

## IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

By Harry Braverman

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## Special Report From China on The Civil War

(The following is a report by the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Chinese section of the Fourth International.)

SOMEWHERE IN SOUTHERN CHINA, April 5 — The present situation in China is dominated by three outstanding facts:

1. The spectacular victories of the Stalinist-controlled peasant armies.
2. The bottomless bankruptcy, corruption and disintegration of the Kuomintang regime.
3. The political indifference, demoralization, paralysis and disorganization of the city working class.

It is universally recognized among the Chinese people that the surprising victories of the Stalinist peasant armies are a tribute not so much to its own strength as to the abyssal corruption of Chiang's arch-reactionary rule. The great military debacle coincided with economic bankruptcy which in turn caused an irreparable disorganization of the regime itself. Events moved with such suddenness and rapidly as to catch all sides by surprise, both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, as well as the soberest revolutionists who were ever mindful of the threatening catastrophe which was enveloping the old regime.

The fatal turning point came with the rout of the Kuomintang campaign in the Szechwan campaign where all the military advantages were on Chiang's side. But his army was corroded through and through, the top command pervaded with corruption and the ranks undermined by the deepest demoralization. The final blow came as Madame Chiang was turned away empty handed after a frigid reception at the White House. Without American gold, the strings of Chiang's regime began to unravel, and his undercover opponents, the warlords, local militarists and political cliques, began to turn against him.

### CHIANG'S WITHDRAWAL

Confronted by internal collapse and by rising rebellion in the southwestern provinces, Chiang for a brief moment assumed the role of dove of peace. But the five conditions he offered as a basis for negotiations were a transparent effort to gain a breathing spell and were deservedly rejected by Yanan. Under the pretext of a leave of absence, Chiang quit the capital, but from behind the scenes he is still trying to hold the strings of Chinese politics in his hands, hoping that tomorrow

he will be able to make a comeback a la De Gaulle.

At this most critical juncture, when the Kuomintang reshuffled its cabinet in the hope of getting a breathing spell, Mao Tse-tung proclaimed his eight-point program, the basis for another rotten compromise. To be sure, the 'liberating army' is consolidating its positions and threatening to cross the Yangtze. But it is clear from all the broadcasts and proclamations from Yanan and from the Stalinist actions in the occupied cities that Mao Tse-tung

(Continued on page 2)

## Tito Says Czech Government Abets Despots in Greece

The Belgrade newspaper Politika carried on April 21 a detailed account of how the Stalinist-dominated Czech government since August 1947 has been supplying large quantities of strategic materials to the Greek monarchists and thus aiding and abetting them in the Greek civil war.

Under the original 1947 trade agreement, the Czechs supplied the Athens government with machinery, textiles, chemical and timber. When this pact was extended to August 1949, the Czech Stalinists agreed to add to the list aluminum, automobiles and trucks. In addition, Politika charges, they diverted to the Athens government 2,000 tons of maize and 2,000 cubic meters of wood which they had obtained from Bulgaria on the plea that these goods were needed to pay for Italian dynamite.

The Cominform press and the Czechs in particular had previously denounced Tito's regime for engaging in trade negotiations with the Athens government. Belgrade has flatly denied this and capped its denial by the foregoing exposure, which has yet to be disproved.

It is nothing new for the Kremlin to accuse its opponents of the crimes it commits itself. Stalin did not hesitate to ship oil to Mussolini when the Italian fascists were engaged in the rape of Ethiopia.

## VIDEO STATION CUTS OFF WEISS CIVIL RIGHTS DEBATE

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, April 23 — The television broadcast "Viewpoint Unlimited" was abruptly cut off after sixteen lively minutes last Sunday. The debate in which Myra T. Weiss, Chairman of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, participated apparently was not

proceeding to the liking of the management of KFI-TV.

"The management has decided the subject is too delicate for discussion on the air," was the official reason given all those who telephoned to ask why the broadcast had been stopped.

The topic of the debate, "Should the 'ism' parties be outlawed," was soon modified by author Oliver Carlson and his red-baiting colleague, who stated that the Communist Party should be outlawed, no others, since it alone is responsible to a foreign government.

Comrade Weiss, arguing the negative, emphasized two points: that the current drive of the government is not against the 'ism' parties alone, but against the civil rights of all who oppose the administration; and that the Communist Party consists not only of misleaders of the working class who follow Stalin's false policies, but also of thousands of workers who sincerely and mainly seek some way out of the "mess of capitalism."

Her "colleague," a young law student at the University of California, threw the debate into an uproar when he became horrified at the thought that he might directly or indirectly appear to be on the side of "anyone defending communism." He was much less concerned about the possibility of losing the debate to those who would restrict civil liberties.

### Next Week:

Another exclusive dispatch from China, presenting the program and perspectives of the Chinese Trotskyists.

Colvin R. De Silva, member of the Ceylon Parliament and leader of the Ceylon Trotskyists, tells why he was barred from being a delegate at the Stalinist-dominated "World Peace Congress" in Paris.

Art Preis continues his analysis of Bernard Baruch's extremely revealing article on Washington's plans for permanent regimentation of the American people.

And coming soon will be the first of a series of articles by Grace Carlson on the health plans being offered by various groups.

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# Attacks on Democratic Rights Arouse Increasing Opposition

## Make Yourself at Home



## 'Model' Repressive Law Adopted by Maryland

The most repressive law against "subversives" yet enacted by any state government was signed on April 22 by Governor Lane and went into effect the same day. Maryland was once known as the Free State.

This new law, entitled "Sedition and Subversive Activities," is of especial significance not merely because of its severity and semi-fascist content, but because it is being hailed by anti-labor and reactionary elements as a "model" for the other states and the federal government.

### COMBINES THE WORST

The Ober Act, named after Frank B. Ober, a Baltimore lawyer who headed the governor's commission that drafted the bill, was drawn up with the aid of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI.

Its principal provisions are patterned on the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, which Roosevelt signed and first used in 1941 against the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO truckdrivers in Minneapolis; Truman's "loyalty" purge order; and the Mundt-Nixon Bill which was reintroduced into Congress several weeks ago. It is also a compendium of similar laws enacted previously by 45 other states.

Unlike many other state "sedition" laws which conceal their generally repressive intent under guise of attacking the Communist (Stalinist) Party by name, the Maryland law does not name the Communist Party. It defines a series of activities which it terms "sedition" and "subversive" and provides savage penalties for anyone convicted of engaging in such activities.

Any organization is defined as "subversive" which advocates the "alteration" of the existing form of government by "revolution," force or violence. The law also defines a "foreign subversive organization." This is one which is controlled either directly or "indirectly" by a foreign government and which advocates the "alteration" of the existing government by any means whatever.

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### HARSHTEST PENALTIES

Anyone convicted of advocating or "teaching" such views or knowingly "supporting" in any way either a domestic or foreign "subversive" organization is liable to a \$20,000 fine and 20 years in prison. These are the harshest penalties of any law of its type—there are now more than 150 on state and federal statute books—except the federal espionage and treason law, whose penalties range from a \$10,000 fine to death.

The law requires loyalty oaths of all candidates for elective office, and all public employees, including teachers, are subject to mandatory "loyalty" investigations. Teachers and other public employees may be fired, without their guilt being proved, merely if there are "reasonable grounds" to "believe" they are "subversive."

### GI Jobless Benefits To End on July 25

Most of the 15,000,000 veterans will lose their eligibility for unemployment benefits under the GI Bill of Rights after July 25. After that date—unless Congress changes the law—only veterans discharged since July 25, 1947, will be eligible for GI jobless aid.

This prospect faces most of the veterans as unemployment is rising at the fastest pace in 11 years. Not less than 5 million workers are totally unemployed, while another 12 million have been reduced to part-time employment.

The GI Bill of Rights grants unemployed veterans up to \$20 weekly for 52 weeks. Up to now only 1,038,000 have completely exhausted their benefits.

## Largest Branches In NMU Condemn Purge Amendm'ts

Membership meetings of the CIO National Maritime Union in the largest ports on the east coast have gone on record against the proposal of the union's National Council to scuttle the non-discrimination clause in the NMU constitution.

In the port of New York, the largest shipping center in the country, the NMU membership adopted a resolution condemning the National Council proposals by a vote of 1,535 to 97. This was followed by similar action in Philadelphia which voted 325 to 3; Boston, 251 to 0; and Baltimore, 197 to 64.

The proposals of the National Council in the form of amendments to the NMU constitution are to be submitted to a 30-day referendum vote of the entire membership beginning on May 2. These amendments would require that all members "affirm, in writing, that they are not members of the Communist Party or of any other subversive totalitarian organization."

### SWEEPING AND DECEPTIVE

In addition to the yellow-dog affidavit the amendments would subject to expulsion "any persons who subscribe to, support, sponsor or otherwise follow a course of action consistent with and demonstrating membership in or adherence to the policy and program of the Communist Party or any other subversive or totalitarian doctrine."

It was disclosed at the membership meetings that the National Council resolution and amendments had been drawn up by the union's attorney and were so full of lawyers' double-talk, provisions so sweeping and all-inclusive, language so deceptive and ambiguous, that any critic or opponent could be summarily expelled as a "subversive."

### OPPOSING AMENDMENTS

The revulsion against this attempt to establish a totalitarian police regime under the pretext of combating "totalitarian subversives" was immediate and effective. Twenty-four officials in the port of New York who were elected on the Rank & File Caucus slate which ousted the Stalinists in the last election, signed and circulated a statement opposing the yellow dog amendments.

Under the union constitution the National Council proposals must go to a referendum vote, but the opposition expressed in the largest and most decisive ports indicates that the NMU membership is prepared to resist the red-baiting hysteria.

## Chicago Educators Challenge Witch-Hunt; 105 Aid Kutcher

One hundred and five University of Chicago faculty members joined in a public statement this week protesting the denial of genuine freedom of association and thought to the

legless veteran James Kutcher. Almost every department of this leading Midwest university was represented among the signers to an appeal on Kutcher's behalf sponsored by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and director of the War Research Atomic Bomb Project, with four other famous scientists and scholars on the Chicago campus.

The 105 educators declared that "administrative agencies, using procedures which lend themselves to arbitrary action, should be subject to control both by public criticism and by judicial review." They demand that Kutcher be granted the full and fair public hearing he asked, and record their agreement with the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

This forthright affirmation of the democratic rights involved in Kutcher's case by so large and distinguished a group of professors is especially noteworthy in view of attempts being made by Illinois witch-hunters to stifle free speech and ban progressive ideas from the universities in that state. This past week the State Legislature's Seditious Activities Investigation Commission held hearings in Springfield on alleged subversive activities at the University of Chicago and at Roosevelt College.

One of the Commission witnesses, Howard Rushmore, ex-Daily Worker reporter and now red-hunting specialist for the Hearst press, demanded that Professor Urey be barred from further work on atomic projects because of connections with organizations arbitrarily designated by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive. He also attacked two other well-known initiators of the Kutcher statement, Prof. Malcolm P. Sharp and Prof. Anton J. Carlson. Their statement on the Kutcher case answers the witch-hunters by pointing out that the doctrines of "guilt by association" and "subversion," arbitrarily defined by administrative officials, "create a frightening atmosphere that cuts the nerve of independent thinking."

Testifying before the Commission on April 21, Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago staunchly defended academic freedom against the witch-hunters. He said the university did not believe in "the doctrine of guilt by association" and declared that "the policy of repression of ideas cannot work and never has worked."

The following day Dr. E. J.

Sparling, President of Roosevelt College, Chicago, upheld the right of Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, members of his college advisory board, "to join, as their conscience dictates, organizations the purpose of which their understanding leads them to accept," despite their blacklisting by the Attorney General. When one of the hired inquisitors, J. B. Matthews, asked: "Does freedom of speech mean you must provide a man (like Gerhart Eisler, the Stalinist) with a platform or a radio microphone?"

"Not necessarily," replied Dr. Sparling, "but freedom of students to hear all sides does."

## Heartening Signs In the Fight for Civil Liberties

An Editorial

Heartening signs of growing resistance to the witch-hunt are beginning to appear. This past week has seen two significant challenges raised against those who would stifle free speech and free thought in America.

At one of the great institutions of higher learning, the University of Chicago, 105 leading professors and educators have dared to stand up and be counted among the true defenders of civil liberties. They have attached their names publicly, in the midst of a "subversive" probe of their own institution, to a statement in defense of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired from his government job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. At the same time, the heads of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College have courageously upheld academic freedom against the Illinois witch-hunters.

And in the trade unions, a new fresh wind has begun to blow. By an overwhelming majority, the rank and file members of the National Maritime Union in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore, have condemned the proposal of their National Council to introduce the witch-hunt and "loyalty" purge into the NMU by constitutional amendment. This action by the members of the NMU is especially significant because they are so strongly anti-Stalinist. They have shown they know the difference between fighting Stalinism as an anti-labor tendency and giving support to policies aimed at destroying the principles of trade union democracy.

These two events are a welcome beginning—but they must not remain only a beginning. The forces of reaction are driving unitedly on every front, in every sphere of American life, to reduce all thought and expression to the level of the police-state mind. The defense of democratic rights must likewise be waged relentlessly on every front by the united efforts of all to whom civil liberties means more than a catch-word,

## Baruch's Plan for Permanent Regimentation

By Art Preis

Just before the signing of the North Atlantic Pact last month, Winston Churchill visited these shores. His host was Bernard M. Baruch, whom the capitalist press calls "America's Elder Statesman."

Their meeting at that precise moment in history—the conclusion of the greatest military alliance of all time—was no mere coincidence.

Although neither holds any formal governmental authority, they are actually the leading policy-makers and political spokesmen for the ruling capitalist class of their respective countries. They are, each in his own way, the real war leaders of Great Britain and the United States.

The role of Churchill has been too widely publicized to need comment here. As for Baruch, the Wall Street speculator, he has served as chief adviser to the

presidents in two world wars. No man has freer access to the White House, for he is the master strategist of American imperialism.

We may never know the exact words exchanged between Churchill, who formally is merely a leader of the Tory opposition in Parliament, and Baruch, whom the press represents as a meliorist political philosopher holding office on park benches. But we do know the general conclusions and decisions at which they arrived—decisions which are now the guiding line of American and British imperialism.

### DECISION MADE

These conclusions are embodied in a programmatic article by Bernard M. Baruch — "What of Our Future?" — in the April 23 Saturday Evening Post. In his article, under the guise of posing the problem of the future of our

society, Baruch indicates the course American capitalism proposes to travel.

"Decision, decision, decision — I cannot stress its necessity too strongly. All business is now on a fear-to-fear basis," exclaims Baruch. That decision is a definitive answer to the all-dominant question: War or peace? and that decision has been made, Baruch's article makes clear as crystal. It is war.

The purpose of the Baruch statement is not to argue in favor of this decision, nor even to make explicit that this decision has already been made, for war preparations must ever be masked in "peace" phraseology. It is his purpose to lay out the line of propaganda to prepare the American people to accept the inevitable consequences of a decision already arrived at in the secret councils of American and British imperialism.



BERNARD M. BARUCH

First of all, Baruch defines "the cause of the jitters spreading through the country" as "the absence of peace." It is not "generally appreciated" by the American people "what revolutionary changes in our habitual ways are being forced by our

being neither at war nor at peace."

We are, in fact, in "a continuous state of near-war" and "the cold war has thrust us into an around-the-clock twilight, with no telling where peace begins, where war ends." The United States is "trying to spend its way out of this 'twilight' state with a huge military budget and enormous foreign expenditures. 'Yet, although taxes exact one out of every four dollars Americans earn, and grave domestic needs in health, education and housing are neglected, nowhere have we achieved a decision in the peace-making," says Baruch. "How much can we do—and for how long — without wrecking ourselves and taking the world with us?"

There is no peace, Baruch informs us, in an echo of The Militant's first headline after V-J (Continued on Page 2)



# A Special Report from China

(Continued from page 1)

is trying to come to power through a short-cut of maneuvers with the capitalists and not through a solid revolutionary alliance between the peasants and city workers.

## UNDER THE STALINISTS

What is happening in "liberated" China? A series of the most abominable crimes are being committed in the name of the revolution. As far back as last May, land reform was formally taken off the agenda. Under the new Stalinist policy, struggle for division of the land in newly liberated areas is prohibited, confiscated land is to be restored to the landlord and "excesses" are to be severely punished. In formerly liberated sections the peasants are to decide for themselves whether to retain the seized land or to return it to the former landlords.

[This information is confirmed by excerpts from the most recent proclamation of Mao and General Chu Teh (N. Y. Times, April 27). "Land ownership, they say, must be eliminated 'only after preparations stage-by-stage.' Furthermore, 'reduction of rent and interest should be carried out first and land distribution later.' Meanwhile peasants should 'attempt to maintain the present agricultural level.'"]

A decision was also adopted protecting native as well as foreign industry and trade and was accompanied by a series of decisions legalizing a longer working day (from ten to twelve hours) and cutting wages to a level even lower than under the Kuomintang.

## MILITANTS MURDERED

When the "liberating army" occupied the cities, all the old organs of the Kuomintang regime were preserved intact. But Stalinist "political workers" spare no pains to hunt down and ruthlessly suppress any spontaneous proletarian action. From a worker, just escaped from Tsinghai (capital of the Shantung province), we learn of this horrible incident:

As the "liberating army" approached, the workers in his factory instinctively understood that it was time to liberate themselves. They drove out the boss

and set up a factory committee to control production. They were immediately visited by a Stalinist political worker who demanded to know who was responsible for this action. The workers replied that they had decided in common to liberate themselves. He then insisted that the committee men follow him to headquarters. There they were chained together and led to a courtyard where they were massacred wholesale by a firing squad. The factory was then returned to the frightened owner.

In another factory where a strike broke out for the simple economic demand of equal treatment, the strike was brutally crushed by the Stalinists and three strikers stood up before a firing squad.

In Tientsin, second largest industrial center in China, a great strike occurred immediately after the Stalinist military government was established. The strikers demanded an eight-hour day and a reasonable increase in wages. To their astonishment they were answered by a savage proclamation in which the Stalinist military authorities decreed a longer working day — ten instead of eight — a 25% wage cut and the establishment of an arbitration board which eliminated at one stroke the limited rights which even the Kuomintang had not dared suppress.

There was not a solitary mention of the workers' demands in Mao's eight-point peace program. Not the eight-hour day for which the Chinese workers have fought from the beginning; nor the "sliding scale of wages" which was partially won by the Shanghai workers; nor the freedom to strike, assemble, etc., although rumors are current in Kuomintang areas that these rights are being trampled upon by the Stalinists.

## "PRODUCTION CONTROL"

Enterprises formerly controlled by the Kuomintang, called "bureaucratic capital," were simply transferred to Stalinist military authorities. They have promised that private stocks in the nationalized enterprises will

## Chinese Students Ask Peace



More than 6,000 students in Nanking's schools demonstrated for peace just before the renewal of warfare in China. A few days later Nanking had been taken by the Stalinist forces.

be returned to the proprietors. A counterfeit system of production control has been set up under a joint committee representing labor and capital, reminiscent of Mussolini's corporate control. There is not the slightest change of property relations in the industrial centers.

Here then is the Stalinist type of "revolution" — a "revolution" led by the very people who fear it like death itself. The Chinese peasant movement is being betrayed and the peasant army is being transformed into a reactionary bourgeois instrument for the suppression of the proletariat! Herein is the core of the new development in the tragedy of the Chinese revolution.

Although the "liberating army" is knocking at the doors of Shanghai, China's greatest industrial center, the proletariat remains indifferent, cool and full of doubt. The sporadic, spontaneous economic strikes were caused more by the unbearable inflation than by the victories of the Stalinist armies. Of all the turbulent struggles, not one occurred as a positive, enthusiastic political reaction to the Stalinist victories. Indeed, it offers a

woeful contrast with the revolution of 1925-1927 when the Shanghai workers greeted the northern expeditionary army with an insurrection. The epidemic of disillusionment has spread to Peiping, penetrating the consciousness of the intellectuals whose vague radical sentiments are branded as "infantile leftism."

## MAO AND STALIN

Chinese Stalinism is now at the zenith of its strength after 20 years of vicissitudes. But the closer it comes to power, the more it concentrates within its own ranks all the complex and unresolvable problems of the whole nation. Today Mao Tse-tung is capitalizing as much as possible upon the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and upon the great resentment of the Chinese people towards American imperialism.

Tomorrow this same Mao Tse-tung will be obliged to deal with foreign imperialism as his sole savior to disentangle him from the multitudinous and almost insoluble financial and economic difficulties which his coming to power will confront him with. He will be attracted toward the orbit of western imperialism more irresistibly than Tito.

Stalin is aware that China is too big and too dangerous a bomb for the Kremlin to play with. Basing himself on the fresh and bitter experiences with the Yugoslav rebel, he is now nurturing a 100% pro-Moscow force in Manchuria. General Lim Pao's army, the elite of the Stalinist armed forces, was especially equipped and trained in Manchuria under the auspices of the Kremlin. The most significant step taken by Moscow was the appointment of Li Li-san, a die-hard tool of the Kremlin and Mao's old bitter enemy, to head Manchuria. While Lim Pao's forces were marching on Peiping and Tsientsin, a rumor circulated that the quarrel between Lim and Mao had been aggravated. Although there was undoubtedly some exaggeration in the rumor, there was also some modicum of truth. How else explain why Liu Shao-tse, organizer for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, openly denied the existence of any Titoist tendencies in his party, reaffirming loyalty to "international communism"?

It is obvious that Mao Tse-tung is being watched by Stalin through the excellent equipped

army of Lim Pao and through the alert eyes of Li Li-san. The threatening clash between Mao Tse-tung's nationalism and Stalin's pseudo-internationalism is only a distorted reflection of the conflict between the interests of the oppressed Chinese people and those of the Soviet bureaucracy represented by the malignant theory of Pan-Slavism.

## INEVITABLE CONFLICTS

Another inevitable conflict within the Stalinist camp will be produced by the entry of the best proletarian elements into the Stalinist movement. The more brutally Mao enforces his anti-labor policy, the deeper will become the gulf between the top bureaucracy and the rank and file within his own party in particular, and between the exploited workers and his party in general.

There is plenty of evidence to show that revolutionary tendencies are sporadically but incessantly rising in the "liberated" rural areas. A large number of Stalinist workers have been executed with the aim of eliminating the specter of "Trotskyism." The scattered nature of rural society has thus far prevented this opposition from finding organized political expression. But it is quite different in the industrial centers where the well-organized workers will provide a solid framework for a revolutionary regrouping within the Stalinist party and the working class as a whole. Herein lies the perspective for the growth and development of Chinese Trotskyism, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

## Baruch Plan for Permanent Regimentation in America

(Continued from page 1)

Day. And there will be no peace until a decision in the struggle of world powers is secured once and for all, he continues. And what is most important is "that the American people be left with no illusions [about the North Atlantic Pact]. We already are committed to resist aggression by every means, including war."

"The trial may come" — that is, the outbreak of world war — "through flagrant invasion or in the form of civil war" or over any number of immediate pretexts. The total war of atomic annihilation may break out at any time and its outcome for imperialism "will hinge on how promptly we mobilize" for that conflict. Therefore, America must "be prepared to mobilize before war has begun."

From here on in, Baruch states, America must be placed on a war-footing. M-Day—Mobilization Day—must be every day in this new and indefinitely prolonged era of "near war." It is the consequences this must have for the traditional "American way of life" that is the point of special emphasis by Baruch.

He leaves no doubt as to what the decision "to mobilize in advance of war" will mean for the American people, particularly the working people. "Our most fearful torments," he says, "will rise from modern warfare's totalitarian image being the hideous opposite of our free, individualistic ways. To the extent that we are compelled to mobilize, we would have to accept the hateful regimentations and denials which war itself entails."

Mobilization for war is to be the regular and dominant preoccupation of this country from now on and the American people will have to suffer regimentation and the loss of freedom, material privations and sacrifice.

"Young men might have to be drafted while the rest of us registered at rationing boards. The production of automobiles, television sets and other delights might have to be curtailed; limits imposed on prices, profits, wages; taxes heavily increased and numerous other Government controls instituted."

But something stands in the way, he sadly relates. That is the traditional opposition of the American people to regimentation

and dictatorship—even the "temporary" restrictions of actual war. "Many of these disciples were resisted during the last war. . . . How much greater will be the temptation, when war has not yet broken out, to 'wait and see.'" With consummate hypocrisy, Baruch bewails, "How poignant for a democratic people to be forced to embrace the regimentation they hate to preserve the freedom they love!" How poignant, indeed, to embrace dictatorship in the name of democracy!

The great dilemma of the American ruling class is that "in our world there prevails an inexorable continuity between war and peace, but our cherished 'American way' denies that continuity." This "American way" must now go, alas, American imperialism no longer has the luxury of time. This is no longer the day of Washington and Lincoln, when "war was apart from peace, America apart from the world; each American apart from his Government. . . ."

The collapse of capitalist economy in Europe, the atomic bomb and "other ocean-shrinking weapons," the position of American capitalism as the sole remaining prop of world capitalism has meant that "we must alter our most deeply ingrained traits. . . . Already draft boards are sitting for the first time in advance of war. The North Atlantic Pact is a continuing, not temporary alliance. These are only beginning adjustments."

In short, American imperialism is committed, as far in advance as anyone can see, to a condition of permanent war mobilization and war. To that end, as Baruch stresses, the American people must now submit to a fundamental alteration in their way of peacetime living. They must be placed under material restrictions and regimented in their work, their civil liberties, their political activities "for the duration."

What of Truman's promised "Fair Deal" social reforms? What of Roosevelt's "four freedoms"? These are never to be under capitalism. The decision for war has been made and the shackles on the American people are being forged. That is what Baruch — the chief policy-maker of American imperialism — is telling us.

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TROTSKY

"With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character."

— Leon Trotsky, 1940



LENIN

## The Trumanites Retreat Once More

No sooner did the House begin debate on the Truman-sponsored Lesinski bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act than the administration forces began to back-peddle and issue reports of their willingness to make major concessions to the Taft-Hartleyites.

The April 27 N. Y. Times lists four compromise proposals the Truman Democrats are preparing to offer in return for majority vote on a bill bearing the administration's label. These are: stronger curbs on "national emergency strikes," presumably specific provisions for use of injunctions; continuation of the yellow-dog "non-communist" affidavits; continued limitations on closed shop agreements; and continued requirements for the filing of union financial reports.

Each one of these proposals would maintain, under the new label of the Lesinski bill, a basic anti-union policy of the Taft-Hartley Act. Together they would constitute a virtual restoration of the main provisions of the Slave Labor Law.

Even as it now stands, the Lesinski bill is a far cry from Truman's election promise of unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It would replace the Taft-Hartley law with the Wagner Act so amended as to retain in principle the main premise of the Taft-Hartley Act — government intervention against the unions in strikes and prohibition

of certain types of strikes. At the same time, Truman has declared his "inherent powers," without legislation, to use injunctions against strikes and Secretary of Labor Tobin has proposed a separate law to retain the yellow-dog oaths.

Certain it is, as *The Militant* predicted many weeks ago, the Truman Democrats are going to put up no real fight against Taft-Hartleyism. They already have the white flag unfurled, ready to run up to the top of the pole.

And once more the union leaders give every indication of going along with the Trumanite betrayal of a key election promise, of minimizing and justifying the conduct of the administration. Once more, behind a verbal barrage aimed exclusively at the Republicans and Southern Democrats, they are shielding Truman and his political machine.

The unholy alliance between the top union bureaucrats and the Truman wing of the Democrats in the first four months of the 81st Congress has already led to retreats on civil rights and rent control. Dependence on Truman and his lieutenants will only lead to further debates on labor legislation, health insurance and housing. Labor, as always, can depend only on its own independent strength, mobilized in united action, to win its demands.

## "Guilt by Association"

The case of the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish, whose dismissal as rector of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn Heights was upheld last week by New York Supreme Court Justice Steinbrink, involves one of the most vital issues of civil rights confronting the American people.

Dr. Melish was charged only with "guilt by association." After holding the pulpit in his church for more than 40 years the 74-year-old pastor was dismissed by Bishop James Pernet De Wolfe solely on the grounds that Dr. Melish's son, who had been his assistant for 10 years, engaged in "outside activities" deemed too "radical" by a minority of the congregation, particularly some of the more wealthy.

The judge who upheld the Bishop's order of dismissal, however, granted a ten-day stay of execution so that the contending parties might try to arrive at an agreement. The agreement offered the aged minister was that he could continue his pastorate — if he would get his son to resign and remove himself and his family from the rectory where they live with Dr. Melish.

With commendable principle, Dr. Melish indignantly rejected this proposition and chose rather to sit in the pews last Sunday. He issued a ringing statement in defense of "freedom of the pulpit, and freedom of conscience and speech." He declared he would continue the fight for "the basic principles of democracy" by appeal to higher courts.

## The N.Y. NAACP Resolution

Last week's *Militant* reported the fact that the New York branch of the NAACP had unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the NAACP annual conference in Los Angeles in July to demand a special session of Congress this summer to act on all civil rights bills not enacted when Congress adjourns.

In our opinion this was a wise move, meriting the support of all labor and Negro organizations seriously concerned with civil rights. It puts Truman on the spot; in a special session he will not have the alibi about the pressure of other important business to "explain" the administration's capitulation to the Southern Democrats; and if he rejects the proposal, it will expose his hypocrisy on civil rights even more glaringly than did his do-nothing behavior during the filibuster debate. Clearly enough, the struggle for civil rights legislation has everything to gain and nothing to lose from a special session called specifically for this purpose.

Equally important was the second half of the New York resolution, requesting the NAACP to take the lead in convening "a united Negro and labor conference, representing Negro and labor organizations in all parts of the country, to meet in Washington simultaneously with the special session of Con-

gress and to press for the passage of the civil rights bills."

The New York NAACP evidently recognizes that a special session of Congress will not mean much by itself unless it is accompanied by pressure going far beyond the kind which was relied on by the Negro organizations during the recent filibuster debate and that is now being relied on by the labor leaders in their efforts to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The traditional lobbying methods — buttonholing congressmen or sending them letters — have proved utterly inadequate.

What is necessary now is the mobilization of mass pressure to convince the members of Congress that the people will not stand for any more monkey-business from the capitalist parties which less than a year ago pledged to pass civil rights measures. A united labor and Negro conference, attended by rank and file delegates determined to get action in Washington, is certainly a good and efficient way of exerting such pressure.

Most of the unions and all of the Negro organizations are on record for the passage of civil rights bills this year. None of them can have a valid reason for not supporting the New York NAACP position fully and actively.

# Socialized Medicine--Why the U. S. Needs It

By Harry Braverman

Popular attention is becoming increasingly focused on the bitter debate over the system of medical payment in the United States.

On one side, popular indignation and the feeling of many individual doctors is on the rise against the present profit system in medicine.

On the other side, the top five percent of the medical profession constituting the ruling clique of the American Medical Association, together with their powerful friends — the industrialists and financiers of the nation — have mobilized to keep the doctor and his patient divided by the almighty dollar.

The chief subject of discussion in recent days has been the health insurance plan proposed by Oscar Ewing who is the Federal Security Administrator. This plan provides for a system of medical insurance. Payments would be made on the payroll deduction plan by workers and employers. People could choose their own doctor or dentist, receive treatment, and the doctor would then send his bill for payment to the common insurance fund provided by the taxes.

A hue and cry has been raised against this health insurance plan on the ground that it is a plan for socialized or nationalized medicine. This is not true at all.

Socialized medicine, something entirely different, means the complete abolition of the profit system in medicine and the building of a medical structure similar to a free school system or post office. All doctors, dentists, nurses, hospital attendants, etc., work as salaried employees of the government and medical care is free to all who require it.

The Truman-sponsored plan does not at all abolish the medical fee system and place the medical

profession on a salaried basis. All that it does is spread the payments in an insurance fashion. As the Federal Security Administrator himself has said, "the proposed bill is no more Socialist than fire insurance."

However, the plain insurance function of the Truman Administration plan does not prevent its critics from shouting that this is the next step before Socialism. The top hierarchy of the Medical Association fought the Workmen's Compensation Laws when they were adopted. It fought and still fights cooperative hospitals and cooperative medicine even in rural communities where doctors could not be provided in any other way. The American Medical Association fought even the plans for voluntary health insurance, such as Blue Cross Insurance, when they were first organized. It is not surprising that organized medicine fights National Health Insurance as well.

The opposition to the health insurance plan is clear evidence of the controlling hand behind the American Medical Association. Under a system of health insurance, the income of the average doctor with average patients tends to rise. Not only is the health care of the patient insured but the income of the doctor as well. This has been the universal experience of nations operating a health insurance plan.

On the other hand, the income of the wealthy practitioners and specialists who fatten on exorbitant fees tends to decline. These top income physicians represent in the United States about five percent of the medical profession. This top layer controls the organized medical profession and uses that control in its own interest.

## Shocking Facts About Medical Care

The Socialist Workers Party has entered the debate over the system of medical payment as a proponent of socialized medicine. We intervene not in order to discuss the scientific, medical end of the medical profession but in order to discuss the business end: the method of payment for medical services. We do not rush in to criticize medical science. This field has advanced a long distance since the life time of Hippocrates, the ancient Greek healer. But, the economics of the medical industry are in a Hippocratic—even a pre-Hippocratic state!

Let us recall that over one-third of all those examined for the armed forces under the operation of the Selective Service Act during the last war, were rejected for serious physical defects. And, this was in the age group that is considered to be the healthiest in the nation.

Needless death is rampant in the United States. All authorities testify that tens of thousands of deaths from pneumonia, tuberculosis, heart diseases and cancer are preventable and that the death rate from these killers is fantastic in view of modern discoveries in the fields of prevention, detection and treatment of diseases. While the methods are known, for some reason they have not been applied on a mass scale. That is what I mean when I say that the economics of medicine is in the quack stage.

The prevailing system of medical payment in the United States is the fee system, under which medical care is a profit business and the doctor a business man. Can everyone afford medical care under this system? Not at all!

Government figures show that the cost of adequate medical care is beyond the reach of over half the families of the United States! The full benefits of the best quality medical and pharmaceutical care can be purchased at present by only about twenty

percent of the population. Even the American Medical Association admits that ninety-seven million people in the United States, that is to say almost three quarters of the population, need help in the payment of medical bills.

Medical care is today a necessity that is sold at luxury prices. In one state of the Union, approximately one-third of the people go without consulting the doctor, even on their death-bed. The death certificate is marked "no medical attendant" and the cause of death "unknown."

What alternative is there to the present profit system in the business of medicine? The Socialist Workers Party believes that the system of production for profit will in the future be replaced in every field by a system of production for use. The medical profession is not exempt. The medical profession is as a matter of fact, least of all exempt.

A system of socialized medicine would be comparable in this country to the system of free public education. Supported out of the general government funds, it would make medical and dental care free to all who need it.

The cost would be not at all prohibitive. The cost of such a medical system as a matter of fact would be ridiculously low in comparison to the value of the system. At the present time, if the government of the United States were to assume responsibility for the whole doctor bill of the country, this would add only about four billion dollars to the federal budget. Compare this with the fantastic sums of the military appropriations.

If the present medical payments of the rich and well-to-do were paid into the government funds in the form of taxes, it would take very little additional taxation—which could and should be levied on the rich industrial corporations—to support a full and adequate program of free, universal medical care.

## 'Sacred' Doctor-Patient Relationship

Every decent-minded person is sick to death of being told today that there is not enough money to support this or that program intended for human welfare. Money is always found, borrowed, squeezed out of the people by oppressive taxation, when it is necessary to destroy people by the millions in gigantic world slaughters. What a commentary on the capitalist system that all the money spent on medical research in one entire year would pay for only eight hours and twenty minutes of the last world war!

There is a great deal of discussion going on about this proposal for socialized medicine. As usual, the big business-controlled press features the propaganda of those who are the least pure in their motives. Abuse against socialized medicine is to

be seen and heard everywhere, paid for by the top income brackets of the medical profession and by the big business interests. All the ancient and tattered arguments are laid out in the propaganda of the professional tag pickers of journalism and the lecture hall.

What are the arguments used in the propaganda drive against free socialized medicine? "Socialized medicine," it is said, "would destroy the sacred doctor-patient relationship." Let us see.

The chief defect of the present relationship between the doctor and his patient is the doctor bill, which is a catastrophe to the average budget and a constant source of worry to the physician himself. That is what destroys a wholesome relation between a doctor and patient.

Each and every patient who walks into a doctor's office represents to him not only an ill man or woman but also a figure in dollars and cents. The poor man must fail to get adequate care, while the pocketbook of the better-off patient is often more closely investigated than other parts of his anatomy.

This is the testimony of doctors themselves. As an example, I want to read from the writings of a doctor, this brief comment about the human appendix:

"The appendix, an inert organ usually some three inches long, three quarters of an inch in diameter, and attached to the large bowel, is of course an 'evolutionary hangover' with no known physical function. There is nothing in the books, however, to indicate that nature left the appendix behind to be a peren-

nial source of income for the operation-minded surgeon. Yet, under a system of surgery for profit that would too often seem to be the appendix's economic function."

It is of course necessary for every sufferer from abdominal pains to consult a doctor at once and to follow his advice. Laymen have no other recourse. But, under the present system of medical care, the number of unnecessary operations or expensive treatments must be enormous. There is a powerful economic impulse to decide in favor of operation in doubtful or even clearly non-operative cases.

This I must repeat, is not my personal opinion or statement, it is the conclusion of recognized medical authorities who have studied the matter.

## Individual Physician Not to Blame

In most cases, the family doctor has the confidence of his patient. How often does the physician abuse this confidence and make of the sacred doctor-patient relationship a confidence game? We have no way of knowing.

Under the present system of so-called "medical ethics" no doctor will say. Only a few courageous fighters have made themselves outcasts in the official medical profession by blowing the lid off.

I say we have no way of knowing exactly what the statistics are. But, we do know that the most powerful economic temptations beset the doctor in his unequal bargaining contest with the medically ignorant patient.

There can be no question of blaming the individual physician in this matter. Under the present system, the young medical man begins his career with debts on a medical education which may run to sixteen thousand dollars, with debts on his office and technical equipment, with years of lost earning power behind him, which may also hang around his neck in the form of debts. He enters a fiercely competitive field.

The medical system must be blamed for what he may do to guarantee his income. As long as the doctor is half business man, half healer, the abuses will continue. Free him from his two-sided role and make of him a scientist with an assured adequate income and this problem is solved.

Another argument used to repel the advance of socialized medicine is the cry that the patient would lose his "free

choice of doctors." This has a bitter ring in the ears of the families with incomes below twelve hundred dollars per year among whom half of all disease strikes in this country. What choice of physician have they? What choice do the charity wards give them?

This cry about free choice of physician is the most false, fantastic, sentimentalized piece of quackery in the history of the medical profession.

Assuming for example that I do have the money to seek the attendance of a physician for every illness, why should I even want the free choice of a physician? Which of us is competent to select from among the many medical specialties, fields of experience and practice, the one particular doctor who is the most suitable for our case?

Can we investigate the educational background, experience record of treatment of every physician in our city when we proceed to exercise our precious right of free choice? Or, is the choice of a doctor a haphazard, hit-and-miss affair dominated by friendship, convenience, size of fee, professional manner, and so forth?

All the palaver about free choice of physician is not at all impressive when it is analyzed. I do not see why the average man should not be ready to trade away this dubious right for the more valuable privilege of having his doctor chosen for him by the medical board of a cooperative or state-owned hospital which has no financial interest in him and which can choose for him conscientiously on the basis of his needs and medical case history.

## At Expense of the Nation's Health

Let us now consider the effect upon the physician of a system of socialized medicine. I have already discussed the harassed and financially untenable situation of the young practitioner. This financial insecurity stays with the doctor throughout his entire career as it does indeed with all small businessmen.

In 1929, the boom year of American prosperity before the War, over half of all American doctors earned two thousand five hundred dollars per year or less.

The doctor is expected to do a great deal of charity work; he is consulted by many people in time of crisis who cannot stop to think of their ability to pay. He himself cannot, out of common humanity, refuse treatment, although this is not always true, particularly in the case of commercial hospitals. (Big business is notoriously more hard-hearted than small.)

The doctor has a running overhead expense, he has difficulty in collecting bills, he has a constant financial problem. This may not be true for the Park Avenue specialist whose patients are wealthy and who depends upon his lawyer or collection agency to handle his financial worries, but it is true of the average practitioner.

Doctors today may find themselves better off financially. This is a result of the shortage of medical care. The relation of supply to demand favors the seller—in this case the doctor who is the producer of medical care.

But, can any medical man defend with a clear conscience a system of medical care which thrives upon a shortage of good health and over-supply of illness in relation to supply of medical care for that illness?

The medical profession at present operates insofar as its economics is concerned upon the basis of this rule.

There are fewer than eighty medical schools in the United States, and the number of students graduated from them is restricted by the organized medical profession. The result is that

can refute this fact. The only possible way to alter it is to socialize medicine in the hands of the public.

Socialized medicine would open up great new avenues of medical progress. Consider, for example, the great possibilities of preventive medicine.

What is preventive medicine? It is that branch of the medical art which concentrates on the prevention, rather than the cure, of disease.

At the present time, only two percent of the medical dollar is spent for prevention. About ninety-eight percent is spent for treatment.

Usually by the time a doctor first gets a look at your illness, it is far beyond the initial stage. It is rather well established in the organism. It has already inflicted injury. Seriously ill patients bring to the doctor a difficult, if not incurable malady. This is particularly true in the case of cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis: the great killers of mankind.

Preventive medicine presupposes physical check-ups on a monthly or even semi-monthly basis. Under the present medical system, it is hardly even possible for the average working man to pay for adequate care when he is sick, let alone expect him to go to the doctor for examinations when he is perfectly healthy.

## Everything to Gain

Only socialized medicine can bring into existence the chain of free clinics, hospitals, X-Ray centers and cancer-detection stations that will prevent the hundreds of thousands of needless deaths, and ruined, maimed and crippled bodies every year in this country.

Such a system of preventive medicine can genuinely destroy disease, and lengthen the average life expectancy of mankind to the full century which is its due.

The final most frightened cry of the opponents of socialized medicine is this: that socialized medicine will lead inevitably to Socialism. But, how can this be, if socialized medicine has all the faults, defects, inefficiencies, bureaucratic bungling and red tape attributed to it, by its opponents? If they are right, socialized medicine would rapidly discredit itself, and, along with it, the whole idea of Socialism. More people would then be firmly convinced anti-socialists than ever before.

But the truth is that the big business opponents of socialized medicine are hostile to it not because of its possible failures but because of its great and easily demonstrated superiority over the present profit system of medicine.

They fear that the great mass of the people will reason: "If we can get adequate medical care by the elimination of the profit motive and the socialization of medicine, why should we not then guarantee ourselves adequate production of all necessities and even luxuries of life by socializing all of basic industries?"

The great mass of people have nothing to fear and everything to gain from Socialism. Socialized medicine in conjunction with socialized industry is the only road to the elimination of poverty, and the only guarantee to mankind of long, happy and healthy years of life.

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# The 'Trust-Busting' Fraud

By Ruth Johnson

Practically all capitalist politicians looking for popular support try their hand at the "trust-busting" game. They recall the days when capitalism was young, and competition was its way of life. They see, quite correctly, that capitalist democracy belongs to the era of competition, and that monopoly puts a political straitjacket as well as an economic squeeze on the people. But the big stick they wave so threateningly at the trusts, is only soft foam rubber.

Take Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, and his article in the April Reader's Digest. "Is Big Business Too Big?" is the title. His answer is "yes."

He tells what happened to the dime pack of cigarettes, killed by the tobacco trust, and gives some history. "At the turn of the century," he says, the tobacco industry was "highly competitive. Soon, by merger and consolidation, the big fellows got big enough to swallow up or squeeze out the little fellows. They so completely controlled and monopolized the market that, in 1911, the 'Tobacco Trust' was dissolved as a result of federal action."

If government trust-busting was real, that should have fixed up the situation. But what happened?

"By 1940, however, the Big Three had become so big that each of these companies, by itself, was larger than the Tobacco Trust had been. Again the U. S. government brought suit for monopolistic practices... but this did not stop the Big Three's growth."

Some independent enterprisers started to put out their cheaper cigarettes, and won 25% of the market. The monopolists cut prices on their own brands to below cost, bankrupted their competitors, then promptly raised prices to the original levels — and higher. Let O'Mahoney continue:

"When the Government's suit was brought in 1940, the Big Three did less than 68% of the country's cigarette business. By 1948 they were doing 86%."

He says that this is no exception. "Three milling corporations produce 38% of all flour consumed in the United States; three meat-packing companies produce 43% of all processed meat; three dairy companies produce 44% of all condensed and evaporated milk and 63% of all cheese," and so on.

"In heavy industries, Big Business seems to have taken over even more completely. Three corporations in each of the following fields produce from 66% to 91% of the total output: chemicals, window glass, farm tractors, rubber tires, copper, tin cans, passenger automobiles, primary aluminum."

O'Mahoney doesn't explain why the trust-busting failed to halt their growth. He can't, because to do so he would have to admit that monopoly is the purpose and the natural outcome of capitalist competition; and that the government serves the capitalists; not the masses of people robbed by monopolies.

Unable to take that leap, he falls flat on his face, begs for just a "constitution" to govern business practices, and denies that he meant what he said before.

"The extension and strengthening of economic democracy," he concludes, "does not mean that the modern industrial organization should be scrapped or Big Business atomized. . . But economic democracy requires business that is more responsive to the social and economic needs of the people."

That's like asking a man-hungry tiger to chew his victim more sensitively.

## Senators Go A-Slumming

By Joseph Keller

During the debate last week in the Senate on how small they could make the housing program without losing too many votes come next election, a recess was called to permit four Senators to go "slumming" in an area four blocks from the capitol.

It seems that among the little alley-ways within smelling distance of Capitol Hill and the Senate office building human beings are living, as many as ten to a 12-foot-square room, in what are as crowded and squalid slums as can be found in the United States.

How the Senators failed to notice this before, particularly when the wind was in the right direction, remains a mystery. Possibly, the political odor in Washington sort of desensitized senatorial organs of smell to lesser stenches.

One of the Senators said following the tour — "quick tour" the papers all wrote — that "I had to scrub myself afterwards." The poor people, mostly Negroes but some whites, who are forced to live in these alley slums, have a hard time doing even that. Most of the dwellings in Shott's Alley, "Pleasant Court" and other places visited by the Senators have no running water and only outside toilets. They took a hasty gander into one house where 13 people are forced to sleep in three beds in two rooms, lighted only by an oil lamp,

heated by a coal stove in the kitchen and with toilet and running water out in the back yard, which was heaped with rubbish and garbage. Seems the D. C. garbage and rubbish collection hardly ever gets around to the alleyways where the poor live.

Now, these Washington slums aren't really news, except maybe to Senators, or maybe only when Senators decide to take a little jaunt four blocks away and get themselves photographed sniffing into garbage heaps. There have been all kinds of reports over the years describing these slums.

Still the Senatorial slumming party returned with their noses wrinkled, full of indignation and opining that these pestholes in which some Americans are forced to live are a "national disgrace." Something had to be done about it.

It was. The very next day, in fact. Some government men came around and tacked eviction notices on 30 houses in Shott's Alley. The residents weren't told where else they could go — no provision was made for that. But you can't stop the Senate once it has a mind to slum-clearance. And right where those 30 families are going to be kicked out, there is going to rise a nice, new, bright Senate Office Building. With inside toilets too, we hear.

## Whom to Investigate?

By Sam Taylor

One of the sure signs of a social system in crisis is the persistent attack upon freedom of thought and expression, particularly in educational institutions. Every reactionary, stand-pat, status-quo, obscurantist element of society quivers with fear lest any real or possible teaching, discussion and study of conflicting social theories and political philosophies take place.

The University of Chicago and Roosevelt College are now under fire from these elements, represented by the Broyles Commission of the Illinois Legislature. Haunted by the specter of "communism," these legislative Sherlock Holmeses are worried about "dangerous" text-books, students and teachers, and have set out to hunt down the insidious forces undermining the sanctity of the home, the morals of the younger generation and the very fabric of "American democracy" itself.

Who are these men that have arrogated to themselves the right to decide upon an investigation of two private educational institutions in the state of Illinois? Some facts about one of the numerous unsavory legislative characters "protecting" the "American Way" will provide a clue. Take James J. Adduci, for example. Leader of the notorious Adduci Bloc in the Legislature, he is Republican representative for the 2nd legislative district of Chicago. During a movie operators' strike in 1930, Adduci was arrested in connection with movie theatre bombings. In 1932 he was arrested and interrogated regarding a kidnapping. A year later, Adduci was arrested

with the infamous Willie Bioff, Al Capone "labor specialist," in connection with strong-arm incursions into the poultry handlers' union. In 1933 he was also picked up on a vagrancy charge. In 1934, Adduci made his political debut, running for the State Legislature against an incumbent who, according to the Chicago Sun-Times, "had served two terms in the Assembly with credit" but "suddenly quit the race just before election."

Adduci's "leadership" in the 2nd district was challenged by William John Granata in 1942. Granata lost. In 1944 the district broke out into "political" gang warfare; violence, intimidation and kidnappings followed. Governor Green threw a soft state job to Granata and, wrote the Sun-Times, "persuaded him not to try to unseat Adduci again." By 1948 Granata's political star had risen to the point where he was scheduled to run as Republican candidate for clerk of the circuit court. In true Capone fashion, Granata was "bumped off" in Chicago's Loop district two weeks before the election.

Adduci is only one of many in the Illinois Legislature whose sordid personal and political record can be detailed. Yet, by an almost unanimous vote in both houses of the Legislature, Adduci and his ilk have decided to spend thousands of tax-payer dollars to investigate "dangerous" doctrines and "subversive" individuals and groups in the two Chicago institutions of higher learning. Really, is there any doubt as to who should be investigated?

## Notes from the News

**NEW DISCOVERY** — Attorney General Clark's latest additions to his "subversive" list include the 44-year old Industrial Workers of the World as an organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

**GETTING READY FOR FRANCO** — The U. S. delegation to the UN is reported ready to take the first open step toward getting together with Franco by supporting the repeal of a ban on the admission of the fascist Spanish regime to UN specialized agencies.

**THAKIN SOE JAILED** — The Associated Press, reporting on the civil war in Burma, says that the Stalinists have jailed Thakin Soe, leader of the Red Flag Communists (said to be Trotskyist), in the Stalinist-controlled section of the country.

**FEPC PUT FIRST** — The NAACP had decided to give top priority in its legislative program to efforts to enact FEPC legislation. Previously the NAACP had considered anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-segregation and FEPC bills all of equal importance. FEPC will be placed first from now on, although the other items will not be neglected, says Secretary Walter White.

**LIVING COSTS UP AGAIN** — For the first time in five months, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports a rise in living costs for the month

ending March 15. The average increase was .3%, but food rose 1%. Rents, miscellaneous goods and services went up, but apparel and housefurnishings continued to decline.

**USING THEIR OWN EQUIPMENT** — The Communication Workers of America, independent union, charges that the Bell subsidiary, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, has been tapping telephone wires in CWA offices in Seattle and Tacoma, Wash., and even in the homes of some union officers and members.

**WITCH-HUNT PROCEEDS** — The New York Board of Regents has already set up a special committee to work out means of implementing the recently-signed Feinberg Law which requires the purge of all teachers belonging to "subversive" organizations.

**AND WHO APPOINTED HIM?** — Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. doesn't think Paul Robeson is qualified to speak for American Negroes when he says they would not want to fight against the Soviet Union. But Powell thinks that he (Powell) is qualified to speak for them when he says: "In the event of war at any time against any one we will do our part, insofar as it does not conflict with our individual religious beliefs or conscience. . . in the hour of crisis we will be loyal to our nation, reserving the right, however, to criticize constructively as we did in World War I and World War II."

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# THE MILITANT

## 65,000 Ford Workers Vote To Strike Against Speedup

### SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS "RISING STAR OF ILLINOIS"

By J. Meyer

The movement of politics is very rapid these days. Take Senator Paul Douglas. To illustrate the vicissitudes of his Senatorial career so far, here is an extract from the Negro press:

"Great things were expected of Mr. Douglas. He was a respected member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. He had served with distinction in Chicago's City Council. He had fought gallantly in World War II with the Marines. He had taken a noble and aggressive pre-election stand for civil rights. He was the toast of the minorities. In him they placed their faith and hope. But lo and behold! Senator Douglas has fallen, even as Lucifer, the son of the morning, fell from the pinnacles of heaven down into the nether regions."

#### EARN'S RUSSELL'S PRAISE

How fell this fester so fast and so furiously and whom has he disappointed? To begin with, the Negro people. During the debate on the filibuster Douglas said on the Senate floor, "We are not proposing to abolish segregation in the South. We are not proposing to abolish it in housing or in federal aid for education. We are not proposing to abolish it in the schools."

Then what in the name of heaven did President Truman propose to the world and the country, not merely the Negro people, during the last elections? Better still, what did Douglas propose?

Douglas also took it upon himself to repeat the hoary old confusion which within recent years has been dropping out of the vocabulary of even anti-Negro politicians.

In answer to Senator Russell of Georgia, Sir," said Douglas, "I am not insisting that the racial relations that men have with each other they must be forced to mingle."

No wonder the Senator from Georgia made a special point of thanking "the rising star of Illinois" for his reactionary statement. A Negro columnist comments: "This . . . expression was not expected to fall from the lips of our erudite and distinguished professor. Certainly emanating from Senator Douglas it precipitated shock, disillusion and disgust."

#### ON HOUSING BIAS

What was particularly annoying to Negroes was that Douglas had previously made a pro-Negro gesture by appointing a Negro woman as one of his secretaries. It seems that with a lot of these Democratic Party left-wing Senators the civil rights program is to be applied only in their staff offices. The Chicago Negro supporters of Douglas are bitter at this hypocrisy and the cheapness of this political gesture.

Then last week Senator Bricker of Ohio, Republican, tried to wreck the housing bill in the Senate by proposing to add to it a clause prohibiting racial segregation in housing. Douglas took it upon himself to show that to vote for the amendment would mean no housing bill. He "reaffirmed that he believed in the President's civil rights program." He "wanted to face [that] issue squarely." He "deplored" the conduct of the Southerners. But he wanted housing for four million people, and as Bricker was obviously trying to wreck the bill by this clause, he would vote against it.

Wayne Morse associated himself with Douglas, and Hubert Humphrey, needless to say, crawled rapidly into the same hole.

Humphrey and Douglas of course bear the main responsibility in the 81st Congress for all blows that have fallen and will fall upon the Truman program, rent control, Taft-Hartley repeal, etc., in the Senate. They bear the responsibility because these "leftists" by their capitulation on the civil rights issue made it clear to all that they are not going to make any serious fight on ANY issue.

#### HE WHO YIELDS

It must be said, however, that Douglas, here as in the filibuster debate, uses a particularly nauseating brand of political camouflage — Douglas in this debate had the gall to say that the North was not free from discrimination and therefore should not criticize the South too strongly. He quoted: "Judge not lest ye be judged."

What more could any rabid Southern senator want from the "rising star of Illinois"?

He pounded the desk and addressed the Southern senators: "You should give a little, too. You should not be so unyielding on civil rights."

What a miserable crawling worm this is! The Southern senators should not be so unyielding. But since they persist in being "unyielding," then Douglas yields — with hammering of the table.

But it is not only his fist that he beat upon the table. He beat his head too. Before he sat down he observed that he had probably succeeded "in getting everyone angry and cutting [his] own political throat from ear to ear."

Wrong again, Senator Douglas. You have not offended "everybody." The Southern reactionaries have recognized in you a friend, have no doubt about this. And Truman and Barkley and the Democratic leaders also have already recognized in you a man of ability — ability to talk big outside and win votes, and crawl on your belly and beat your head on the table inside Congress.

#### PEOPLE ARE LEARNING

That is a valuable type these days for capitalist political parties. It is a type that cuts throats all right. But it is the throats of Negroes, workers, and others which are in danger from these throat-cutters.

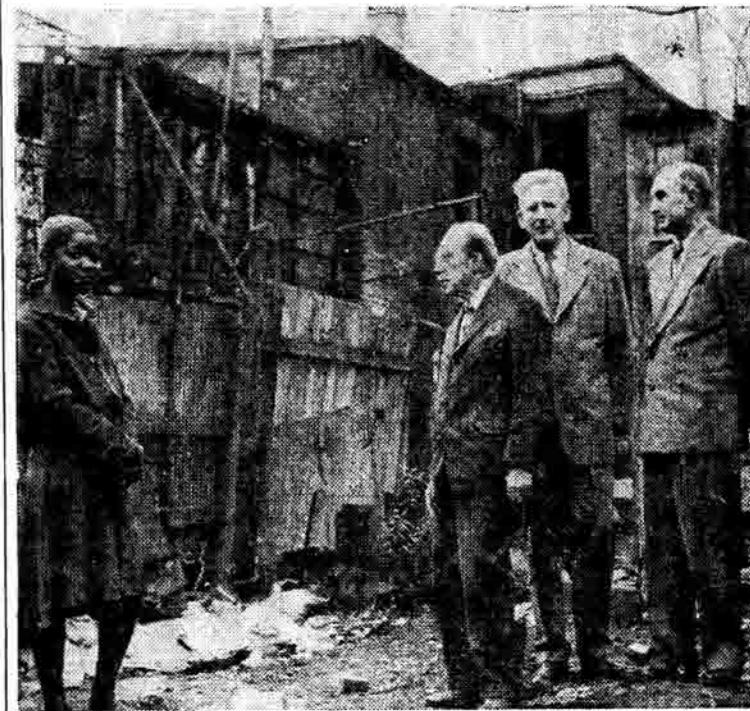
It must be said, however, that the people are being given every opportunity to educate themselves as to the real political character of one who, the higher his stock rises inside the Senate, the lower it falls outside; who is called the "rising star of Illinois" inside the Senate and Lucifer outside of it; who is excoriated by the Negro people and praised by Georgian Senators. All this Douglas has done in less than four months. He is certainly moving fast.

### Councilman Connolly Hits Kutcher Purge

NEW YORK — City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, leader of the American Labor Party, has notified the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee that he is "very glad to join others in protesting" against the victimization of James Kutcher, which he describes as "one of the most vicious examples of the workings of a so-called 'loyalty oath' procedure."

"This case and all the others," he continued, "are a startling example of the fact that we have already lost some of our democracy. There can, of course, be no genuine democracy when people are discriminated against because of their political or religious beliefs, or national origin or color. Democracy is not something you can compromise with and keep."

### In Their Own Backyard



Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D. Ill.) led some of his colleagues on a tour of the slums in their own backyard. Talking to a resident of these slums just six blocks from the Capitol building are (l. to r.) Senators Theodore T. Green (D. R. I.), Douglas and Wayne Morse (R. Ore.). Soon afterward, the Senate passed an inadequate slum clearance and housing bill. For an account of what happened to these slum-dwellers, see Joseph Keller's story on this page. For a study of the Douglas brand of "liberalism," see J. Meyer's story.

## FIRST OAKLAND SWP CAMPAIGN BRINGS ENCOURAGING RESULTS

OAKLAND—In the City Council primary elections held April 19, Filomena Goelman, the SWP candidate for Councilman-at-large, received 2,054 votes. She ran eighth and was only 12 votes short of seventh place in the nine-man race for this Council seat. Her vote represented 3.4% of the total vote in an election marked by the apathy and indifference of the great majority of Oakland's workers.

The full significance of the Goelman vote can be appreciated when contrasted with the vote of the "labor-endorsed" candidates. Thus Frank Linnotti, who had the official support of the AFL and one wing of the CIO, got only 5,618 votes. The Stalinist-endorsed candidate, William Finn, received 7,017 votes. Finn was perhaps the only other candidate carrying on an aggressive campaign, which included the tearing down of SWP election posters. Nevertheless, in many working class precincts, Filomena Goelman ran neck and neck with Finn and in a few, even ahead.

This was the first SWP campaign in Oakland and the party's candidate was the youngest ever to run in an election here. But the party succeeded in getting a fair degree of publicity both in the capitalist and labor press. On three occasions the Oakland Tribune discussed the differences between the Stalinists and Trotskyists in its columns; this was in addition to a dozen other references to the SWP candidate. The East Bay Labor Journal, official AFL paper, discussed the SWP candidate a number of

times; a week before the election it printed in full her attack on the AFL endorsements.

The SWP campaign centered on three main issues: a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay; a genuine FEPC; a Labor Party and Labor City Council in Oakland. Special leaflets issued to the unemployed and to trade unionists on these issues were warmly received. A strong impact was made by the SWP candidate in the Negro community; it is estimated that she received at least 10% of the total Negro vote in this election.

The SWP campaign was also marked by a high degree of active support from the party's contacts and sympathizers. One, who works six days a week, used his Sundays off for the purpose of hiring a car at his own expense to campaign for the SWP candidate. With such a successful campaign conducted in the midst of the bosses' pro-war anti-red drive, the Oakland SWP seems sure to grow in numbers and influence.

### Unemployment High In Maritime Unions

A nation-wide survey by the National Federation of American Shipping showed that only 79,000 members of all the maritime unions were employed last February.

In April the CIO National Maritime Union reported that at least half of its 47,000 dues-paying members are on the beach because of unemployment. Similar reports were made by the other maritime unions.

## Upturn Forecasts Prove False

By John G. Wright

The Easter season was sure to bring with it an upturn in production, employment and sales, so said all the prominent government and business prognosticators. The lateness of Easter accounted, in their opinion, for the delay of this upturn which "normally" does come this time of the year. The Easter season has come and gone. The Pollyanna has been proved wrong on all counts.

Instead of increasing, Easter retail sales flopped, and rather resoundingly so. There is no noticeable improvement, apart from agriculture, in employment. The increase of jobless, while not so steep as in January and February, continued throughout March and April. On the other hand, shorter work weeks and cutbacks have become more pronounced, extending to the field of metals and leaving autos as the sole strong sector in production today.

Rose-colored glasses are being discarded by many who had previously donned them. In its April 23 weekly review, the Wall Street Journal, conservative

financial daily, glumly concludes that "the fact is clear that there has been something more than a late Easter to account for the sluggishness of the spring buying season." Truman's Economic Board of Advisers, which has been busy telling everybody not to worry, is now itself worried enough to conduct an emergency poll of key enterprises to find out their private opinion on just what this "something more" is in a situation that is unfolding at a rate they never expected.

The break in metals has caught by surprise those who are closest to the industry and have the most current facts at their fingertips. Early this year the authoritative journal of the steel industry, Iron Age, estimated that full production would continue until the middle of the year and possibly later. Last week Iron Age revised this estimate, conceding that the steel shortage was definitely ended and that some steel products face conditions of "oversupply." The other metals, zinc, copper, lead, etc., are deep in the doldrums already.

In addition to spreading price cuts and cut backs in both the

light and heavy industries, the season of the expected upturn brought with it the beginning of large scale liquidation of inventories. Participating are shelm giant manufacturers of home appliances and General Electric and Westinghouse.

#### ONE STRONG PROP ONLY

A striking indication of how widespread this movement of liquidation is becoming is the spectacular drop of one billion dollars in outstanding bank loans to commerce and industry, a considerable portion of which had been used to finance the accumulation of inventories. It still remains unknown whether there has been a corresponding drop in inventories, which from last reports still remained at the \$55 billion mark.

The one bright spot in an otherwise uniformly dark picture is the automotive industry, or more accurately, the lower priced cars. How many more Chevrolets, Fords and Plymouths will the market be able to absorb? No one knows. Those who had estimated early this year that it would take from four to seven

DETROIT, April 27 — By a seven to one majority the 65,000 members of Ford River Rouge Local 600 UAW-CIO voted for strike action against the speedup in the Ford Motor Company. Earlier in the week members of Ford Lincoln Local 900 also voted overwhelmingly for strike action.

The Company in both cases has been charged with an inhuman speedup and arbitrary disregard of former production commitments made to the union. Tommy Thompson, president of Local 600, stated that the normal daily scheduling in "B" building at Rouge calls for 240 cars, but the actual output runs five to ten cars over this figure. Al Valenti, president of Local 900, estimated the speedup at Ford at an even higher figure of 107%.

But in spite of the broadly expressed sentiment of the Ford workers for vigorous and immediate action against the speedup, any strike will be held up pending authorization from the International Executive Board of the UAW. Detroit newspapers and commentators are freely predicting that no strike authorization will be forthcoming. But that, on the contrary, "all avenues of peaceable negotiation" will be "fully explored."

This despite the fact that the Ford Company has already broken a negotiated production agreement. The excuse for withholding authorization will reportedly be that any strike now would jeopardize contract negotiations scheduled to begin May 15.

#### MORE LAYOFFS

Meanwhile some 8,000 Detroit auto workers have been laid off as a result of the strike of 7,500 UAW-CIO members at the Bendix Aviation Corporation, South Bend, Ind. This strike action was taken on April 20 after the Bendix Corporation refused to reinstate 47 workers fired because of the speedup. The union is demanding:

1. Full reinstatement of the 47 fired workers.
2. Guaranteed take-home pay for certain employees of the brake shoe department.
3. Dismissal of the corporation's suit against the union for "damages" from the alleged slowdown.

Recently over 1,000 members of UAW Local 154 demonstrated before an office of the Michigan Unemployment Commission demanding unemployment payments. The Hudson Motor Car Corporation has followed a coldly calculated policy of operating barely 15-20 hours a week. By this tactic the Hudson workers have been deprived of compensation. Meanwhile the company has instituted a major speedup. Many Hudson workers have been thrown on city relief rolls and private charities.

Many local union officers have requested action by the Reutherite International Executive Board against the calculated speedup which has hit every major auto plant in Detroit. These appeals for action have been, with few exceptions, met by stony silence or outright denunciations of the "lazy membership." As a result of this cowardly policy many of the more outspoken union members are being victimized.