

THE MILITANT

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Why Did Truman Veto The New Tax Bill?

—See Page 6—

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LABOR PARTY SEEN AS VITAL NEED

No Ships Move As CIO Seamen Await Contract

NEW YORK, June 17 — Members of the CIO National Maritime Union in ports on all coasts stopped work when their agreement expired at 12:01 a.m. yesterday. The slogan was: No Contract, No Work!

The men remained aboard their ships but refused to sign articles for any outgoing voyage, thereby keeping the ships moored to the docks.

The stop work order was issued after negotiations for a new agreement broke down. The shipowners had flatly rejected every single demand made by the union. They refused to make any counter-proposal other than an extension of the agreement for one year with a clause providing a wage review in December.

USE BILL AS THREAT

At a special meeting today in New York, President Joseph Curran, speaking for the NMU negotiating committee, reported that the shipowners constantly threatened the union with the Taft-Hartley union-busting bill.

The arrogant ship operators, he reported, repeatedly taunted the union committee: "Why don't you be smart and sign on our terms before the Taft-Hartley bill becomes law!"

The 5,000 seamen present at the meeting roared their defiance of the parasitic operators and their stooges in Washington, when Curran declared: "If they attempt to use the Taft-Hartley bill against us, we'll fight!"

This challenge, together with the messages of support from other unions, received the most

enthusiastic response from the NMU seamen. The AFL seafaring unions sent messages promising to observe all picket lines around NMU contract vessels. The CIO Shipyard Workers promised full support. Other unions did likewise.

OTHERS INVOLVED

Involved in the dispute are the other CIO maritime unions whose contracts expired on June 15, plus the Independent Marine Firemen's Union.

The CIO Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast had previously signed for an extension of their agreement to June 1948. The agreement was made contingent on the other CIO unions reaching a satisfactory agreement.

The CIO Marine Cooks had also agreed to an extension but negotiations broke down when the operators refused to discuss a wage revision until December.

The Marine Firemen also agreed to an extension but it is believed they will await the outcome of the current dispute before signing.

The Marine Engineers and Radio Operators are the other CIO unions involved. But the National Maritime Union is carrying the ball. The outcome of their fight will determine, in large measure, what gains the seamen will make for the next period.

Aroused Unionists Swell Caravan To Washington En Route From West

The angry resentment of rank and file union men over the menacing Taft-Hartley bill reached the snapping point in Los Angeles. Dissatisfied with the cowardly, do-nothing policy of the top union bureaucrats, the AFL Central Labor Council on June 11 announced a motorized "march on Washington" to fight passage of the projected law. They called on the CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, machinists and telephone workers to join them.

The caravan started out on the long trip across the continent June 12. The move caught the imagination of workers in many other cities. Union bodies in widely separated areas prepared to send motorcade delegations to join in the protest action.

The Joint AFL, CIO, and RR Brotherhoods Greater Akron Area Council of Labor Unions backed the caravan and decided to join with at least 25 automobiles, meeting the Los Angeles contingent at Pittsburgh.

The CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers announced that top officials would join the motorized march.

In New York a delegation of 100 automobiles was hastily organized with similar delegations from Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

A joint AFL-CIO committee in Buffalo organized a contingent of 30 automobiles, representing the United Automobile Workers, Steel Workers, Mine Mill & Smelter Workers and other unions. A Rochester committee of AFL, CIO and RR Brotherhoods supported the caravan and announced 20 to 30 automobiles would join.

In Detroit it was reported that UAW Buick Local 599 would vote \$5,000 to send a delegation to swell the caravan. And UAW Ford Local 600, the biggest union local in the world, was considering what it would do to back the motorized protest column.

As union bodies elsewhere rushed preparations to support the caravan in the face of the serious handicap of short time before the veto deadline, other protest demonstrations were staged throughout the nation.

The biggest rally was held in New York City. More than 120,000 workers marched for hours through the heart of Manhattan and converged on Madison Square Garden where they roared their protest against the Taft-Hartley bill. Veteran labor leaders declared it to be the biggest single labor demonstration ever staged in New York.

This parade, which was organized by the CIO, followed a similar rally only a few days before under auspices of the AFL. More than 50,000 workers participated in the AFL demonstration.

The Los Angeles AFL Central Labor Council unanimously passed a motion calling for a nation-wide work stoppage on June 17, the day the caravan was scheduled to pull up in front of the White House and Congress.

Toss 'Em In The Ash-Can!



New Raid Projected On Treasury To Finance Reaction In Europe

By Joseph Hansen

U.S. Public Treasury officials have barely had time to count out the \$400,000,000 for the Greek monarchy and Turkish dictatorship that Truman demanded March 12 as the first installment in carrying out his doctrine of bolstering reaction on a global scale. Yet Secretary of State Marshall is already asking for another handout. This time the demand is really staggering.

Benjamin J. Cohen, top-rung counselor in the State Department, announced June 12 that the amount may be as much as 24 billion dollars for the next three or four years. The Christian Science Monitor estimates it may run as high as 30 billions. By way of comparison, the entire national debt when Roosevelt took office was about 19 1/2 billion dollars.

Marshall's speech, delivered at Harvard June 5, preparing the way for this new breath-taking raid on the public treasury, opened a new chapter in Wall Street's preparations for World War III. The entire capitalist press is now editorializing it as an important milestone in the development of the Truman Doctrine, even giving it a special name — the Marshall "doctrine." And the imperialist statesmen of Western Europe are studying every phrase of it, for it lays down Wall Street's "line" on what to do next

to carry out the Truman Doctrine. Marshall rejected the "piecemeal" handling of "various crises" as they "developed." Instead of taking up specific cases like Greece, Turkey, France, Italy, China, and so on, Marshall proposes a blanket application of the Truman Doctrine to "any country." Regimes that jump quickly when Wall Street cracks the whip will get a big helping of dollars. Regimes that do not jump or do not jump quickly enough "cannot expect help from us." Countries that buck Wall Street "will encounter the opposition of the United States." In advance of the formation of the "Western Bloc," what we have here is a declaration of economic war against the Kremlin and the satellites in its sphere.

Marshall called for a joint program "agreed to by a number, if not all European nations." He diplomatically specified that "the initiative, I think, must come from Europe" in working out this joint program.

Under-Secretary of State William L. Clayton, wealthy cotton broker and member of the Wall Street brain trust now master-planning for the Truman Administration, shortly took off for a tour of the European capitals. Armed with official authorization from both Marshall and Truman, he will help the political representatives of the European capitalists work out the "initiative" for the joint program.

On June 12 at a press conference, Marshall declared that his proposal stemmed from Winston Churchill's proposal for a "United States of Europe." What Churchill is after, however, is a "Western Bloc" of capitalist powers, a coalition of reactionary regimes reminiscent of the Holy Alliance, backed by Wall Street, aimed at suppressing the surge of the European masses toward socialism, and lined up for a combined assault on the Soviet Union.

This ultra-reactionary scheme has nothing in common with the dream of the European masses for a United States of Europe except the name. A unified economy on the continent of Europe, made possible by the tearing down of artificial state boundaries.

It commits the government openly and unambiguously to repression of the unions. It places the courts and all other government agencies directly at the service of the corporations in their drive to undermine the unions, paralyze their striking power and cut "labor costs."

The initial stages of the Big Business drive have already borne rich fruit in the form of unprecedented profits. Corporation dividend payments for the first three months of 1947 reached an all-time high, according to the June 11 report of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

The Taft-Hartley Bill is expected to keep Wall Street's "take" at the peak—or push it higher.

Taft-Hartley Bill Exposes Wall St. Two-Party System

JUNE 17 — With only three days left before the veto deadline, Truman has not yet broken his silence on the most ruthless piece of anti-labor legislation this country has seen in decades. Even if Truman now decides to exercise the veto, his

prolonged silence condemns him as an enemy of the labor movement. A veto now would mean only that the head of the Democratic Party, with his eyes on the 1948 election, seeks to evade political responsibility for the Taft-Hartley bill.

But he cannot evade this responsibility. By his deliberate, calculated silence, he encouraged the most brazen and arrogant foes of labor in Congress. He thereby in effect helped push it through Congress.

Even if Truman at this last moment issues a strongly-worded rejection of the measure, the Democratic Party stands condemned as bitterly opposed to the interests of labor. For on the final vote in Congress, a majority of Democrats in the House and Senate voted for the bill.

Every worker must recognize that both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are political organizations of Wall Street. On every issue of fundamental and vital importance to labor they act in the interests of Wall Street.

Every worker must recognize the necessity of organizing on the political field. All important questions today are decided in the arena of politics.

By their monopoly of politics, the Democrats and Republicans were able to draw up legislation designed to cut up the labor movement like a carcass on the butcher's block. And the unions, because they lacked a mass political party of their own, were helpless to prevent it.

The policy of permitting Wall Street to exercise a monopoly of politics is suicidal. The Taft-Hartley bill is only one piece of legislation. Vicious as it is, it will be followed by other legislation even more dangerous in character.

It is necessary to mobilize the mighty forces of the American trade unions and organize an independent Labor Party without any more hazardous delay.

Can the top bureaucrats of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods be expected to initiate and push organization of a Labor Party?

Can the rank and file force the bureaucracy to take independent action on the political field? Only the rank and file exert sufficient pressure on the top bureaucracy. And in order to do that, it is necessary for the ranks to build a progressive militant leadership.

This is the most important lesson. If workers make up their mind that no more delays can be countenanced in organizing an independent Labor Party, then Wall Street's success in pushing the Taft-Hartley bill will prove a hollow victory.

Defy Anti-Labor Law

A regular meeting of the Headquarters Branch of the Sailors Union of the Pacific in San Francisco unanimously adopted a resolution declaring they will refuse to recognize as law the Taft-Hartley Bill, if passed.

The SUP members resolved "that we exercise our rights as free Americans and notify President Truman, the Senate, and the House of Congress, that regardless of enactment, we will refuse to recognize as law, the Taft-Hartley Bill or any other legislation that violates or suspends the rights granted to us by the Constitution of the United States of America."

Party? Unfortunately, no. They have followed the horse-and-buggy tactic of rewarding labor's "friends" and punishing labor's "enemies." In practice this has meant handing government power to labor's worst enemy — the capitalist class.

In the struggle against the Taft-Hartley bill, the labor bureaucrats gave aid and comfort to the capitalist class by spurning and sabotaging effective mass protest action. They refused even to organize a nationwide 24-hour protest strike. They have continued to hold out the delusive hope that something might be salvaged out of the Democratic Party.

Railway Workers In France Win Smashing Strike Victory

The solidarity and militancy of the French railway workers has won them a smashing victory. After watching the railway workers demonstrate for five full days their ability to tie up the entire railway system and permit only union-organized food trains to go through, the Ramadier government tossed in the sponge.

When the strike first began, Ramadier attempted to follow the ancient employer tactic of refusing to negotiate or even discuss with union representatives until the workers went back to work. Apparently Ramadier hoped the strike, which was unauthorized by the union bureaucracy and which began as a rank and file action in Paris, would wither on the vine.

Instead it spread with express train speed throughout the railway system. In addition workers in other industries indicated their readiness to join the railway strikers. The utility workers, for instance, although threatened with severe reprisals under a wartime act invoked by Ramadier, again staged stoppages to put pressure on the government for an early and favorable settlement of their demands. Ramadier decided a retreat was in order and met with heads of

the Railway Federation to negotiate a settlement. The strike won wage increases of 12% to 13% for the railway workers. They also won better retirement conditions and a 10% rise in family allotments.

The utility workers likewise won a resounding victory, getting a general increase of 10% in wages, an additional 3% production bonus retroactive to December 31, 1946, and reclassification of low-paid workers into higher-paid brackets.

In view of these wage gains, workers in other industries are now preparing to swing into action to bring their income back into line with living costs. The French workers are demonstrating in action that they have absolutely no confidence in the often-repeated promises of the government to bring soaring prices back down within reason. They are showing once again that the tried and tested strike weapon is the most effective means of winning concessions from a profit-gouging boss.

Why Big Business Wants The Slave-Labor Bill

By Art Preis

A hundred million dollars worth of propaganda has been poured out by Big Business to conceal the real aims of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill.

We are drenched with the lies that this bill—sired by the National Association of Manufacturers, delivered by the Republican Party and baptized by the bi-partisan Congress—is designed to protect the "right to work" and safeguard "national interests."

"National interests" should be read "profit interests." The protection and increase of profits is the fundamental aim of this bill to cripple the right to strike, undermine union security and sub-

ject organized labor to endless legal persecution.

The Taft-Hartley bill is one spearhead of the profiteers' offensive against the American people's living standards. It seeks to legally cripple labor's power to struggle for higher wages. It is unleashed parallel to the other spearhead—the direct assault of the rising cost of living.

These two simultaneous and complementary offensive thrusts aim to seize for the American capitalists a greater and greater share of the national income. The ferocity of their assault reflects their growing fears of economic depression with its resultant declining national income. Their hope for sustaining present skyscraping profits is to re-

duce labor's relative share in the anticipated smaller national income.

In the past 12 months, the campaign to push prices skyward and thereby reduce the workers' share in the national product has made shattering headway. By June 1947 the purchasing power of the dollar had declined from the August 1939 norm to the record low of 63 cents.

Two new blows are being struck on the cost of living front. The meat trust is putting another squeeze on the American people. Meat—a major item of food consumption—has passed black market peaks of last year. Last week in New York and other major retail markets the dollar sign was being put on

beef by the pound.

This grand scale robbery by the meat trust could be stopped overnight if the government would expropriate the meat industry and operate it under workers control. But this capitalist government is concerned solely with protecting profits. It is underwriting high prices and fantastic profits. It finances the reduction of food production and actually burns up so-called "surpluses" like potatoes.

The other direct blow at living standards is the ending of rent control, to all intents and purposes, by June 30. The misnamed Rent Control Bill, now completed by a joint committee of both Houses, will permit the landlords to grab 15% more rent from tenants of old buildings

and sky's-the-limit rents for new dwellings.

But the capitalists can't raise prices at will, even if through monopoly and planned scarcity they help to accelerate inflationary trends. The purchasing power of the masses is incapable of sustaining high production. An economic crisis is underway. Goods are piling up. Unemployment is rising, the extent of which is being concealed by government propagandists.

Labor's share of the national income must be slashed at the source, according to the plans of Wall Street. This means firing workers, making one man do the work of two, and cutting wages. For that, organized labor must be shackled. That is what the Taft-Hartley

bill aims to accomplish. It commits the government openly and unambiguously to repression of the unions.

It places the courts and all other government agencies directly at the service of the corporations in their drive to undermine the unions, paralyze their striking power and cut "labor costs."

The initial stages of the Big Business drive have already borne rich fruit in the form of unprecedented profits. Corporation dividend payments for the first three months of 1947 reached an all-time high, according to the June 11 report of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

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SWP Radio Speaker Flays Anti-Labor Bill

YOUNGSTOWN, O., June 17 — Speaking tonight over radio station WPIC in nearby Sharon, Pa., Harry Frankel, secretary of the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, denounced the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill as a device of the monopolists to drive labor back to the days of the open-shop.

He called on the organized labor movement to demonstrate its mighty power to the labor-haters through a nationwide 24-hour general strike and to destroy the political rule of Wall Street through the building of a labor party.

Exposing the myth that the Democratic Party, unlike the Republican Party, is not a tool of Big Business, Frankel described Truman's strikebreaking against the railroad workers and miners and pointed out that a majority of Democrats, as well as Republicans, voted for the vicious Taft-Hartley bill.

"The very fact that such a bill has been introduced and approved in Congress should be a lesson to all of us," said Frankel. "It shows that the American capitalists are not a whit better than the German, Italian or Japanese capitalists. Like the capitalists of other lands, the big boys in this country are ready to restore to dictatorship to preserve their sacred profits. They are willing to use any hoop to bind the rotten barrel of capitalism—even the iron bonds of Fascism, should they think it necessary."

"We of the Socialist Workers Party believe that the fight of labor to defend itself and move forward is just beginning to get under way. The industrialists, by proposing and pushing this Taft-Hartley Bill are making a stick to break their own backs. By their own actions they are teaching the workers of this country that the two old parties are not their friends."

"The American workers have demonstrated that they know how to fight in defense of their rights. They have organized the most powerful labor movement the world has ever seen. They have brought the world's richest capitalists to their knees and compelled them to recognize unions and pay a living wage. Now that the parties of Wall Street are taking off their masks, labor will see the need for a political party of its own, a labor party."

How Stalinists 'Answer' Murray On Red-Baiting

For the first time since Philip Murray showed through the red-baiting anti-communist resolution at the CIO convention last November, the leaders of the American Communist Party (Stalinist) have ventured a faint bleat of protest.

After seven months of covering up for Murray as he chopped the Stalinists down in local CIO councils and in his own Steelworkers union, the Daily Worker, June 10, was forced to timidly complain about Murray's violent attack on the Communist Party at last month's CIO National Executive Board meeting.

Probably the Daily Worker would have extended its silence about this significant incident indefinitely. But, as the Daily Worker states, the facts have now been "reported in the Newsweek magazine and the ACTU Wage Earner." John Williamson, author of the Worker's article, writes as though Murray's statement were news to the Stalinists, although eight well-known Stalinists sat in the CIO Board meeting last month and heard Murray shoot off.

WHAT MURRAY SAID

What Murray said at the Board meeting, and what the Daily Worker now reluctantly admits he said, was: "It is high time that CIO leaders stopped apologizing for Communism. If Communism is an issue in your union, throw it out and throw out its advocates with it."

This bare report of Murray's statement follows the comment that "the generally progressive CIO at its last convention took the first false step in its adoption of a resolution to present and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

The Daily Worker adds: "Knowing this was inaccurate, many delegates nevertheless agreed to this as a compromise in the greater interests of CIO unity."

"Many delegates" means the Stalinists who took their orders directly from the Communist Party. This is just a queasy way of concealing from the reader that the Stalinist members on the CIO Executive Board actually helped draft the anti-communist resolution and that the Stalinist delegates unanimously voted for it.

The Daily Worker didn't call the red-baiting resolution a "false step" after its adoption. George Morris, "labor expert" and notorious anti-Trotskyist red-baiter, wrote in the Nov. 19, 1946 Daily Worker that this resolution was nothing less than "the long sought-for answer of the CIO" to the reactionary de-

mands for a red-purge. The Stalinist party "especially," he wrote, has "always favored a statement telling the world the CIO isn't Communist."

This and subsequent articles carried only lickspittle praise of Murray who dealt bureaucratic and anti-democratic blows at the Stalinists behind the scenes and whose Steel Labor flouted the most provocative red-baiting headlines. The Nov. 24, 1946 Sunday Worker even claimed editorially that "the Communist (Stalinist) delegates made a great and statesmanlike move" in supporting the anti-communist resolution.

It was this "great and statesmanlike move" that the Daily Worker seven months late calls the "first false step."

But it was none other than the Stalinist party itself which directly aided this "first false step," defended it and has persistently weakened the fight against red-baiting in the CIO by whitewashing Murray and his role.

CIO President In Akron Assails No-Strike Pledge

AKRON, June 13 — Sharp disagreement with CIO President Philip Murray's call for a two-year no-strike pledge by the CIO United Steelworkers was voiced by George R. Bass, president of the CIO United Rubber Workers Local 5.

Bass' statement, published as an editorial in the June issue of Local 5 Air Bag, under the title, "A No-Strike Pledge Is Danger To CIO," reads as follows:

"We note with grave misgivings the recent statement by CIO President Philip Murray com-

Mood Of American Workers Analyzed

The present mood of the American workers and the meaning of recent developments in the labor movement are analyzed in the leading editorial in the June issue of Fourth International.

After the long drawn out and costly strikes of 1945-46 the workers found their economic gains "washed out by soaring prices." Their disposition has been to avoid strikes until they are assured of more positive results. But this superficial passivity of the organized workers "does not flow from any lack of confidence in their own powers." It is primarily an outgrowth of their lack of confidence in the program and perspective offered by the spineless union leadership, in whom they are beginning to lose confidence.

Meanwhile the workers "are submitting to judgment not only the policies of the union bureaucracy, but above all the conduct of the government at Washington." Signs are multiplying that "the molecular transformation of working class consciousness through the elevation of economic to political struggle" is starting in the American labor movement. "There is much uncertainty in these first uncertain steps taken by the unions along the road to independent political action. But the trend is unmistakable—and it will find reinforcement and gain in tempo in the period ahead."

Single copies 25 cents, subscription \$2 a year can be obtained from Business Manager, 116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

American Veterans Committee Holds National Convention In Milwaukee



When the American Veterans Committee was launched, it was intended to become a powerful contender for the allegiance of the ex-GI's against the established reactionary American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. Thousands of vets were attracted to this new organization because they thought it would be an effective fighting agency to protect and promote their welfare.

But it must be frankly said that so far the AVC has failed to fulfill the high hopes it aroused. When its second national convention met June 19 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the AVC will find itself in the grip of a crisis. The delegates will have to ask: what are the causes for this crisis and how can it be overcome?

For some time the AVC has been in the throes of a fight between two factions for control of the organization. One group is centered around the majority of the National Planning Committee; the other is dominated by the Stalinists. At bottom this contest within the AVC is a reflection of the much greater struggle for power going on between Washington and Moscow. The differences between the two contending groups have developed and deepened in accord with the widening international rift.

SERVES IMPERIALISTS

The first group seeks to serve the interests of American imperialism. The Stalinists determine their line by the shifting requirements of the Kremlin's foreign policies. Meanwhile, in the principled maneuvers of these two factions the real needs of the veterans have been lost sight of and ignored.

Despite their jockeying for posts and minor disagreements, there are no fundamental differences in the main points of the programs advanced by these two contending groups.

The majority of the National Planning Committee — headed by Bolte, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., and others — are "liberal" Democrats and "progressive" Republicans. They have not waged and cannot wage a successful fight for the demands of the veterans because they remain firmly attached to these two parties which act as political instruments of Wall Street.

NATURAL ALLY

The natural ally of the veterans is the organized labor movement. Time and again the trade unions have demonstrated that they are the most reliable and powerful source of support for the demands of the veterans. A considerable section of the veterans are themselves union members and wage workers.

The AVC cannot remain neutral and aloof in the battles between Big Business and the unions without injuring itself and the interests of its members. It must adopt a clear and unambiguous position on the side of organized labor. The keystone of this alliance should be the formation of an independent Labor Party which can unite workers and veterans into a political fighting force of prodigious power.

If this convention of the AVC should adopt such a policy of independent action against the capitalist parties and their anti-veterans' administration, it could become the rallying center for millions of ex-service men who have yet to choose an organization of their own.

Because of their dependence upon the parties of Big Business, these AVC leaders fear to mobilize the veterans for militant action against an administration engaged in whittling down the veterans' conditions. Because they support Washington's foreign policy, they cannot conduct an effective struggle against the war-mongers. They support the United Nations as an agency for maintaining peace when it is actually being used by U.S.-British imperialism to prepare public opinion for war against the Soviet Union. While parading as defenders of civil liberties, they are paving the way by their red-baiting "Statement on Communism" for the suppression of free speech and expulsions within the AVC itself.

State Of American Economy Surveyed In June Magazine

"Has The Depression Already Begun?" by John G. Wright is a featured article in the June Fourth International now on sale.

Wright notes that toward the end of April a small but significant decline had taken place in industrial output and factory employment. Hardest hit were the luxury trades, apparel and

textile industries. Although heavy industry maintained its output, he points out: "Here we are seeing repeated the customary pattern of downward cycles in capitalist production, during which the soft goods sector is the first to buckle under."

Capitalist economists contend that "these symptoms signify merely a trifling ailment." They base their optimism on three considerations: a sound domestic market, booming foreign trade, the expansion of building. Wright analyzes these arguments and proves with their own facts and figures that "exactly the reverse is true."

Inventories have piled up to 40 billion dollars. High prices and declining purchasing power of the masses have caused a sharp drop in sales to consumers. As this process continues, the capitalists hope to replace dried up domestic outlets with foreign markets. Wright states that "if the well-being of American economy depends primarily on what happens to its foreign trade, then the outlook is dark indeed," and explains why.

Thus the "one hope left" is a prolonged boom in construction. "But today, unlike former similar periods, the singular lag in capital investments in building during the peak of the boom is today being translated into a crisis in construction which coincides with the first cutbacks in industry." This is a "warning signal" that all the customary patterns of previous capitalist depressions "need not necessarily recur... there is good reason for expecting a combination of developments that may assume entirely unexpected forms."

Single copies 25 cents, subscription \$2 a year can be obtained from Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Two-Day Picnic In Pennsylvania On July 25-26

The Allentown-Bethlehem chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief will hold a doggie roast and picnic at the Knisley farm at Perkaspie, Pa., on July 25 and 26.

Ample provision has already been made to accommodate the many friends of the ACEWR over Saturday night after the roast.

Sunday will be a busy day with games of interest to all, tug-of-war, archery, baseball, races, etc., will be followed by a Pennsylvania Dutch Dinner.

Cars will be available to take people from the railroad stations at Quakertown and Perkaspie, by telephoning Perkaspie 7391 upon arrival at either point.

Friends of the ACEWR are urged to make reservations early by writing to John Knisley, Star Route, Perkaspie, Pa.

NEWARK
June Carnival
Sat., June 21, 9 p.m.
Dancing, Entertainment
423 Springfield Ave.

PHILADELPHIA
A Series of Six Lectures
Why A Minority Problem Exists in U. S.
The Means For Elimination of Racial Antagonisms
Monday, June 30, 8 to 10 p.m.
ROLE OF THE NEGROES IN 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURY REVOLUTIONS
The American Revolution of 1776... the French Revolution of 1789... Slave revolts in San Domingo under Toussaint L'Ouverture... the liberation struggles of the Central and South American countries.
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BRONX
"The Evolution Of A Renegade"
(On James Burnham)
Speaker:
Joseph Hansen,
Associate Editor
Fourth International
Fri., June 20, 8:30 p.m.
1034 Prospect Ave.

N. Y. Negro Freedom Rally A Fraudulent Spectacle

NEW YORK June 16 — The so-called "Negro Freedom Rally" held here tonight was a fraud and a flop. A practically empty Madison Square Garden saw one of the emptiest spectacles in the name of a great cause ever held within the walls of the huge arena.

A few thousand people were treated to two hours of "hot jazz" and then more than an hour of presentation of "awards" to assorted celebrities — three-fourths of whom didn't show up — from Frankie Sinatra to a winner of a bathing beauty contest.

Outside the Garden a picket line by the Universal African Nationalist Movement (Garveyites) denounced the meeting as "communist." A few days before the Daily Worker urged the meeting be boycotted because it was "anti-communist."

For opposite reasons, both the Nationalists and the Stalinists claimed credit for Representative Adam Clayton Powell's withdrawal from the speakers list. Powell had originally been featured as one of the leading sponsors of the rally. Harrison Jackson was introduced to the audience as Powell's personal attorney but he said nothing about Powell's absence and little about anything else.

Up to 11:30 p.m. not a single prominent Negro spokesman had appeared at the rostrum. Those who spoke made ineffectual pleas for a federal anti-lynch law. Most of the speaking program was hogged by the presentation of the awards by the meeting's promoter, Neil Scott, who differed from the two Master of Ceremonies who preceded him only in lack of talent.

"What happened to the cash?" read the headline on the Nationalist leaflet. What cash?

NEW HAVEN
Meeting And Social
Speaker:
Gloria Wall,
Negro Leader of
Harlem Branch SWP
Sat., June 21, 8 p.m.
New Haven Labor School
855 Grand Ave.

NEW YORK
East Side Branch
Jamboree!!
Entertainment — Fun
Sat., June 21, 9:00 p.m.
116 University Place

TRADE UNION NOTES

Each re-reading of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Bill reveals additional anti-union jokers. Here's an example. Under present collective bargaining election procedure, if two unions together get a majority of the total vote, although the "no union" vote is higher than for one of the contending unions, the run-off is between the two unions because the majority are for a union. The Taft-Hartley bill makes the run-off between the two highest choices. If a CIO union gets 40%, the AFL 29% and "no union" 31%—the run-off will be between the CIO and "no union" despite the fact that 69% of the workers voted previously against "no union."

A long-standing jurisdictional conflict between the CIO United Automobile Workers and the CIO Farm Equipment Workers is reported to be headed toward amicable settlement. Committees of the UAW and FE have worked out an agreement for merger of the FE into the auto workers union. The proposition is to be submitted to a referendum of the UAW members. Such a merger will give the farm equipment workers the benefit of representation by the largest union in the country and remove a source of friction and division in the CIO.

UAW once more claims the title, "largest union in the country." Latest official membership figures stand at 920,857. The international's financial position has improved since the long General Motors, Allis-Chalmers and Case strikes put the UAW in the red. The cash balance on May 31 was \$1,095,682; the strike fund totalled \$645,192; and all debts are paid.

The \$100,000,000 current anti-labor campaign underscores the

timely and sound appeal of Second Vice President Elmer Brown of the AFL International Typographical Union. Brown writes in the May Typographical Journal that the American labor movement is capable of putting out "several of the best daily newspapers in the country." He asserts with indisputable truth that "with some 15 to 20 million of unionized workers in America; with millions of liberal-minded professionals and others anxious to read the truth, it is apparent that the organized labor movement has the obligation to supply the funds to establish and maintain a labor daily." The Militant has advocated this idea for many years.

A membership referendum is now in progress in the International Association of Machinists on the question of reaffiliation with the AFL. IAM President Harvey Brown has urged the members to vote against reaffiliation.

The June International Teamster, organ of Czar-President Daniel J. Tobin of the AFL Teamsters, runs a lead editorial attacking the Republicans for their stand on the Taft-Hartley bill, but preserving absolute silence about the majority of Democrats in the Senate and House who also voted for the smash-labor law. The editorial concludes that the Republican party is "92% against labor" because only 25 out of 295 Republicans in Congress voted against the Taft-Hartley bill. Only 81 of 201 Democrats opposed the bill. That's 60% for cutting labor's throat — and in our book it takes only 51% to make a majority. The real mathematics is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by Big Business and are 100% against labor. It's time to build a labor party.

Our Program:

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

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
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New York 3, New York

I would like:
 To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 To obtain further information about your organization.
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Germany — 1947

The Agony Of Life Under The Occupation

By Ernest Germain

For two years the German people have known hunger. Not the sudden, stabbing hunger from going without food for several days, but the permanent hunger of those who never get enough — eyes dull but burning feverishly, cheeks sunken, bellies slightly swollen.

Returning from their "dinner"—a slice of bread with a thin smear of marmalade, followed by soup, which is water flavored with onion, bought with the husband's entire weekly wages—the women wait in line for two hours at the pump to get their daily water "ration," and exchange tips about the latest "turn" in the black market. And they recount the adventures of their trip.

Anna had left last Saturday, with her last pair of sheets, hoping to get 45 pounds of potatoes from a generous farmer. The farmer lived 30 miles away. She had waited patiently eight hours at the station for her train; but instead of the train there came a gang of MPs who surrounded the building and started a huge dragnet: everyone of the would-be passengers had to show his identification papers and be searched. Meanwhile the train arrived and left. Another wait for four hours, in the icy winter blast that whistled through the unrepainted station roof. Having eaten nothing for a whole day, Anna left on Sunday, after 14 hours in the station.

AN OLD STORY

The neighbors didn't even shake their heads. An old story to them . . .

Having filled her buckets, each of the housewives returns to her "house." This consists, in one case, of a damp cellar where sheets of ice had formed in a corner of the roof. Anna lives on the "first floor;" she enters her room through a break in the partially collapsed wall. But she certainly doesn't complain, for she knows that she is "privileged;" she has a room all to herself, no matter if a room without door or windows!

Forty thousand people in Hamburg live in cellars, tens of thousands share a room with one, two or three families. (According to the Institute of World Economy of the University of Kiel, the total number of dwellings in German territory fell from 16 million in 1939 to 8 million in 1946.) Anna can consider herself fortunate; doesn't

The Fifth In A Series Of Articles

she still have her husband, besides her room?

COLD IS THE WORST

Hunger and lack of a place to live were hard enough; but the worst was the cold. At first there was no coal, though Hans went out every day to the supply depots, along with the crowd of looters, to get whatever he could steal from the trains that stopped there. Then the gas was cut off, for two days, three days, four days a week. Now it became terrible; no hot meals any more. The energy which people still had for hunting up food slowly ebbed away as their physical strength diminished.

As the finishing blow, the electricity was cut off. After six in the evening you sat there in the darkness and cold, stomach empty, feet wrapped in paper, body rolled up in a blanket, not speaking, not moving, waiting for the day and for the sleep which hunger drove off.

This was winter in Germany, in the second year of the occupation.

But there was worse, as the foreign correspondents observed. There were the people who fainted in the factories, in the streets, in public places. Every morning there were those found dead in their beds. There were the children running barefoot in the snow. There were—in Germany—bands of homeless waifs ("besprisonni"), gangs of one or two thousand abandoned children from 10 to 18 years of age, roaming from town to town, begging, stealing, looting a meagre pittance, running up to strangers, soldiers, anyone who seemed well-fed, demanding "Brot, Kiepe . . ." ("bread, cigarette butt . . .")

Having killed all human feeling in others, the "occupiers" killed it in themselves. The wives of American soldiers living in the suburb of Frankfurt called Hoechst, protested against removal of the barbed-wire around

their living quarters because they feared being exposed to contact with "a much lower type of people" who lived in the neighborhood, and because they didn't want the bother of answering the children who constantly came begging for chewing gum. (New York Herald Tribune, April 17, 1947.)

Take note, fathers and mothers in the slums of Harlem, Chicago and San Francisco! The school of Germany is a school of barbarism, and those who have lost compassion for German children will have none for yours if you let them have their way . . .

ANTAGONISMS MOUNT

Most shocking of all is the fact that in the midst of this indescribable misery, social antagonisms not only continue to exist but are growing tremendously. Famished housewives know the exact place where the speculator has stored his tons of wheat. In the high-class restaurants the black-market profiteers, rubbing elbows with officers of the four occupation forces, throw away in one evening's champagne what the worker earns in a month. Inflation doesn't touch the capitalist who long ago turned his bank account into industrial shares or merchandise. And the soldiers of the occupation armies are themselves a privileged minority who miss no opportunity to make the best use of the exchange value of their cigarettes and chocolate. They buy everything, watches and books, Leica cameras and women, typewriters and art objects. As they come out of their well-heated hotel, a gang of peddlers rushes at them: "Photos? Souvenirs? Cologne for twenty marks!"

There are some people who aren't concerned with how posterity will judge them so long as their names are remembered. Sir Cecil Weir, chairman of the economic sub-commission of the British Military Government, made a statement to German newspapermen on February 7: "History offers no example of so generous a treatment of the conquered by the conquerors as that which Germany has had in the last two years." We hope the German workers won't forget Sir Cecil Weir.

(Next week: What they are thinking in Germany.)

Reports Show Existence Of Opposition In Soviet Union

The following three reports have been received from people in Europe who were able to contact Russian soldiers and civilians:

EARLY MARCH, 1947 — A proprietor that I know lives in a Russian-occupied town near Leningrad. He had the following experience: Two former old Russian soldiers regularly came to drink wine in his cafe. They were only privates, but wore several decorations, one of them having the Order of Partisans. The other day the older of the two, who had been drinking a bit, began to talk. He tore off his medals, threw them on the floor and exclaimed:

"For that bandit Stalin I've risked my life, and we always held until the last, while the officers rode around in cars. I'm of a peasant family; I never was rich, but now we no longer have anything at all. I helped make the revolution too, but now it's we who are under the dictatorship. It isn't a dictatorship which oppresses the capitalists, it oppresses rather the workers and soldiers."

He started to take off his uniform and wanted to throw it into the fire. The proprietor stopped him for fear of what might happen to him, and convinced the two soldiers to leave. The one who had done all the talking, by the way, spoke very good German.

The following day the other soldier came back to the cafe — but alone. He looked worried. When the proprietor asked him where his comrade was, he replied: "He's gone."

MARCH, 1947 — About eight months ago we received the following report from a former prisoner returned from Russia: Since 1944 he had been a prisoner in Russia. Since he was a

skilled factory hand he was not kept in a camp but was sent to an armament factory in the Ural region. The workers in this large factory had a quite friendly attitude toward the prisoners. The latter received beer, pretty good food, and the workers even shared their cigarettes with them.

In February 1945 elections took place in Russia. Our friend, asked if everyone had really been for Stalin, replied:

"No, before the elections there were workers in the factory who said they were Leninists and criticized Stalin."

MARCH 24, 1947 — The following information has been given by a number of returned prisoners:

In Russia there are signs on the walls telling the people "Not to believe returned prisoners. They picture the capitalist world as better than our world which, although not yet, soon will be Socialist."

Russian soldiers who were formerly prisoners in Germany or Austria are regularly sent off to Siberia by the Labor Exchange of their home towns.

There are very few officer former prisoners to be seen: the signs claim that the German SS killed them off.

Recruiting for the Russian Far Eastern Army is going on among the German prisoners. This bit of news has been confirmed several times. Among other stipulations is that of maintaining the Wehrmacht or SS rank of the soldier or officer who signs up; privates remain privates and officers remain officers in passing from the one army to the other.

Rail Strike Empties Paris Station



This deserted railroad station is the result of the walkout of railroad workers in France after the government refused their demands for a \$60 monthly minimum wage. Food and mail were allowed to move under union orders, but other traffic stopped dead. The union won the strike (see story on Page 1).

How Long Will The New De Gasperi Cabinet Last?

JUNE 6 — The new Italian cabinet has no stability because it is opposed by the Stalinists and the Nenni-Socialists. There is no doubt that it was the hope of American

support that pushed Premier De Gasperi to take this step and to dare set up for the first time since the "liberation" a government without the "working class left." The tragic threat of the end of UNRRA aid, the long drawn out discussions on the U.S. loan to Italy, the entire anti-Soviet policy of the United States; those are the factors that pushed part of the Italian capitalists to exclude the Stalinist and Socialist parties from the government.

But in the present situation within Italy is such a government likely to last?

The composition of the De Gasperi cabinet indicates a clear orientation towards the right. The inclusion of the technician Einaudi, a liberal of the old school, makes probable a policy based on a severe control of wages and a maximum of freedom for the "private initiative" of industrial capitalists and other wholesale tradesmen. It is interesting to note in this connection that, while the negotiations are continuing for solving the crisis, the CGIL (Trade Union Federation) and Italian Industrialists found a field of agreement — after a month of discussions — on the basis of wage freezing against very feeble concessions given to the workers.

It is evident that for the Stalinists it is a case of struggling against the complete subordination of Italy to the United States, not to allow, as they say, the "balkanization" of the country. In this sense they can't accept elimination from the government. Behind the whole governmental combat of zones of influence is being fought. But outside of, or along side with, this purely political agitation and battle, the constitution of the new De Gasperi cabinet is going to set off a

strike wave in the country as soon as the Stalinist brake in the unions lets loose a bit.

In fact, even if the new cabinet gets a vote of confidence with the aid of the right and center votes, De Gasperi will immediately have to face an extremely precarious situation in all fields: the problems of defending the lira, of chronic unemployment, of industrial revival, of distribution of food, of controlling the internal market and the economic life of the country, etc.

STRIKE AHEAD

United States help will never be great enough nor rapid enough to permit De Gasperi to effectively solve these problems in the atmosphere of continued battle. Strikes, which have been more or less held in by the Stalinists until now, will take on growing importance in the coming period.

That is why, with the constitution of the new Christian-Democratic cabinet, Italy is entering a period of social battles, strikes, agitation and demonstrations which will very probably mark a noticeable return of the working class to the conception of direct struggle against the capitalists. The Stalinists will not have to push the workers to go on strike, but will they be able later on to take up again their role of a brake? It is hard to say. The failure of "tripartism" is also the bankruptcy of the Stalinist policy of class collaboration. This opens new perspectives for the return to an independent class policy by the Italian working class.

Italian Elections Postponed 6 Months

June 15 — The Italian Constituent Assembly voted yesterday by 279 to 155 to prolong its own life until Dec. 31 — six months longer than it was elected for. This means the general election, which was supposed to have been held next October, will probably not be held until next spring. The working class parties, which are opposed to the De Gasperi cabinet, were pressing for elections as soon as possible. The Christian Democratic Party and the right-wing parties favored postponement of the elections.

to the government, of course within "the legal forms." According to this appeal, De Gasperi is at present "isolated from democracy and supported by the Italian plutocrats."

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Egyptian Trotskyists Publish Manifesto Against British

The Revolutionary Communist Group of Egypt (Fourth International) has just published, under the signature of Comrades Anwar Kameh and Loutfallah Soliman, its first manifesto since the reorganization of the group.

Noting the long drawn out Anglo-Egyptian negotiations and the government's decision to submit the whole problem of British troops to the United Nations (with the support of all the Egyptian capitalist parties and the Stalinists), the manifesto denounces the government for its long game with the British. The government wants to get the British out of Egypt and out of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as well, but at the same time is afraid of that new force on the scene: the Egyptian proletariat.

Most of Egyptian industry is very artificial—it can only be maintained by increasing the purchasing power of the masses at the expense of the capitalist and feudal lords—or else by finding some good closed foreign market for their goods. The end of the war time inflated demand for Egyptian goods—with hordes of Allied soldiers customers and lack of competition—turned Egyptian capitalist eyes toward the Sudanese market.

Differences In Ruling Class Over The Truman Doctrine

By Arthur Burch

Many people were mystified by Secretary of State Marshall's announcement, less than three months after the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine, that the administration would request no further financial aid for foreign governments at this session of Congress. Some observers, speculating about this "brake" on the Truman Doctrine, even asked if it represented a change in U.S. foreign policy.

The latest events — beginning with Marshall's Harvard speech proposing an over-all economic plan for Europe — prove that this is not the case. Nevertheless, the opposition to the Truman Doctrine, especially its economic phase, and differences over the best way to implement the doctrine, have compelled Washington to halt for a moment in order to better consolidate its position.

The masses in this country and abroad are unmistakably opposed to the war doctrine. This has been shown by numerous polls in the U.S. and by the obvious hostility of the workers in other countries. This resentment will grow rather than weaken. However, the American monopolists will not be diverted from their drive for world domination unless such opposition is backed up by the pressure of mass action. What concerns them most at this moment is the cleavage within their own ranks.

MINORITY IN CONGRESS

Although Truman urged haste in the passage of financial aid for Greece and Turkey, Congress failed to act until almost six weeks after the deadline he set. Even more important, over one-fourth of Congress voted against the measure. It was freely admitted, furthermore, that many who were against the Greek-Turkish bill, voted for it anyhow because a larger negative vote under the circumstances would have been a severe blow to the prestige of American imperialism. Some members of Congress let it be known that they would oppose similar measures in the future.

Who comprises this minority? Does it reflect the American masses with their bitter hatred for war and fascism? Quite the contrary. Except for a small number of liberals who are sen-

to destroy communism in this country and throughout the world. They see the United States as the nucleus of the world capitalist system; above all, this capitalist core must not be impaired. But, they ask, what is the good of bolstering the periphery if thereby the nucleus is weakened and made an easy prey of the very communist virus which must be destroyed?

They would gladly agree to the granting of billions if only they were sure it would achieve the goal set forth by the administration. But they have no faith in the Quislings of American imperialism. They know the deep hatred the masses have for these hirelings and realize that propping them up will only intensify this hatred. They foresee that in case of civil strife in Europe or war against the Soviet Union these Quislings would be overthrown with ease and the resources donated by America would be utilized by the masses to the disadvantage of American imperialism.

This reactionary opposition understands that the loan to Greece and Turkey is but the beginning. They fear that an endless one-way stream of loans flowing out to every corner of the world will result in the irreparable impairment of the American economy, the heightening of the inflationary spiral ending up in the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. And who will be left to help American imperialism?

IMMEDIATE DANGERS

Strangely enough, those who espouse the Truman Doctrine also see this dilemma facing American capitalism. But they understand that the revolutionary peril in Europe and Asia is real. If it is not stopped at the periphery, it will penetrate to the core and destroy even the mighty American monopolists. Besides, how can the American economy survive if its exports are shut off, as they will be next year unless Europe and Asia are given the means to pay for them? These are the immediate dangers and have to be faced first. When the day of reckoning approaches, they hope to unleash the war against the Soviet Union and thus extricate them-

self from the dilemma. For this reason American imperialism will continue with its belligerent Truman Doctrine. The opposition will tend to insist on cutting down on the size of the grants. But both sides will unite when it comes to waging war against the Soviet Union. Only the mass might of the workers of the world, and most important of all the American working class, can overthrow this putrid system and prevent the third world war.

Heroic Record Of A. Leon, Leader Of Belgian Trotskyists

A deeply moving appraisal of the life and death of A. Leon, incorruptible Trotskyist leader in Belgium, is presented by Ernest Germain in the June Fourth International, now on sale. Only 26 years old when he was sent to the Nazi gas chambers in "the hellish place where five million human beings were to perish — Auschwitz," Leon was cradled, lived and died in war and revolution. As a Jew he shared with his people the vast suffering inflicted upon them by the capitalist system.

How and why Leon broke with Zionism to join the Trotskyist movement is vividly described by Germain. Thereafter he became leader and principal inspirer of the Belgian Trotskyist movement; organizer, writer, theoretician. He is author of one of the most important contributions on the Jewish question, "The Materialist Conception of the Jewish Question," chapters of which have appeared in recent issues of Fourth International.

Leon "denounced Zionism as a brake upon the revolutionary activity of the Jewish workers throughout the world, as a brake upon the liberation of Palestine from the yoke of English imperialism, as an obstacle to the complete unity of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine. Candidly, without any reservations or evasions, he condemned his own entire past activity," although "he understood what had completely conditioned it."

This heroic revolutionist, the author states, was drawn to and became part of a movement "that cannot die because it lives everything that is noble in man."

Single copies 25 cents, subscription \$2 a year, can be ordered from Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

International Notes

Two thousand German prisoners of war working in the mines at Lens in northern France went on strike early this month in protest against speed-ups.

Gaston Monmousseau, Stalinist leader of the French delegation to the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, last week made a ranting chauvinist speech opposing the admission of the delegation sent by the reconstituted German trade unions.

Both the Moslem League and the Congress Party top committees have approved the British plan for the partition of India. The Congress leaders, however, have expressed strong opposition to attempts by the princes to establish independent princely states.

The fascist dictatorship of Spain is scheduled to hold a plebiscite early next month on Franco's "law of succession" which confirms him as chief of state, proclaims a "Catholic kingdom" in Spain and sets up machinery to pick Franco's successor if he falls to appoint one himself. The "vote" will of course be predominantly Yes; no dictatorship ever permits itself to be defeated in a plebiscite; almost two million Republican sympathizers are barred from voting; and the Catholic Archbishop of Toledo, Enrique Cardinal Pla y Deniel, has come out strongly with an endorsement of Franco and an appeal for support of the succession law.

China, where a new "democratic constitution" was adopted

only six months ago and where all democratic rights are being brutally suppressed now, will probably not hold the elections scheduled for next autumn, Kuomintang leaders admitted in Nanking last week. The civil war and the economic crisis are given as the reasons.

Failure of the Greek government's offensive against the partisans was virtually admitted by a member of the Greek government who told newspapermen "that it is to be expected that the civil war will spread in coming weeks." This is also confirmed in the news on military operations in Greece, which shows an important increase in partisan activity, including attacks against the police in northern Athens and a partisan offensive in several parts of Macedonia.

Although Congress has not yet acted on the administration's demand for a Western Hemisphere military alliance, the State, War and Navy Departments have been proceeding with the sale and delivery of military supplies to Latin American countries. Since V-J Day, according to the June 13 Foreign Policy Bulletin, military equipment, including vessels and planes, originally valued at more than 37 million dollars, has been turned over to Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Negotiations are under way for additional sales.

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"Before exhausting or drowning mankind in blood, capitalism befools the world atmosphere with the poisonous vapors of national and race hatred."

Leon Trotsky

Stab In The Back

The spontaneous strike of rank and file coal miners in Western Pennsylvania against the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill was stabbed in the back June 12 by top bureaucrats of the United Mine Workers.

The strike began June 6 and rapidly mushroomed until more than 15,000 had downed tools. Leading slogan of the six day stoppage was the demand for a nation-wide 24-hour protest strike of all organized labor.

Sentiment among these miners against both Democrats and Republicans is bitter. The call for organization of an independent labor party is mounting in popularity.

The top officialdom of the UMW sought from the beginning to halt this action of the rank and file. By Thursday they had built up such pressure against the work stoppage that they succeeded in their criminal design. The 15,000 reluctantly went back to work.

Principal argument of the district leaders of the UMW was to "stop embarrassing the union" by a protest strike.

This deliberate sabotage of effective protest action against the deadly Taft-Hartley bill is only the most flagrant instance of the treacherous and cowardly role of the trade union bureaucracy in the struggle to defend labor's rights.

Millions of workers by every means at their command have indicated their desire to really put the heat on Congress and Truman. They have passed countless resolutions, signed innumerable petitions, mailed tons of postcards, staged protest meetings from coast to coast and paraded in the streets to indicate their bitterness over Wall Street's anti-labor drive.

But the bureaucracy has confined itself to milk and toast denunciations of Taft and Hartley and quavering appeals not to put too sharp an edge on the legislative guillotine. Their refusal to organize energetic action such as a 24-hour protest strike has sabotaged the struggle and given aid and comfort to labor's worst enemies.

The UMW officials who broke the protest strike have got things backward. It is not the rank and file miners who were embarrassing the union; it is the officialdom. In truth, the officials are not only embarrassing organized labor — they are seriously endangering its very existence by their spineless attitude toward Wall Street's political hatchmen and their treacherous sabotage of militant protest.

'Democrats' At Home

Washington permits no occasion to slip nowadays without loudly proclaiming its determination to champion the cause of "democracy." Apparently the cause of democracy is so indivisible that violations of it anywhere endanger its survival everywhere. According to these "democratic" tub-thumpers, the most dangerous spot of all to-day is Eastern Europe, all the countries under the political domination of the Kremlin.

Thus President Truman utilized the occasion of his signing the peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria to express "public regret" over the undemocratic procedures and practices prevailing in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

If Truman and his colleagues are really concerned with calling public attention to violations of democracy, there is scarcely any need for them to go so far afield; crass examples abound much closer home.

In recent years one state legislature after another has passed restrictive laws which make a mockery of elections, because they virtually bar minority parties from getting on the ballot. Today, there remain only six states — South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, New Mexico and Kansas — which do not prescribe "minimum conditions" for getting on the ballot. The remaining 42 states have restrictive provisions of one sort or another. To mention only a few: Ohio demands nominating petitions of 15% of the previous gubernatorial vote. California requires 5% of a previous state-wide election vote, or more than 150,000 signatures. The state of Illinois requires petitions signed by 25,000 voters, with no less than 200 signatures coming from each of the 50 counties. In New York a similar provision calls for 12,000 signatures, with a minimum of 50 from each county in the state.

In cases where minority parties do succeed

in fulfilling such prohibitive conditions, it is a simple matter to rule them off the ballot on flimsy technicalities. This is precisely what happened to the Socialist Workers Party and other minority parties in last year's New York state-wide elections.

Nor is this all. There are several states in this country with a population close to the combined populations of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, where the overwhelming majority of the people have no say whatever at the polls. These are the notorious Southern poll-tax states which year in and year out disfranchise millions of Negroes and poor whites.

With such credentials at home, Truman, Marshall and Co. can hardly qualify as "ideological opponents" of totalitarianism abroad.

Fight Rent Boosts

The billion-dollar real estate interests are licking their chops in anticipation of a general rent boost. Their well-heeled lobby, working hand in glove with such notorious political tools of the money-grubbing landlords as Senator Hawkes of New Jersey, has succeeded in high-balling a measure through Congress that will increase rents by 15% beginning July 1.

The bill provides for abandoning rent controls in at least 30 areas each month. In addition it will eliminate effective eviction controls, permitting a landlord to throw tenants out on the streets on 30 days' notice.

It is expected that final approval of the measure as agreed upon by the Senate-House conferees will be a routine matter. The real estate lobbyists likewise confidently predict that Truman will sign the bill.

Labor's battle against further increases in the cost of living has thus received a serious setback at the hands of the Wall Street politicians who enjoy monopoly control of Congress.

But passage of the law, while giving the real estate trust a heavy club to swing against tenants, does not mean that labor has completely lost the fight. The struggle now shifts to a different arena.

Wherever the unions and tenants are able to organize effectively they can prevent mass evictions and new stiff increases in rent. During the depression of the Thirties, for instance, the landlords in many areas found it impossible to oust tenants unable to meet the rent bill because the entire neighborhood rallied to put the furniture back in the apartment as fast as the sheriff hauled it out. Moreover, the sheriff found himself seriously hampered by the great crowds that assembled in protest against the action of the landlord.

In addition, a well-organized rent strike backed by the power of organized labor often succeeded in convincing a flint-hearted landlord that neither a rent boost nor evictions were advisable.

These experiences of the working people during the depression can now prove invaluable in the struggle to contain the new offensive of the real estate interests.

What is required is prompt recognition of the urgency of the situation and prompt initiation of measures specifically designed to meet it. The unions should place this question on their agenda at once.

Veteran Graduates

Pre-war college graduates were mainly middle-class youth, given a few years' exposure to what is called "culture" and "higher learning" and a chance to sow "wild oats" at the expense of benevolent and well-heeled papas. Many of them stepped without pause into the family business or rose in the better-paying professions through family connections and influence.

College graduating classes this month will have a different and unique complexion. They will include a high percentage of veterans, men seasoned and matured by the grim experiences of military life and war, who know that the world outside the campus cloisters is no bowl of cherries.

What is of equal significance is that many of these graduating veterans come from working class and lower-middle class homes. They went through college with their belts pulled in, on the slim bounty of the government. They were earnest and hard-working in their efforts to improve their knowledge and by that means to improve their lot and opportunities in a society whose ruthlessness they knew in peacetime depression as in war.

Some of them realize it now, and most of them will find out soon enough, that machine-belt college degrees are no longer an open sesame to opportunity. The boy with the good connections and well-fixed old man will still climb fast. But in the looming future of another capitalist depression, many of this year's graduating veterans are going to be tossed into the bitter struggle for jobs, the pride-destroying existence of unemployment relief and the endless battle to make low wages stretch. Some may finally wind up in uniform once more when the draft reaches out for the massed recruits of a new world war.

Their college degrees will then be only a double twist of the screw. They have come disillusioned out of one depression and war to be given a glimpse of hope and extra opportunity through education. They will be all the more cruelly dashed down once more. Bitter and stripped of all illusion they will make iron fighters for a better world.

If the labor movement does its part, if it shows to these veterans a program of genuine opportunity in a society without class distinction and favoritism, in a socialist world of planned security and plenty, they will join the shock troops of the aroused and advancing working class. Their knowledge and skills, gained in the experiences of war as well as in the college classrooms, will be a great reservoir from which labor can draw reserves of leadership and power in the emancipating struggle against capitalism.



"After all, Baron, it's only right that the smaller countries should look up to us."

MOVIE REVIEW

KAMERADSHAFT

"Kameradschaft" (Comradeship), a foreign language film, was shown by the Los Angeles chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief last month, and other chapters of the same organization are planning to show it elsewhere this year. Originally produced in 1932 under the direction of G. W. Pabst, it won high praise for depicting with beautiful simplicity and an entire absence of sentimentality, the instinctive solidarity of workers in time of crisis.

It is a specially timely film to show now after the years of vilification of the German working class by the capitalists and the Stalinists, for it tells the true story of the self sacrifice of a group of German coal miners who go to the rescue of French coal miners caught in a disaster in the pits.

The forces which divide the workers of different nationalities—such as job competition, language barriers, national customs, the memories of conflicts in time of war—are revealed with fine artistry in the first portion of the film.

The mines are on the border between France and Germany and are worked on both sides.

You are introduced to the inevitable "coal town," ugly, dirty and old, the German side indistinguishable from the French in all these features.

You see the workers, ill fed,

ill clothed, ill housed. The artistry of the director and actors makes you feel the dangerous character of the miners' work, their terror so constant that their consciousness of it is dulled.

Then comes the terrible moment when the danger becomes a reality—the fires in the abandoned part of the mine break through a retaining wall and a blast of flame like a gigantic blow torch shoots through the mine; the dreadful pause, and then the pitiful scurry of the miners like hardened ants, the cave-ins, the flooding of the mines, the heart gripping heroism of those who repress even the instinct of self-preservation and stop to give aid to their comrades.

The locker room scene on the German side was perhaps the greatest moment in the film. You have seen the disaster, the instant electrification of the French town, the gathering of the women—and who can express in words the wordless misery of their eyes? In the German locker room the shift is changing and discussion of the catastrophe across the border is going on.

There is an authentic picture of a group of working men: the hesitating ones, the selfish ones, the simple ones, the followers, the leaders, the resolute. And the big reserved miner, who had listened to all the rest, spoke his mind, answering those who gave nationalistic arguments

against going to aid the French miners: "Have they not wives and children too? We must go to help them!"

Then comes the scene where they step forward, one by one, for they realize that all miners are comrades and brothers.

The picture ended on that high note of solidarity: "We miners are brothers and we have only two enemies; gas (in the mine) and war."

Although the capitalist class does not escape without criticism, the picture does not clearly point out that there is one enemy in reality; the enemy that permits gas to collect in the mine because it diminishes profits to provide real safety, the enemy who brings on war because of greed for profit. That enemy is the capitalist system.

The picture does bring out the lesson of solidarity in the face of natural catastrophe. As such, it is a happy choice for the American Committee for European Workers Relief, whose principle is international solidarity, and in keeping with this principle is raising funds and collecting food, clothing and medicine for those who managed to survive the concentration camps and fascist terror in Europe; for those who in the face of concentration camp and death organized and fought against oppression and racialism, for human freedom and comradeship.

Barbara Stern

Sliding Scale Of Hours Will Prevent Layoffs

By John G. Wright

Whenever the country's economic condition begins to deteriorate, the capitalists invariably proceed — as they are beginning to do now — to cut what they call "operating costs." Under this heading, they mean in the first instance slashes in the labor force.

The fact that up till now both production and employment have been maintained at record levels tends to obscure the threat of unemployment. These record levels are not a guarantee against the spread of unemployment. On the contrary, at these levels, even relatively small declines in production can and will immediately affect the employment of millions of workers.

The system of "free enterprise" produces unemployment as naturally as the liver secretes the bile. Under the existing conditions, this organic tendency to throw men out into the streets and to cut down production is greatly reinforced by an unparalleled peacetime accumulation of goods. Speculation on high prices has acted as a spur to production. The warehouses of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers are already bulging with inventories of close to 40 billion dollars. This same speculation on high prices is now turning into its opposite — a drag on production.

The production of many branches of light industry manufacturing non-durable consumer goods is already being curtailed primarily for the purpose of enabling the capitalists to continue to unload these accumulated high-priced inventories. This practice will become more and more widespread in the next period.

An army of 8-10 million unemployed would still signify "prosperity" to the profiteers; their profits will continue to roll in, even though they dispose of their high-priced goods at a smaller volume.

Can this threatening spread of unemployment be averted? The capitalist press is already beginning to speak of it as a necessary phase of the "adjustment," which will be temporary and "soft" in character. The swelling of the ranks of unemployed, which is in process right now, signifies nothing less than a calamity to millions of workers and their families.

The capitalists cannot and will not stop the spread of unemployment. But that does not at all mean that nothing can be done about it. The answer to this question depends entirely upon what course the organized labor movement chooses to pursue. It can cut the process short at its initial stages by consciously intervening, by bringing into play the full power of its vast organized strength.

But let there be no illusions: half-way measures cannot prove effective here. In the fight against unemployment, the trade unions cannot rest satisfied with a policy that stops short of the goal — NO LAYOFFS!

As against the employers' deliberate policy of spreading unemployment, the unions must promote the equally deliberate policy of spreading employment. Every attempt of the corporations to reduce the number of workers in a given plant or industry must be countered by a determined struggle to maintain employment through a reduction of the number of working hours a week, without any reduction in weekly pay.

The sliding scale of hours is the most effective single measure in the struggle against rising unemployment. There can be no question as to the response with which it will meet among the ranks. Noteworthy in this connection is the action taken by the CIO United Packing House Workers who at their recent annual convention adopted the demand for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay. This is a step in the right direction.

Washington's Reasons For Embracing Peron

The Truman administration and the Peron dictatorship have kissed and made up. Following a conference of Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, and the Argentine ambassador, the White House announced the calling of a hemisphere arms conference, with Argentina participating.

This turnabout of U. S. imperialism on Argentina is the most important development of the Truman Doctrine in South America. It ends the period of diplomatic hostility to dictator Peron, who will now receive large quantities of U. S. munitions.

The relations between U. S. imperialism and the ruling class of Argentina were embittered by the war. While remaining neutral, the Argentine government showed unmistakable favor towards the Axis. The Argentine industrialists and great landowners especially admired the governing techniques of Hitler and Mussolini, which they found worthy of emulation in Argentina.

U. S. imperialism has never been particularly upset by dictatorial regimes in South America. On the contrary, they have sponsored and supported bloodier regimes than Peron's. The great point of conflict with Washington was Argentine friendliness to the rival imperialisms of Germany and Italy.

After the war, Washington refused to make up with Peron and demanded his replacement by a pro-Wall Street regime. Spruille Braden, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs, followed a "tough" policy towards Argentina.

The immediate cause of Truman's shift is the war preparation against the Soviet Union. Marshall will now be able to confront Molotov with the threat of a militarily united Western Hemisphere, the whole of it equipped with U. S. arms and supervised by the U. S. general staff. Washington also hopes that with U. S. arms the Peron regime will play an important role in suppressing the masses of Latin America.

The cost of the "arms standardization" plan, which will make all armies in this hemisphere dependent on Wall Street's factories, is calculated at \$100,000,000 over a ten year period. Now that Argentina is included in the program the cost will undoubtedly be greater. Two additional proofs that the Peron dictatorship has not changed its stripes are in the news. One is the continuing welcome to Mussolini's son by local authorities who made young Mussolini's tour through Argentina a triumphal procession.

Peron's wife is also making a triumphal tour of Dictator Franco's Spain. When Senora Peron arrived in Madrid she was met by Franco and a galaxy of 5,000 officials and social leaders of the fascist regime. With this escort she went from the airport to Franco's palace where she will be the guest of her husband's admirer.

BOOKSHELF

KINGSBLOOD ROYAL by Sinclair Lewis, Random House, 348 pp., 1947, \$3.

That bigotry and intolerance are always present in capitalist society is the underlying theme of this latest novel by Sinclair Lewis. The economic roots of this race-hate are, however, made only superficially apparent. Thus the profound social and political significance of the story is buried beneath an emotional appeal in this story about Jim Crow in America.

Neil Kingsblood is the young and promising hero. He is an ex-army captain, minor bank official of Grand Republic, Minnesota, family man and "solid citizen destined to go places." He also possesses all the prevailing class prejudices. In short, Kingsblood is a typical American business man.

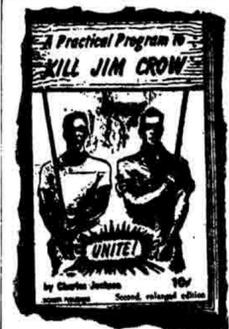
His personal conflict begins with his discovery that he is one-third-second part Negro — a fact hitherto unknown to any save his mother and his maternal grand-parents. The resulting soul-sickness and fear of exposure give way to spiritual rebellion. He seeks and cultivates the acquaintance of Negroes, develops friendship with them and love for them. Finally, in indignation, he publicly reveals his secret to the members of his social set, defiantly flinging it into their faces in defense of his newly chosen race. Then follows the usual penalties — loss of job, social ostracism, insults, degradation. Through the hero, the author denounces the lynch mob, the cops, the political corruption, the mockery of democracy and justice.

This is no doubt one of the most important novels so far written on the race question, and particularly on Northern Jim Crow. One of the best recommendations for the book is its unpopularity among capitalist literary hucksters. It certainly is not overdrawn to the point of distortion, as many of these critics contend. It is true that the author brings his characters into very sharp focus. But how does one write a story of any merit if not by stressing the truth which he seeks to convey? The only incredibility in the whole thing is that a man so ridden by conventions and bigotry as this book's hero should ever possess the high degree of moral courage necessary to defy and renounce his own class.

The book's flaw, in our opinion, is that the bigotry, under attack in Kingsblood Royal, is

made to appear mainly as a peculiar whim born of human stupidity. We cannot agree with Lewis' apparent belief that this can be eradicated by moral education and appeals to the better side of man. The truth is that racial intolerance is part and parcel of capitalist society and can be eliminated only through abolishing the system that breeds Jim Crow.

James Kersey



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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.

New Zealander Tells How He Became A "Militant" Reader

Editor: In 1937 two youths just over 21 years—one of them my son, O. B. McMahon; one an M.A., one a B.S.C.—left these shores to see the world and augment their academic with practical education by experience. They reached England, both having started the voyage as greasers in the engine room.

They bought a vehicle and traversed England, Scotland, Ireland and France, then in 1939 to USA and New York where they went "broke." I quote from a letter from my son, telling how they came into contact with The Militant:

"We stayed at Seamen's Mission waiting for a ship. Whiling away a Sunday afternoon on a seat in Battery Park, a youth approached with handbills; and later we arrived at a hall and heard an able address on the general outlook. I never saw such a large meeting of such intelligent young people discuss serious questions and great problems. We made ourselves heard, known and felt."

I don't know whether they addressed the meeting and left a "mark." But since then I have read a reader of The Militant and Fourth International.

They went back to England, landing Sept. 3, 1939. War broke out next day. They linked up with the RAF—became pilots. They fought through the Blitz in a "Fighting Squadron." Later were transferred to Bombing Squad and took part in the slaughter and devastation of Europe. After being over every part in Europe, Owen Bernard, my son, came in over the drome, completing his last flight before taking land work. But, well, he just got it, coming down—and he never returned.

His companion got back here and is a problem—he appears as revolutionary as ever and says they were forced into the forces and chose RAF.

I have a lot more to write, more concerning the revolution and future prospects. I traversed the USA; hit the barns, lived in the best hotels and slept in the parks. I have been on four of the five continents and seen for myself that the nature and extent of the poverty does not widely differ in any country carrying a large industrial population.

In the early part of the century I was in the fight and saw men fall in the anthracite and bituminous coal regions of Pennsylvania. I saw the snow become crimson as it still does periodically.

But back to today's weapons—the press—what a power and what a terrible effect on the ignorant masses. The Militant, in answering them, is pretty crude at times, lacking polish. Perhaps that is the easiest way for them to absorb the material.

With the concentration of capital in the USA at the apex of world capitalist development, it makes it more deplorable to find strong labor factions and organizations remaining divided until crippled by anti-labor legislation and confiscation of funds through fines. Surely some attempt should be made to organize the actual taking over of the great capitalist institutions.

I write with difficulty—I am nearly 70 — almost blind. Although I am writing, I really couldn't read it, so you will pardon any wandering about the lines. The paper is read to me and always passed on to some of the wageworkers.

A. McMahon, Sr. Johnsonville, New Zealand

"Man On The Street" Takes Over The Mike

Editor: This past week, quite unexpectedly, we found an additional and free avenue of advertisement. Perhaps it would be useful to others.

The unions in our town had planned a rally in protest against the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill at which George Adles, Secretary of the UAW, was to be the principal speaker. In preparation there were advertisements in the local press, a sound truck cruised the streets and leaflets were distributed in the shops.

The day of the meeting, while shopping downtown, I passed the "Man On The Street"—a roving radio reporter who was interviewing those passing by. Here was another chance to plug the evening's rally!

His assistant protested at first because I was presenting a controversial issue, but I managed to win him over. Once on the air I was permitted to speak as long as I wanted to, and I took full advantage of this to explain the significance of the bill and to urge those listening in to turn

out with their families and friends to pack the hall.

Workers in the shop the next day mentioned that they had been listening to the program and had been surprised to have it suddenly change from one of gossip and commercials to one directly affecting them.

After I completed my talk I spoke for a while to those in the street who had stopped to listen. The meeting was quite successful, but the highspot for me was the audience's enthusiastic adoption of a resolution calling for a 24-hour demonstration to protest the anti-labor legislation.

Dorothy B. New Britain, Conn.

Demands Real Fight Against Slave Bill

Editor: Here is a copy of a letter I sent Andrew Choino, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 9 of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers:

Dear Brother Choino: I am in receipt of your letter of May 20 asking me to write to my Congressman, Senator, and the President of the United States, protesting anti-labor legislation now pending. I have not done so because I believe such measures are entirely useless.

Congress and the President are well aware that the contemplated legislation will cripple or destroy American unions. Indeed, that is their obvious intention. The only effective answer to this murderous assault upon American labor is union solidarity, which may best be demonstrated by an undivided labor front, and a nation-wide strike in all industries and utilities. In addition, an independent labor party should be organized, through which we can send our own representatives to Congress.

I would heartily support such measures, but I am opposed to any form of supplication or groveling.

Fraternally yours, Ross W. Gilbert Oakland, California

Sends \$10 To Help Put Out "Militant"

Editor: I do not live anymore in a working class neighborhood and do not like to get in arguments as I used to.

So I cannot send in any subscriptions as I used to nor make a pledge. However I will enclose my check for \$10 as a contribution, which is all I can afford with our "frozen rents" and high cost of repairs and living.

It is about as hard on us small landlords as anybody. A. C. D. Los Angeles, Calif.

Floods Take Heavy Toll In Land And Lives As Profiteers Prevent Storage Dam Control

By George Lavan

"Free enterprise" was again taking a toll from the American people as uncontrolled flood waters raced from tributaries into the swollen Missouri and Mississippi Rivers.

More than 1,000,000 acres of land are already under water and 23,000 people have been driven from their homes in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska. The count of the dead is yet to be made.

As people fearfully watched the levees and prayed that it wouldn't rain, the one and only sure method of flood control went unmentioned by the newspapers of Big Business. Floods cannot be effectively controlled by piling the riverbanks higher and higher in the hope that raging flood waters won't break through the levees. What is required is the erection of a system of control and storage dams along the tributaries.

There is no flood in the Tennessee Valley. Nor are there any raging waters pouring down the Tennessee River to swell the Mississippi as in the old days. The TVA with its system of storage dams had proven how

Congress favors this session are pork barrel projects for levees.

The rich are only inconvenienced by floods. The farmers lose their homes, barns, livestock, crops — often everything they have. If they are lucky enough to find their homes after the waters recede, they still have suffered great damage and loss.

In the towns and cities the poorest workers are the first to be hit. Their dwellings line the waterfront because such precarious sites are not favored by the well-to-do. At best they escape the rising water with their few possessions in their arms. Poor farmers and workers cannot afford the high premiums of flood insurance. To them floods mean stark tragedy.

Now that the floods with their wake of devastation are back in the news, the Big Business press conspires to deceive the public and even the victims that such calamities are unavoidable, that they are "acts of God." The blame should be put where it belongs — on the utility monopolists and their political stooges who prevent real flood control.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Detroit Sub Campaign Scores Total Of 233



Detroit's whirl-wind campaign finished with 233 subs to The Militant. "Sunday's mobilization brought in 68 subscriptions," writes E. Brent, Campaign Manager, "and officially concluded our special campaign. We topped our goal of 200 by 33 subscriptions. Comrade E. Drake ended in first place with 31 points. He is the lucky winner of a week-end at Mid-West Summer Camp. Congratulations, E. Drake. We all feel that you deserve it and all of us wish you lots of fun for a well-earned week-end at the beautiful Grass Lake. Our sympathy, however, goes to Comrade E. Kennedy who tried so hard and finished a close second with 30 points. We know you tried, Kennedy. Better luck next time."

subscriptions are all working class neighborhoods. At present we find it very hard to get renewals; the main reason being that people just don't have the money. They insist that they like the paper, want to renew and usually ask us to come back again on a certain day when they feel that they might have 50c for a six-month sub. This means that we must go back three and four times before we finally get a sub. We haven't a high percentage of cancellations, but we haven't a high percentage of renewals either. These conditions, of course, don't lead to much enthusiasm in the branch for the sub campaign. Couple this with the extremely bad weather we have been having this spring and you have 100 reasons for the slowness of our campaigns.

Detroit's campaign is over, but Comrade Brent hopes "that all the comrades will continue to bring in subscriptions with the same spirit they have showed in the last three weeks."

Comrade Wally of Minneapolis mailed in 5 one-year subs to The Militant, but he didn't tell us a word about the sub-getters or their experiences in getting the subs.

Militant boosters in Buffalo are doing a bang-up job in seeing that the workers in the shops subscribe to The Militant. Charles Carlson, who is in charge of The Militant for Buffalo branch, sent in 27 subs during the week. He says that these "subs are the first for the month of June and we hope to 'keep 'em rolling in.'" Comrade Carlson promises a report, letting us in on the secret of their success in selling subs direct to workers in the shops.

We have been informed that "from now on all Militant work in Philadelphia will be taken care of by George Le Compte." Congratulations, Comrade Le Compte, on your being elected Militant Agent for the Philadelphia branch. We're sure you will continue the good work done by Pauline Ryder.

If You Like The Militant Pass It Along To A Friend

The Cleveland comrades are running into some difficulty in their subscription campaign, according to Almeda Kingsley, Campaign Manager. "The areas in which we work for renewal

Los Angeles is a big Local and we can expect some excitement in the way of subs during their campaign.

The Marshall "doctrine" is thus seen to contain some highly concentrated economics, for it will pump tens of billions of dollars into the hands of these buyers in addition to the billions of dollars already being poured into the war machine.

Fourthly, Wall Street is hastening the preparations for the next world slaughter. Two incidents in the first part of this month show how the Marshall "doctrine" fits into the time table. On June 3, two days before his Harvard speech, Marshall urged Congress to grant President Truman authority to send military missions to any country that requested them. If dictator Chiang Kai-shek, for instance, indicated that he needed more assistance to hold down the lid on popular rebellion in China, Truman could at once send a military mission there. This power, now enjoyed by Truman, will end with the formal declaration of the end of World War II.

And on the same day, Truman announced the termination of the long squabble with Argentina. This was interpreted as clearing the ground for Peron's participation in Wall Street's program to standardize the arms of all South America and convert the entire Western Hemisphere into one armed camp in preparation for the ultimate assault on the Soviet Union.

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Raid Projected On Treasury To Back European Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)

les, is not possible under capitalism, as Leon Trotsky pointed out long ago. Only the working class can accomplish this progressive task. Thus the realization of a genuine United States of Europe will signify at the same time the establishment of socialism.

Churchill's utilization of the label is nothing but a cunning political move to hoodwink the masses and win their support for a scheme designed to destroy the possibility for a United States of Europe.

Marshall's official approval means that Wall Street is now prepared to back the Churchill scheme to the hilt.

Why is Wall Street pushing the Truman doctrine with such extraordinary vigor? First of all, the proposed fund of 30 billion dollars is designed as an economic battering ram

in the United States. Foreign exports now amount to nearly 10% of the national income—the difference between prosperity and trouble," in the opinion of the Wall Street Journal. But, says this same mouthpiece of America's 60 ruling families, "The Truman Administration is being warned that the growing 'dollar shortage' abroad threatens to turn into a famine by the year-end. It's a famine that will hit the American businessman hard."

According to this same capitalist paper, Europe (Britain in particular) is using up the previous loans much faster than expected. At least 8 billion dollars more a year is needed to keep buying U. S. goods at the present rate. Unless they get these dollars, purchases will pinch off as soon as their present backlog of dollars is exhausted—with catastrophic effects on American economy.

The Marshall "doctrine" is thus seen to contain some highly concentrated economics, for it will pump tens of billions of dollars into the hands of these buyers in addition to the billions of dollars already being poured into the war machine.

Fourthly, Wall Street is hastening the preparations for the next world slaughter. Two incidents in the first part of this month show how the Marshall "doctrine" fits into the time table. On June 3, two days before his Harvard speech, Marshall urged Congress to grant President Truman authority to send military missions to any country that requested them. If dictator Chiang Kai-shek, for instance, indicated that he needed more assistance to hold down the lid on popular rebellion in China, Truman could at once send a military mission there. This power, now enjoyed by Truman, will end with the formal declaration of the end of World War II.

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ACEWR Requests Donations For Health Clinic In Italy

Springtime Comes To Ames St.

By Theodore Kovalesky

A wonderful thing has happened on Ames St. Every year it happens, and for a while everything is different and wonderful; then you get used to it and forget about it for another year.



Springtime has come to Ames St., and everything is changed. On Ames St. the houses are covered with warped clapboard or with tar composition material, colored to look like brick. And over the blistered paint and the imitation red or yellow brick is a red-brown coating of flue dust from the blast furnaces a little way over in the direction of the lake. Little dry pools of red-brown dust gather in the gutters of the streets and the hollows of the broken sidewalks, and when the spring wind blows, tiny twisting whirlwinds of dust go dancing down the street and then vanish, spreading the flue dust some place else on Ames St.

Over in the steel plant where the Ames St. people work it is hot as the bottomless pit of hell. Day or night, whichever shift they happen to be working on, the Ames St. men curse wearily, in the new heat of summer, in the blast furnaces, in the open hearths and mills. In the locker rooms the air is fetid with the clinging, sharp stink of clothing clogged with the filth of the job and the sweat poured from tired, overheated bodies. It will be much hotter during the summer months, but they will suffer less than they do now in the first warmth of the new season.

But it's different on Ames St. When a man's on Ames St. he's not inside the steel mill. Maybe he's tired after work, but at least he's not working in the plant any more that day. And here the trees are new again.

The trees on Ames St. are greener and shadier and more wonderful than any other place in the whole world. You might not notice it, but they are. The Ames St. people know it even if they don't brag about it or write letters to the editor of their local newspaper.

The trees make a difference, one hell of a difference in Ames St. Who cares if the brick houses there turn out to be only cheap imitations when you look at them? Who cares if the sidewalks are humped and cracked and broken, if the streets are strewn with new bumps and craters after every winter? And if the flue dust keeps drifting and sifting over Ames St. from the blast furnaces near the lake, who cares about that? Who cares about all that when the trees have come to life again after the desolate winter?

The trees on Ames St. are more beautiful than trees anywhere else in the world, because without them Ames St. is one of the ugliest places on earth; but with them, it is almost pretty, a homelike place, a quiet place, except when the blast furnaces roar and the narrow gauge engines scream over in the steel plant.

In the springtime the kids race through Ames St. on their way to a baseball game in the field across from the steel mill. At dawn on their days off some of the Ames St. men crawl sleepily into their jolopies with their jars of worms, their fishing tackle, their lunches and bottles of coffee and drive zig-zagging down the street to avoid the holes and craters the city government never gets around to having fixed. And in the evening they come zig-zagging back with fish for all their neighbors and a sunburn that is their own terribly personal property. In the evenings and on their days off the men of Ames St. put aside their denim pants and dull covert shirts and wear red, green, or blue sport shirts that brighten up the street along with the trees and lilac bushes and the little yellow-blossomed bushes that sit in front of some of the houses.

It's funny. Life's pretty tough on Ames St. There's not much money, not much security, not much of anything people want and need. But in the springtime the Ames St. people feel the goodness of life. Each spring, for a little while, the people on Ames St. live almost as people should live, almost like the comfortable people who have nice houses at the other end of town.

The Negro Struggle

Like Building On Quicksand

By William E. Bohannon

When Senator Ives and some of his colleagues in Congress introduced a new FEPC bill "with very minor penalties" last March, I pointed out in this paper: "The Ives bill really waters down the fight for an effective FEPC bill with a vengeance. It is a vivid example of liberal capitalist trickery. These Republican and Democratic politicians are not really interested in sponsoring progressive legislation. When they do sponsor it, they do so only because of mass pressure and in order to win votes; at the same time, they weaken it almost beyond recognition in an effort to appease the worst reactionaries."

Every word in that moderate statement was confirmed last week in Washington when a Senate Labor Subcommittee opened public hearings on the Ives bill for a "National Act Against Discrimination in Employment." First crack out of the box, Republican Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, who is one of the co-sponsors of the bill, came up with a little amendment. He suggested changing the bill so that state legislatures can strike out its few compulsory provisions, so far as their own states are concerned!

This would enable every Southern state, where Jim Crow employment practices are the worst, to completely ignore this so-called "national act."

It would obviously be better to have no FEPC bill at all, than to have a mockery like that.

Democratic Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, one of the most prominent enemies of the Negro people in Washington, purred like a cat after a big fish dinner. Although he had come to fight against any kind of FEPC legislation, he commended Smith for his proposal. "Things are getting better all the time," he declared.

A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, strongly denounced Smith's proposal. But Ives and Chavez, the two chief sponsors of the bill, stated that it warranted further exploration, which is another name for favorable consideration.

Are you surprised to see the FEPC movement knifed by these men who are supposed to be fighting for it? If you are, then you still have a lot to learn about capitalist politicians. It means you still haven't learned that the difference between a reactionary capitalist politician and a liberal capitalist politician is that the reactionary uses harsh language and stabs you in the heart, while the liberal uses soft words and stabs you in the back.

Relying on either reactionary or liberal Republicans or Democrats is as foolish as building a home on quicksand. We need an independent labor party now more than ever.

Health For The Workers

By Grace Carlson

Throughout the ages, human beings have longed for good health. For countless generations they have asked each other the same question, "How is your health?" or as it is said in the United States today, "How do you do?" And how does one pay a special tribute to an honored guest? By "drinking his health!" There is no doubt but that all peoples prize good health and spend considerable amounts of time, energy and money to achieve it. But for the vast majority of working people, good health remains an unattainable goal. Benjamin Franklin tried to tell us that:

"Early to bed and early to rise, Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise." The facts are, however, that workers, who are "early to bed" because they are so very "early to rise" are not "healthy" or "wealthy"—and they are not as "wise" as they'll be some day!

Is there any one who doubts the close relationship between poverty and disease? Listen to the words of the experts of the U. S. Public Health Service, who reported the results of a national health survey in a pamphlet on Health Security issued in 1939:

"Sickness comes oftener and lasts longer and death comes earlier to the homes of the poor than of the well-to-do. It is a plain fact—and a shocking fact—that the chance for health and even survival is far less among low-income groups than among those who are in moderate or comfortable circumstances.

A comprehensive study made several years ago of deaths among boys and men of working age showed that the general death rate among unskilled workers was nearly twice that of professional men or proprietors, managers and officials. Among the poor in our large cities, death rates are as high today as were those of the nation 50 years ago before the beginning of the spectacular advance of public health and medical science."

Low-income families, which cannot afford enough nourishing food, warm clothing or decent homes, cannot withstand the onslaught of disease as can families in the upper-income brackets. Moreover, these low-income families cannot afford the medical care necessary to handle the greater load of sickness which they bear. Despite the relatively large number of tax-supported medical institutions in the United States, the poorly-paid workers still spend a larger percentage of their incomes for medical care than do those with high incomes. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that in 1941, families which received less than \$500 per year spent 8.3% of their incomes for medical care, whereas families receiving from \$500 to \$10,000 spent only 3.8% for medical care.

In subsequent articles, a variety of health programs for workers—employer-sponsored plans, union-operated health centers, cooperative health insurance plans, private health insurance programs, federal, state and city health bills will be examined.

Notes From The News

Drew Pearson reveals that General Spaatz, head of the air forces, told a group of 15 Senators that instead of a possible war with the Soviet Union in 10 to 15 years, war could be expected within one to two years.

Dean Acheson, retiring Under Secretary of State, says that Europe is heading for an economic crisis next year that will shake the world.

C. Melvin Sharpe, official of America's Cavalade of Freedom, is against John Paul Jones being considered a great American hero. Sharpe gave his reason to the Washington Board of Trade: after the first American Revolution Jones went to Russia where he became an admiral.

Charlie Chaplin's anti-war film Monsieur Verdoux has been banned in Memphis, Tennessee. In Washington Representative John Rankin

called for the deportation of Chaplin.

Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, was lauded for his "protection of tolerance in this land of the free" by speakers at his paper's 100th Anniversary banquet. Thirty Negro guests had left the hall in protest against the Jim Crow seating arrangements.

The National Lawyers Guild has condemned Truman's "loyalty order" for government workers as a violation of the fundamental right of Americans to advocate social change.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party held a meeting in San Pedro, California "to expose Trotskyism." Thousands of leaflets advertising the meeting were distributed. Fifteen people, including three Trotskyist observers, attended the "mass meeting."

THE MILITANT

Crushing Tax Burden Remains On Workers

CIO Rally Against Slave-Labor Bill



120,000 CIO members in New York, marching 16 abreast, paraded four and a half hours before gathering at Madison Square Garden to protest the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill. About half a million New Yorkers lined the streets to watch one of the biggest labor demonstrations in the city's history. Federated Pictures

Tax Bill Seeks To Smother Political Action By Labor

Wall Street fears the potential political might of organized labor. This can be seen from the inclusion in the Taft-Hartley bill of a provision prohibiting any labor organization from making political "expenditures" and "contributions."

Senator Taft was questioned on this addition to the bill when he reported back June 5 on the Senate-House conference where the final version of the proposed law was worked out. He pointed out that with the "expiration of the Smith-Connally Act, on June 30, the current prohibition of political contributions by labor unions will cease to be a part of the federal law unless new legislation is enacted."

Senator Pepper asked how this provision would work out in a specific case. If the newspaper, Labor, published by the railway unions, were to state that Senator Taft "was not friendly to labor," would that be against the Taft-Hartley bill?

"It would be a violation of the law, yes," responded Taft. He insisted that this would not be a "denial of the freedom of the press," contending that publications of corporations face a similar prohibition.

AIMED AGAINST UNIONS However, this provision is aimed squarely at the unions. Most union newspapers, lacking the subsidy derived from advertising, are supported by contributions from the union membership, who in turn get the union newspaper without being listed as individual subscribers.

Newspapers put out by the big corporations, on the other hand, "get their money from advertising," as Taft explained, and consequently would be free under the law to express any political opinion they care to.

Pepper asked if Labor, as a typical union paper, could "publish a special edition" in the area where a candidate was running for office.

"That is exactly what they should not be allowed to do," answered Taft. "It is perfectly clear that union funds are not to be used to interfere in political campaigns and with political candidates, either in favor of one candidate or against another candidate."

"So a workingman's organization would be deprived of power even of advising its membership of the anti-labor record of a man who might be a candidate for public office?" asked Pepper. "Correct," Taft answered nonchalantly.



SENATOR TAFT

be an expenditure which is forbidden to a labor organization under the statute?"

"Yes," said Taft. "The Taft-Hartley bill is even more stringent on this prohibition of free speech than the reactionary Smith-Connally Act."

New Camel Contract Is Being Violated By Reynolds Co.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., June 12 — Although R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, makers of Camel cigarettes, last week signed a 20-page contract with Local 22 of the CIO FOOD & Tobacco Workers as a result of a bitter 5-week strike, the union today charged that "wholesale discrimination and breach of contract under the seniority clause are now going on."

This means that the company is not rehiring many militants, particularly those white workers who joined their Negro fellow workers on one of the largest and most determined picket lines ever seen in the South.

SUPPORT NEEDED

In an interview today with this Militant reporter, John Hunt, Educational Director of Local 22, said: "Although the strike is over, the struggle to preserve the union continues and needs support. The Company is now doing everything possible to disrupt the unity of the organization. It is penalizing many of the strikers by refusing to place them back on their jobs in accordance with the seniority clause of the contract. It is being particularly vicious to the relatively small number of white strikers who participated along with the Negro strikers on the picket lines."

"None of the strikers now returning to work will receive any pay for two more weeks. Many are in desperate financial condition. Evictions are continuing.

Taft coolly admitted that "the words of the Smith-Connally Act have been somewhat changed" so as to "plug up a loophole." The "loophole" was the failure to bar "expenditures" by unions in addition to "contributions" in political campaigns. "Labor unions are supposed to keep out of politics," said Taft, "in the same way that corporations are supposed to keep out of politics."

When Senator Barkley, however, called attention to the political activities of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, citing advertisements that "cost hundreds of thousands of dollars," Taft hedged about its being a violation. "The question would be whether it was in connection with such an election" as specified in the law.

Barkley likewise called attention to the practice of corporations hiring radio commentators who "seek to influence voters" while the sponsor claims "that he is not responsible for what the commentator says."

"I think there are all degrees," said Taft. "It would be for a court to decide."

The "tax cut" bill so carefully drafted by Congress has been vetoed by President Truman, whose Democratic party whips rallied enough votes to sustain the veto in the House by a narrow margin.

In this bill Congress tried to make another raid on the public treasury for the benefit of Big Business. For these tax cut provisions were so weighted as to benefit the capitalists, while the workers and other low-income brackets received negligible tax reductions.

Wall Street is not satisfied with its all-time record profits, the removal of excess profit taxes, sweeping tax rebates, the removal of all price controls and the unlimited price gouging that all this entailed. The mandate of the corporations to Congress is "give us billions more."

H. R. 1, the tax reduction bill, was Congress' compliant reply. The tax relief it provided was only for the profiteers. It would shield them in the period of lushest peacetime profits, while providing only formal reductions for the poor. Workers earning \$2,500 a year would receive a reduction of \$29, or an increase in take-home pay of 1.2%. On the other hand, capitalists with annual incomes of \$500,000 would receive reductions of \$58,175, or an increase of 62% in the booty to take back to the penthouses.

It must be borne in mind that the wealthy hire accountants and lawyers to utilize all sorts of legal loop-holes for tax evasion. This would have made their actual benefits still greater. In the meantime the workers would continue — as they still do after Truman's veto — to bear the bulk of the tax load, both direct and indirect.

In vetoing this bill Truman hypocritically referred to its inequities. But this was not at all the reason why he vetoed it. At no time did Truman advocate a tax cut for the low-income brackets; nor did he at any time counterpose to this bill a tax reduction program of his own that would benefit the poor and shift the tax burden where it belongs — on the billion dollar corporations and the profit-bloated plutocrats.

The truth is that Truman and his advisers did not think it politically expedient to reveal themselves too openly at this time as the direct agents of Wall Street in Washington. After all the pro-Big Business measures of the recent period, and amid the rabid anti-labor offensive, this might have proved a bit too raw.

As the Republicans contend, there is the obvious tie-up between the tax bill and the Presidential elections. Truman and his party want the credit for any tax cuts that are legislated. Hence the hint of a more equitable tax bill in 1948, which was included in the presidential veto message. Truman wants all the prestige he can get for the 1948 presidential contest.

Hence, too, his crocodile tears for the poor, which cost him nothing and which may gain him a few votes. If any further proof were needed that this is sheer demagoguery, let it be noted that Truman has not yet uttered one word about the phony "rent control" measure now being rushed through Congress. This measure is a thinly veiled 15 percent rent raise; it will squeeze billions of dollars out of the tax-ridden and price-squeezed workers. Yet Truman has not lent a finger, although all rent controls will expire by June 30.

There will be no tax relief, or any other kind of relief, for the mass of the people from either Congress or the White House. The only way the tax burden can be lifted from the backs of the poor and shifted onto the shoulders of the billionaire coupon clippers is by exempting all incomes up to \$5,000 from taxation, and increasing the rates on the incomes of the plutocrats. Both the Democrats and Republicans are unalterably opposed to such a program.

New York SWP Hits O'Dwyer Move To Raise Subway Fare

By George Clarke

NEW YORK, June 14 — "Mayor O'Dwyer's reversal on the fare issue reveals that his dispute with the banks and real estate interests last February was only a lover's quarrel. This reconciliation is a touching spectacle to all but the people of New York who will be the chief victims of the higher fare proposal," the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party declared in a statement to the press today.

Four months ago O'Dwyer won a lot of cheap publicity by staging public hearings in answer to the demand of the real estate interests and the Board of Transportation for an increase in the fare. At the conclusion of the hearings O'Dwyer stole a little more glory by denouncing the protagonists of the increased fare in the following terms:

"The organized real estate owners of the city, a small fraction of the population, seek to shift the added cost of government to the low-income wage earner and low-rent-families, those least able to afford it."

At that time despite the general acclaim for O'Dwyer from labor, liberal and Stalinist circles, we stigmatized his grandstanding as a "maneuver" designed to pave the way for the higher fare. Nothing new has occurred to justify O'Dwyer's flip-flop. The operating deficit of \$27,000,000 remains as it was when O'Dwyer opposed the ten cents fare last February. At that time he derided the banker's argument that New York transportation should be self-sustaining and debunked the promise that a higher fare would provide funds for improvements. The debt service to the bankers for 1947 remains the same \$57 million it was last February.

Since February O'Dwyer has retreated at every step. He belatedly during the hearings that he would throw thunderbolts at Dewey to force a larger grant to New York City from the huge state surplus. His bellows turned into whimpers when he got to Albany and he came away with a paltry subsidy and the "right" to levy more sales taxes on the workers. He threatened to push the real estate levy to the limit but again backed down at the last minute under pressure of the real estate operators, con-

Stalinists, ALP and Liberal Party leaders are again raising an anvil chorus of opposition to the fare increase but their only proposal to raise funds is once more to put the heat on Dewey. This is all very convenient for O'Dwyer who can easily say he tried but ran into a stone-wall of Republican opposition. Since the February hearing the Stalinists, CIO, AFL and Social Democratic labor leaders have been blowing the trumpet for O'Dwyer. They lauded him as a great champion of the people when he spoke against the ten cents fare last February. They gave him a million dollars worth of publicity by giving him the platform in the CIO and AFL veto rallies and organizing "O'Dwyer for Governor" cheering squads. With this build-up O'Dwyer felt he could get away with his proposal to ask the poor again.

The Daily Worker finds it "lough to understand why he (O'Dwyer) should suddenly yield to the pressures of the same reality crowd he so slyly denounced in February." That's easy. What they'll find a lot tougher is explaining why they supported O'Dwyer in 1945 — and why they still support him. (See next week's Militant for the SWP's program to save the five-cents fare.)