This decline is reflected in the vote for officials to administer the government's workers security fund. The CGT (General

Federation of Labor dominated by Stalinists) received only 800,000 votes although it lists more than one million members on the books; while the Catholics received more than 300,000 votes, far more than their book membership. The Stalinist leader, Henri Raynaud and Eugene Henaff, who head the CGT list, came in last.

Landlords Await Rent Hikes As Congress Stalls

Millions of workers are faced with the threat of rent increases as the June 30 expiration of existing rent control nears without any Congressional action.

If Congress should adjourn without new legislation, landlords would have a holiday of rent hikes, backed up by eviction threats. At the present time, the House has passed the weak Wolcott bill which, while claiming to preserve rent control, also contains the main idea of the real estate lobbies for "voluntary" 15% increases.

Meanwhile the Senate has pushed to the sidelines the Buck bill which gives regional and local boards the right to increase rents. The longer the Senate delays action, the more concessions the real estate lobby will be able to wring from a joint Senate-House Committee. In the event that the Wolcott and Buck bills are pieced together by a joint committee, it is virtually certain that so many loopholes and provisions for increases would be made, that rent control, while retained in name, would be smashed and at least 15% increases slapped on to the rising cost of living.

Both the CIO and numerous consumers committees are sounding the warning on the dangers of rent boosts. Such inflationary moves would bear down doubly hard on the workers because of the critical housing shortage that worsens with every development. The National Public Housing Conference has just summarized the low-cost building situation with the analysis that "the entire home construction industry is falling apart rapidly."

All bills providing for the full retention of existing rent controls have been pigeonholed in both houses of Congress.

Truman Weighs Putting Okay On Slave Labor Bill

Truman's continued silence over whether he will veto the Taft-Hartley slave labor legislation is an ominous sign. Couple this with reports about "busy rushing back and forth" between White House lieutenants and the Senate-House conferees, and you get a clear indication that Truman is seriously weighing signing the bill to wipe out decades of hard-won labor gains, or letting it become law without his signature.

MIGHT SIGN

The May 23 Wall Street Journal reports Truman's attitude as follows:

"Whispering galleries echo talk that Truman will okay the Senate labor bill."

"White House intimates have changed their tune. They're now privately peddling the idea that the 'milder' Senate version is 'not too bad a bill.' Truman, they say, is not dead-set on a veto and might sign a measure along the lines of the Senate plan."

"... Truman's counselors say an over-riden veto—likely if he vetoes the Senate bill—would hurt him more than union opposition. They discount union vote-getting power in '48."

The conservative Business Week (May 24) says that a veto "assured if the President can count on more than a third of the Senate's votes." While the veto may come anyway, it appears clear that Truman would find it distasteful to reveal he could not line up even 7 Senators in his own party.

COULD BE SWUNG

The 7 needed Senators, meanwhile, are waiting to see what Truman "might care to tender in the way of post-offices, contracts and jobs," according to Business Week. This Wall Street mouthpiece does not mention that they are also waiting to see what kind of demonstrations and how much political pressure the labor movement is capable of organizing in protest against the anti-union legislation.

Some Senators could be swung, says Business Week, if Truman would outline precisely the type of measure he would approve as a substitute.

AFL Unions Join CIO In Call For Nation-Wide Stoppage

While Senate-House conferees worked this week to merge the Taft-Hartley legislation into a single union-smashing bill, more trade union bodies joined in calling for a nationwide 24-hour strike to express working class opposition to any form of slave labor legislation.

This demand for a huge demonstration by all sections of the labor movement, which was first proposed by CIO international and local unions, is now beginning to make headway among AFL unions as well.

In New York City members of the AFL Seafarers International Union voted last week to ask AFL President William Green to arrange a one-day work stoppage in conjunction with the CIO and the independent unions. The proposal was also referred to

other SIU branches for consideration.

In Trenton, N. J., the Mercer County AFL Central Labor Union adopted a similar resolution, explaining that such a work stoppage would dramatize labor's demand for a presidential veto of the Taft-Hartley legislation.

In New York a special meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union voted in favor of a 24-hour strike. This places both wings of maritime labor, AFL and CIO, on record as favoring a national protest action.

In Albany, N. Y., a state conference called by the State CIO Council voted unanimously to designate June 10 as "New York State CIO Veto Day," and to hold meetings and parades against the anti-labor legislation. A number of delegates proposed that the day be marked by a statewide work stoppage, declaring that the workers in the factories favored such action.

But State CIO President Louis Hollander would not let this proposal come to a vote. As "justification" for his bureaucratic action he declared that the conference had no authority to decide this question. The individual international and local unions, however, were permitted to make their own decisions on the kind of protest demonstrations they want on June 10.

The New York AFL Central Trades and Labor Council will hold a mass protest meeting against the anti-labor bills at Madison Square Garden on June 4. AFL President Green will be the main speaker.

In Philadelphia, Westinghouse Local 107 of the CIO United Electrical Workers voted unanimously at a membership meeting not only for a national 24-hour labor holiday but also for a simultaneous march on Washington from every local union in the country.

In Buffalo, the Westinghouse UE local executive committee advocated a one-day stoppage and the organization of joint mass meetings like the Cadillac Square rally in Detroit last month.

In scores of other industrial centers both CIO and AFL unions made plans for additional joint or separate local actions against the anti-labor drive.

10,000 Protest Anti-Labor Bills In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, May 23 — 10,000 members of the CIO plus one independent union, the Marine Firemen, paraded up Market Street to protest anti-labor legislation last Saturday. The parade ended in a demonstration at the Civic Center where a resolution was adopted calling on President Truman to veto the Hartley-Taft slave-labor bill.

The threat of congressional attack and the June deadlines on contracts with the CIO waterfront and warehouse unions brought the workers out in numbers. Parading was on a voluntary basis, with the largest turnout coming from CIO Warehouse Local 6, which is set for strike on June 1.

At the Civic Center the marchers were addressed by Paul Schur, San Francisco CIO Council secretary; Eugene Patton, president of the Warehousemen; and Scott Weakley, one of the victorious councilmen of the Oakland Voters League which won the recent elections in Oakland. In his address, Weakley called upon San Francisco workers to repeat what was accomplished in Oakland. He received a rousing hand.

THE RANKS WANT ACTION!

An Editorial

The Taft-Hartley slave labor legislation hangs over the American trade union movement like a razor-sharp sword. The thin strand that may keep it from falling is a possible presidential veto and a possible switch of 7 Senators from support of the measure to support of this hoped-for veto.

The immediate question facing labor is how to assure this veto and the switch of these 7 Senators.

The trade union bureaucrats have given their answer to this burning question. They have sent appeals to Truman to please reject this legislation. And the AFL officials have ear-marked \$1,500,000 for an advertising and radio campaign to inform the public about the evils of this savage anti-labor measure. That is about all.

These advertisements have made some telling points. They have told how the Taft-Hartley bills were written in accordance with specifications of the National Association of Manufacturers. They have underlined how the bills violate the 13th amendment to the Constitution. They have disclosed how the platform of the Republican Party championed "free labor" while the candidates of the Republican Party in office have championed slave labor.

But this is utterly inadequate. Truman has responded to the prayers up to now with contemptuous silence. None of the 7 Sen-

ators have indicated by a word that they will sustain a veto.

The public already knows how vicious the Taft-Hartley bills are. The public already knows that the Republicans consider campaign promises nothing but scraps of paper. The public knows too that the Democrats share the guilt, although the AFL advertisements say nothing about this. The public knows that in the House a majority of Democrats (93 to 84) supported the Hartley bill; and that in the Senate the Democrats split evenly on the Taft bill (21 to 21).

The great mass of workers start from these conclusions. What they want now is action. They want to exert real pressure on Truman and Congress.

This pressure can come only from dramatic demonstrations and mass actions involving millions of participants. Resolutions passed by union bodies throughout the country show that what the union ranks want is a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike.

Moreover, this action is only the beginning of the militant steps they want to take to fight Wall Street's anti-labor drive. They want a definitive answer to the Taft-Hartley legislation. The way to do that is to organize an independent Labor Party! Mobilize on the political field and put labor's own representatives in office!

Workers' Revolution And Bureaucratic Degeneration

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the ninth and last of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

Will the American workers lose the revolution after they have won it? Will they overthrow capitalism with all its power only to fall victim to a new bureaucracy and be subjected to a new form of slavery?

The people who ask these questions — and there are many of them — have in mind the post-Lenin developments in Russia. Rashly concluding that the revolution has already been completely destroyed there — which is far from the truth — and taking the Russian experience as a universal pattern — another serious mistake — they fear that Stalinism or something like it, with its totalitarian police state, forced labor camps, and terroristic suppression of all democracy will be the eventual outcome of the workers' victory in any case. This line of thought and speculation has led not a few people to conclude that the revolutionary cure for capitalism will turn out in the end to be worse than the disease. It is the perfect formula for passivity leading up to capitulation and renegacy.

Those who take this gloomy view of the ultimate outcome of a victorious proletarian revolution sound something like the worker who refuses to join a union and prepare a strike for higher wages because of previous bad experiences with bureaucratic sell-outs and betrayals. "How do I know the leaders won't sell us out as the others did? If the strike is lost we will be worse off than we are now. How do I know the union will not fall into the hands of racketeers and be more of a detriment than a benefit to us?" Every organizing campaign has run up against this kind of defeatist logic. In spite of that, many new unions have been organized in the past ten years or so — more than in all the previous history of the organized labor movement — and they have greatly benefited the workers.

Those who demand guarantees as to the eventual outcome of a strike — or a revolution — ask more than we can give. Defeats and set-backs are always possible in every struggle. Naturally, as revolutionists we should look ahead and take into account the possible difficulties and dangers of the future and consider how to deal with them. But we must do this without exaggerating them and without permitting ourselves to be diverted from the task of the day. That task is the struggle against capitalism, and with that the struggle against the reactionary labor bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a powerful obstructive force based on the privileged and more conservative sections of the working class, and has in addition the support of all capitalist institutions, including the capitalist government, against the great mass of the workers.

The Real Danger Today

It is this bureaucracy, as it exists today, which must first be dealt with and overthrown. Only then will we confront the possible danger of a new bureaucracy of the future, which no longer has any privileged section of the working class to lean on and no capitalist government to support it. In our view this problem will be much simpler and easier to cope with in the United States.

The real danger of bureaucratism with which we must concern ourselves first of all is not one that will arise on the morrow of the workers' victory. Rather, it is the burning reality of the present day, and of the whole period between now and the American workers' revolution. The break-up of the bureaucracy in the labor movement and the freeing of the working masses from its strangulating grip, is the indispensable condition for the overthrow of American capitalism. Can this be done? Those who doubt it, or those who skip over the problem in favor of gloomy speculations about the dangers of bureaucratism after the revolution, are no good for the struggle.

In the early years of the Comintern some extremely interesting and instructive discussions took place on the trade union question between the Bolshevik leaders and some "Left" Communists. The specific point at issue was posed as follows: Should Communists accept the reactionary trade unions controlled by the reformist bureaucracy as they were and work within them to overthrow the bureaucrats, as the Bolsheviks said; or should they abandon these unions to the bureaucracy, withdraw from them and build new unions of their own, free from the presence of the bureaucrats, as the "Lefts" maintained? This was also the position of the American I.W.W., and was one of the reasons for its failure.

The "Lefts" of that time were unquestionably serious and sincere revolutionists — that is why Lenin took the trouble to debate with them at great length and with the utmost patience. They were confident that the workers could overthrow the capitalist regime and reorganize society on a socialist basis. But they seemed to be equally convinced that it was impossible to "reform" the reactionary trade unions — that is, to win over the majority, throw out the bureaucrats and transform the unions into militant organs of the class struggle.

Lenin pointed out that the "Lefts" lacked the sense of proportion. Look, he said, you are confident of being able to defeat and overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie concentrated in its state apparatus, its army, its police force, etc.; but you consider it impossible to overthrow the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, which is only one of the agencies of this bourgeois power which you expect to defeat in its entirety. This, said Lenin, shows a glaring inconsistency on your part; an overestimation of the power of the bureaucratic rabble which has seized control of the trade unions and an underestimation of the power of the masses of workers who constitute the membership of the unions.

The same inconsistency, on a thousand-fold greater scale, is today manifested by not a few people who have been demoralized by Stalinism and horrified by its crimes. The same doubts and fears formerly advanced in support of the discredited theory of the "Left" Communists with respect to the trade union bureaucracy under capitalism — based on the foolish belief in its invincibility — are here expressed again in connection with the broadest problems of socialism, with far more dangerous implications than when they were first revealed in the limited field of trade union tactics. They underestimate the mass power of the workers — the motive force of every revolution — and surrender the field to a possible future bureaucracy before it has even made its appearance.

Genuine revolutionists who have confidence in the ability of the American working class to overthrow capitalism do not and cannot have the slightest doubt of the ability of the workers to dispose of the conservative bu-

reaucracy, which serves as an agency of capitalism in the labor movement. The struggle of the rank and file workers against this bureaucracy is one of the surest expressions of their instinctive striving to settle accounts with capitalism and solve the problems of poverty and insecurity which haunt their lives.

As far back as 1931 Trotsky directly linked the coming radicalization of the American workers with a determined and irreconcilable fight against the trade union bureaucrats. He wrote: "With the first signs of a rise in the (economic) conjuncture, the trade union movement will acutely sense the necessity of tearing itself loose from the claws of the despicable AFL bureaucracy." This was written when the bureaucracy seemed to have an unshakable grip on the existing unions, which then had less than three million members, and an unlimited power to prevent the organization of the unorganized outside of their control.

There were many croakers who scoffed at Trotsky's "optimism." But within the brief space of less than a decade, the movement of the masses proved itself to be strong enough to break this bureaucratic grip and achieve the organization of the unorganized in the mass production industries under the independent auspices of the CIO. The "new unionism" took shape in struggle against "the despicable AFL bureaucracy." This example shows how ridiculous it is to make a fetish of the power of the labor bureaucracy — or any other bureaucracy. The bureaucracy can dominate the masses only when they are passive. But the masses in motion can smash any bureaucracy. This is the law demonstrated in every great revolution. It will be demonstrated once again, and finally we think, in the greatest revolution of all — the coming American revolution.

This magnificent movement of the CIO, which has wrought such a profound change in the whole labor movement and in the position and outlook of the American working class is only the beginning. So far we have seen only the first tentative steps of the American workers on the road of radicalism and class militancy. Considering this, it does not require much imagination to foresee what a genuine, deep-going revolutionary movement of the working masses will do to the bureaucratic barricades still standing in their path.

The American workers can and will make their revolution; and, as is quite obvious, they will smash the present trade union bureaucracy in the process. "But," say the defeatists, "what then? After the victory, after the expropriation of the capitalists and the consolidation of a workers' government and the organization of socialist production — will not then a new bureaucracy arise? What guarantee do we have that power will not be usurped by a new bureaucracy, as happened in Russia, which will oppress and enslave the workers and rule by totalitarian terror?"

Such a thought indeed opens up "a perspective of the profoundest pessimism," as Trotsky once remarked, and is all the more to be condemned because it has no real justification. It can only debilitate the movement of the revolutionary workers by robbing them of their will to struggle, which must presuppose the prospect of victory and the emancipation of the workers. An aversion to the Stalinist regime in the USSR is quite justified, for it is indeed a horrible monstrosity, but the fear of its duplication here, after a victorious revolution, has no basis in reality.

There are profound differences between America and Russia, and these differences create different problems both before the revolutionary victory of the workers and afterward, when the problem of consolidating the victory comes to the fore.

Why Soviet Union Degenerated

Russia was the most backward of the big capitalist countries. The proletariat, although highly concentrated, was numerically weak in relation to the population as a whole. Its industrial development and technique lagged far behind. On top of all that, the victorious workers' revolution inherited from Czarism and the destruction of war and civil war, a devastated, ruined, poverty-stricken country and a frightful scarcity of the most elementary necessities. The disrupted productive apparatus taken over by the revolution was incapable of turning out a volume of goods sufficient to overcome the scarcity in a short period of time.

The Russian Revolution was not an end of itself and could not build "socialism" by itself, in one backward country. It was only a beginning, which required the supplementary support of a revolution in more advanced Europe and a union of the European productive apparatus and technology with the vast natural resources of Russia. The delay of the European revolution isolated the Soviet Union, and on the basis of the universal scarcity a privileged bureaucracy arose which eventually usurped power in the state and destroyed the workers' organizations — Soviets, trade unions and even the revolutionary party which had organized and led the revolution. A horrible degeneration has taken place, but for all that the great revolution has not yet been destroyed, and its ultimate fate has not yet been decided.

Socialism can be constructed only on the basis of a highly-productive economy capable of producing abundantly. Where there is scarcity, with the consequent scramble for the meager necessities, the fight for privileges takes place; the material basis for a privileged bureaucracy appears, as was the case in Russia. We cannot see any prospect of such a situation in richly productive America once the power of the capitalist class is broken and production is organized, under a workers' government, for use and not for profit. America is a much more advanced country than was the Russia of the Czars, and consequently the American bourgeoisie is much stronger than was its Russian counterpart. Because of that, the overthrow of the capitalist regime in the United States will be much more difficult. But for the same reason the consolidation of the workers' victory, once it has been attained, will be all the easier.

Thanks to the extraordinary development of American industrial technique, its vast resources and skilled working class, the organization of production on such a scale as to ensure plenty and thereby economic equality for all, can be assured almost immediately after the consolidation of the victory. This is the main point to keep in mind; it is the greatest assurance that neither capitalist counter-revolution nor bureaucratic degeneration can find a firm material base here. Once the American workers have made their revolution, the decisive factors of American resources and technology will provide the material basis for the broadest workers' democracy, leading to the fulfillment of the revolution in the classless socialist society. The thing is, to make the revolution.

The Four Germanies

By Ernest Germain

Having brought their war for the "freedom of the peoples" to its logical conclusion, the American, British and French imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy began the "peace" by completely crushing the sovereignty of the German masses and violently dismembering the country. Although the same desolation reigns everywhere, there exists today not one Germany but four "zones of occupation," that is, four disintegrated fragments of what was formerly one nation, with each zone under the military dictatorship of one of the Big Four. These four Germanies have this in common,

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that in each of them all aspects of life are determined exclusively by the interests of the occupying power.

Because of the marked geographic differences between the four zones and the enormous differences in the interests of the four occupying powers, the present situation in the four Germanies offers an extremely varied picture.

The Russian zone is the largest in area and richest in agriculture. Before the war it produced 57% of the potatoes, 44% of the wheat and 40% of the livestock of Germany. Despite the large levies imposed by the occupation troops and the sharp fall in agricultural production as a result of the lack of fertilizer and agricultural machinery, the food situation in this zone is the best and, with the exception of Berlin, there has been the smallest amount of actual famine here.

On the other hand, insecurity is greatest in this zone. It is still a regular occurrence for men and women to disappear suddenly or to be "collected" in the streets for deportation to Russia. Dismantling of industry has been the most extensive in this part of Germany, but this special method of looting was a dismal failure since most of the machinery removed was damaged in transportation and the skilled manpower for the necessary repairs was lacking in Russia. The bureaucracy next made several attempts to transplant entire factories along with their personnel — among these, the Zeiss optical instrument plants in Jena — but this method got no results either.

Then in February, 1947 came Marshall Sokolovskii's statement putting a stop to the dismantling. Two hundred factories which had been designated for dismantlement were to remain in place in Germany, as Russian state property — "Soviet Joint-stock Companies" (Sowjetische Aktiengesellschaften). This gigantic trust includes all the foundries, the entire industry for locomotive and engine construction, 70% of the optical industry, etc. At present it is working at full production. In contrast, industry which is state-ized in the hands of German states (Laender) is working at considerably less than 50% of its prewar level.

It should be added that the largest part of current production is going to Russia in the form of reparations. An important exception is the Leuna factory, where the production of artificial fertilizers is being used to raise the level of agriculture in the Russian zone.

THE BRITISH ZONE
The British zone is the most important industrially. Before the war it produced 87% of the coal and 65% of the iron in Germany. Its agricultural production, on the other hand, is very low, and in this zone the distributed rations are the lowest.

All the efforts at "reconstruction" on the part of British imperialism and its lackeys, the working class leaders, have been concentrated here on increasing coal production — and this raising of production is nothing more than the special form of looting of Germany by British imperialism and its Western European satellites. But the catastrophic results of regularly exporting the largest part of the Ruhr coal production were not long in coming.

The zone's entire economic life — industry, transport, gas, electricity — collapsed almost completely as a result of the scarcity of coal, and the British capitalists themselves were compelled to finance the feeding of the miners, for otherwise all production of coal would have become impossible. The subsidy of 80 million pounds sterling, which the British capitalists had to pay annually to maintain the present miserable level of existence in their zone, was more effective than all the humanitarian arguments in forcing them to change their policy.

THE AMERICAN ZONE
The American zone, the least touched by war destruction and the least densely populated of the four zones, is the one where reconstruction has made relatively greatest progress. Nevertheless, in this zone also a number of factories were dismantled. The return to private owners of a large part of industry has resulted in its passing directly into American hands, or indirectly where German purchasers were used as false fronts.

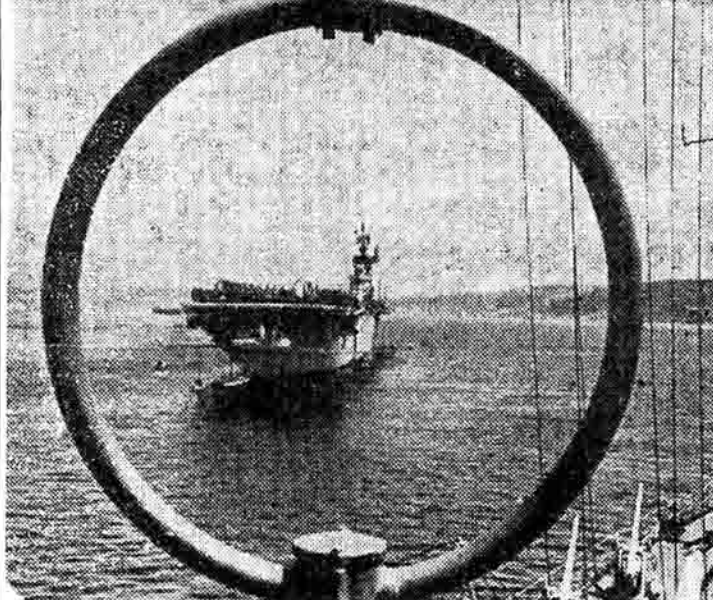
Despite the considerable wheat production in this zone, the scarcity of potatoes renders it deficient from the point of view of food; and the complete lack of coal is an unsurmountable handicap for a real increase in industrial production. The English and American capitalists, by uniting their occupation zones economically, have attempted to reciprocally "neutralize" the most conspicuous economic weaknesses of their zones.

THE FRENCH ZONE
Finally, the French zone is the one where food rations are the lowest, where exploitation of the natural resources is carried out the most cynically in the interests of the occupying power, and where the military dictatorship — exercised by a gang of Vichy officers — is conducted the most brutally.

The French imperialists, seeing their "empire" crumbling everywhere, have thrown themselves avidly on the Saar, the annexation of which has become a life-or-death question for them. These are the Four Germanies of 1947. But if there are four Germanies, there is only one common misery, and everywhere one common oppression.

(Next week: "Democratic Re-education.")

Truman Doctrine In Action



Entering the Turkish port of Istanbul is the U. S. aircraft carrier Leyte, part of the fleet engaged in maneuvers to terrorize all opponents of Wall Street's drive for world subjugation. Federated Pictures

Revolutionary Solution To Palestine Question

By H. Vallin

The analysis of the social forces on the Palestinian chessboard has disclosed how vitally the imperialists are interested in maintaining control over this part of the world. It has likewise shown why neither the terrorists, nor the Zionist leaders, nor the great landowning and bourgeois Arabs, nor even the Zionist labor movement is capable of organizing and unleashing the revolution of the Arab masses which will achieve the national and social emancipation of the Middle East.

But a Marxist analysis cannot limit itself to a criticism of existing relationships. It should first and foremost present a program of immediate action to the masses which shows them a concrete way out of their present difficulties.

For the right of the Palestinian masses to decide their own fate!
Successive conferences bring together the heads of the Jewish Agency, the emissaries of the Arab High Committee for Palestine and the representatives of British imperialism. Finding no solution, British imperialism puts the Palestinian question before the Assembly of the United Nations. The envoys of American imperialism and the emissaries of the Kremlin assure the Zionist leaders and the Arab chiefs of their disinterested "sympathy." But no one speaks to the Palestinian masses themselves about their freely determining their own fate!

A revolutionary socialist program for Palestine should take as its point of departure this basic proclamation:
Down with the plans of "compromise," of "partition" and of "gradual independence" elaborated by the UN and the conferences of oppressors and exploiters! For the right of the people of Palestine to decide their own fate! For the immediate election of a Constituent Assembly, for universal and secret voting by all the men and women over 18 years of age and living in the country before January 1, 1947. The Palestinian Constituent Assembly as the sovereign body must determine the fate of the country in accordance with the wishes of the population!

For the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist occupation troops!
But "free" elections cannot be held in an atmosphere of police terror, espionage and suppression of the most elementary democratic rights. That is the atmosphere of the British occupation. The replacement of the British occupation by American or Russo-American or "international" occupation troops would further intensify this atmosphere of insecurity and oppression. The Arab and Jewish masses are capable of governing themselves. Out with the troops and the imperialist government, the main instigators of the fratricidal war between the Jewish and Arab masses!

For Workers and Peasants Committees!
But the sovereignty of the Palestinian masses is not men-

aced by foreign imperialism alone. It cannot be realized within the framework of the reactionary aims pursued by the dominant classes of the Arab and Jewish communities.

The Arab effendis and the heads of the great feudal "parties" will do their utmost to prevent the politicalization of the mass of poverty-stricken peasants. They will make strenuous attempts to gain the peasant vote through intimidation and coercion. To make the mass of Arab peasants conscious of their interests and to get them to really participate in political life, they must be set in motion by the slogans of the agrarian revolution.

As for the Zionist leaders and the Jewish capitalists, rather than unleash the agrarian revolution, which would stop all sales of land, and rather than risk facing the revolutionary action of the toiling masses, which would forever dry up the source of their profits — they will enter into alliances with the Arab landowners. Continuing their work of dividing the Arab and Jewish toiling masses and to perpetuate the tension in the country.

To combat these reactionary tendencies effectively, it is necessary to give a new impetus to the proletarian struggle which must relegate the tendencies of national and racial struggle to the background.

For committees of poor peasants, who will confiscate the lands of the effendis and will supervise free elections in the countryside!
For Jewish-Arab workers committees, who will organize the proletarians regardless of their national lines, who will take over the administration of industry and will guarantee free elections in the cities. These are the two slogans which make possible the revolutionary mobilization of the Jewish and Arab masses.

Break with the Jewish Agency! Break with the Arab League!
The Jewish workers, however, cannot unite with the Arab proletariat so long as they continue to participate in the same organization with the Jewish capitalists. And above all they cannot pursue the common aims of the Palestinian revolution if they continue to pursue the special aims of the Zionist "national" movement.

Their breaking with the Jewish Agency and publishing of all its documents and secret minutes — these are acts which would immediately convince the Arab workers of the sincere reorientation of the Jewish workers; and which would also deal a mortal blow to the reactionary

ferences in the interests of the four occupying powers, the present situation in the four Germanies offers an extremely varied picture.

On the other hand, insecurity is greatest in this zone. It is still a regular occurrence for men and women to disappear suddenly or to be "collected" in the streets for deportation to Russia.

Dismantling of industry has been the most extensive in this part of Germany, but this special method of looting was a dismal failure since most of the machinery removed was damaged in transportation and the skilled manpower for the necessary repairs was lacking in Russia. The bureaucracy next made several attempts to transplant entire factories along with their personnel — among these, the Zeiss optical instrument plants in Jena — but this method got no results either.

Then in February, 1947 came Marshall Sokolovskii's statement putting a stop to the dismantling. Two hundred factories which had been designated for dismantlement were to remain in place in Germany, as Russian state property — "Soviet Joint-stock Companies" (Sowjetische Aktiengesellschaften). This gigantic trust includes all the foundries, the entire industry for locomotive and engine construction, 70% of the optical industry, etc. At present it is working at full production. In contrast, industry which is state-ized in the hands of German states (Laender) is working at considerably less than 50% of its prewar level.

It should be added that the largest part of current production is going to Russia in the form of reparations. An important exception is the Leuna factory, where the production of artificial fertilizers is being used to raise the level of agriculture in the Russian zone.

THE BRITISH ZONE
The British zone is the most important industrially. Before the war it produced 87% of the coal and 65% of the iron in Germany. Its agricultural production, on the other hand, is very low, and in this zone the distributed rations are the lowest.

All the efforts at "reconstruction" on the part of British imperialism and its lackeys, the working class leaders, have been concentrated here on increasing coal production — and this raising of production is nothing more than the special form of looting of Germany by British imperialism and its Western European satellites. But the catastrophic results of regularly exporting the largest part of the Ruhr coal production were not long in coming.

The zone's entire economic life — industry, transport, gas, electricity — collapsed almost completely as a result of the scarcity of coal, and the British capitalists themselves were compelled to finance the feeding of the miners, for otherwise all production of coal would have become impossible. The subsidy of 80 million pounds sterling, which the British capitalists had to pay annually to maintain the present miserable level of existence in their zone, was more effective than all the humanitarian arguments in forcing them to change their policy.

THE AMERICAN ZONE
The American zone, the least touched by war destruction and the least densely populated of the four zones, is the one where reconstruction has made relatively greatest progress. Nevertheless, in this zone also a number of factories were dismantled. The return to private owners of a large part of industry has resulted in its passing directly into American hands, or indirectly where German purchasers were used as false fronts.

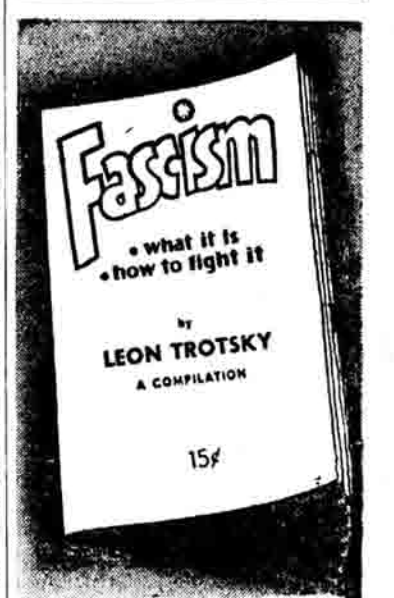
Despite the considerable wheat production in this zone, the scarcity of potatoes renders it deficient from the point of view of food; and the complete lack of coal is an unsurmountable handicap for a real increase in industrial production. The English and American capitalists, by uniting their occupation zones economically, have attempted to reciprocally "neutralize" the most conspicuous economic weaknesses of their zones.

THE FRENCH ZONE
Finally, the French zone is the one where food rations are the lowest, where exploitation of the natural resources is carried out the most cynically in the interests of the occupying power, and where the military dictatorship — exercised by a gang of Vichy officers — is conducted the most brutally.

The French imperialists, seeing their "empire" crumbling everywhere, have thrown themselves avidly on the Saar, the annexation of which has become a life-or-death question for them. These are the Four Germanies of 1947. But if there are four Germanies, there is only one common misery, and everywhere one common oppression.

(Next week: "Democratic Re-education.")

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"The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world."

Leon Trotsky

Accept No Substitutes!

As the demand for a Labor Party becomes increasingly popular, the enemies of the movement for independent labor political action devise new techniques for heading it off.

Those who fear to oppose the Labor Party movement outright are trying to divert it into ineffective channels by proposing a "Third Party" in its place. Such a new edition of a capitalist party, mislabeled a "People's Party," is to be headed by "progressive" capitalist politicians like Henry Wallace, Ickes, Pepper and LaGuardia.

The principal advocates of this "Third Party" in the unions are the Stalinists, skilled in the art of sidetracking and wrecking promising mass movements. At both the CIO Packinghouse Workers and CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards Conventions this month, Stalinist spokesmen sought to switch the sentiment for genuine independent labor political action into the "Third Party" dead-end.

The Stalinists oppose the formation of a real Labor Party so bitterly because they themselves want to maintain their connections with Democratic and Republican politicians and make new deals with them at the expense of the workers. The Stalinists trot behind Wallace, Pepper and their like — and they in turn remain loyal to the Democratic Party. Even if some of these "progressives" should quit the old machines, they have no fundamental differences with the other capitalist politicians and offer no program that can solve the problems of the workers.

The proponents of such a "People's Party" argue that a clear-cut stand for a Labor Party would repel other sections of the population. This is totally false. The politically organized workers must seek support from the poor farmers, shopkeepers, Negroes and all who suffer from monopolist rule. But how can labor win their support? That is the heart of the question.

Labor will never command confidence from others, if it does not display confidence in itself, its own power, program and party. The unions have already shown that they are the only organized force capable of combating the industrialists and their government stooges on the economic arena. Once the organized workers undertake to lead the political struggle against the monopolists, they will win increasing sympathy and support from all other oppressed sections of the American people.

The Stalinists have no confidence in the capacity of 15 million unionists to create their own party and provide a leadership and program for the entire people. That is why they paint up Wallace, Pepper and other demagogues who serve the monopolists as representatives of "the common man."

"The Third Party" peddled by the Stalinists is NOT the Labor Party the workers need and want. It would only be another capitalist party with its face lifted and its name changed.

Militants should beware of this fraud. Accept no fake substitutes for an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions.

Stop The Lynchers

Officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People correctly cite the acquittal of 28 lynchers in South Carolina last week as additional proof "that state action cannot be expected to punish the crime of lynching. Notice has been served on Negroes in South Carolina and throughout the South that they are now at the mercy of mobs, and that the law is powerless to defend them or to punish their murderers."

The main stress of the NAACP statement was on the need for an effective federal anti-lynch bill, such as *The Militant* has advocated for many years. But this paper vigorously disagrees with the following part of the NAACP statement:

"Unless we can secure federal legislation, it is entirely possible that some Negroes, abandoned to mobs by the law, may be forced. In their desperation, to devise some means of protecting themselves. This would be a lawless and futile gesture, but logical and understandable in the circumstances."

Why would it be "lawless" for Negroes to protect themselves against lynch terror? Why would it be "futile" for them to defend them-

selves against murderers? Do the NAACP leaders really advise the Negro people to sit back passively and make no efforts to protect their lives and rights? If that is the kind of advice they have to offer, it is more than worthless — it is positively harmful.

A federal anti-lynch bill will discourage lynching, but it will not by itself prevent lynching. A federal bill will make it easier to punish lynchers, but it will not restore life to the victims of the lynchers. A federal bill is necessary, but there is no contradiction at all between such a bill and defensive action by the Negro people against lynch mobs, both before and after a federal bill is adopted.

The fight against lynching takes many forms. It requires legislation in Congress; political action to secure adoption of legislation and election of officials who will enforce it; mass action to end the capitalist system which spawns Jim-Crow terror. No less important is the organization of effective action by the people themselves to stop lynch mobs before they can kill their victims.

Arms For Dictators

President Truman is again asking Congress for authorization to transfer vast amounts of arms and other military supplies to Canada and Latin American countries.

The Secretaries of State, War and Navy not only strongly favor his recommendations but have actually been conducting their activities in Latin America in accordance with them since the end of World War II. Congress will in reality only be legalizing military missions and the handing over of certain arms now barred by law.

The money to finance this expensive military scheme will, of course, be taken out of the U. S. Public Treasury as in the case of arms for the Greek monarchy and Turkish dictatorship.

The proposed measure casts a most revealing light on the purposes of U. S. foreign policy. By selecting the recipients of American arms, Wall Street can bolster up the most reactionary forces in the Western Hemisphere.

Along with the arms goes military missions — officers to oversee the indoctrination of troops and give advice on their use. The press cynically points to the example of the German militarists who helped spread Nazi doctrines by such means.

Since the arms are manufactured in American plants, the ammunition designed for use in them must come from the same source. By granting or withholding these supplies, the brass hats in Washington exercise effective control. This reactionary military program is called "standardization" of arms.

Truman's recommendations consequently serve to draw the Latin American regimes more tightly into Wall Street's net. This scheme adds military links to the economic and financial bonds already in Wall Street's hands.

Wall Street is organizing the entire Western Hemisphere into a vast military camp — the largest peacetime military camp in history. When the time comes, Wall Street plans to turn loose this military machine on the Soviet Union. It plans to crush the USSR, smash all resistance in the colonial areas and rule the entire earth with the atomic bomb as scepter.

Truman's plan for turning over huge military supplies to the Latin American dictators thus stands as another milepost on the road to World War III.

In Economy's Name

In the name of economy the House Appropriations Committee last week lopped almost 400 million dollars from the 1948 budget of the Department of Agriculture. These cuts virtually liquidate the food and land measures introduced by the New Deal.

Federal funds for crop insurance, soil conservation and farmer loans have been slashed to the bone. Such measures as federal loans to tenant farmers were completely eliminated. Inflated farm values, coolly explained the Committee, were "certain to collapse" in the near future. This means, as the Committee itself acknowledges, that many tenant farmers "will surely come to grief." For precisely this reason the Congressmen who serve Wall Street not only refuse to increase assistance to these farmers, but, on the contrary, expedite their ruin by depriving them in advance of any government aid.

Millions of school children were accorded similar treatment. A cut of more than 50% was made in appropriations for the school lunch program, which provides cheap lunches for children, with one child out of nine receiving them free. Withdrawal of federal subsidies will in most cases mean suspension of the school lunch program.

These same "economy-minded" Congressmen behave in an entirely different manner when it comes to serving the interests of their masters. Without hesitation they continue to pour billions of dollars into Wall Street's "peacetime" war machine. Poor farmers and undernourished children get short shrift, while bloody dictatorships in Greece and Turkey are granted hundreds of millions in pursuance of the Truman Doctrine.

Nor are Wall Street's own pockets ever forgotten. Thus in 1946 tax-rebates to corporations amounted to more than 3 billion dollars. These same corporations, who have been raking in unheard-of profits, will receive additional rebates of more than 2 billions in 1947 and approximately the same huge sum in 1948.

This striking contrast in Congressional behavior is another demonstration of the true class character of the present government. It is government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich. From it the poor can expect nothing but blows.



"But Senator, if we did away with the unions, the Reds COULDN'T capture them, could they?"

BOOKSHELF

REVOLUTION by Ypsilon, Ziff-Davis Publishing Co., 459 pp., 1947, \$3.50.

This book purports to be an informal history of the Communist International from its foundation by Lenin and Trotsky in March 1919 to its dissolution in May 1943 on order of Stalin. The anonymous authors claim to have been intimately connected with the inner workings and leadership of the Comintern during the first 15 years of its existence.

They reveal considerable familiarity with the operations of the Communist International as well as with the principal administrators of its policies both in the period of its rise and in the years of its decline. They relate information, not always trustworthy, about the personal traits and activities of such figures as Zinoviev, Nicolai Bukharin, Karl Radek and others who formed part of Lenin's general staff for the world revolution.

As the Stalinist bureaucracy gained ascendancy in the Soviet Union, Lenin's International became converted into its opposite. From the organizer of the struggles of the world working class for socialism, it became the disorganizer of the revolutionary movement. When the Communist International no longer served the interests of the workers but became an unprincipled agency of the Soviet bureaucrats, it acquired a totally different type of leadership.

All those pioneers who remained loyal to the original Communist program and purposes were expelled, crushed, framed-up, or murdered. Those who remained in the Comintern apparatus had to remake themselves into servile and unscrupulous functionaries dependent upon Stalin's dictatorship and carrying out Moscow's mandates without question, no matter how they injured the revolutionary cause.

The authors seek to portray this process of transformation in the careers of such notable German Stalinists as Ernst Thaelmann and Willi Muenzenberg, the Czech Smeral, the French Stalinists Jacques Doriot, Andre Marty and others. They show

how an entire generation of proletarian fighters was destroyed and corrupted by the decay and downfall of the Communist International under Stalin's misleadership.

Despite their former connection with the Marxist movement, the authors do not use the materialist method to explain the real reasons for the process of political degeneration they describe. Instead of viewing the life histories of the Comintern leaders as part of the conflict of basic class forces, ideas and programs on the international arena, they retail superficial and disconnected anecdotes about them.

The authors put forward the thesis that today the "Stalinism," as successor to the Third International, is a political instrument of Stalin's totalitarian Eurasian empire which aims at "socialist encirclement" of a hostile world capitalism. Notwithstanding their opposition to Stalinism, this interpretation of the Kremlin's foreign policy essentially coincides with that offered by the Stalinist leaders themselves.

In reality, there is nothing "socialist" in the policies of the Stalinist parties. The record proves that they do not strive to overthrow capitalism but to compromise with its upholders at the expense of the welfare of the workers and their fight for socialism.

—John Marshall

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI by Carlo Levi, Farrer Straus, 1947, 268 pp., \$3.

This is the story of the author's year of exile, because of his anti-fascist activity, in the remote village of Gaglianico in backward Southern Italy. It is the year of Mussolini's war for empire in Ethiopia, another of the endless series of wars which have always been going on outside the world of the village and of interest to the peasants only because of their dismal certainty that it will mean death and suffering to them.

Levi is a doctor, painter and a leader of the liberal underground, which is now organized in the Action Party of Count Sforza. He found himself in a

country that time and the world forgot, except for taxing purposes. The peasants had a saying that they were not even Christians (i.e., human beings) because Christ never got to Gaglianico. He stopped at Eboli, on the plains of Campania. The middle-class gentry, doctors, lawyers, officials — degenerate and incompetent — lived as parasites on the peasants, justifying their incomes not by service, but by a theory of feudal rights. They devoted their energies to feuds among themselves and to jealously guarding their petty privileges.

The peasants lived out their lives, devoured by disease and poverty. Their only memory of glory was the futile, reactionary rebellion of the brigands back in the 1860's. Their religion was more pagan than Catholic, and the priest complained bitterly that they neglected him and their duty to the Church (which was primarily to see that he was well fed and suitably honored). Politically, the peasants were helpless, because they had no knowledge themselves, and no way of learning of any solution to their troubles.

Levi's politics are exposed in his last chapters. He lumps fascists, Marxists and liberals together as "worshippers of the state," and asserts that there can be no solution, since "there will always be an abyss between the state and the peasants." It is a conflict of two civilizations, he says, country and city, one pre-Christian, the other no longer Christian.

It is a dilemma of poverty, with no means to be found to relieve the poverty, which is partly caused by previous interference by the state. The chief enemy is not the landowners (peasants who own their own land are no better off than the tenants) but the parasitic gentry and the peasants' own hopelessness! It is not surprising, therefore, that the author is unable to present any effective program for ending the power of the landowners.

Despite its false politics, this book is worth reading as a realistic, sympathetic, moving picture of the oppressed.

—John Hudson

Congressmen At Work

Wall Street And Wool

How Wall Street's Congressmen fight for the special interests of the capitalist class was well illustrated last week in the debate on wool.

Wall Street wants a flexible tariff policy to lower trade barriers for countries taking huge amounts of American exports. About 95% of Australia's shipments to the U.S. consist of wool, 40% of New Zealand's and 37% of South Africa's. With dollars obtained from these shipments, such countries can buy manufactured articles in America. A tariff acts like a wall cutting off international trade.

The woolen goods manufacturers are likewise interested in lowering tariffs. Their objective is to increase their profits by lowering the price of wool. Astronomical profits during the war only whetted their appetite. American Woolen of New York, a typical company, cleared some 3 million dollars in 1940, 8 millions in 1945 and 20 millions in 1946. The National City Bank of New York reports an average of 25.2% return on net worth for 1946.

There is no shortage of wool. During the war the U.S. government bought the entire clip for 4 successive years, and now has in stock about 480 million pounds — almost enough to satisfy the entire country's needs for a year at the prewar level. The clip this year will be probably around 300



million pounds. And the British pool amounts to some 2 billion pounds. Experts figure that it would take an entire decade to dispose of the present world stockpile of 4 billion pounds "in an orderly way."

With these mountains of wool available, the price would plunge precipitately if it were not artificially maintained by government support of domestic prices and by tariff walls (34c a pound tariff on wool now selling slightly above 40c).

Consequently the western wool growers, who produce about 20% of the wool used in American textile mills, are fighting tooth and nail in Congress for subsidies and for a high tariff.

Last week their representatives in the House succeeded in getting a majority of 151 to 65 to go on record for a tariff increase.

But such legislation would hamper Wall Street's foreign

economic policy. The ruling clique acted swiftly. Will Clayton, attending an economic conference at Geneva of representatives of various governments, immediately returned to Washington. He is one of the Wall Street spokesmen in charge of working out policy for the Truman Administration.

In a letter to Representative Cooley of North Carolina, Clayton outlined the policy he proposed: (1) That the Secretary of Agriculture be empowered to impose a "fee" on imports if he deems it necessary. (2) That the U.S. Government be permitted to dump its wool stocks at any price it sees fit, no matter what the cost to the public or the gain to the manufacturers. (3) That the wool growers be taken care of by some form of subsidy — "The cost of supporting returns to wool growers must be borne by the public of the United States regardless of the form that support takes."

Thus Wall Street plans to take care of everybody it is interested in — the capitalists in Wall Street's sphere of influence abroad, the textile manufacturers at home and the wool growers out on the western ranges. The only ones forgotten are the workers and poor farmers who must foot the bill. But then what can they expect without representatives of their own to fight for their interests in Congress?

Wall Street Tycoons Run U. S. Government

Who runs the American government? According to the civics text books used in the schools, it's the American people. The May 23 *United States News*, however, presents facts that lead to a different conclusion. This conservative businessman's magazine declares that "a new team of top-ranking officials is taking charge of affairs in Washington."

These men were never elected by the people. They were all appointed to office. Yet they both "shape and execute" government policy. "All have Wall Street connections."

"Top policy is being influenced by Commerce Secretary W. Averell Harriman and Navy Secretary James V. Forrestal." Harriman is one of the wealthiest men in the United States, a tycoon in banking, railroads, mining and aviation.

Forrestal was head of the investment-banking firm of Dillon, Read & Co. before his appointment by Roosevelt as an "adviser" on national defense. As a banker he was involved in such financial manipulations as the purchase of Dodge Brothers automobile company for \$150,000,000.

The new Under Secretary of State, Robert A. Lovett is another Wall Street figure. He is a close friend and former associate of Harriman, having been a partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. and a director of many railroads, banks and insurance companies.

W. L. Clayton, another member of this "team," founded Anderson, Clayton & Co., the largest cotton firm in the world. Lovett and Clayton, says the *U.S. News*, "are to be responsible for shaping and administering foreign policy" for the United States.

At the head of the World Bank is John J. McCloy. He was a former partner in the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, deGersdorff, Swaine & Wood. Like Lovett, McCloy is a director of the Union Pacific Railroad Co. which is controlled by the Harriman family.

McCloy has two assistants to help him disperse dollars in carrying out Wall Street's foreign policy. These are Eugene R. Black, a former vice-president of the Chase National Bank and Robert L. Garner, former vice-president of General Foods Corp. and a former Guaranty Trust official.

In addition to these top figures, Wall Street has other key men holding posts in The World Bank. Among them are E. Fleetwood Dunstan, a former vice-president of the Bankers Trust Co. and Chester A. McClain, one of McCloy's former law partners.

In the International Monetary Fund, Wall Street has such men as Andrew N. Overby, formerly of the Irving Trust Co. and the New York Federal Reserve Bank.

Other key figures in this new team directing the government are Marriner Eccles, a western banker who is now Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and William McChesney Martin, Jr., former president of the New York Stock Exchange.

Not since the days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover has Wall Street dared exercise such flagrantly open control over government affairs. As "advisers" to Truman and the Republican-Democratic coalition in Congress, they are the ones back of the "doctrine" of supporting reaction throughout the world and the current drive to wipe out labor's hard-won gains with the most savage anti-union legislation in decades. As the *U.S. News* observes approvingly, "there is not the faintest tincture of left-wing reform in any member . . ."

Capitalists Bewildered About The Depression

By John G. Wright

Capitalist thinkers are greatly perplexed about the economic situation. From the most informed circles comes the cry: "Where is the recession?"

Polls of economic experts continue to give conflicting opinions. The majority still say the "recession" is only on its way. A doughty handful believes there will be none. One nameless expert in a recent poll astounded his colleagues by refusing to speculate about a future bust because "we are busted already."

Congress is now conducting a special poll of 800 largest business enterprises, whose replies will supposedly resolve this ticklish problem. It is safe to predict that after this poll is taken, all these gentlemen will be little wiser than before.

They remain so genuinely puzzled because they tend to approach all questions, in the first instance, from the standpoint of dollars and cents. They do not fully realize the important role they themselves and their policies play in expediting (or retarding) the course of the economic cycle which they are utterly impotent to prevent.

Had prices hit the skids, there would be no doubt whatever among them now about the present state of affairs. But prices by and large continue to stay up. Truman's price reduction program fizzled miserably. Hence the bewilderment.

They do not understand the operation of their own system and how it is possible under this system to temporarily maintain high prices—as they are doing—in the face of stagnating or declining physical volume of sales, in the face of stagnant or declining production and growing unemployment. Yet these are all unmistakable signs of unfolding depression.

But the main reason for their confusion lies in their mechanical thinking about economic cycles in general, and their downward phases in particular. They do not understand, among other things, that this is a process which must pass through several distinct stages.

The downward phase of the economic cycle does not begin with declining production or declining prices. This is actually the second stage of the process whose beginning we now witness. It is preceded by a period of peak production and peak prices in the course of which most of the factors which underlie the boom are liquidated. This stage set in toward the end of last September, paving the way for the plunge downward. The third and final stage is the crisis itself, which is in reality the lowest point of the depression. This is what the capitalists mean when they talk about "recession."

There is no reason whatever why the crisis itself should come swiftly. To be sure, the capitalists are wishfully hoping that the unfolding economic convulsions will fall into the patterns of 1920-21 when there was a sharp price break accompanied by an equally abrupt break in production within the space of a few months, after which there came recovery. They prefer to forget what happened in 1929 when it took almost four years before the depression touched bottom.

Meanwhile they have thus far acted to speed up and aggravate the situation. They permitted the boom to be liquidated in less than seven months, when it could have lasted much longer provided some checks on the profiteers had been enforced. They are now permitting the economy to skid into the second stage with the same reckless abandon.

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.

Candy Store Reflects Capitalist Anarchy

For the past few months I've been forced to work in a small candy store. Here, I've been able to see a few more of the countless examples of the mismanagement of society under capitalist rule.

The small store of almost any type, inefficient to the core, is a clear reflection of capitalist anarchy. In my neighborhood, within the space of one short block, there are three candy stores. None of the storekeepers can afford to keep a really sanitary store with the most up-to-date equipment and the latest labor saving devices.

None of the storekeepers can carry a sufficiently varied stock to satisfy the needs of the community. In addition to the three candy stores in my block, there are four groceries, each of which carries many of the items which the candy stores carry.

In addition to the tremendous waste of space and equipment involved in such a set-up there is a great waste of labor. First, there is the waste of the storekeeper's labor, since each one keeps his store open 18 hours a day, 6 days a week. Secondly, there is the waste involved in the delivery of merchandise to a number of stores instead of one. Not only that, but in most cases a different truck must make deliveries to each store since they carry brands which differ in name but are almost identical in quality.

George Rock
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Advocates Joining Socialist Workers

Do you want to help insure your future against war, famine, strife, injustice, insecurity and the political corruption that continually keeps the workingman's nose on the proverbial grindstone?

Are you interested in eradicating the conditions that enforce the mass exploitation of the working man in this country and abroad?

Do you want a country that is not only maintained by the people, but operated to the fullest extent of the word by and for the benefit of each and every working man?

The answer is well stated in Karl Marx's slogan, "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains." You need only examine with care what these 13 seemingly insignificant words mean to realize that you and you alone can free yourself from the bonds that prevent you from enjoying your right to peace, security and contentment.

There is only one down to earth, conscientious organization that advocates without a selfish

interest at heart a government operated by and for the working people. This is the Socialist Workers Party.

Before criticizing socialism or its program, you owe it to yourself to examine the constitution of the Socialist Workers Party. When you get to know how the party functions internally and how it is run by working men, you will realize the sincerity with which this party carries on an unyielding struggle against the capitalist regime.

There is a Socialist Workers Party branch located in every important industrial city. Visit the branch nearest you today and learn what socialism is, what it stands for, and how we can build a better world through it.

R. J.
Flint, Mich.

Adopt Resolution For 24-Hour Strike

On May 22 at a membership meeting of the Libraries Chapter of Local 111, United Public Workers, CIO, a resolution was adopted calling for a 24-hour work stoppage to protest the anti-labor legislation now in Congress. The resolution requested the Executive Committee for the New York area of the UPW to investigate the possibility of such a step in conjunction with other CIO and AFL unions.

The resolution passed with practically no opposition. The sentiment expressed by the membership was unusually militant. "Postcards and petitions have failed," said one member. "This is the time for more aggressive action. This is labor's 11th hour."

M. R.
New York

Proposes Additions To Program Box

Allow me to suggest a subsidiary slogan under item 4 in the program box on page 2 of The Militant, that now reads: "Build an Independent Labor Party."

This is excellent, of course, but it would be improved, I believe, by adding: "End company-unionism in politics!"

Paragraph 6, on housing, would be improved by adding: "Put the money for war preparations into housing," or words to that effect.

Paragraph 11 calls for a Workers and Farmers Government. To this could be added: "For the genuine rule of the majority!"

A. W. H.
Minneapolis, Minn.

If You Like
The Militant
Pass It Along
To A Friend

Everyone Should See "Monsieur Verdoux"

At the risk of being told to cease writing letters, I must write once again, to congratulate you especially upon this week's issue of The Militant.

I am referring to the "Notebook of an Agitator" which contains the splendid review of Chaplin's new picture "Monsieur Verdoux."

Always my family and myself have been stirred and troubled by this monstrous contradiction which has existed since the dawn of civilization—the frightful injustice inflicted by the so-called law courts upon individuals guilty of so-called crimes on a small scale, while the ruling class perpetrates the same crimes on a scale magnified a million times.

Think of a man or woman serving a prison term for robbery or kidnapping in the days of slavery, while millions of stolen, kidnapped human beings were forced to toil in servitude all their lives by the criminal, bandit slave-owners!

Or think of a man or woman serving a sentence for theft under capitalism, while the bandit capitalist is allowed to rob every worker of a part of his justly-earned wages!

And, above all, think of anyone—anyone—being executed for murder, no matter how horrible the individual case, while the decadent, bestial, monster-capitalist of today roams over this unfortunate world like a relic of the age of reptiles, a destroyer of mankind, the murderer of millions of helpless, innocent men, women and children!

But no other newspaper, to my knowledge, points out this contradiction. That is why I was so glad to read The Militant this week.

Many friends of mine wish to join me in this letter of appreciation. They wish to state also that they, too, have always been impressed by the terrible injustice of so-called "law enforcement." But they never expected any newspaper would have the courage to print the truth on this subject, and they all wish to thank The Militant very much.

My mother, too, wishes to express her own appreciation. All her life, she has been deeply moved by this same thing. Always she has expressed great indignation at every imprisonment or execution of a human being by the hypocritical rulers of this or any other country, and she says to be sure to tell you how glad she is that you agree with her.

In closing, let us all demand to be allowed to see Chaplin's picture, "Monsieur Verdoux" in our neighborhood movie houses. Every one should see it; every one has a right to see it!

Belle Montague
Boston, Mass.

World Labor Experiences New Upsurge As Resistance Mounts Against U. S. Imperialism

By Arthur Burch

After their upsurge at the end of the war, the workers of Europe and Asia were forced temporarily to retreat before the might of Anglo-American imperialism and the treachery of Stalinism. But the workers have utilized the intervening period to regroup

the road lies their only hope for peace.

At the same time the American capitalists insist on harsh terms from their beneficiaries. They want France and England not only to orient for war against the Soviet Union but to turn over exploitation of their colonies to the American monopolists. So onerous were the terms for projected loans that even the hard-pressed French government thought twice before accepting.

Now Secretary of State Marshall has announced that there would be a brake on the Truman Doctrine and a halt, for the time being, in further loans to the foreign Quislings. But the need for bolstering their economies is so urgent that the foreign capitalists are being forced to submit to the conditions demanded by American imperialism.

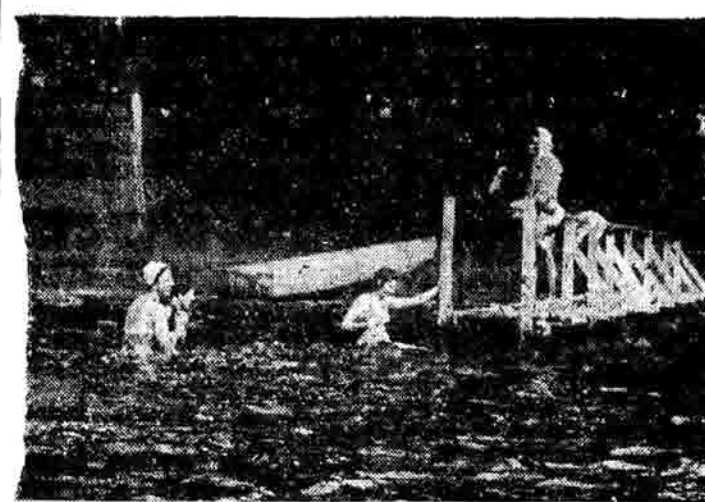
The European masses are bitterly hostile to the Truman doctrine. They know that it means war in the near future. They gain little from the economic aid granted to the Quislings for it is just enough to prop up decaying capitalism and keep them in a state of slow starvation. Thus, far from solving the European

crisis, American intervention has aggravated it in the extreme. While trying to save world capitalism from overthrow by the masses and to crush the remnants of the Russian Revolution in the USSR, the United States is the prime factor in precipitating new revolutionary situations throughout the world.

All the objective conditions for social revolution either exist or are fast developing. Capitalism has for some time exhausted its possibilities for further progress. The ruling class can no longer solve its problems and is fast losing confidence in itself. Such is the misery and desperation of the peoples of Europe and Asia that they desire at all costs a radical change. The demonstrations sweeping the world outside of the American continent are proof of this overwhelming sentiment for social revolution.

Only one condition for a successful revolution is absent—a strong revolutionary party that can lead the masses to victory. But it is in precisely such turbulent times that revolutionary parties grow. The role of the French Trotskyists in the Renault strike shows the advance made by the workers in the short period since the end of the war. The deepening of the world crisis in the coming period will offer even greater opportunities for the growth of the revolutionary party.

Fun At Little Pleasant Lake



How One Vacationer Viewed Benefits Of Mid-West Camp

"You noticed many things when you reached the Camp," wrote Militant columnist Theodore Kovalesky, after a stay at the Mid-West Vacation School and Camp during a previous summer season. "You saw the beautiful little lake framed by soft trees and low hills; you saw the sleeping quarters and the dining and recreation hall. There was fun, so much of it, that it alone made the vacation a memorable event."

The Mid-West Camp, opening for its fourth season on June 29, is located on Little Pleasant Lake, 60 miles from Detroit, and easily reached by train or bus. The camp is operated on a cooperative basis to give workers and their families a good vacation at reasonable rates. There are varied sports. The food is well prepared and plentiful. One of the best features of the Camp is the educational program.

About this Kovalesky wrote: "It was inspiring to see these workers, young and old, Negro and white, men and women, joining in the discussions of Marxist economics, history and politics, or trade union policies and organizational questions, straining to learn the maximum that they could absorb."

William F. Warde, SWP National Educational Director, is in charge of the educational program. Instructors include well-known writers for The Militant and Fourth International. Those who wish to be assured of a fine vacation should write now to Oscar Coover, Manager, 116 University Place, to make reservations, or clip the coupon on this page. Full directions for reaching the camp and any other information desired, will be mailed upon receipt of the communication.

As The Militant reported last week, 150 workers are on strike at the F. C. Russell Co., a small steel fabricating plant in Columbiana, Ohio. The workers are

BRONX
Gay Nineties Review
Corn-On-Cob Feast
Sat., May 31
1034 Prospect Ave.

BROOKLYN
"Wall Street's Plot Against Labor"
Speaker:
MAX GOLDMAN
Phila. SWP Organizer
Thurs., May 29, 8 p.m.
635 Fulton St.

BROOKLYN
Preview of Life At Mid-West Camp
Special edition of Mid-West Folio
Guest:
WILLIAM F. WARDE
Educational Director of Mid-West Camp
Sat., May 31, 8:30 p.m.
635 Fulton

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit Sub Campaign Starts With Good Score



Sixty two subs to The Militant from Detroit! Twenty comrades went out last Sunday and brought these in. They announce that they are determined to ring up even better scores in the next two Sundays to bring their campaign for 200 subs to The Militant to a successful conclusion.

The branch has been organized into several teams. The winning team gets treated to a free lunch at the headquarters after each Sunday mobilization. After lunch a movie in the headquarters rounds out the day.

The Pace-Setter getting the most subs will be awarded a week-end at Mid-West Vacation Camp and School for Workers. "The spirit of competition in the branch," says E. Brent, Literature Agent, "is fine and the morale is very high. Need I tell you that the teams work hard to get that free lunch or that every comrade is determined to get that week-end at the Summer Camp?"

The competition in Chicago's 8-week campaign for 300 subs is getting hot. According to their special bulletin, The Militant Sub Campaigner, "The leading four contestants remain the same as last week, but the order has definitely changed. Comrade Frank B. Sr. has moved into first place with a comfortable lead." Comrade Frank has 19 points to his credit. Comrade Howard is his closest contestant with 13 points, followed by Hoot with 9 and Rosalie with 8. The brisk competition in Chicago's campaign is not surprising when you know that the top Pace-Setter will be awarded a whole week at Mid-West Vacation Camp and School.

In two weeks the Chicago comrades have piled up a total of 103 subs to The Militant. And, according to the Campaigner, the South Side team is still leading although the North Side is closing up the gap.

Calumet branch has decided to get into the running too. This branch has challenged the four Chicago teams as well as the individual aspirants for the grand prize.

We wonder who will BE THE CHAMP AND GO TO CAMP!

Today's mail brought in 25 subs from Buffalo. Charles Carlson explains that 24 of these subs are from the shops where the comrades work. He passes along some of the remarks made by these shop workers: "The main phrase they use is that finally they are reading a newspaper that is not catering to the Bosses and Big Business. In short, it is a truth-revealing newspaper that doesn't pull any punches and prints the truth about the workers, their participation in various union activities. They appreciate the articles in The Militant pertaining to the anti-labor drive that is being conducted in Congress. This anti-labor drive is manifesting itself in the workers' minds that Big Business and its associates are out to crush the entire labor movement and the workers realize that they have to come to the fore, unite and show the Bosses that they, the workers, have a solid front."

"Another phrase the workers have a solid front."

Our appeal for financial aid is bringing a gratifying response, showing how highly Militant boosters value their paper. The following have made three-month pledges or contributions:

1. S. H. Spring Valley, N. Y., \$5
2. W. T. Buffalo, N. Y., \$5 a week
3. W. S. New York, N. Y., \$1
4. C. L. Austin, Minn., \$1
5. H. C. Roanoke, Va., \$2 a month
6. G. W. Bronx, N. Y., \$4 a month

If you have not yet done so, we ask you to join these friends of The Militant in sending what you can. A pledge or contribution of any amount—no matter how small, or how big—will help The Militant.

Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing, 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor.

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

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

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

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

For information about Queens Youth Group, write Mr. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

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

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List all who will attend:

Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss)

List of Children and Age (Please sign)

Name of Applicant

Address City & Zone State

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

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

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

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.

Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., — 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE — Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781. Library, bookstore.

Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 555 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIGelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 118 University Place. GR. 5-8149

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.

Mondays 8 p.m., Round Table Discussion on "The Coming American Revolution." Fridays 8 p.m. Branch meetings.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W.

Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor.

Open Forum 2nd and 4th Mondays 7:30-9:30 p.m.

Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1928.

SEATTLE—1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat.

Tel. SE-0453 Library, bookstore.

Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2. Phone GARfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 8th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone MAin 8919.

YOUNGSTOWN — 35 1/2 South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday, Phone 3-1355.

Murray And Memorial Day

By Theodore Kovalesky

For years I've had a pet project in my head. I'd like to see it worked out some day. I think it would be great if Memorial Day were observed as a holiday each year by the trade unions in honor of those ten Chicago workers who gave their lives in the fight to organize the steel industry.

On this May 30, it's just ten years since the Memorial Day Massacre, ten years since the Chicago cops shot and beat ten of our brothers to death in a field before the Republic Steel Co.

Maybe some one would ask, "Well, how about Philip Murray? He owes a lot to those martyrs. Maybe he'll recognize their sacrifice in some way as head of the union."

Well, in a way he did. On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the workers' Calvary, Murray laid down a policy for the CIO Steelworkers. A policy of renewed militancy? A proud and resolute struggle against the reactionary Congressmen who want to kill the labor movement? No! A new two-year no-strike pledge. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES, he said, must there be strikes!

We saw the no-strike pledge operate during the war. We saw how it gave the companies a free hand to do as they wished. We heard the superintendents and managers say in grievance meetings, "Well, what are you going to do about it? You can't strike, you know."

Murray wants it "made clear that the company and union officers, whose duties involve negotiations of this labor agreement, are not anti-union or anti-company..."

How do you like that! Grace, Fairless and Girdler aren't anti-union, he tells us! It's a small world: you meet new "friends of labor" every day.

And how about us? I can tell you, brother, I'm anti-company, and I think you are too. And I think every good union man is anti-company. Too many of us have been beaten or killed in the class struggle for us to love the companies as passionately as Philip Murray seems to.

Here's my idea: I think Murray was worried to death when he saw all the steelworkers in the country close down the mills last year, particularly those tough Lackawanna boys who went out a week early and left the blast furnaces half full of iron when the company not only rejected the union's offer to maintain the plant during the strike but also brought in food and started arranging to get scabs. I think Murray felt his throne shake with the vibration of the marching pickets.

Then too, Murray might have got the wrong idea about those ten union men who died ten years ago. He may think they died for him. Perhaps he sits in his easy chair in the twilight at the close of day, perhaps he sits quietly with tears in his eyes and muses, "Those ten martyrs died for me. If it weren't for men like that I couldn't lead the life I do... and I love the life I lead!"

Only I don't believe so, brothers I believe they died for us. I believe they died as fighters in the hope of building a strong union as a step toward making a decent life for the working people. And I'd like to honor them in the militant spirit in which they died — and not by collaborating with, and surrendering to, the greedy monopolists that murdered them.

The Negro Struggle

The Case Of Jackie Robinson

By Larry Carter

People in other countries who read the American press are probably scratching their heads to figure out why so much space is given to the case of Jackie Robinson, first baseman of the Brooklyn Dodgers. Most of them, we can be sure, do not understand what is so remarkable about a dark-skinned athlete becoming a big league player, or why he should become the

target of nasty remarks and even a threatened strike.

But that is "the American way." Many an athlete has been barred from the big leagues no matter how talented he is. America's favorite sport is just as tainted with Jim-Crow practices as America's capitol. It is no wonder in this country that the Robinson case has attracted so much comment and that the Negro press devotes so many columns to it.

It is their hope that the acceptance of Robinson, and a good playing record on his part, will prepare the way for other capable Negro ball players, thus knocking open still another door always closed to the Negro people. We cannot exclude the possibility of a few more Negroes being admitted to the big leagues (especially because such acts will bring many more Negro fans out to the ball parks), but even that would represent only token representation.

The rub is that organized baseball today is not a sport played out of sheer love for the game. It's a fairly well-paid profession, another way of making a living. Many of the players, chiefly the Southerners, are resentful about a Negro "infringing on a white man's job," no matter how able he is at it. This fact is at the bottom of the many jibes directed at Robinson. It's not so much a case of his playing on a

white team so much as it is a case of his working for a big money team. Many colored athletes perform with mixed teams in high school and college sports without any undue comment in many parts of the United States. However, such activities do not pay off for the individual player as in organized baseball. That is the reason why the Jim Crows are riding Robinson, trying to un-nerve him and cut down on his batting and fielding average.

Jackie Robinson is another proof that Negroes can vie with the best of them in any field, if given the chance. He is in that sense a living demonstration of the falsity and hypocrisy of the doctrine of "white supremacy." That is why the Jim-Crow elements want to get him out of the public eye. That is why the Negro people and their allies want him to be given the opportunity to show that he can succeed.

The individual fight over Jackie Robinson is therefore important and significant, even though it does not and cannot resolve the larger question. In sports — as in monopoly-controlled industry, the officer corps of the armed forces, etc. — when they can't exclude us entirely for the better-paying positions, they give us token representation, hoping thereby to quiet us. But token representation is not enough. It means that the great majority of qualified Negroes are just out of luck.

We must and will continue to fight Jim Crow in every field — in the arts, the professions, sports and every other sphere of human activity which reflects the unfair economic practices of employers toward minorities. The thing to remember is that the organized labor movement is our team. When we strike the bosses out in the factories, we will have beaten Jim Crow out of its home grounds, and guaranteed its defeat everywhere else.

"Brothers Under The Skin"

By Grace Carlson

The other day, a friend came into the Minneapolis headquarters of the SWP asking for some help in combating a Jim Crower in his plant. It seems that this individual — a Southern-born white — had been agitating for separate washroom facilities for white workers. In trying to defend this reactionary policy, the Jim Crower had mouthed the stock argument that Negroes are "different," and had made the triumphant assertion that the Red Cross keeps "Negro blood" separate from "white blood."

So, I dug up the July 4, 1942 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association to demonstrate that the Red Cross segregation policy is completely unscientific. In this issue, the Committee on Race Relations of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists denounced the Jim-Crow policy of the American Red Cross.

Evidence was given by the distinguished scientists of the Committee of Physical Anthropologists that successful transfusions of blood from white persons to Negroes and vice versa had been accomplished hundreds of times. "There is no evidence that the blood of Negroes differs in any significant respect from that of white persons," the Committee stated flatly.

Reference was also made by the Committee

to the widespread use of vaccines, serums and other preparations from the blood and glands of horses, rabbits, sheep, etc. The Red Cross never encourages any foolish prejudices which patients might have against treatment with substances of such origin, the Committee points out.

Knowing that the Red Cross officials act under pressure of the Southern Bourbons, the Committee also recalls the custom of "better-circumstances families" in the South of using Negro women as wet-nurses for their babies. Many of the same substances that were circulating in the blood of the Negro wet-nurses were imbibed by the white babies along with the nutritious elements of the milk, it was observed.

"In view of these facts," the Committee states in its summary, "it seems improbable that any soldier or civilian so seriously wounded as to require a blood transfusion will insist that it come from a person whose skin is no darker than his own."

My friend was very glad to get this information as to the unscientific character of Jim Crow and he seemed very sure that he would be able to convert his shopmate to a policy of brotherhood. I hope so! It's a sad thing to think that the bosses can get white and Negro workers to fight each other. Our interests are all the same. Scientists, Marxists and poets — all proclaim the triumphant refrain — we are "brothers under the skin!"

Notes From The News

Congress may soon have a strike in its own backyard. The District of Columbia Short-hand Reporters Federation, a new independent union, announced a walkout June 1 unless it gets a pay raise. The union is composed of the short-hand and stenotype reporters who have to record all the hot air the Congressmen spout.

Carl A. Marzani, former State Department employee, has been convicted of concealing membership in the Communist Party. Maximum penalty is 10 years in prison and \$10,000 in fines. His trial was marked by the testimony of police spies who had been sent secretly into the Communist Party.

Representative Sabath of Illinois told the House that "outrageous, crooked dealings" are going on in Wall Street.

Kenneth Romney, former sergeant-at-arms of the U. S. House of Representatives, has been sentenced to one to three years. His accounts were \$143,864 short. The money had been used

by him for speculations dating back to the 1920's.

Representative John E. Rankin last week told the House that it should prevent Henry Wallace from making any more radio speeches.

Samuel Hyder of Pawtucket, R. I., was arrested and fined for laughing too much and too loud. Police Chief Mills invoked an ancient law against "reveling." Hyder got his fine back after a retrial defending the right to laugh as part of free speech.

As the anti-labor drive to pass the Taft-Hartley legislation mounts, the big industrialists have increased their donations for anti-labor publicity. \$330,000 was contributed in two weeks to the NAM's publicity wing, the National Industrial Information Committee. Its quota for 1947 is \$3 million.

In the first quarter of 1947, American steel workers produced 78% more steel but received only 44% more total wages than in the first quarter of 1946.

THE MILITANT

Dump Surplus Potatoes As World Goes Hungry

Unemployment Rises To Half Million In New York

New York is witnessing something not seen since pre-war days. Crowds of workers clustered around bulletin boards in employment offices.

In August 1945 some 70,000 were on relief in the country's largest city. Today the estimates of jobless range from 400,000 to 500,000.

According to a survey taken by the Daily News more than 140,000 members of AFL and CIO unions are hunting work. Tens of thousands of others are on a part time basis.

In the garment industry at least 33,000 are jobless. Employers explain that shelves of the stores are filled with goods, warehouses are jammed, people are unable to pay the high prices demanded, and so they have slowed down production.

Retail clerks have been hard hit too, with some 2,500 recently lopped off payrolls.

Among the bakery workers, 4,000 are pounding the pavements. People simply can't afford the cakes and candies stacked in retail cases and bakery shelves.

Restaurants, cafes and night clubs are likewise feeling the first squeeze of the slump—6,000 workers in this industry are no longer "needed."

Hatters and millinery workers are searching with fear in their hearts for non-existent jobs — 7,000 of them.

The toy and jewelry industry has felt the slump with particular severity. Here 17,000 have been given discharge slips.

Some 9,000 fur and leather workers are combing the lofts in the city's by-streets hoping to find openings that will enable them to meet rent and grocery bills.

Shoe workers are likewise well-represented among the jobless. More than 5,000 pass well-filled displays in countless shoe store windows in their search for an opportunity to make more shoes.

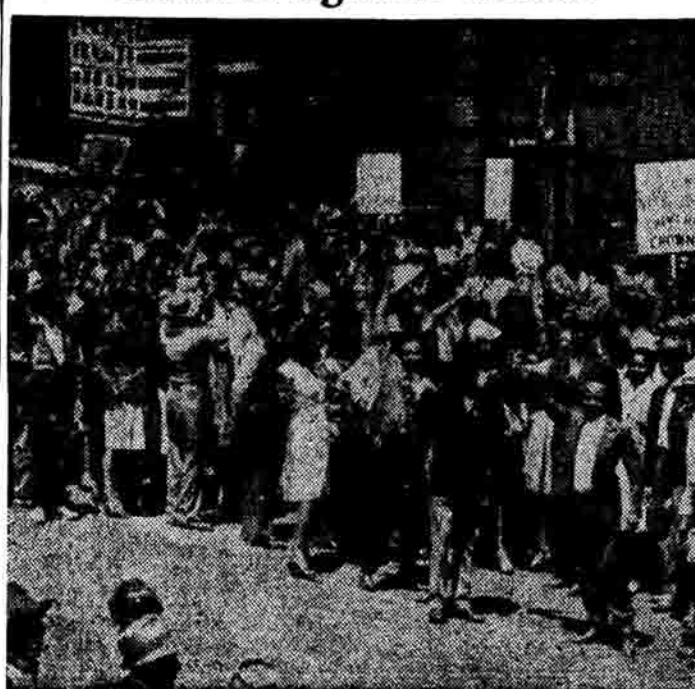
As for furniture workers, estimates of job-hunters range from 3,500 to 8,000.

The News reports that there is "sizeable" unemployment in other fields too. "Machinists, longshoremen, building service workers, musicians, newspaper employees, textile workers, wholesale and warehouse workers, seamen, truckmen, cigar makers and paper products workers could use an aggregate of 35,000 or 40,000 jobs in New York."

The News ascribes most of this unemployment to sky-high prices that have cut down purchases, but adds, ironically enough, that doorman and elevator operators are out of work because "building owners cut staffs since they cannot raise rents."

Unions in New York are worried about mounting unemployment. Up to now, however, they

Strikers Against Camels



Their morale high, these members of the CIO Food Tobacco Agricultural & Allied Workers sing with gusto as the strike against R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. continues in Winston-Salem, N. C. To help their struggle for higher wages and decent working conditions, don't buy Camels or Prince Albert Tobacco. Federated Pictures

Dunne Calls On Unions To Build A Labor Party

MINNEAPOLIS, May 24 — Vincent R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor in the recent primary, today issued the following statement:

"Mayor Humphrey will quite probably be elected to a second term on June 9. Frank Collins, the only other candidate, has scarcely an outside chance.

"In reality, there is no difference between the two, so far as their fundamental views are concerned. The fact that they have different party affiliations is a secondary matter. At this juncture in their political careers, Humphrey, a Democratic Party hopeful, and Collins, a Republican Party climber, consider the working class electorate as nothing more than a convenient instrument. Between the parties they represent, the struggle is only that of vying for the favor of the true master—the powerful financial clique of Wall Street.

"Intent on launching another war to put the working peoples of all countries in chains, the American imperialists choose their atom-bomb diplomats from both the Republican and Democratic parties.

"Although Humphrey has been endorsed for re-election by the entire trade union movement, he has the tacit support of all three daily papers. The daily press — avowedly Republican —



V. R. DUNNE

has 'crossed the line' and come out with very substantial support for this outstanding Democrat. All of the 'labor leaders' of the city know the meaning of this but they don't dare to express their real thoughts in public.

HIS PRISONERS

"These trade union officials have completely surrendered their right to speak for labor in politics. They scuttled the Farmer-Labor Party. It was these men who guided the Democratic Party—the camel's nose—into labor's tent in Minneapolis. And the Democratic Party has taken full advantage of the opening. Humphrey today defies every proposal of the labor movement

that does not suit his fancy. Humphrey decides what is good and what is bad for labor. Humphrey decides which of the labor-endorsed candidates should be permitted to run. And why not? The trade union officials are his prisoners now!

"In 1943, the Socialist Workers Party warned of this danger. A public statement issued during Humphrey's first mayoral campaign said, in part: 'Humphrey does not know the workers' movement nor does he base himself upon it. When elected, he will serve the workers' cause only if the organized labor movement builds a labor party. Such a Labor Party, controlled by the trade unions will have the possibility of keeping Humphrey from building a personal political machine.'

"We were not concerned then—we are not concerned now—with the question: Does Humphrey have 'good' or 'bad' intentions? The facts are that Humphrey is an active member of one of the bosses' parties. And he has the backing of all of the trade union 'leaders' in this program of 'company unionism' in politics!

"A break must be made with political company unionism all along the line. The ranks of the Minneapolis trade union movement must force a change of course. Labor must build its own party, based upon and controlled by the trade unions."

SWP Candidates Wind Up Campaign For N. J. Constitution Convention Election

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., May 27 —

One week before the June 3 election for delegates to the New Jersey Constitutional Convention, the issues have been clearly posed by the contending political parties. In marked contrast to the Republican and Democratic coalition, the Socialist Workers Party candidates have presented a straight-forward platform in the interests of the working people.

The SWP has advocated amendments to the Constitution to provide:

(1) For full protection of labor's rights to organize and strike; end state intervention and strikebreaking.

(2) For expropriation of all public utilities and their operation by the state under workers' control.

(3) For full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people and all other racial and minority groups. For an effective state FEPC with real power to enforce the laws against discrimination.

(4) For revision of present methods of election to provide

VOTE FOR THE SWP CANDIDATES

for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention from Essex County In the June 3 Election

William E. Bohannon

George Breitman

Alan Kohlman

for election to the Legislature by strict proportional representation and a single-house Legislature.

These measures are designed to protect and extend the democratic rights of the workers and the vast majority of the people. They point up the immediate democratic needs of New Jersey workers which are under attack by the Republicans and Democrats.

These boss parties for the most part have nothing to say on what should be done. In most counties they have been content to make a backstairs deal providing for joint slates of Republicans and Democrats, with the former in a majority. In Essex County, this bi-partisan deal was gummed up, and only the

Republicans are running a full slate.

Not a single spokesman of either the Republican or Democratic parties has uttered a word about any type of amendment to protect the interests of the working people. So far, they have been content to let former Governor Edge and his successor Governor Driscoll speak "from experience" on the need to strengthen the power of the governor. That is, to further restrict the ability of the people to make their demands heard in the Legislature, and strengthen the office of chief executive.

Such a "platform" is equivalent to the announcement of Big Business that its chief concern is to centralize executive power in order to streamline the state administration to its own needs.

For a number of reasons, interest in the Constitutional Convention is much less than in regular elections. The workers, by and large, do not see what issues are at stake. As they turn in disgust from the Driscoll strikebreaking regime and become increasingly fed up with the Democrats, the workers do not see anybody representing them. The chief responsibility

for this rests with the official union leadership who have utterly failed to explain to the ranks what is involved and failed to put up any independent labor candidates.

The union leaders now maintain a complete silence. For them to speak on the issues would only call attention to the fact that they have nobody to support, no "good" Democrats or Republicans to endorse. The union leadership has failed to provide leadership in the matter of the Constitutional election.

This points up the need for the Labor Party. Throughout its campaign, the SWP candidates have explained how the issues in the Convention are connected with the Labor Party and emphasized the need to build the Labor Party now.

Especially in Essex County, where only a full slate of Republicans is in the field, the workers now have the opportunity to strike a ballot protest against boss class rule, for independent working class action, for a working class program — by voting for the three candidates of the SWP.

By Joseph Hansen

When the Truman Administration poured kerosene over a mountain of potatoes down in Alabama the other day, public resentment rose high. Didn't the capitalists and their political representatives declare last summer that if controls were removed prices would come down as soon as production got under way? Didn't Truman just get through demanding general price reductions? If production will bring prices down, then why did the Truman Administration destroy these potatoes? Doesn't he know that the food trust is socking the public as much as 10c a pound for potatoes?

To counter this criticism, the Department of Agriculture issued an explanatory "Memorandum." This document should be required reading for anyone who still believes that the capitalist system is the best of all possible systems.

The Department explains that it is under statutory obligation to keep prices at not less than 90% of parity (a figure equal to purchasing power of prices before World War I). Under this law, no one should be "surprised," says the Memorandum, if potatoes are destroyed.

It then describes Department of Agriculture efforts to keep prices up. In 1946 it deliberately lowered production goals in hope of keeping the crop down. But unfortunately for the Department, the wily American farmers used better seed, new and improved insecticides and got a lucky break in the weather. So they produced a record crop of 475,000,000 bushels. This was almost 100,000,000 bushels above the goal set by Washington, and 50,000,000 bushels more than 1945.

To get rid of the potatoes, the Department did its utmost to popularize the vegetable and increase its consumption. But this didn't make a dent in the huge supply.

So they pushed all the potatoes possible into charitable institutions and into the government-sponsored school-lunch program. But these consumers didn't make much headway either in cutting down the size of the potato mound, only being able to account for about 3,000,000 bushels.

The government then decided to try potatoes as stock feed, giving them to feeders of beef cattle and hogs at prices as low as 1c for 100 pounds. That's right — one cent! The cattle were more successful than the school children and institutions, consuming 11,000,000 bushels.

As a further gesture, the government earmarked about 10,500,000 bushels for export, giving the starving millions of Europe and the Far East a tantalizing taste of American abundance.

At an unspecified price the Government dumped another 10,500,000 bushels into starch mills. And another unspecified amount at an unspecified price to distillers of alcohol.

After these Herculean efforts, the government was still left with about 20% of the surplus on its hands.

The net cost of this program to the people was \$80,000,000. In the light of this experience, "the Department tightened its potato program for 1947." It ordered acreage reduced from 2,669,800 to 2,517,000 acres, and set the 1947 goal at 375,000,000 bushels.

Now comes the pay off. It appears that the government again underestimated the productive capacity of American farms. As late farmers are increasing the yield per acre far above what had been expected.

And so the Memorandum ends up pessimistically, warning that it will have to destroy a lot of potatoes again this year if prices are to be kept up. In fact the 7,500 bushels destroyed in Alabama are only the beginning.

