

How Long Will The Economic Boom Last?

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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9

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N. Y. LABOR PARTY SPLITS ON WALLACE

Open Letter to Murray, Green And Reuther

By The Editors

This letter is addressed to you as the responsible leaders of the American trade union movement.

All of you have declared that 1948 is a crucial year for American labor. All of you have warned that labor must get into politics—or perish. The CIO through its PAC is going up and down the country trying to collect dollar bills from all of its members for a big political campaign in 1948. The AFL has just formed a special political body so that it can participate actively in the 1948 political picture. A number of Railway Brotherhoods have set up similar organizations.

Allright, labor must get up to its neck into politics in 1948. But where do we go from here? What do you propose labor DO? For what candidates shall labor vote?

We need not waste any time discussing the Republicans. You all admit that this party is owned and paid for by Big Business.

How about the Democratic Party? Permit us to recall to you your own words concerning its leader—Truman.

In Dec. 1945, at the height of the General Motors strike, you, Brother Murray, spoke on the radio over a national hook-up. You told how the big corporations piled up fantastic profits. How the workers had suffered wage cuts ranging from 23 to 50% since V-J Day. How Congress had callously done nothing for the working man while it had rushed through tax laws which enabled the plutocrats to extract billions from the U.S. Treasury. "To all this arrogance," you concluded dramatically, "the federal administration yields in abject cowardice. Its rancor is confined to labor."

Do you remember you denounced Truman's proposals for compulsory arbitration labor laws? You said that "It can be but the first step for even more savage legislative repressions."

You were right. A year later came the Taft-Hartley bill. All of you denounced the Democratic Party. Don't you remember Truman merely went through the motions of opposition while in reality giving aid and comfort to the union-busters?

After Truman broke the railroad strike in May 1946, one of your fellow labor leaders, Whitney, president of the Railway Trainmen, said he would use the millions in his union treasury to defeat this "political accident."

How have you gentlemen got the gall to now come before your members and propose that they back this same Wall Street stooge, this strikebreaker, this "political accident?"

All of you have turned thumbs down on Wallace. You say he doesn't represent anybody outside of the Communist Party and that's an agency of the Kremlin.

But YOU represent somebody. You are the spokesmen for an army 15 million strong. With their families and friends this labor host constitutes the unquestionable majority of the American population. Why don't you take the lead in organizing this force into an independent political movement, that will select and run its own candidates—in opposition to the candidates of the vested interests.

This is your responsibility. This is what the working men and women are paying you such handsome salaries for. For once, do your duty by your membership.

If you persist in trying to swing labor behind strike-breaker Truman you will be branded as traitors and political company-unionists. And labor will have to create a new leadership to realize their political aspirations just as they had to by-pass the leadership of Tobin, Green, Frey and Matthew Woll to build modern industrial unions.

Profiteers Get Joyous Tidings On New Year's

1948 was ushered in with joyous tidings for America's monopoly capitalists. Corporation net profits were running at the highest rate in history. Prices stood at an all-time peak—and were climbing at a rate of over 2% a month.

The New Year rang in with golden chimes for the leading trusts as their reports for the first nine months of the past year showed total net profits 89% over the same period for lush 1946.

For 247 major corporations surveyed by the N.Y. Times, net profits were greater in just three-quarters of 1947 than for all 1946. Steel profits rose 63%; petroleum, 60%; 8 auto firms, 96%. Not that 1946 profits were anything to sneeze at. Iron and steel profits rose 92% over 1940; petroleum and coal, 135%; textiles, 564%; etc.

On Dec. 31, 1947, the Dun & Bradstreet wholesale price index went through the roof. The food index hit the record high of \$7.24 compared to \$6.38 on Jan. 1, 1947. Non-food products were 24% above the year before.

Tenting Tonight - - And All Nights



Evicted from their Bainbridge, Md., home, the Flowers family converted an Army tent into a makeshift dwelling. Warmed by a coal heater and cooking stove, it is far from comfortable. And that snow piled outside doesn't help, either.

Federated Pictures

CIO "Big Three" Unions Call for Higher Wages

The "Big Three" international unions of the CIO — auto, electrical and steel—are beginning to move a bit in the "third round" wage drive announced a month ago by the top CIO officials.

They are no longer able to delude the workers with hopes of a price "roll-back" and have been forced to take a few timid steps on the wage

front under heavy pressure from the union ranks.

On Jan. 6, the United Auto Workers Wage Policy Committee announced that they would demand wage increases this spring from General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. The precise wage demands would be determined at the UAW Executive Board meeting which is to meet Jan. 15 in Detroit.

On the same day as the UAW announcement, leaders of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers stated the UE will seek higher wages for 300,000 members in the plants of General Electric, Westinghouse and General Motors Electrical Division.

No formal decision on wage demands has been announced by the United Steel Workers. But the January issue of its official paper, Steel Labor, is devoted chiefly to the need of the steel workers for substantial pay increases.

Neither the UAW nor UE leaders have specified the amount of wage raises they propose to demand. It is generally assumed, however, that because of the considerable ruffling in the ranks, the "asking" terms will be not less than 25 to 30 cents per hour.

UAW President Walter Reuther has thus been forced to abandon within two months his basic economic plank at the UAW convention — the "roll-back" of prices. He has been compelled to do so by the internal campaign initiated several weeks ago by five General Motors locals in Flint. Their campaign has swept like wildfire through the UAW.

Nearly a quarter of a million auto workers were on record last week for a 25-cent an hour general basic wage increase AND a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus. In addition to the Flint locals, these include Ford 600, largest local in the world; Briggs 212; Budd 306; Plymouth 51; Fleetwood 15, and others. Even the Detroit Regional GM Sub-Council on Dec. 22, despite its Reutherite leadership, approved the proposal for an escalator, or sliding scale wage clause.

The CIO's wage drive reveals two

serious defects: 1) The leaders propose no effective program to protect real wages from continuously rising prices; 2) They have no unified strategy and no program of action to win the wage demands.

The UAW Wage Policy Committee has ignored the clear mandate from the ranks for a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus to provide automatic pay increases above the basic scale, in proportion to rising prices. The UE announcement does not even mention any cost-of-living bonus arrangements to combat the constant increase in prices.

At the same time, every CIO international is acting independently of the others. There is complete lack of coordination, or planning for joint action.

This recalls to militants the basic weakness of the 1946 strike wave which led to its unnecessary prolongation. Union militants are determined to profit by the experiences of the 1946 strikers by fighting today for cost-of-living bonus clauses as an integral part of the wage program; and a unified strategy of struggle to achieve their wage aims.

Washington and Moscow are provoking a split of the world labor movement into warring pro-imperialist and pro-Stalinist camps.

While they were "allies," both powers gave their blessings to the World Federation of Trade Unions, organized to line up the workers on a world scale in the service of the Allied war machine. The end of the honeymoon between the Kremlin and the White House is now being reflected in the disruptive conflict within the world labor movement.

U. S. imperialism is taking the initiative in efforts to tear the WFTU asunder. It wants to subordinate amenable sections of the trade unions to Wall Street's global aims of economic exploitation and political domination. It is using the Marshall Plan of economic blackmail as the wedge. Its hammer is the top bureaucracies of the AFL and CIO.

The Kremlin bureaucracy has helped pave the way for this split. It has used the labor movements in Europe and Latin America as pawns for its diplomatic maneuvers and adventurous zig-zags in the realm of power politics. Stalinist betrayals and brutal methods have disillusioned millions of workers, implanted in them hostility toward the Soviet Union and turned many of them in disgust toward the official labor lieutenants of capitalism.

The CIO and AFL leaders are vying to show the Truman administration and U. S. State Department that each is the "best" defender of imperialist interests. They have formally given their endorsement to the Marshall Plan, the guise in which the sabre-rattling Truman Doctrine is now being presented to the world.

Their job is to make the Marshall Plan and U. S. imperialism's aims palatable to the labor movements of other countries. The CIO is working directly as a section of the WFTU to win over as many sections as possible to support of the Marshall Plan and subordination to the anti-Soviet program of Wall Street.

The AFL leaders refused to join the WFTU because of its recognition of the CIO and their implacable hostility to the Soviet Union even during the war. They are working directly to split the WFTU and establish a new federation completely under the thumb of the labor agents of U. S. imperialism.

Their first major move in this direction is a conference in Lima, Peru, starting Jan. 10, at which the AFL hopes to set up "a non-Communist Western Hemisphere labor federation." Right-wing unions from 16 Latin American countries, and the AFL, are expected to participate.

This conference, it is important to note, parallels a series of international conferences of the Western Hemisphere governments in which the United States has pushed through far-reaching military and economic schemes for sub-

Wallace Veto Power Shows Basic Weakness Of 3rd Party Movement

By George Breitman

Both in the labor movement and in top capitalist circles there is a great deal of speculation over the question: Will Wallace stick to his third party candidacy for president, or will he throw in the towel after the Republican and Democratic conventions in June?

In a press conference on the same day that he announced his candidacy, Wallace said he would withdraw "should either of the major parties become definitely a peace party before the election." Under this formula, Wallace leaves the door wide open. As Arthur Krock points out in the Jan. 4 N. Y. Times:

"Since he reserves to himself the right to conclude whether or not the Republicans or the Democrats have become the 'peace party,' he can base withdrawal on conviction or expediency, and expedient decisions occur frequently in his public record. A few words in either party platform, or any differences on foreign policy between the Republican candidate for President and Mr. Truman, can easily serve him as a bridge after the major national conventions are held."

"He could then, reverting to a very recent position, announce that his immediate purpose had been served and that an independent candidacy this year could not further advance it."

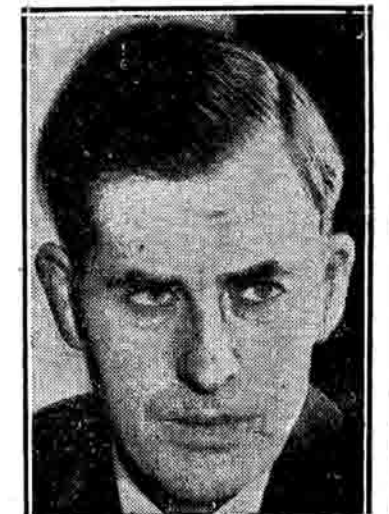
Krock, who is an opponent of Wallace, expresses the belief that Wallace probably "will not finish the race." This opinion is apparently shared by some of Wallace's followers.

At the Albany meeting of the New York State CIO Executive Board on Jan. 5, which voted against the endorsement of Wallace, the Times reports:

"On both sides [of the dispute over Wallace] considerable skepticism was expressed about whether Mr. Wallace would actually run. Several left-wingers [Wallace supporters] said his primary aim was to increase the 'bargaining power' of those opposed to the policies of the Truman Administration and the Republican Party."

Not having inside information about Wallace's intentions, we cannot predict with any certainty what his course will be. From what we know of Wallace, we would say that he is not sure himself.

But what is most significant about this question right now is the light it throws on the irresponsible and undemocratic nature of the Wallace movement. Wallace



WALLACE

says yes, and there is a third party campaign. Wallace says no, and the whole third party campaign blows up. The rank and file have nothing to say, one way or another. Wallace's one-man veto power, creating the possibility of a betrayal of his followers' aspirations, is one of the most objectionable features of his movement.

This illumines the deep-going differences between a Labor Party and the movement Wallace is attempting to build. A Labor Party, based on the unions, would be responsible to duly elected bodies representing its membership. The members could participate in shaping policies, selecting officers and naming candidates.

The Wallace movement, in contrast, is being constructed on the further principle. Wallace loftily invites his supporters to send him suggestions and proposals — but they have no voice in making decisions.

The workers, who have fought so militantly to establish democratic processes and rank and file control in the modern mass production unions, will want at least as much democracy in the party they propose to build. That is why they will reject all one-man leader organizations and build on the tested foundations of democracy and control from the ranks.

United Labor Conference Is Big Need

NEW YORK, Jan. 12

The American Labor Party was split down the middle yesterday as the leaders of its anti-communist forces walked out of the organization in protest against the proposal to endorse Henry Wallace for president. The resignation of CIO Amalgamated Clothing, Textile, Leather and Fur Workers, and Auto Workers officials are scheduled to be followed by withdrawal from the ALP of all the Stalinist-influenced unions.

This action highlights the role of the top union bureaucrats in the 1948 campaign. At a time when the Wallace movement has the labor movement seething with political discussion, at a time when laborists everywhere are talking thinking more seriously than before about the role of labor politics — at such a time all labor leaders have to contribute a split of the American Labor Party based on reactionary considerations from beginning to end.

NOT PROGRESSIVE

Up to now, most of the top union bureaucrats have kept mum on political policies. But this split the ALP serves notice that they go to any lengths to swing support behind strikebreaker Truman. Not only do they stand in the way of the unions forming their own party and running their candidates, but they are even prepared to disrupt and destroy existing labor political organizations which interfere in any way with the election of the Democrats.

Their rejection of Wallace is not possess a spark of progressivism. The Wallace movement, and should be condemned as an adventure, launched in isolation from the union movement and having responsibility to it. But that is why the labor bureaucrats oppose. On the contrary, they are preparing to spend millions of the workers' dollars boosting an organization like the Democratic Party, in which the labor movement admittedly has no voice at all.

The present crisis in the ALP is a climax in the long series of bureaucratic maneuvers that have marked its 12-year history. Its leaders gave the ALP the form of a Labor Party in order to attract support of workers disgusted with the boss-ran capitalist parties, they withheld the essence of independent labor politics by using it almost exclusively to catch votes for the old party candidates.

SPREAD ILLUSIONS

During these years the Stalin bureaucrats joined in an unholy alliance with the other bureaucrats helping them to spread illusions about the nature of the capitalist parties and to discourage the rising of independent labor candidates. Now the ALP is being led up because these two sets of bureaucrats cannot agree on which labor candidates to support. "Responsible" labor bureaucrats will continue supporting the Democratic Party. The Stalinists will throw the ALP behind the Wallace third party adventure.

Millions of workers have spent time and energy building such organizations as the ALP and the FLP because they hoped in this way advance independent labor politics. They are not going to take kind to any move either to destroy the organizations or to keep using them to serve the interests of capitalist politicians.

JOB TODAY

Their job today is to oppose maneuvers of both sets of bureaucrats. Instead of destroying the existing political organizations, labor, it is necessary to transplant them into genuine independent political bodies and bring them together in a United Labor Coalition. There, through democratic election, labor's representatives can work out a solution to their political problems by launching an independent Labor Party that will mobilize the support of the majority of the American people and swallow up the base of the Wallace movement in passing.

U.S. SENDS MARINES TO GREECE AS "COLD WAR" GROWS HOTTER

The Truman Administration has dragged this country to the verge of undeclared war against the Greek people. U. S. Fleet marines are being dispatched to the Mediterranean area to reinforce American armed forces already in Greek waters and threatening direct intervention in the Greek civil war.

The latest and most ominous move in U. S. imperialism's so-called "cold war" against "communism" was announced by the Navy Department on Jan. 2. It revealed that the aircraft carrier Midway and three light cruisers are within quick striking distance of Greece, as well as ten destroyers.

ONLY "ROUTINE"

Both the Navy and State Departments made an elaborate pretense that the sending of the marines at this time had nothing to do with the Greek situation. The Navy said it was only a routine "training" procedure to bring the marine personnel of the Midway and the light cruisers "to approximately the normal over-all complement." The

State Department even claimed the Navy acted without consultation.

Only a political blindman could fail to see through such transparent lies. What are 14 U. S. Navy vessels doing in Mediterranean waters to begin with? Isn't it strange that this concentration of U. S. naval might is precisely at or near the site which Washington has declared a major focus of its "cold war?"

PLEDGE OF SUPPORT

It is clear that U. S. marines are being sent to Greece for possible participation in the civil war on the side of the bloody monarchofascist regime of King Paul, who was restored to power by British bayonets and "legalized" by a farcical plebiscite on the Hitler model.

Indeed, on Jan. 3, a United Press dispatch from Washington lifted a corner of the iron curtain surrounding the purposes of the marine maneuvers. This dispatch said the marine reinforcements were "viewed in diplomatic circles today as a pledge of American support for the Communist-oppressed governments of Greece and Italy."

"State Department officials," we are informed, "gravely concerned about the military situation in Greece, interpreted the move as a psychological stroke to meet emergency conditions."

This same dispatch reveals that "military sources estimated unofficially that between 800 and 1,000 Leathernecks would be in the contingent that embarks Tuesday (Jan. 6)." The "normal complement" of marines for an aircraft carrier is 100; for light cruisers, 50. "Thus, if they had no marines at all at present," says the Jan. 3 N. Y. Times, "a detachment of 250 would fill all their needs."

A SQUARE MEAL

Since last March the U. S. government has been pouring military supplies and arms into Greece under the heading of "relief for the hungry." The Greek dictatorship, reinforced by 5,000 British troops, has been able to hold an army together of between 100,000 and 145,000 men simply because that's the only place where a poor Greek citizen can get

(Continued on Page 3)

15,000 Attend Mass Meeting in India

A giant mass meeting of 15,000 in the city of Madras, India, heard Ajit Roy, leading Trotskyist, discuss the program of the Fourth International. The meeting was organized by the Bolshevik Leninist (Trotskyist) party which has been in the forefront of a strike of 150,000 government employees in the Madras province. Attempts of Stalinist thugs to break up the meeting by force were beaten off by the assembled workers. A Stalinist plan to organize a rival meeting on the same day, a hundred yards away from the Trotskyist gathering, likewise proved a fiasco.

Will the Economic Boom Last?

By John G. Wright

Optimism is running quite high in business circles these days—at least so far as the first six months of 1948 are concerned. Industrial analysts, government experts and economic staffs leading Wall Street periodicals agree that the inflationary boom will continue in the period immediately ahead and even spur new heights.

They confidently predict new price peaks, with retail trade extending beyond the huge dollar volume recorded in 1947. Employment is expected to continue at current levels, with slight boosts in wages, still steeper hikes in prices, and what happen after mid-year, these authorities refuse to say.

Typical of the current outlook is analysis given by the weekly United States News, Jan. 2, which lists the following factors as helping strongly to sustain the boom:

A third round of wage increases: "a general boost in factory wages of 10 to 15 cents an hour is plausible."

These presumptive higher wages together with increasing "personal income payments" (profits) expected to keep the domestic market at approximately the 1947 level.

Since the retail trade did not rise in dollar volume last year, U. S. News, it therefore forecasts that the consumer demand, spurred up by higher wages should blue—for six more months, in case. But this does not follow all. The inflationary spurge of 1947 has drastically affected the domestic market, and may have well undermined it beyond repair. Physical volume of retail trade has definitely dropped below 1946. At all events, it still remains to be seen how the domestic market will be able to absorb the same share of the national output as it did in 1947.

GUARANTEE

The boom must continue because food prices and agricultural prices in general will remain high, and higher. It goes without saying that a collapse of the commodity market would drag down the

whole economy with it. And in and of itself, the maintenance of the agricultural price structure is no guarantee of capitalist prosperity. Industrial production has broken down in periods of high as well as low food prices.

5) The final major sustaining factor according to U. S. News, is the expectation that the construction industry will continue at current levels. The admitted lag in industrial building, it is expected, will be taken up by residential building and federal and state public construction.

PURELY INFLATIONARY

It will be observed that all of these boom-sustaining factors are purely inflationary in character. Gone beyond recall from these capitalist prognostications are such basic factors as the pent-up consumer demand for durable and non-durable goods resulting from war-created scarcities, the huge backlog of savings, the need for new capital investments, and so on. This only underscores the fact that the current boom is fed primarily by speculation, and constantly rising prices and profits. At best, this is only a short-term perspective.

After citing the above-listed "points of support" the U. S. News gingerly takes up the "weaknesses" in the capitalist structure.

First and foremost there is the critical condition of the capitalist world market. "Exports are not likely to be as large in 1948 than in 1947, if as large." It was the unprecedented foreign trade that temporarily relieved the strain on

the sagging domestic market in the second quarter of last year. But this outlet has now admittedly been saturated. The plan is to sustain it artificially by pumping billions of dollars into bankrupt European capitalism under the Marshall Plan. Under the most favorable conditions, this, too, is a temporary expedient capable of siphoning off only a small fraction of the vast national output.

The second and no less ominous development is the huge accumulation of inventories, now pressing the 42 billion dollar mark. "Supply pipe lines" of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers "generally are filled," admits the U. S. News. Yet inventory accumulation has been continuing at a rate of close to a billion dollars a month. With higher production, this rate must be stepped up. So long as prices shoot up, "profitable" inventories remain "profitable." But with any serious break in the price structure, they threaten to back up on production.

Thirdly, the capital goods sector—"business investment in plant and equipment"—has also been saturated. If instead of a "levelling off" process a sharp decline is registered in this field, then a depression cannot be averted.

Among the shakiest segments of capitalist economy is its credit structure. Commercial and agricultural loans are more than double prewar levels, pressing the 15 billion dollar mark. This figure does not include real estate loans and consumer credit. In effect, the boom has been kept going by the manipulation of the credit system whereby private debt, has been increased by almost 40 billion dollars since 1941. A sudden clamping down of credit would topple both the inventory accumulation and the price structure. Continued credit expansion, on the other hand, is the primary condition for sustaining the inflationary boom, but it only postpones the day of settlement, and nothing more.

In the estimation of capitalist experts the above listed "weaknesses" are fully offset by the "sustaining" factors. Their guess is—and it is only a guess—that nothing will happen to upset the economic applecart for another six months.

JOSEPH HANSEN

Foreign News Editor of

The Militant

speaking on

"THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

IN EUROPE"

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Sat., Jan. 17 at 8 p. m.

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MILITANT READERS WELCOME

More "Relief" For Millionaires Main Aim Of Knutson Tax Bill

To understand the aims of the Knutson Tax Bill introduced into the House of Representatives by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, one must look beyond the portals of Congress, where gather the political puppets of Big Business and look in the "Congress" of the real rulers of this country.

At its recent 52nd convention held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, the National Association of Manufacturers boasted its success in ending price control and passing the Taft-Hartley Labor Law. Thus "Roadblock 1" and "Roadblock 2" to permanent prosperity were removed, boasted Holcomb Parker, NAACP vice-president. He told the convention how its huge propaganda machinery had helped Congress ram through additional enormous profits for himself and his fellow Twentieth Century buccan-

ent to rest on past laurels. Instead they made careful preparations to remove "Roadblock No. 3" by further shifting the burden of taxation onto the poor. While their congressional agent Knutson started the ball rolling in the House, the NAM revealed that it had already turned out 60 news releases on the subject, 228 articles in its free news service for editors, 10 network radio broadcasts, 24 transcribed radio programs and 51 items in its various other propaganda bulletins. This propaganda barrage is to be stepped up in the coming days.

The two previous tax bills passed by Congress were so obviously tacked with the NAM brush that even President Truman was forced to veto them. This time Knutson was more careful in throwing a sop to the workers and middle class. But in essence the bill is the same as its two predecessors, calculated to line the pockets of the wealthy.

The bone thrown to the workers

is an increase in exemptions from \$500 to \$600; a special \$600 exemption for persons over 65 and an increase in the exemption for the blind from \$500 to \$600. The latter two items affect only a tiny section of the population. The general boost in the exemption means but a 3% rise in take-home pay for those earning \$600.

A GRAB BAG

Under the provisions of the Knutson Bill a married couple with two children earning \$2400 get a reduction of \$76 or an increase of 3% in take-home pay whereas a couple earning \$50,000 receive a reduction of \$8,125 or an increase of 31% in take-home pay; and those earning \$500,000 get a reduction of \$62,660 or a boost of 67% in take-home pay.

Thus the Knutson Bill remains a grab bag for the rich, who with the help of lawyers and accountants, find numerous additional loopholes to evade their tax obligations. The United States Treasury is doing its bit for Knutson's relief-greedy bill by stating in its study that tax cuts for higher income groups would "restore their incentive to earn more money and invest savings."

Big Business has devised still another scheme to lower the taxes of the very rich. Their state-controlled legislatures have already enacted community-property laws in 12 states which give husband and wife the right to split their incomes in two, whether the wife is working or not. The community-property law provides absolutely no tax saving to a married couple with no dependents earning \$2000. But a couple earning \$25,000 save \$2622, or increase their take-home pay by 10%. If their income is \$500,000 there is a saving of \$23,921 or a boost of 25% in take-home pay. Thus the rich evade the progressively higher brackets which were specifically enacted to make them give up a larger percentage of their income.

What the Knutson Bill attempts to do is to extend the community-property subterfuge to the whole country.

TAX THE RICH

A controversy is now raging in the capitalist press as to whether the Knutson Bill is inflationary. President Truman contends that it is. He maintains that an increase in purchasing power with the failure to reduce the public debt will add to the price rise.

But at the present time workers' wages are insufficient to pay for the necessities of life. What is needed therefore is to increase tax exemptions to \$5,000, making up any budget deficits by sharply raising the taxes of the wealthy and on the swollen corporation profits. That would also eliminate the necessity for all excise and sales taxes which especially burden the poor. That would be a really effective brake on inflation.

Farm Workers Strike In Arizona



Although Gov. Sidney Osborn has used the National Guard against them, members of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers (CIO) continue striking against lettuce growers in Phoenix, Ariz., who refuse to bargain collectively. AFL, CIO and rail unions have joined in protesting the use of force against the pickets.

Federated Pictures

Press Roundup On Wallace Candidacy

The Daily News, New York end of the McCormick-Patterson axis, shrewdly estimates that the Wallace candidacy will have a lot of grass roots appeal. In a long editorial entitled "Better Not Write Wal-

lace Off," it states: "... it seems to us that it is a mistake to underestimate Wallace's vote-pulling powers... many of our people... are in a befuddled, scared frame of mind. To them comes Henry A. Wallace... and promises them security and peace... For these reasons we think some leading Republicans are being too cocksure when they remark that now they can win in 1948 with anyone."

The New Republic, edited by Henry Wallace himself, runs an article by Wallace for the third party. In it Wallace announces his resignation as editor, adding that he will contribute an article once a week.

The Social-Democratic New Leader whips itself into the following frenzy: "Only an embittered, irresponsible megalomaniac could act and talk as Wallace does... How long will he be counted among the quislings of the Kremlin? How long will he fight for the interests of Soviet Russia against the interests of his own nation and of the American people of whom he is the self-appointed but rejected leader?"

The Pittsburgh Courier hasn't taken a position yet, but its executive editor, P. L. Prattis, in his personal column says of Wallace, "I am interested in him as a medium for setting the pace in recognizing the status of minorities in this country." Prattis' advice to the Negro people is to "use him for what he says and does to trade with the men who do have a chance to be elected."

Marshall Field's PM, now that it has to declare itself, goes all-out for Truman, playing the theory of the "lesser evil" for all it is worth. It says: "We still think that a third party in the field in 1948 is a mistaken move, based on mistaken premises and likely to do great harm not only to the Democrats, but to the independent progressive forces as well... With Wallace's candidacy now openly avowed, only a single party, united on the same platform of reaction, profiteering and war... Wallace's candidacy, and the program on which he makes his fight, sounds the call for a national fight for peace which will show where every progressive really stands, for peace and democracy, or for witch-hunts and war."

The CIO News takes no editorial position on Wallace but gives it full coverage in a news story which

THE MILITANT ARMY

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Another Chinese worker wrote for free copies of The Militant, almost in the same, mail as the "Three

Friends" whose letter we published two weeks ago. Since we promptly received a donation of \$2 to send the paper to the "Three Friends," we also entered a subscription for the second applicant. Here is his letter:

"I have the honor to inform you that I am a Trotskyist in the Chinese movement and a reader of your Militant. But as a very poor man, I have not been able to pay for your paper. If you will, please send me a free copy, as well as other pamphlets and magazines."

Who's going to see that this worker can read The Militant weekly? The cost is \$2 a year. If we receive more than one contribution we will apply it to subs for various other persons who plead regularly, from the four corners of the earth, for free subscriptions and other literature.

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THE MILITANT

Wallace 'Peace' Program-- A Middle-Class Panacea

The Socialist Workers Party has for many years advocated the formation of an independent Labor Party, based on the union movement and responsible to it. Such a party would be a big step forward because it would represent the mobilization of the workers as an independent class force in politics just as the unions represent their mobilization on the economic field.

We would support the candidates of such a Labor Party against the candidates of the capitalist parties. We would extend such support even if its leadership would be weak, even if its program would be inadequate or incorrect. Our criterion would be, not its program, but its class composition base and control.

Were Wallace the candidate of a genuine Labor Party, we could support his campaign, despite our opposition to his program. But because the Wallace movement is not a Labor Party—being neither based on the union movement nor responsible to it—we cannot support it.

Within this framework, we propose to examine the Wallace program based on the stand on foreign policy he took in his acceptance speech at Chicago on Dec. 30 and in a Milwaukee speech the following day.

Wallace of course is on strongest ground when he denounces the Truman-Marshall Doctrine as "bi-partisan reactionary war policy which is dividing the world into two armed camps and making inevitable the day when American soldiers will be lying in their Arctic skulls in the Russian snow." He is keenly aware of the fact that the people are worried about the effects of this policy, and that his denunciations will pay off in votes.

But as soon as Wallace expounds his own so-called "positive peace program," he reveals his political bankruptcy.

The events of the twentieth century have repeatedly proved that modern war is an inevitable product of capitalism in the stage of imperialism; that it results from the struggle for world markets, raw materials, colonies and profits; that it can be ended only by abolishing its economic cause, the capitalist system, and replacing it with a socialist society able to provide abundance and security.

Wallace denies these stern realities. So far as he is concerned, the problem is not the capitalist system itself—the people in charge are simply not running it properly. "It just doesn't make sense... It just doesn't need to happen." The threat of war does not arise from the contradictions of the capitalist system, it arises from the stupidity and shortsightedness of the men "who would rather have World War III than put forth a genuine effort to

bring about a peaceful settlement of differences."

Wallace asks for support because he is willing to put forth "a genuine effort." With his policy, he says, lasting peace is possible under capitalism.

Wallace is undoubtedly sincere in his belief that war with Russia would be against the best interests of American capitalism. He is undoubtedly also convinced that he can stop the present drive to war.

But precisely here is revealed the fuzziness and utopian petty-bourgeois character of the Wallace program. The war program of the American ruling class is not determined by the wishes or ideas of one man, or a group of men in the State or War Departments. It is determined by the whole expansionist character of American capitalism, which is owned by a small group of super-monopolists.

This monopoly capitalism must expand or perish. That is an economic law of capitalism. Truman—or the Republicans—or Wallace—are powerless to change this, given capitalist ownership and relations. The present bi-partisan war policy thus flows inevitably from the character of American imperialism.

To really reverse this policy, it is necessary to take away the control over economic life from the clique of great industrialists and bankers who are the real masters and rulers of this country. But Wallace does not understand this, nor propose to do this. That is why his anti-war program is unrealistic and fraudulent. At best, the Wallace program is a petty-bourgeois mirage—if not calculated demagoguery.

Wallace condemns "the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan as applied" because they will not work, because they will backfire on American capitalism: "Those whom we buy politically with our food will soon desert us. They will pay us in the base coin of temporary gratitude and then turn to hate us because our policies are destroying their freedom."

Wallace wants to mend the Marshall Plan as follows: A reconstruction fund should be set up and operated by the UN, rather than the U. S.; priority in the allocation of funds should go to the Allied nations which suffered most severely in the war; "scrupulous respect" should be shown for the "national sovereignty of all beneficiary countries, with no political or economic conditions attached to loans or grants"; none of the funds should be used for military purposes; the Ruhr should be placed under control of the Big Four.

What does all this fancy verbiage amount to? How basically would it alter the present imperialist policy of Washington—Wall Street? Very little. The UN, as any school child

is aware is controlled by the United States. It runs on the principle, as do all institutions under capitalism, that "who pays the piper calls the tune." Administration of the Marshall Plan through the UN would alter nothing fundamentally. The U. S. would still retain control.

The proposal that American capitalism grant huge loans to Europe "with no political or economic conditions attached" must be put down as plain demagoguery. Why not propose that the capitalists run their plants in the U. S. for the welfare of the people and forget about profits? It's a good idea but it cannot be achieved under capitalism.

The phrase about priority in the allocation of funds going to Allied nations which "suffered most severely in the war" is taken right out of the Stalinist program. It is thoroughly reactionary. It is an attempt to revive the ghost of the Morgenthau Plan and reduce Germany to a desert.

The Wallace plan is more subtle, less brutally obvious than the Marshall Plan, but it has the same aim—the revival of Europe as a vast American market, the partial stabilization of world capitalism at the expense of the workers. Wallace thinks it would have a greater chance of succeeding than the Marshall Plan because it would have the support of the Stalinists, who would resume their formal policy of unconcealed class collaboration, strike-breaking and driving the workers to "produce more."

What Europe needs is the unification of its economy and resources—planned production under the control of the workers to eliminate capitalist anarchy and profit. Like Truman, Wallace is opposed to any such socialist reconstruction plan.

Prosperity can be achieved in Europe only through the democratic participation of the European peoples. That means the right of the people to decide their own fate; that means the withdrawal of all occupation troops, above all from Germany, the industrial heart of the continent. Wallace, like Truman, is utterly opposed to such a move.

Wallace's positive peace program—a compound of utopian as well as reactionary proposals—is thus a petty-bourgeois snare to channelize the anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses in order the better to dissipate them.

Only naive people will expect Wallace to carry on a consistent fight against the coming war. Before World War II he also posed as an enemy of war. But when it began, when the interests of U. S. imperialism were at stake, he not only joined the war machine, he became its shrillest recruiting sergeant. Wallace's program guarantees that he will play a similar role in World War III.

WORKERS' FORUM

Socialism in Greece Punishable by Death

Editor: While we are writing these lines, our party is being officially "dissolved" by the government and our press banned "indefinitely." The comrade in charge of our printshop has been arrested. Henceforth, the mere dissemination of our ideas will be punishable by death.

The justification for the "dissolution" of all organizations "working against the safety of the state" and for its "overthrow by force," is the announcement of the formation of the Stalinist government in the mountains. Last week the right to strike was also abolished by government decree.

We are sure that the whole party, as well as each comrade individually, will pass this new test like real bolsheviks, and in the end will emerge stronger than ever. In reality, we have been working under illegal or semi-illegal conditions since 1936, and consequently we are accustomed to struggle under such conditions.

But to be victorious in our struggle, we need your help, as well as the help of the whole International, and the world proletariat.

Bolshevik greetings,
G. Dalas
Athens, Greece

Believes Jews Have National Rights

In an article by Irving Dale on the partition of Palestine he says, "In adopting this decision, the U. N. ran roughshod over the clearly expressed desire of the Arab majority in Palestine... This violation of the democratic rights of self-determination was committed in the name of securing peace in the Middle East." It seems to me that Irving Dale is making the mistake of using the ordinary form of democracy, majority over minority, when he should be using the interpretation of democracy as applied to nationalities, which simply is the recognition of the equality of national-

Cannot Find Impartial Judges

Editor:

I work at the printing trade, putting all sorts of names and ballyhoo on suit, dress and cake boxes, trying to keep J. Cohl in business at the expense of Tom Green. Which incidentally causes me to recall a most amusing incident that occurred last week. I was explaining to one of my fellow workers how utterly unnecessary our present jobs would be in a socialist society. He got quite alarmed, and said, "Do you mean to tell me after I have spent years learning and acquiring this job that you would just eliminate it like that?" and he snapped his fingers. I merely laughed out loud and replied, "It has never occurred to me previously how sad the Egyptian slaves must have felt after years of acquiring the skill to build bigger and better pyramids when they no longer would be able to do that."

Irving Swanson,
New York, N. Y.

Sandstone Prisoners Will Be Vindicated

Editor: Although I am a firm believer in the Holy Bible, I certainly am well pleased with that article written by Theodore Kovalesky entitled "The Christmas Spirit." It just goes to show that the religious hypocrites don't know what they are saying when they repeat piously: "Peace on earth, good will to men." It would be better to say: "Peace on earth to men of good will," which is in harmony with the same verse found in the Catholic Bible, Douay version. Why any creature who claims to be righteous would say: "Peace on earth, good will to men" who are warmongers is undoubtedly the height of hypocrisy.

As you may expect I am one of Jehovah's witnesses; nevertheless, I have been a regular subscriber to your paper and have derived much good from it. I have much respect for those men who made my acquaintance at Sandstone prison, and I still say that our stay there was a victory to us, and we will, if we continue to be honest, be vindicated in due time.

Farrell Salverson
Minneapolis, Minn.

I told him I hadn't. "Winchell, in connection with some flu, company, is offering a \$10,000 fur coat to the person who can give the best definition of a Communist. Your old lady would appreciate that, I am sure, and you ought to be able to do that." "Yes," I replied, "but our first requisite would be some impartial judges."

"Oh, hell, you won't have any trouble about that!" said he. I continued, "I doubt that. To illustrate, suppose someone had sponsored a similar contest prior to 1860 below the Mason-Dixon line as to the best definition of an Abolitionist. Do you think you could have found impartial judges at the time?"

H. C.
Cincinnati, O.

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Monday, January 12, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

"The debasement of paper money reflects the general mortal crisis of capitalist commodity circulation. . . . The distribution of raw materials, the utilization of Baku or Rumanian oil, Donbas coal, Ukrainian wheat, the fate of German locomotives, freight cars and automobiles, the rationing of relief for starving Europe—all these fundamental questions of the world's economic life are not being regulated by free competition, nor by association of national and international trusts and cartels, but by the direct application of military force, for the sake of its continued preservation. If the complete subjection of the state power to the power of finance capital had led mankind into the imperialist slaughter, then through this slaughter financial capital succeeded in completely militarizing not only the state but also itself; and it is no longer capable of fulfilling its basic economic functions, otherwise than by means of blood and iron."

—Manifesto of the Communist International, March 6, 1919.

Peacetime Military Conscription

The big push is on to regiment the American people under brass hat control. All the agents of capitalist reaction are beating the drums in unison for universal compulsory military training.

The generals are whooping it up before Congressional committees and spending government funds for a propaganda campaign of tremendous proportions. The boss press pulls out all stops in describing the manifold benefits—mental, moral, physical and spiritual—of subjecting the minds and bodies of every youth in the land to the goose-stepping command and martial indoctrination of the reactionary officer caste.

Democrat Truman and Republican Dewey, as well as legislators of both Wall Street parties, are demanding that our mothers and fathers give up their sons in peacetime to have their brains softened and their war-spirit hardened by a permanent and universal militarism. Even the scientists and the college presidents have been lined up to add their treble piping to the bass rumble of the professional militarists.

Last week, as the House Armed Services Committee brought out its Universal Mil-

itary Training bill, the clamor of the warmongers and labor-haters (strikebreaking is one of the fine arts taught by the officers corps) reached a climax. Twenty-nine governors proclaimed Universal Military Training Week as a seven-day period for ceremony, meetings, petitions and frenzied propaganda to beat down all resistance to the prussianization of America.

Why all the ballyhoo and pressure if UMT is such a fine thing? The truth is the American people have a traditional loathing for militarism and military regimentation. They have always resisted the attempts of the brass hats to control American life. Universal military training will be accepted by the American people only if it is shoved down their throats. That is the purpose of the propaganda drive unleashed by the generals, statesmen and press agents of U. S. imperialism.

American labor has most to lose if universal military training is adopted. The first victim of brass hat domination will be the labor movement. The unions, above all, must speak out, on behalf of the American people against the conspiracy to turn this country into one big barracks.

British Nationalization of Railroads

On January 1, 1948 the railways of Britain were nationalized. The British Labor Party boasts that this is another accomplishment of its "socialist" program. The Big Business press in this country, anxious to discredit socialism, also labels this move as "socialist."

But this is a fraud. There is nothing socialist about the nationalization of the British railways. It is a measure of state capitalism—and will benefit only the British capitalists.

Here are the facts. The British railroads are in an unbelievably dilapidated state. 40% of its locomotives are obsolete. Another 18% are under repair. Over 20% of its freight cars are over age with another 20% under repairs. 20% of its coaches are over-age and another 10% under repair. The repair shops themselves are antiquated, and lack the necessary machines and materials for the huge amount of work.

Thus what is occurring in practice is that the government is taking off the hands of the British capitalists an obsolete and broken-down railway system and giving them in return 4 billion dollars of government securities with an ironclad guarantee of 120 million dollars of profits per year.

Moreover, the railroad workers have no voice in the management of the newly na-

tionalized system. The same old boss management remains at the helm.

This type of capitalist nationalization is nothing new to the American workers. In many cities, as in New York and Boston, the local transportation systems have been taken over by the city governments. This was usually done after the private owners had squeezed out huge profits and had burdened the systems with enormous quantities of watered stock. With the help of their political stooges, they then proceeded to unload the run-down lines on the city, and got in return guaranteed city bonds or hard cash for their watered stock.

This is the pattern of the nationalizations now taking place in England.

A genuine socialist government, especially in view of the economic bankruptcy of England today, would expropriate the railroads and give no compensation to the private owners who have already raked in fantastic profits.

The railroads would then be placed under workers' control. The improvements effected, and the profits realized, would then help raise the living standards of all the people, including the railroad workers. Under the present setup, the nationalization is of benefit only to the railroad coupon clippers.

De Gaulle's Bid for Power

Only after the Socialists sold out the General Strike of 1921 in Italy did Mussolini get his chance to build a mass fascist movement, as a preliminary to his march on Rome two years later in 1923.

History is today repeating itself in France. Scarcely a month after the Stalinist betrayal of the great strike wave, General de Gaulle throws off the mask of ambiguity and unfolds the fascist program of the "corporate state" at a mass meeting in St. Etienne. De Gaulle is thus attempting to follow the path marked out by his predecessors in Italy and Germany.

The political ups and downs of this would-be Napoleon follow closely the evolution of the French working class movement.

Several months after the so-called "liberation" of France, de Gaulle suddenly announced his retirement from politics although he appeared at the height of his popularity. The reason? The workers' movement was then so formidable, it was a current saying that Thorez, leader of the French Stalinist movement, had only to pick up the phone to seize power.

But Thorez never put in that call. Instead of establishing a workers' state and starting the march toward socialism, the French Stalinists became the main prop of diseased French capitalism.

De Gaulle waited until the patience of large sections of the middle class was exhausted with the "democratic" capitalist government, and until thousands became disillusioned with the unfulfilled promises of the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Then he returned to the political arena—not as an isolated political figure but as the leader of a mass movement.

But even then de Gaulle could not fully reveal his hand. The workers' movement was still powerful and had not been tested in decisive class combat. Only after the irresponsible and treacherous Stalinist leaders misled the great strike movement did de Gaulle dare pass over to direct agitation for power.

De Gaulle's fascist speech is by no means the final stage of his movement. He has yet to organize his storm troops and attempt to set them in motion against the workers' organizations. The working class movement still has full opportunity to retrieve its losses and begin its forward march again.

De Gaulle's speech, however, constitutes a warning! Unless the French working class builds a revolutionary leadership and by decisive means resolves the crisis of capitalism—fascism will be the inevitable consequence of its failure.

Trotskyist Candidate Polls 15,000 in Toronto Election

TORONTO, Jan. 1 — The Trotskyist candidates in Toronto's municipal elections registered impressive gains in today's voting.

Final returns gave Ross Dowson, Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for Mayor, 15,423 votes, and Harry Clairmont, RWP candidate for Board of Control, 4,957. Dowson, sole opponent of the Tory incumbent Saunders, polled over 11% of the total vote cast. Clairmont, one of seven candidates for the four offices on the Board of Control, polled 5.7% of the highest vote.

The last week of the campaign witnessed the most vicious red-baiting drive that this city has ever seen. Mayor Saunders hysterically lashed out against the opponents of his slate for Board of Control as "godless men unfit to administer the city." In Ward 5, a concentrated working class area, the capitalist candidates campaigned on a straight anti-communist basis.

The city administration used every means to get out the vote. Reactionary property qualifications limit the franchise to 367,000. The administration hoped by a high vote to defeat the Stalinist candidates and to take a side-swipe at the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and RWP candidates.

Under the impetus of the campaign 39% voted, a 9% increase over last year. But the red-baiting campaign fizzled. Although Smith, the Stalinist candidate for the Board of Control, went down to defeat for the second time, he received 49,319 votes—7,087 more than last year. Defeated in other wards, Stalinist candidates in Wards 4 and 5 were returned with an increased vote.

The CCF took a bad beating. Running only 9 candidates for this most important of 41 posts, it elected only one candidate. Its campaign was indistinguishable from that of the capitalist candidates.

MAJOR FORCE

Only the RWP made substantial gains. The RWP candidates conducted a militant campaign for consumer committees on prices, municipalization of milk, low-rent housing, taxation of the rich. They were the major force for independent political action by labor.

Last year's RWP candidate for Mayor, Murray Dowson, polled 3,201, or 3% of the poll. The RWP this year, running its National Secretary, Ross Dowson, polled 11% of the total vote. Despite Smith's expensive campaign, Clairmont, a first-time candidate polled almost 5,000.

The significance of the big Trotskyist vote is underlined by the fact that the Tory Saunders, was endorsed by the powerful AFL Council. Although the CCF-dominated CIO Council did not endorse him, many prominent CCF leaders did.

In the face of the CCF defeat and the reactionary roll of the Stalinist LPP, the impressive gains made by the Trotskyists take on even greater significance.

Trotskyists Hail Stand of French Socialist Youth

PARIS, Dec. 21.—At a special plenum of its Central Committee, the International Communist Party (Trotskyist) of France hailed the break of the left wing "Revolutionary Socialist Action" from the Socialist Party (reported in the Jan. 5 Militant), and its expressed desire to work for a regroupment of forces for the purposes of building a revolutionary party.

At the same time, the Central Committee resolution recorded with satisfaction the statement of the Socialist Youth "establishing the fundamental agreement between the SY and the Trotskyist PCI and the possibility of immediate fusion." It also considers desirable that after a thorough-going discussion and political clarification, the three organizations participate in the construction of a united revolutionary party.

The Central Committee resolution declares that the PCI will organize a united front with the two organizations "above all in the trade union field and in the factories, with the aim of strengthening and broadening the revolutionary trade union tendency 'Workers Front'."

Taking note of the decision of the National Committee of the SY to resume its youth activity and to propose the regroupment of the revolutionary youth within its organization, the C. C. recommends to the International Communist Youth, youth section of the PCI, to respond to this appeal by participating as actively and as rapidly as possible in the regroupment of the revolutionary youth and by reaching the necessary agreements with the SY.

The C. C. furthermore greets the decision of the SY authorizing the militants of this organization to work in one of the revolutionary adult organizations and welcomes the SY comrades who have joined to reinforce the ranks of the French Section of the Fourth International.



The above photograph was taken at the railway yards at Bamberg, Germany. Lacking food, warm clothing and adequate housing these people face slow starvation in the coming winter months.

Trial At Bremerhaven

By Bill Morgan

The American Army runs Bremerhaven. There are German customs officials and German police and a German so-called government but the American Army runs the city. MPs are everywhere. And as each American ship enters the harbor a lot of rules and regulations American rules—American regulations. Seamen have seen them all in other ports. These laws are designed especially to restrict seamen and are rigorously enforced.

Off limits areas of the city are designated. The number of cigarettes permitted ashore is especially limited to three packs. All German homes, beer taverns, shops, etc., are strictly out of bounds. Possession of German money is forbidden to Americans. There is a curfew every night and the MPs patrol the city and dock area to enforce it. (Even Germans must be off the streets at 11 P. M.).

DREARY PROSPECT

The only place of entertainment permitted seamen is the Seamen's Club run by the United Seamen's Service, an official branch of the American set-up in Bremerhaven. Here, for a couple of hours a day, one can buy beer, listen to music, and purchase papers and magazines. German employees, waiters, musicians, porters, a barber, etc., wait upon American seamen with such frantically servile bowing and scraping that even the most callous seaman regards them with shame. The YMCA of Seamen's Mission atmosphere so well known to seamen the world over. Once in a while a USO entertainment unit or some other group is booked to give the seamen a treat. Upstairs there are rooms for seamen stranded on the beach. The place closes at 11 p.m. every night except an occasional Saturday night when curfew for Americans is extended to midnight or 1 o'clock.

Most seamen avoid the place. Many remain aboard the ship. These men have had enough of war, Bremerhaven is the war. Hunger, misery, and ruins coupled with graft, exploitation and the Military Government.

For the men who go ashore and who don't go to the Seamen's Club there are the prostitutes who take customers home for two packages of cigarettes. Some go to get a camera or a pair of binoculars for cigarettes. Money is useless here. The only currency is the cigarette. One package of smokes is worth 100 pounds of coal delivered to one's house. It is useless to ask for coal even if you have the money, the necessary ration coupon and a wagon to haul the coal. They shrug and say, "No more coal" but with one package of cigarettes . . . suddenly there is coal and lots of it.

Another seaman and I went into a German beer tavern after the Seamen's Club closed one night. We knew the bartender there. He is an anti-fascist who served his time in Hitler's jails and was crippled so that he can no longer work on the tug boats. He was glad to see us but cautioned us to remain in the rear and served our beer under the table. Ten minutes later in marched two MPs. Our clothing gave us away at once. We were taken at the point of a forty-five to the U. S. Army police station and booked.

The next morning we appeared at the Court House. There were at least twenty-five other American seamen there all charged with some violation of Army rules and regulations.

The corridors and ante-rooms of the old court building were alive

with the usual type of fixers, ward heelers and running dogs for the machine that ground out justice a-la-Tammany. There were the same old hangers-on who "knew the judge" and for a fee might "fix things."

After presenting our summons to a sleek character in a sharp suit we filed into the court room. Behind the judge's high seat hung an American flag. Behind the flag the old brown wall was faded, and the unmistakable outline of the swastika looked down upon the dock where stood the men and women charged with violating American law and order. At the huge double doors stood an old man with tired eyes and a Hindenburg mustache. He looked over his American prisoners with a bored leer. A package of Lucky Strikes stuck out of his breast pocket.

We waited about half an hour. Suddenly the sleek young man in the sharp suit came in and took a seat alongside the big chair reserved for the judge. Next came a little man carrying a pile of assorted packages and paper sacks. These he piled on a table to the right of the judge. Then appeared two German girls. Clothed in threadbare coats, worn shoes, and obviously in need of food and sleep, these girls took seats offered them by the seamen. The old man at the door glared at the girls and they avoided his eyes in abject fear. Suddenly he barked at them in German. They stood up wearily and slowly walked to seats on the other side of the room.

When the judge entered, the trained seal in the mustache motioned for all to stand. We did so. The judge took his seat and we saw that the judge was a captain in the American Army. After a quick glance around the room he signaled for us to sit down. We did so. The judge and the sleek guy talked in whispers for a few minutes before calling the first case.

The shorter of the two girls stood up and walked to the dock in front of the judge. The sleek guy was the translator. He read off the charge against the girl. "Entering the Bremerhaven area without permission after having been expelled." The girl attempted to explain. She was on her way to her family in Cruxhaven and came to Bremerhaven to arrange transportation. The judge looked out the window. He was bored. He began to read the papers on the case. Then he announced, "You were arrested once before in this city. You had syphilis. You were sentenced to 90 days in the work house. When you were released you were told not to return. You returned. Now I'm sending you to the work house again for 90 days and if you are ever brought here again it will go hard on you."

SAME CASE

The girl couldn't believe her ears. She wilted and tried not to cry. Halfway back to her seat in the corner she broke down and we could hear her sobbing. We were too ashamed to look at her.

The other girl was called. Same charge. Same case. She tried to explain. She was pregnant. An American soldier now at school in Bremen . . . She had returned to Bremerhaven to see her family . . . Same sentence. 90 days at hard labor. No attempt to determine the truth or to arrange for medical care. The name of the soldier was not asked for. Ninety days . . .

Marines Sail for Greece in Latest "Cold" War Move

(Continued from Page 1)

a square meal. All the food for the Greek army comes from the U. S. If the food gave out, the "loyal" Greek army would dissolve overnight.

The Greek monarchist army is so shot through with corruption, its troops have so little morale that they have been able to make little headway against the Stalinist-led forces waging a hit-and-run war in the northern border mountains. All-most all the 300 million dollars allocated last spring for Greek "relief" has been used up. Most of it went for military supplies—74,000 tons of it, according to official figures.

Direct U. S. military intervention in Greece was heralded last September, when the U. S. Commission in Greece set up a military branch of 73 U. S. military men to advise the Greek army. This now numbers 66 officers and 101 enlisted men whose duty it is "to go to the front with the Greek troops and advise them on tactics." (World Report, Dec. 30, 1947).

The establishment by the Stalinists of a so-called "free government" several weeks ago brought an immediate threat of U. S. armed intervention if Russia or any of its satellites formally recognized the Stalinist set-up in Greece. On Dec. 30, Under-Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett said such recognition would have "serious implications."

Premier Sophoulis—whose regime has suppressed all opposition parties and papers, thrown tens of thousands of rebellious workers and soldiers into prison horror camps and imposed a death penalty for strikers—hailed the latest move of Washington as "encouraging."

But it is definitely very menacing to the common people in the Mediterranean area. Even the reactionary regime of De Gasperi in Italy, a semi-puppet of U. S. imperialism, has been forced by the indignation and pressure of the Italian workers to demand that the U. S. government explain the exact meaning and implication of the strengthening of U. S. armed forces in Mediterranean waters.

The implication is all too clear. Wall Street is preparing to extend its "cold war." It is using warships, planes and marines to threaten and intimidate all opposition to the reactionary regimes it maintains in Europe with the taxes of the American people. Tomorrow or the day after, some American boy in a marine uniform may be "sight-seeing" in the northern Greek mountains, stop a bullet—and provide the pretext for U. S. military invasion of Greece and the start of a "hot war."

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Give This Copy
OF THE MILITANT
To Your Shopmate

"The Peepul's Choice"

By Theodore Kovalesky

In rather small handwriting on the lower right-hand side of the photo were the words, "To my pal, Vic Wroble . . . Jack Dempsey." Stanley Ketchel, Terry McGovern, Mickey Walker, Jim London, Strangler Lewis, Babe Ruth, Bobby Jones, and a long list of others had written (or somebody had written for them) similar messages of friendship on their pictures. It was easy to see that Vic Wroble was a friend of the famous.

Pete Rossi and I walked along the walls looking at the pictures tacked up there, row on row, tier on tier. "That guy sure is a friend of the people," Pete said.

I grinned. "He sure is. Says so himself every election day."

The friend of the famous walked into the barroom, and everyone turned to look. He was worth looking at. Vic Wroble must weigh at least three hundred pounds, perhaps three-fifty. He walks slowly and with the dignity befitting a saloon owner and politician.

How he got his start I'm not sure. Some say he once worked in the mill and later left to open up his own place; others tell you that he worked for Jerry Ryan as a sort of overseer at Ryan's houses down at "Paradise Alley."

But whatever his beginning was, it was only a temporary matter for Vic Wroble, for he was an independent man, a man of brains and ambition. It was only a question of time before he was to enter politics; and it was only a question of time before he was to become either a friend or an enemy of Jerry Ryan.

While Ryan wasn't exactly a politician in the sense of holding office, he was one in the sense that he held the office-holders. He was never mayor, but he chose the mayors. He was never a judge, but the

Judges' decisions were the decisions of Jerry Ryan. And anybody who wanted to be anything in the town's political set-up had to become a friend of Jerry Ryan. Jerry's enemies were either kept out of office or, in the most important cases, found dead at various places not far from town. Vic Wroble chose to become a friend. That's about all I know about his start.

It wasn't long before Wroble became Jerry Ryan's right-hand man. Patsy Murphy tended bar at the Blue Star Grille and looked after business generally, leaving Vic Wroble time to devote himself to politics. He didn't operate like Ryan; he held office, at one time or other almost every office in town. And he cleaned up on every job he had. When Ryan died back in '38, Wroble took over.

Now he drives a long, sleek car and has a big summer home out on the lake shore. He's boss of the town, and he knows it, and loves it.

The friend of the famous, the boss of the town walked through the barroom slowly and with great dignity. "Patsy," he ordered, "give these here gentlemen a drink on the house."

"Shot of Three Feathers," Pete said, answering the bartender's question. "I'm taking the best. First damn thing I ever got free from a politician!"

I grinned. "I'll take the same," I told Patsy. "That fat slob!" Pete said to me. "He figures he's got our vote for this drink."

"There's ingratitude for you," I kidded.

"Oh, I'm grateful," he protested. "I'm grateful for his graft out of my taxes. I'm grateful for the dough he gets out of Paradise Alley. I'm grateful for his mobsters . . . and this drink."

"All the guys in that steel plant!" he appealed to me. "They could run this town like he does, only cleaner . . ."

"They will, Pete," I said. "Some day they will!"

The Negro Struggle

Wallace and the Roosevelt Record

By Albert Parker

In last week's column we showed there was a suspicious contrast between Henry Wallace's fine-sounding speeches against Jim Crow nowadays, when he is running for office, and his failure to take action against Jim Crow when he was a high government official. We did it because we knew that his followers would try to cover up the truth about his record.

And sure enough, that is exactly what Benjamin J. Davis, Stalinist New York City Councilman, attempts to do in an article hailing Wallace's candidacy in the Jan. 4 *Worker*. Here is what he says:

"For 85 years since the Civil War, the Negro people have seen their hopes for enforcement of their constitutional rights dashed by successive Republican and Democratic Administrations, except for the all-too-brief Roosevelt era."

It may be too early in the year for predictions, but our guess is that there won't be a bigger lie than that in all of 1948. The curious thing about it is that everybody old enough to read lived through the Roosevelt era, and should know from experience that it is a lie.

What happened in the Roosevelt era (for which Wallace bears as much responsibility as Roosevelt)? Did the administration carry on any kind of campaign to stop lynching? Or the poll tax? Or discrimination in employment? Or segregation in the armed forces? Or restrictive covenants?

The Roosevelt era may have seemed "all-too-brief" for Davis, but for the Negro people it was 13 long years of misery and bitter struggle during which Roosevelt, Wallace and their Jim Crow Southern

Democrat pals ganged up to kill every piece of progressive legislation affecting Negro rights.

It is not accidental that Davis begins his Wallace-for-President propaganda by trying to paint up the Roosevelt era in glowing and deceptive colors. After all, Wallace is only trying to repeat the Roosevelt role—which was long on promises and short on performance. Wallace, not being in office, may make even better promises than Roosevelt, but what reason have the Negro people for believing that he will keep them?

When the Stalinists and other Wallaceites come around asking for your support, ask them these questions. Let them, along with the Democrats and Republicans, know that from now on the Negro people will no longer be fooled by the honeyed words of political hypocrites.

After last week's column on Wallace had been printed, we were shown a column on the same subject in the *Amsterdam News* by Lester Granger of the National Urban League, and were asked if there are any differences in our viewpoints. There certainly are. We call attention to the same facts, but for entirely different reasons.

Granger does it because he wants the Negro people to support Truman. We do it because we want the Negro people to join with the union movement in establishing an independent Labor Party which will run labor and Negro candidates in opposition to all the capitalist parties. Our differences with Granger and his fellow Trumanites are just as great as our differences with Wallace or the Stalinists. This will be brought out more clearly as we discuss the Wallace question further.

The New Gold Brick

By Grace Carlson

"Protect Yourself Against Winter Colds—Take Vitamin Pills." "To Insure Good Health and Well-Being, Take a Vitamin Capsule Every Day." These are the kind of slogans, with which the vitamin pill manufacturers bombard the citizens every day on the billboards and street car signs, in newspaper ads, and over the radio.

Impressed with the seeming scientific basis for the vitamin pill propaganda, hundreds of thousands of people have been streaming into the country's drug stores to lay down their hard-earned cash for these synthetic vitamins. And what do they get for all the millions that they spend for vitamin pills? Not much!

It's true, of course, that many vitamin pill-users may think they feel better when they take vitamin concentrates regularly. But this is no proof that they have been materially benefited by the pills and capsules that they have swallowed. A study reported in a recent issue of *Industrial Medicine* gives us some interesting facts on this point.

Dr. A. C. Ivy, assisted by Drs. Jung, Bing and Cislser made a year's study of the effect of a daily supplement of vitamins on production and absenteeism in a Chicago area steel plant. 241 steel workers were divided into three groups. One group received a vitamin capsule every day. The second group received

placebos (capsules which looked like the vitamins but actually were an inactive drug). The third group received nothing. The treatment was rotated periodically and a questionnaire was circulated to all the workers every four months.

35% of those taking vitamin capsules said that their appetite, sleep and feeling of well-being had improved. But, so did 35% of those taking blank capsules! The rate of absenteeism due to illness was lower in the blank capsule group than in the vitamin group. The rates of voluntary absenteeism were the same in the vitamin and placebo group and lower than the non-treatment group. There were no significant differences in production in the three groups.

All this study proves is that people have been so thoroughly propagandized as to the great value of vitamin pills that even if they think that they are getting them, they imagine that they feel better.

Dr. G. C. Engel, a member of the Graduate School of Medicine of Pennsylvania University said in a recent talk on diet in health and disease, "It is altogether untrue that a normal person's sense of well-being and ability to perform work can be improved greatly by the addition of vitamins to the diet. The truth of the matter is that only people who have vitamin deficiencies as established by reliable tests should indulge in vitamin therapy and then, only under the guidance of physicians who understand their needs."

Just the same, the drug monopolies continue to peddle their expensive vitamin preparations to all who have the money to pay for them. The vitamin pill is the new gold brick!

Notes from the News

ROCK BOTTOM—Former King Michael arrived in France in a state of extreme destitution. A Lincoln, two Buicks, one jeep, a motorcycle, nine cases of gin,

four big trunks, 40 suitcases, and an assortment of shot guns, cameras, cases of sugar, and 15 automobile tires accompanied him. His secretary told the press Michael had gone into exile "with very little money and no assets abroad."

MOST ENDS DON'T MEET—According to a Gallup poll, 72% of the people are finding it harder "to make both ends meet" than a year ago, while 3% find it easier and 25% find it the same.

MONTHLY CONFUSION—The Stalinists are folding up their weekly *New Masses* and their monthly *Mainstream* and issuing a new magazine. They say it will "thrust through the fog of fear in which the plunderers and pundits seek to envelop the people." The Stalinist variety of fog will appear monthly.

WHERE TAXES GO—More than \$70 per person, or over 10 billions, was spent on the armed forces in

1947. No cut in this budget item is expected this year.

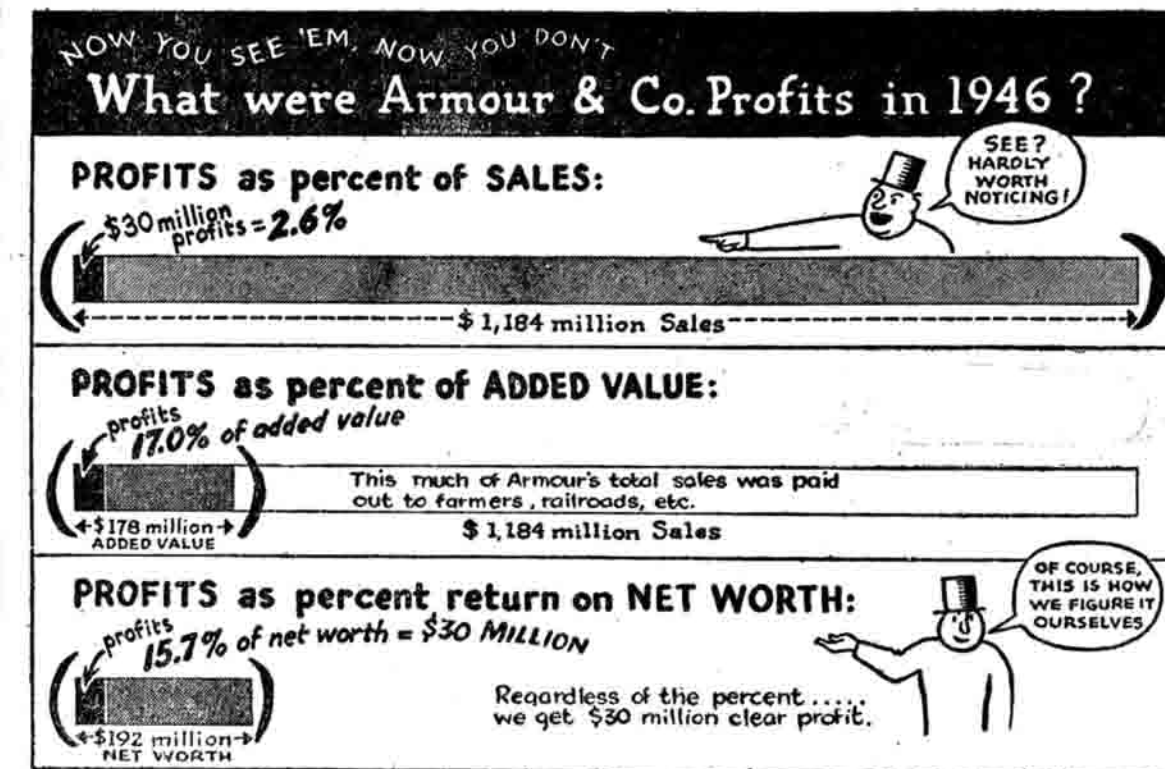
NO OVERTIME FOR A-BOMB—A federal court in Tennessee has denied \$2,000,000 in overtime wages and damages to 385 Oak Ridge firemen and construction workers because the atomic bomb is "not goods intended for commerce" and therefore not covered by the 40-hour week provisions of the Wage and Hour Law.

WONDER DRUG—"Penicillin is called the 'wonder drug' and it is," says Indiana CIO President Neal W. Edwards. "The wonder is that a worker is able to buy it . . . because the shots cost from \$5 to \$30 by the time he gets them under his skin." They cost the doctor 4¢ a shot.

MURDER "DEPLORED"—Embarrassed by the death-of-strikers law passed by the Greek government, which the top CIO leaders support, the *CIO News* came through with this lulu of an understatement: "Workers and governments throughout the democratic world have long since realized that harsh, brutal and unjustified legislation of this sort never serves any policy except to create ill will and conflict."

THE MILITANT

NLRB Strikes Two More Blows Against Labor Under Taft Act



By publicizing profits as a percent of sales, Big Business seeks to fool the public into thinking profits are small. This chart from the December CIO Economic Outlook, using Armour and Co. as an example, shows two accurate ways of measuring them. Note how the myth of "low-percentage profits" is destroyed.

Federated Pictures

Taft-Hartley Act Revives Government by Injunction

By George Lavan

The meaning of "Government by injunction" was thoroughly understood by the past generation of labor fighters. They learned not only to hate it but how to fight it. With the reintroduction of the Taft-Hartley law of the hated injunction as a major weapon to break strikes, the present generation of unionists is destined to relearn this same lesson.

A labor injunction is a decree by a judge forbidding the carrying on of a strike. If anyone disobeys this decree the judge can immediately fine or imprison that person. No jury passes on the injunction or on the sentences of violators. The judge can issue his order without even hearing the union's side.

The labor injunction was not always a part of U. S. "law." It was dragged into the legal code by a

desperate capitalist class to break the Pullman strike of 1894. An injunction was issued against the American Railway Union. Eugene V. Debs, president of the ARU, and other leaders were imprisoned for violating the injunction. Hundreds more injunctions were issued in the course of the strike. Deputy marshals, numbering 3,600, armed and paid for by the railroads acted as strikebreakers and "law" enforcement officers, at one and the same time. Finally U. S. army troops were sent in. The strike was crushed and the American Railway Union destroyed.

From that point on the labor injunction was established as an invaluable weapon in the capitalists' strikebreaking arsenal.

In 1919 the steel workers struck. A month later the miners' contract ran out and they struck. Together they could win. The U. S. Attorney General got an injunction against the miners' officials forbidding them from aiding the mine strike in any way by "messages of encouragement or exhortation" as well as from giving strike benefits from the union treasury. The miners' officials lost heart and called off the strike. The steel strike was smashed the following year.

In the 1921 textile strike injunctions not only prohibited picketing of the mills, but even the right of strikers to sit on their own porches when the scabs were passing by on their way to or from work. In some places strikers were even forbidden to look through their windows when scabs were passing.

The railway shopmen's strike of 1922 was lost to the tune of almost 300 injunctions. U. S. Attorney General Daugherty got an injunction forbidding strikers to call those who stole their jobs "strikebreakers," tied up all union funds and prevented the union leaders from issuing orders by word of mouth, or pen, to the strikers. Daugherty summed up the theory of the labor injunction when he stated, "I will use the power of the government within my control to prevent the labor unions of the country from destroying the open shop. . . ."

But neither company thugs nor

black-robed flunkies of Big Business could stop the workers when they were determined to fight it out and had a courageous leadership. The Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934 showed how an injunction can be smashed and the strike emerge victorious.

The bosses got an injunction against mass picketing at the Auto-Lite plant. But the strikers and thousands of unemployed allied with them, refused to heed this judicial strikebreaking. More and more workers swelled the picket lines. The jails could not hold them all — and the injunction became a dead letter.

A similar mass defiance occurred in the great sit-down strike in 1937, against General Motors in Flint.

Many other notable examples of strikes won in the face of labor injunctions have taken place in the last decade. The most recent case was that of the utility workers in Pittsburgh in September 1946. The striking workers of the Duquesne Light and Power Company, backed by good union men throughout the city, defied an injunction, and staged a mass protest around city hall. The results were prompt: The injunction was hastily dissolved by the court; the union president, sentenced to a year in prison for violating the injunction, was freed — and the strike was won.

The universal hatred for labor injunctions and the growing labor militancy in the '30s forced Congress to pass a law forbidding the use of labor injunctions by federal courts. This law was flouted by the Truman administration in November 1946 when a federal injunction was secured against the striking United Mine Workers. To the accompaniment of a lynch-law campaign, the union was fined \$3,510,000.

The Taft-Hartley Act attempts to revive the wide use of this union-busting weapon against unions. This means that Wall Street and its hired hands in Washington think they can turn the clock back on the labor movement and bring back the "good old days" of the open shop.

Horse-and-Buggy Unionism

The Typographical Union, one of the cleanest unions in the AFL, is putting up a desperate struggle against the Taft-Hartley law in Chicago and elsewhere.

But the papers where the printers are on strike are coming out every day. The Chicago Hearst paper brags of the fact that it is being produced by union labor in spite of the printers' strike, and lists the unions helping it, as follows:

"Members of These 21 Unions Get Out This Paper for You: Chicago Journeymen Plumbers; Chicago Window Washers; Office and Janitors Union; Web Printing Pressmen's Union; Photo engravers No. 5; Printing Pressmen's No. 3; Paper Handlers No. 2; Ink Workers' Union No. 8; Newspaper Delivery Drivers; Franklin Association of Machinists; International Alliance of Bill Posters, Billers and Distributors; Elevator Operators and Starters' Union; Painters District Council; Stereotypers No. 4;

Chicago Editorial Association; Chicago Mailers Union No. 2; Electrotypers Union No. 3."

Members of these 21 unions go to work every day—right through the picket lines of the printers. Most of them are good union men—as they see it. Most on strike contributions whenever called upon. Yet in a very true sense they are "scabs"—because they are caught in a kind of unionism that is as out-of-date as the horse and buggy.

One big industrial union of all newspaper workers, from the reporter who gathers the news, right through the mechanical departments, down to the boys who sell and deliver the paper (plus maintenance employees) is the answer! Never have we seen a better example of the necessity of industrial unionism—or the weakness of craft unionism.

(Reprinted from *Midwest Labor World*, publication of St. Louis CIO Retail and Wholesale Union).

The National Labor Relations Board on Jan. 2 dealt two more below-the-belt blows at American labor in the Truman administration's offensive to enforce the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

On Jan. 2 Federal Judge Stephen W. Brennan, acting on an NLRB petition, issued the first permanent injunction against a union under the Taft-Hartley Act. The injunction restrains AFL Teamsters Local 294, of Albany, N. Y., from conducting a strike against the Conway Express Company as a "secondary" boycott, demanding closed shop conditions, etc.

On the same day, an NLRB hearing examiner recommended the issuance of the first order against an alleged "unfair labor practice" by a union—a strike of four AFL carpenters in Chattanooga, Tenn. They went on strike and picketed a construction job where non-union men and scab materials were being used.

Little notice was given these two events in the capitalist daily press. But they are exceptionally important and may have far-reaching and very damaging consequences for organized labor.

The federal injunction issued in Utica against Teamsters Local 294 opens a new era of "government by injunction." The full implications of this may be felt during the next labor upsurge.

Impetus for this revival of the federal injunction to break strikes was given by the injunction and fine against the miners union, initiated by the Truman administration and upheld by the "nine old men" of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The miners injunction, however, involved a strike in an industry formally under government control. The Utica injunction is a federal court order against a union in conflict with a private employer. Thus, it sets a precedent that can be used in any strike.

Moreover, this is an injunction whose issuance is compulsory under the Taft-Hartley Act. The Act directs that unions must be enjoined from engaging in certain traditional methods of labor struggle. In addition, it permits the government to secure injunctions against any strike which the administration claims affects the "public welfare."

In the Chattanooga case, the

NLRB is putting into effect the new concept of "unfair labor practice" by a union. Under the old Wagner Labor Relations Act, it was recognized that unfair labor practices were devices used by the employers to deny collective bargaining rights to workers.

An "unfair labor practice" by the up-to-date interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB, becomes any measure of defense used by a union to safeguard its security—refusal to handle scab materials, sympathy strikes and boycotts in support of another union, refusal to walk through the picket line of another union or to work with non-union men, etc. An NLRB decision could provide "evidence" for employers' damage suits against unions, also permitted under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Meanwhile, the NLRB is expanding its campaign to impose an open shop agreement on the AFL International Typographical Union, now on strike against six Chicago dailies. In addition to complaints issued on behalf of the American Association of Newspaper Publishers, representing 400 papers, the NLRB issued on Jan. 2 complaints against five ITU locals on behalf of 500 job printing firms in New York, Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh.

The NLRB and the big publishers are engaged in an obvious conspiracy to restore the open shop in the printing industry. There is nothing even in the Taft-Hartley Act that says a union must sign an open shop agreement or that an employer must hire non-union men. The law simply says the employer cannot sign a closed shop contract. And the ITU is not asking for a contract.

Scores of publishers, respecting the traditional conditions that have prevailed for decades in ITU shops, are complying with these conditions today. They have granted wage increases as well—such a wage agreement was reached by the Washington, D. C., publishers on Jan. 6. But the major publishers have decided to destroy the present union conditions in the industry, and the NLRB has become a willing accomplice in this union-cracking conspiracy.

Quill Bows to O'Dwyer In Subway Fare Fight

NEW YORK, Jan. 8—The capitulation of the CIO Transport Workers Union leadership to Mayor O'Dwyer's higher fare proposals marks the heaviest blow delivered thus far to the movement to retain the nickel fare on subways and surface transportation.

Adoption of O'Dwyer's "package" proposal by the TWU Joint Executive Board was based on a criterion that divides the interests of the transport workers from the rest of the labor movement. In effect the TWU decision abandoned the struggle to make real estate interests and bankers carry the burden of financing the city's railroads. The TWU leaders helped sell the membership O'Dwyer's doctored statistics, according to which a raise in transit wages depends directly on a raise in fares.

August Hogan, President of TWU Local 100, takes great pains to take the curse off the O'Dwyer package plan. In a statement to the press, he explains that the higher fare will be used for operating expenses and wages only. Debt payments to the bankers amounting to \$57,000,000 annually, and new improvements will be paid out of higher taxes on real estate.

COLD COMFORT

Even were Hogan's calculations correct—in reality they are only hopes—they provide cold comfort to the working class stragglers who will be socked by a \$30-\$40 annual increase in their cost of living expenses. It is a resurrection of Hoover's share-the-poverty plans, taking the burden off the rich and compelling workers to divide their meager wages.

The facts are, however, that O'Dwyer's "package" plan is nothing but a bait. The plan hinges directly on the willingness of Dewey and the Republican State Legislature to grant New York City \$84,000,000 in state aid to raise the city's debt limit. If Dewey refuses—and he has already indicated he will refuse—then the fare increase will refund only to the benefit of the bankers, and wage increases for the transport workers together with other promised city improvements will go begging. This will provide the basis for recurring demands to hike fares still higher after the eight cents fare is obtained.

ANOTHER BLOW

By accepting O'Dwyer's plan, TWU leaders have delivered another blow at the democratic rights of New York's working class. The "package plan" will deprive the people of the right to a referendum on the fare question. It is ironic that the TWU Executive Board will submit the "package" plan to a referendum of its own membership but denies the same right to the rest of the working class population. By the same token, the TWU leaders are depriving transport workers of popular support in future struggles against arbitrary decisions of the Board of Transportation.

The decision of top TWU leaders to quit the nickel fare fight brings to a head a struggle between them and the Communist party. Quill, Hogan and others designated as "certain leaders" were castigated for opportunism by Robert Thompson in the *Daily Worker*. Quill reported in a recent CIO Council meeting by a denunciation of "outside interference" which was trying to undermine his union. Quill could the more easily shrug off the Stalinist attack, because the other CIO Stalinist leaders had just voted him as President of the N. Y. CIO Council despite his "opportunism."

MADE A DEAL

Quill and Co. made a deal with O'Dwyer to sacrifice the interests of the strap-hangers in return for the promise of a wage raise for the transit workers. The question now is: will the other Stalinist union leaders tone down their opposition to the eight cents fare in return for Quill's support of Henry Wallace?

A real struggle for the five cents fare means a struggle for the right of referendum on the fare. It means demonstrations and aggressive mass actions for the referendum. It means a political repudiation of O'Dwyer in all future elections by the trade unions. Failing such measures, Stalinist leaders will be merely paying lip service to the struggle for the five cents fare. They will be appeasing Quill while Quill appeases O'Dwyer.