

THE MILITANT

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Trucks Act Fight Gathers Support In Michigan

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

DETROIT — Popular opposition to the Trucks law has begun to reach important proportions in the state of Michigan. The counter-attack against this police-state law centered mainly around the court action initiated by the Socialist Workers Party before Judge Lila Neuenfeldt in the Wayne county circuit court.

Warning of the dangers to freedom of speech under "the broad powers of the catch-all law," the Michigan CIO News said, "The Trucks law is a totalitarian measure. . . It is dangerous and it is unnecessary."

MALICIOUS LEGISLATION

The recent Michigan CIO state convention called the law "one of the worst samples of malicious, witchcraft legislation" and reaffirmed the CIO's opposition to any laws that "permit prosecution on the basis of speech and ideas."

An editorial in The Searchlight, official paper of UAW Local 659 of Flint, warned labor that the Trucks law "is aimed against workers on picket lines . . . at workers who fight speedups . . . at unions that resist boss violence."

These sharp attacks on the law by the CIO, in which the victimization of the SWP has been pointed to as the plainest example of the gross injustice of the law, have given courage to others to stand up and fight the witch hunters.

A. J. MUSTE

Liberals and pacifists have taken heart from the forthright stand of A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who said in a memo to FOR group leaders in Michigan, "I feel that this is one of those occasions when our members and groups may be able to give expression to our . . . opposition to repressive and 'police state' measures."

"We hope," he added, "that, in spite of disagreements with the Socialist Workers Party, everything possible will be done to help them in defending their civil liberties in the present situation."

Important aid has also come from the American Civil Liberties Union which is now preparing to file a legal brief in support of the SWP's court attack on the Trucks law.

Another strong critic of the law is the Wage Earner, official paper of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which said, "The real danger of the Trucks law is that it is so . . .



FARRELL DOBBS

patently open to abuse that it could, if strictly enforced, permit half of the population of the state to put the other half in jail."

Charles E. Lockwood, attorney for the Greater Detroit Consumers Council, wrote in the Detroit East Side Shopper concerning the barring of the SWP from the Michigan ballot, ". . . we have reached a most dangerous situation in Michigan. . . It is high time this sort of thing was stopped."

ON THE BALLOT

This mounting wave of public opposition to the law, plus the court attack on the witch hunters, has succeeded in winning restoration of the SWP to the ballot. But this important victory does not end the battle. The fight must go on, greater and greater public opposition must be mobilized, until the Trucks law, with all its viciously anti-democratic provisions, has been completely wiped out.

Haywood Patterson Reported Dying

Haywood Patterson, one of the Scottsboro victims, is reported dying of cancer at Jackson state prison, Mich. He spent 18 years in an Alabama prison on framed up charges, escaped, and was railroaded behind Michigan bars on charges involving a killing in a bar.

Japan Strike Wave Spreads In Defense of Civil Rights

By Special Correspondent

TOKYO, Japan, June 17 — The fight against witch-hunt legislation here is now coming to a climax. Today the third general strike wave began. Some 850,000 took part in today's strike and more than 2,000,000 participated in protest meetings. Twenty-eight universities and colleges throughout the country struck with the workers.

These figures represent only half of those ready to demonstrate. As a result of frantic efforts by the government and right-wing labor leaders, this third general strike was split.

One-half of the unions under the General Council of Unions walked out today or stopped work for from two to 24 hours or held protest meetings in their factories. The other half will strike on June 20.

The slogans of the movement include demands for higher wages and trade with New China.

All writers and artists, together with professors and students of almost all universities, and colleges, are uniting with the workers. This one gigantic movement, covering the whole country, is being led by the left wing of the General Council of Unions.

The Left Socialists are behind the movement while the Communist Party is jumping about the periphery of this powerful flood.

In the recent May Day demonstrations, the main responsibility for the bloodshed in various parts of the country lies squarely on the doorstep of the government. But the Stalinists also bear a share of the guilt because of their criminal adventurism.

They tried to lead the masses against police detachments armed to the teeth. However, they were followed only by students, unorganized laborers and Korean workers. In provincial towns they broke up May Day demonstrations. In Tokyo and other large centers disciplined demonstrations were held under the leadership of the General Council in spite of Stalinist efforts to battle the heavily-armed police.

This policy of the Stalinists can be characterized only as criminal putschism, since all the organized workers are being mobilized in a series of gigantic political strikes of historical importance.

Yalu Power Plant Bombings Risk Danger of All-Out War

Steel Mills Deserted, Furnaces Cold As Showdown Approaches in Big Strike

By Thomas Raymond

The power of the steelworkers continued to hold sway in the mill towns of the nation as the great steel strike approached the one-month mark. Pickets played cards, ball, or drowsed on cots in picket shanties outside steel mills throughout the nation. Management officials inside the plants struggled with the problems of keeping damage to the minimum as brick lining crumbled in open hearth furnaces. Steel town residents got a breath of clean air for the first time since the last steel strike.

Everything pointed to the truth of Philip Murray's statement to a rally of Gary steelworkers: "Taft-Hartley can't make steel." The steelworkers were once again proving that nothing can make steel except steelworkers.

And they are determined not to make any steel until they win their demands. Murray, speaking to the June 22 union rally in Gary, confronted a crowd of steelworkers many of whom carried signs reading "WE AS FREE AMERICANS WILL NOT WORK UNDER A TAFT-HARTLEY INJUNCTION."

Steelworkers' wives in Bradock, Pa., home of the Edgar Thomson workers of U.S. Steel, told a reporter: "The men are out now and they should stay out until it's settled. That's the only way to win." and "Let 'em strike. I'm just sorry we don't have John L. Lewis at the head of the union. When the coal miners go out, they make sure they get what they want," and "Nobody's looking out for the working class." But the cold furnaces and hushed mills were mute testimony to the fact that the working class is looking out for itself.

CAPITALIST DILEMMA

As the steelworkers took things easy, the capitalist class and politicians struggled with the biggest "can't-get-along-without-without-them" dilemma of our times. The U.S. capitalists can't get along with the organized labor movement of the country in this period of war-drive, and they can't get along without the workers, as the steel strike is proving to those who may have been doubtful.

In the White House and on Capitol Hill, servile Democratic and Republican politicians worked to find some way to get the workers back on the job without satisfying their contract demands. Executive and legislative officers of the government talked "Taft-Hartley injunction," "seizure"

(Continued on page 4)

Eisenhower, Taft Both Lie On Tax Cuts

Presidential campaigners, both Republican and Democrat, are getting their lie machine in high gear. The latest barrage of falsehood is centered on taxes, which hit at the standard of living of the American people.

Taft has stated he will cut taxes 15% two years after he assumes office, if elected. Eisenhower went all-out, and promised to cut taxes by \$40 billion in the same period.

Truman, on the other hand, has ridiculed these promises. He stated that since he is not running for office, he can afford to tell "the facts." But even that is not true. Like all capitalist politicians, he cannot afford to give "the facts."

Truman stated that both Taft and Eisenhower could not carry out their tax promises without drastically reducing military expenditures. And he is right when he states that neither Taft nor Eisenhower is going to cut war preparations.

But Truman lied when he said a tax cut is "impossible." It is wholly possible. The Korea war has cost an estimated \$5 billion to \$7½ billion a year. It is not only possible, but it is the wish of the majority of Americans that this war be stopped, and the GI's be brought home.

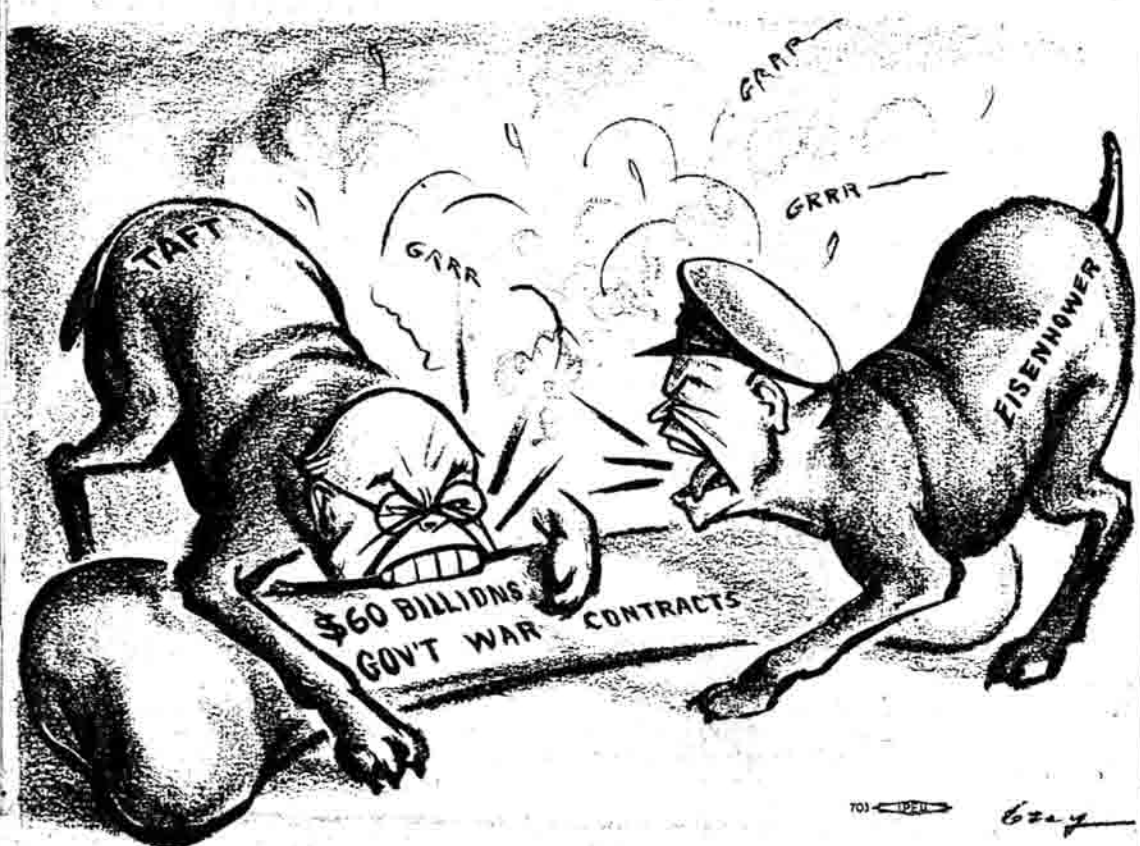
The tax bite for 1952 from workers' wages in withholding taxes is estimated at \$17 billion. Withdrawal of American troops from Korea would save between a third and half this amount, making it possible to cut withholding taxes drastically.

In the period from 1950 to 1952 the government has granted fast tax write-off allowances to corporations on \$21 billion of new plants. That means these billion-dollar companies profiting heavily on war orders, are able to reduce their tax payments by billions of dollars.

This tax steal could be stopped by executive order. The billions of dollars in tax payments which could then be collected from the industrialists, would make it possible to further cut taxes on workers' incomes.

A tax cut is possible, all right. But it won't be done as long as Republicans or Democrats control the government.

Among the Spoils of Office



SEE POWER, PROFIT AND PRIVILEGES AT STAKE IN REPUBLICAN SQUABBLE

By John G. Wright

Eisenhower's candidacy, sponsored and promoted by the decisive section of Big Business, has been pictured since Korea as the solution to the grave crisis of leadership confronting the American capitalist ruling class. This crisis, labelled by the capitalist propagandists themselves as the "crisis of confidence," required for its solution an "inspirational leader," a man with a "magic personality," of "unquestioned integrity," etc.

Once the choice fell upon Eisenhower, a corresponding myth was carefully built up through vast propaganda over the radio and television, through the press and every available medium of publicity.

This entire elaborate build-up has been seriously, if not irreparably damaged by the actual course of the struggle over the Republican presidential nomination. The political general, who with his "magic" was supposed to unite the whole nation, has proved incapable of uniting the ranks of the Republican Party.

A few months ago, the Republican candidacy appeared to be Eisenhower's simply for the asking. It was indeed widely rumored that he had his choice of running for President on either the Republican or Democratic ticket. Today, his nomination is by no means assured as the GOP candidate. This is admitted by his sobriest boosters such as The N.Y. Times, the most authoritative mouthpiece of Big Business.

At the Republican convention, "this much seems clear: The fight (between Taft and Eisenhower) will be tough and go," wrote the Times on June 22.

SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE

As matters stand, the Republican Party is split down the middle, convulsed by the sharpest factional struggle in the last forty years. For a comparable situation all the commentators have gone back to the 1912 GOP convention at which the Republican Party

was torn to pieces by the dog-fight between T. R. Roosevelt and Taft's father.

Eisenhower, who had previously pledged that he would not indulge in "personalities," has been rolling in the political gutter. He has publicly accused his rival of "rustling" delegates in the South, Texas in particular. Taft returned the compliment by charging with equal justification that the Eisenhower crowd is using Democrats to "steal" delegates in the South, and "state patronage" and "political pressure" to corral delegates in New Hampshire, New Jersey and New York. These charges of delegate "stealing" are only one side of the bitterest and dirtiest scramble in modern times for the Republican Party nomination, never noted for purity to begin with.

MILITARY POLITICIANS

It might be added that the Big Brass, more active and influential in politics than ever before, are

(Continued on page 3)

British Labor Heads Sound Alarm at Raid

By Joseph Hansen

The Pentagon-White House decision to bomb the Yalu river power plants is part of a deliberate effort to get out of the stalemate in Korea by extending this risks plunging us into World War III. The 500-plane foray, which spokesmen of the Armed Forces boast has totally destroyed the world's fourth largest source of electric power, was a cold-blooded provocation that could set off the atomic war all humanity has been dreading since Hiroshima and Nagasaki were wiped off the face of the earth. This ominous conclusion is inescapable on the basis of the available evidence.

(1) The truce negotiations, drawn out for one year, had finally removed all obstacles but one — forcible screening of prisoners in UN hands. The claim of U.S. generals that 100,000 prisoners would "forcibly resist" return to North Korea had been exposed as a fraud. Yet in face of this exposure, forcible screening, in violation of the Geneva convention, was resumed last week, as if the move was deliberately intended to break down truce talks and assure continuation of the slaughter.

(2) Gen. James Van Fleet admitted June 11 that tactical atomic weapons have been readied for Korea and that personnel is already there to direct their use. After the Yalu river bombing, Van Fleet "in effect dared the Communists to launch another all-out Korean offensive," according to AP. "We hope he (the Koreans) comes," the 8th Army commander said.

MACARTHUR'S PLAN

(3) The move against the Yalu river power complex was part of the war-provoking plan for which General MacArthur was fired. For two years, the Truman Administration kept Truman off this area which is vital to Manchurian industries. The decision to bomb thus indicates acceptance of MacArthur's proposed blueprint for spreading the war to Manchuria and still deeper into the Asiatic mainland.

(4) The bombing was not undertaken until after a British government mission had visited Korea. Upon his way home, Lord Alexander, head of the mission, whitewashed the U.S. handling of the Koje prison camps which had aroused a storm in Britain, saying, "I was very impressed by what I saw. I think you are running a good show." At the White House, he said he had "no quarrel" with the mass aerial assault. This indicates that the British government had given its approval in advance to the bombing although it may not have been consulted on the exact timing and circumstances.

FOLLOW BONN "CONTRACT"

(5) This new provocation follows hard on the heels of the signing of the Bonn "contract" with the Adenauer government to re-arm West Germany, rehabilitate the Nazi war machine and fit it into the North Atlantic Alliance as part of the preparations for attack on the Soviet Union. This "contract" was pushed through with extraordinary haste, and although it has not been ratified as yet, some of its provisions are already being implemented.

(6) The decision to step up the war tempo in Korea follows pressure on the French government to repress the Communist Party in France and to involve America far deeper in the bloody colonial war of conquest in Indo-China.

In addition to these facts, which are all as plain as sky-writing, Acheson has flown to England for important diplomatic

(Continued on Page 4)

Radio-TV Schedule Hear the Socialist Anti-War Candidates

The Presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will open with the following series of radio and television broadcasts to be carried coast-to-coast:

Saturday, July 19
1:30-1:45 P.M. CBS-TV
Saturday, July 19
11:15-11:30 P.M. CBS-Radio
Sunday, July 20
3:15-3:30 P.M. NBC-Radio
Sunday, July 20
8:00-8:15 P.M. ABC-TV
Sunday, July 20
11:15-11:30 P.M. ABC-Radio
(All Eastern Daylight Saving Time)

Can Business Prosper Without War?

By Harry Frankel

What would happen to the American economy if peace broke out? This is the question which is giving the shudders to business men and politicians. The answer to it bears strongly on whether the U.S. capitalists and their government will permit peace.

The long-range fact which has the economists shivering is that the U.S. economy has never been able to regain the 1929 level of production without a sizeable war sector in the economy. This is the ghost that has been sitting at the prosperity banquet table ever since the start of World War II.

In addition, recent trends in the U.S. economy have sounded a note of ominous warning to the capitalists. These trends have been apparent for many months, but the capitalist class and the capitalist press, evidently hoping that if they took no notice, the trends might disappear by themselves, have been keeping quiet

about them. It hasn't worked out that way, and so the N.Y. Times Magazine decided to face it, and took the plunge on June 22. Harvard Professor J. K. Galbraith, author of a recent apologetic book called "American Capitalism," was asked for some cheerful words, and he promptly supplied them in an article called "We Can Prosper Without War Orders."

GALBRAITH'S QUESTION

Galbraith asks: "Can the United States continue to find a peaceable outlet, year after year and decade after decade, for its very considerable productive energies?" What he really means to ask is: "Can a capitalist America find adequate markets?" and he replies as follows: "Here the answer depends less on economic and more on a broad assessment of social need."

"Families with a present income of \$6,600 — or twice the average — have not the slightest difficulty in spending their money.

So easily acquired is the amiable art of spending money that the same is true, though with some increase in saving, of those with three or four times as much."

Here is a professor who sets out to make fools of his readers and winds up making a fool of himself. To approach consumption entirely from the standpoint of people's needs is worse than ludicrous, it is disarming in its idiocy. The market does not consist of needs, it consists of purchasing power. What we want is a professor who can explain how to spend \$6,600 a year (or "three or four times as much") when you haven't got it. Such a professor would solve all the market problems of modern capitalism, but I am afraid we shall wait for him a long time.

Professor Galbraith's article is supposed to be directed against "communist propaganda." Actually, it was called forth by recent trends in the U.S. economy which Galbraith does not mention but which are obviously on

his mind. They may be summarized briefly.

RECENT TRENDS

When the war sector of the U.S. economy first began to increase just before Korea, this brought about a continual rising trend in U.S. production. At the start of the Korean war, the index of industrial production was about 195 (1935-'39 = 100). The index rose almost without interruption until the spring of 1951, when it stood at 223. Then came an abrupt break. From the spring of 1951 to the spring of 1952, industrial production remained constant from month to month, or declined. The most recently recorded month, April 1952, shows an index figure for production of 216 as compared to 223 in April of 1951.

The important thing about this decline is that it took place at the very time that war production was undergoing the biggest peacetime expansion in the history of the U.S. War expenditures

rose from a pre-Korea level of under \$20 billion a year to the present level of probably over \$55 billion a year. War-connected durable goods production and construction rose from about \$5 billion a year in 1950 to about \$25 billion a year at the present. The biggest expansion of plant capacity in U.S. peacetime history was going on at the same time that this decline in total production took place.

CAN'T SELL

Production for the non-military, that is the consumer market, has dropped off very sharply. Even more important than this decline in consumer production is the reason for it. Consumer goods industries have been forced to cut back, not because they couldn't get materials or labor (the materials problem never became very serious) but because they couldn't sell what they were producing.

The April issue of the Dept. of

(Continued on page 2)

Notebook of an Agitator

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

American medicine, its personality split by the contradictory social conditions under which it must operate and the dual functions they impose upon the doctors, seems to be running a race with itself toward the opposite goals of public homage and opprobrium. Like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the modern doctor has two souls and doesn't know which one to call his own. The American people are not getting any benefit from this schizophrenia of the medicine men.

Medicine as a science is progressive and revolutionary, constantly sharpening its theoretical tools, bold and thoroughgoing in its increasingly successful search for new techniques. Medical science is benign, by its very nature social-minded, humane and out-giving, committed to the most ennobling ideal — the service of others. Who can be more deserving of the grateful acclaim of the people than those who heal the sick and make human life more livable? The doctors — as doctors — belong to the Order of the Friends of Man.

But the way things are, the doctor, who shouldn't have to bother with anything but his profession, must also be a business man who has to make a living, charge all the traffic will bear and try to get rich in competition with others. This side of the picture is not so attractive. Medicine as a business, self-centeredly working for its own pocket, is no better than any other business. In some respects it is even worse, for the unnatural mixing up of a profession designed for service with the business of making money entails a special corruption of its own, which merits nobody's veneration.

Ugly and Abominable

Commercialized medicine leads to discrimination against those who need medical service most in favor of those who can pay best. The number of doctors is artificially restricted in order to reduce competition. Well-heeled hypochondriacs are over-attended while a large segment of the population goes without any proper medical attention at all. There is no justice in this lopsided distribution of service. The business side of the medical profession is ugly and abominable.

The doctor as a business man has no claim to recognition as a public benefactor. And when he goes into politics in the interest of his business he is even less attractive. The people, if they had a free choice in the matter, would gladly furnish the necessary public funds to educate enough doctors to serve the whole population and to provide a good living for the doctors. That ought to be done as a matter of course. But the American Medical Association, dominated by the richest doctors, doesn't want it that way.

This medical trust fights every step and every legislative proposal to broaden medical coverage and base eligibility on need rather than on ability to pay. The rank and file doctor is terrorized into silence or acquiescence in this monstrous policy and is even black-jacked into paying for the publicity campaign and lobby to support it. The lobby of the American Medical Association in Washington spends more money than any other to influence legislation in an exclusively reactionary and anti-social direction.

There are signs, however, that they may be overplaying their hand. The average layman, who appreciates the scientific achievements and services of the medical profession, is already pretty well fed up with the attempt to protect its nefarious business aspects by political propaganda and pressure. Some doctors themselves, big enough to speak out without fear of reprisals, are taking note of the angry drift of public opinion and making a timely bow to it. Thus Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, Chairman of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, has got his dander up over what he aptly calls the "public be damned" attitude of the American Medical Association.

Football for Obscene Battle

Dr. Magnuson, a noted orthopedic surgeon of Chicago and former medical director of the Veterans Administration, sounded off at the AMA meeting in Chicago against the hired publicity experts of the AMA whose slick misrepresentation and high-pressure campaigns are bringing the medical profession into disrepute and making "the health and well-being of the American people" a "football for an obscene and vulgar battle between highly paid publicists."

Responding to the action of the AMA brass in renouncing the mere proposal for a government commission to investigate the peoples' health needs, Dr. Magnuson let them have both barrels. "My conscience is clear," he said. "They can all go to hell. I am doing a doctor's job, and in my book, the patient comes first."

That is good advice for the medical profession in general and they would do well to heed it voluntarily before the people make it compulsory. Dr. Magnuson's words sound like the Hippocratic Oath which every young doctor takes on graduation, and then is expected to forget when his profession becomes a business and a political machine rigged out with publicity sharpeners and Washington lobbyists. The Oath of Hippocrates obligates the doctor to visit the sick wherever they may be and to serve anyone whatever, on the sole condition that he needs medical care.

Change in Social System Required

That ideal of the legendary founder of the medical profession must govern its future too. But that can be fully realized only when the practice of medicine as a social service — its justification and its glory — is completely separated from sordid business considerations and shabby politics — its degradation and disgrace.

That will require a change and reorganization of our social system as revolutionary as any changes that have been made in the practice of medicine. The doctors have been bold enough to make such changes in their own profession when scientific analysis demonstrated their necessity. They need a similar attitude toward the social problem. Socialism will be good medicine for the doctors who just want to be doctors. It will free them from the contradiction between their functions as physicians and business men, and cure them of the split personality which is caused by this contradiction.

— J.P.C.

Letters from Readers

No Need to Answer FBI Snoopers

Editor:

I think the article in the June 23 Militant, "Your Rights Under Fifth Amendment," was a service to the readers. This certainly is a time when everyone should know the nature and scope of his constitutional rights against the witch hunters who want to turn the American people into a nation of informers.

I would like to add one other point of information regarding this question: Nobody has to tell the FBI anything either. The authority for this statement is FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover himself.

Last March 10 I summarized in the column, "The American Way of Life," the contents of an article in the January issue of Commentary, in which a union official, Harry Gersh, described how FBI agents had come to his house and grilled his wife for information about some Hollywood figure she had known about 20 years ago.

Now, in the June issue of Commentary, Hoover has a letter protesting the Gersh article as an "attempt to hold the FBI up to ridicule." He says, "The interview was of a routine nature and she (Mrs. Gersh) talked to the agents on a voluntary basis. Had she or Mr. Gersh so desired, they most certainly could have declined to be interviewed."

I think this fact should be made widely known. The FBI spends a good deal of time going around to intimidate people into informing

on their neighbors, fellow-workers, etc. The impression they give when they flash their badges is that you've got to supply them with whatever information they ask, no matter how degrading you consider a stoolpigeon to be. The truth is just the opposite, as Hoover himself admits. No one, not even the FBI, has the power to make you lose your self-respect, and it is perfectly proper and legal to refuse to supply information about the political or union activities of your acquaintances.

John F. Petrone,
New York City

Witch Hunt Began On Eve of Last War

Editor:

May I call your attention to a factual error in your story "Religious, Liberal Leaders Speak Against Stifling of Civil Rights" in the Militant of June 16?

"When the campaign against the Bill of Rights affected only the minority political parties, the SWP and the Stalinists, very few of the liberals and none of the labor leaders came forth to defend the principle of civil liberties."

This statement is not correct. The campaign against the Bill of Rights, to my mind, started with the indictment and imprisonment of the 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis labor leaders.

The records of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the organization which defended the 18, will

show that many liberals, individual labor leaders, and very many organizations came to the defense of the first victims of the Smith Gag Act.

Just because there are new victims now does not mean that we must forget what happened 10 years ago and lump everything together. I should think you would want to correct this error in fact.

S. B.

New York

The criticism is well taken. In writing the article referred in S. B.'s letter the witch hunt was considered primarily from the point of view of events since the end of World War II. It is true that the drive against civil rights began with the Minneapolis case preparatory to the war, and that many liberals and labor leaders as well as unions rallied to the defense of the rights of the 18 victims of the Smith Act.

J. A.

Poor Forced to Live In N. Y. Fire Traps

Editor:

I visited the scene of the fire that snuffed out seven lives in Brooklyn and could see how the same disaster threatens similar tenements — narrow hallway, rickety stairs, exposed electric wiring, no fire escapes or even fire-retardant doors. All these are violations.

The poor are forced to live in such fire traps because they have no place else to. If the city cracks down, then rents go up.

H. D.

New York

A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

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116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Rent Gouge Victims Die In New York Fire Traps

By James Walcott

NEW YORK CITY — The death of seven helpless victims in a tenement fire in Brooklyn has lifted the lid on the corruption, graft and gross neglect which allows gouging landlords to exact high rents on 50,000 fire-trap dwellings in this city.

Four children and three adults died a horrible death last week in a condemned building owned by Mrs. Bessie Honig. Although she had ignored orders of 4 years' standing to repair her building, she was never brought before an official inquiry until her criminal greed resulted in a tragedy.

State Housing Commissioner Stichman demanded an impartial and independent investigation of the N. Y. Housing and Buildings department, accusing New York's Mayor Impellitteri of responsibility for the "present deplorable conditions as far as enforcement of fire, safety and health laws are concerned."

STILL WORSE

An example of the kind of housing tens of thousands of N. Y. families have to put up with, was given in the June 24 N. Y. Post by reporter Charles Adams:

"I found some tenements so bad that, by comparison the wooden firetrap where seven persons died in Brooklyn fire last week wasn't such a bad place."

"... In a basement room about 14 feet below street level live Louis Olmo and five members of his family, three of them children aged 3, 5 and 12. They all sleep, cook and eat in that single room."

"The Olmos have a surface window but can't open it because the wind blows garbage from the adjoining lot into the room. When it rains, water pours in through the door and Olmo often spends whole evenings bailing it out."

"For this cellar room without heat, Olmo pays \$14 a week."

NO ESCAPE

Another family was reported living in a sub-basement, windowless, no gas, no toilet. Five children and one on the way. There is no escape from this firetrap.

When a family reported a basement room, in which three families live, to be flooded with sewer water, the Dept. of Housing and Building replied, "Sorry, we have 800 complaints a day."

An investigation is now under way into the charge that department inspectors have been receiving graft from owners of fire-traps seeking to block, suspend or erase fire and safety regulations.

Investigations of the Housing and Building Dept. are already under way by prosecutors in two N. Y. boroughs. But these investigations will probably be a mere repetition of past flare-ups of interest in the housing scandal precipitated by a disaster such as the Brooklyn fire. Plenty of loud talk, red tape, delays, and no action.

NO COOPERATION

Rev. W. G. Weber of East Harlem stated, "With conditions what they are, many of the people of this area have resort only

Iran Oil at Stake



Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh (r) is shown conferring with an associate at hearing held at the Hague, Holland, on the dispute between Iran and Britain over possession of the country's oil. Britain has grabbed a tanker with Iran oil in an attempt to prevent the Iranian people from selling what rightfully belongs to them.

to escape, rebellion or apathy — escape through religion, alcohol or narcotics.

"Some rebel through crimes against the state or seek release through communism. We can do little for them unless we get co-operation from city officials, and this so far has not been forthcoming no matter how much we complain."

What the residents of the slum district need above all is a tenant's organization, through which they can initiate a campaign

of pressure and publicity to force action from city, state and federal officials.

It is an illusion to expect any good to come either from official investigations or from the Dept. of Housing and Building. Only a militant campaign by the organized tenants themselves can expose the truth about their conditions and bring about a housing program to eliminate the miserable firetrap tenements and provide adequate and safe housing.

BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION GOES ON, EVENTS SHOW

The Bolivian revolution continues, recent events in the mining regions show. A U.S. tin mine manager was called to account by 2,500 miners on June 21, because of refusal to accede to miners' demands. Other facts reported in the American press indicate that the miners retain and are extending their control in the mining regions.

Henry E. Brown, manager of a Bolivian Tin and Tungsten Co. mine was reported "severely beaten but not seriously injured" after a meeting of 2,500 miners had been told that the corporation refused to grant their demands. The miners are asking a general increase in wages, and payment for 1949. The company has refused to pay the agreed-upon bonus on the ground that they made no profit in 1949.

Brown, "bloody and disheveled" when hauled before the miners' meeting, told the men that "he too was simply a worker and had tried to help them, but could only execute his orders."

The indications of miners' control in the mining regions were reported by N. Y. Times correspondent Sam Pope Brewer in a June 23 dispatch from La Paz. Miners will not permit U.S. of-

ficials and their families to leave the mining areas in many cases. Brewer says that this fact, and the Brown incident, "worry" as indications of the "lack of control by authorities in the mining areas."

Brewer says that Juan Lechin, miners' union leader and Minister of Mines and Petroleum, "has opposed the dispatch of troops or the police to the mining areas... on the ground they would be used to tyrannize the miners." He reports further that the unions announced the formation of their own police force earlier this month, but U.S. officials protest that these police are the same men who are "flouting the authorities."

The nationalization of the Bolivian tin mines by the new government of the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) is now pending a study by a government-appointed committee on nationalization. A Bolivian revolution beginning April 9 overthrew the old pro-U.S. regime.

Prosper Without War?

(Continued from page 1)

Commerce magazine, the Survey of Current Business shows how this has worked. Consumers at the beginning of 1952 were forced to spend about 5% more for the same amount of food and clothing than they bought in the beginning of 1951. But since prices of all commodities rose, and since all federal, state and local taxes rose by 17% in the same period, the consumer was forced to cut down spending in all fields outside of food and clothing. Since manufacturers already had big inventories on hand they were forced to cut production, by an even larger percentage than the decline in consumer buying.

MARKETS SHRINKING

Summarize these trends and what do you find? Production declined despite the big arms boom because non-military markets are shrinking, not growing. That is what gives rise to such headlines in the press as "Weary Boom on Borrowed Time" (N. Y. Times, June 15) and "Forecast: A 10% to 20% Dip in 1953 from Peak 1952 as Plant Building Drops" (Wall Street Journal, June 13). It also gives rise to economic-gymnastics like those of Professor Galbraith in the Times Magazine.

Nor is this all. The present trends contain an even more

significant hint for the future. The biggest portion of today's expansion is expansion of productive capacity. More factories and mills are being built, and these are getting ready to pour out more goods. Everyone is familiar with the fact that the 1929 depression was preceded by a similar expansion. But this one is even bigger. From 1918 to 1929, productive capacity increased about 50%, and this was at a time when there was no significant military sector and the consumer market was absorbing the growing output. This expansion led to the big bust of 1929.

EXPANSION RATE DOUBLES

In the present period, a similar 50% expansion of productive capacity has taken place in little more than half the time, or since 1946. The rate of expansion has been twice as fast as the pre-1929 rate, and at the same time the consumers' market has been bolstered by a war sector purchasing up to 20% of the output. Professor Galbraith wants us to believe that, although capitalist markets could not keep up with the 1929 rate of expansion, they will keep up with the far faster rate today, even if the military sector were removed or reduced sharply. This is nonsense and the good professor knows it. Miracles may happen but they never

happen at Sears Roebuck. The biggest miracle Galbraith offers to the unwary reader is this: that U.S. capitalism, if it were confronted with the choice of war or depression, would choose depression. He supports this expectation on the basis that "selling apples on New York sidewalks is preferable to being interned under them." Here Galbraith again prefers to think foolishly rather than critically. Apple-selling may be preferable to internment for you and me, but it is to the capitalists, who expect to undergo neither ordeal?

Galbraith doesn't understand the purpose of the U.S. war-drive. The object of the war will be to save world capitalism. If the war perspective is abandoned and a depression follows, this would mean a collapse of the sole remaining bastion of world capitalism, and the beginning of the American social crisis which would lead to the end of U.S. capitalism. It follows from Galbraith's reasoning that the American capitalists would consider committing suicide as a dominant economic class.

That's the way it may look from Harvard, but that is not how it looks to the rest of the world. The U.S. capitalists are heading for war, and nothing else. The present trends in the American economy are hastening their drive.

The American Way of Life

Diversion in an Italian Hotel Room

Maria Midolini, chambermaid at the Villa dei Pini at Fregene, Italy, a fashionable sea resort, looked around the other day and saw nothing but time-study men on every side. She had become the center of an "aid" program intended to bring American "efficiency" to Italy.

We glean this example of the American way of life, as bottled for export, from the Paris edition of the Herald-Tribune, which explains that Miss Midolini was chosen as a model by U.S. experts, and her work was placed under time and motion scrutiny by student classes learning the American way. The Tribune says: "Miss Midolini, by comparison with other chambermaids, the villa's management has known was a marvel of industry, but students, guided on their rounds by Rob Roy Grege, formerly of the Fuller Brush Corporation, and James L. Hookenberry, formerly of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, soon found a long list of potential improvements."

"Miss Midolini, they observed... lost substantial quantities of time and energy by darting back and forth across rooms and from one room to another as she thought of chores... Miss Midolini... should have followed her work at the blinds by finishing all the other chores in that corner before going on to any other. The bed should not have been enumerated prior to changing it. The laundry which did the sheets should be told to fold them each time the same way, so that Miss Midolini would know just what to expect as she rolled them out."

"Mr. Hookenberry's room should have been done before Mr. MacPhail's... Miss Midolini's technique with pajamas came in for a word of criticism too. She pressed them under pillows without folding them. Especially in the case of women's silk things that sort of treatment would guarantee unpleasant rumpling. Providing greater guest satisfac-

tion would have been almost as easy by folding the night clothes neatly."

The Tribune article, which reports the conclusion of the survey to be that "Miss Midolini... could increase her productivity from 50 to 150 percent," also indicated that the stop-watch men were critical of Miss Midolini's technique with shoes: "She held them in her hand to brush them. By mounting them on a fixed stand and getting a second brush both hands could be used at once, thus completing the job done almost twice as fast..." What she would do with her feet, if anything, was not reported.

This story reminds me of another, which, though it does not come from the Paris edition of the Herald Tribune, came to me from a source equally reliable. I can therefore vouch for its authenticity.

A wealthy Texas cattleman travelling abroad once had occasion to ride a burro. Now, accustomed as he was to fleet American transportation, he found the donkey far to slow to suit him. He swore and he threatened, but he couldn't get any more speed out of the stubborn animal. Finally, in a flash of typical American know-how, he attached an empty five-gallon tin to the burro's rear, calculating that the rattling and banging would frighten the animal into moving faster, and mounted to see how his ruse would work.

The burro went ten yards, stopped, set its heels in the mud, turned around to the American and snapped: "Listen buddy, I didn't mind your cussin', but I didn't mind your raving, but if you think you're going to tie a can to my tail, you're a bigger ass than I am. NOW GET OFF MY BACK!"

— Harry Frankel

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Literature Agent

Elhel Swanson reports several good Militant sales during the past week. Bertha, Johnny T. Lenny and Larry sold 15 papers and four copies of "The Road to Peace" to a small audience at a rally for amnesty of Smith Act victims.

Ethel P. and Keir sold 15 Militants at a Union Square meeting in support of the steel strike. New York submitters have already exceeded their goal of 100 subs to The Militant with another week to go in the local campaign. High scorers are Joyce, 461 points; Julie, 324; and Calvin, 271.

Literature Agent C. R. writes, "The Philadelphia branch has been on the ball for the past two Sundays. As a result of the good participation and hard work the two days yielded six subscriptions, 22 single copies, five 'Voice of Socialism' pamphlets, 11 copies of 'A Letter to American Negroes,' and one copy of 'Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.' We could have sold more papers if we had had them on hand. Our social committee lived up to last Sunday's work by planning a soda pop and watermelon session at a nearby park after the sale."

Literature Agent James reports the beginning of some intensive renewal work in St. Paul. Chicago doesn't intend to let any grass grow under their feet. Literature Agent Bert Deck writes, "Just a quick note to let you know that we have finished our petition drive in fine style and in good time and now are ready for some increased Militant work. As a starter you may quadruple our present bundle. We are setting our sights on this figure as our regular week to week routine Militant assignment. Hope to have some good news to report as soon as we receive the new bundle. Harold and Sherry sold 20 papers in an hour on a street corner. This was Sherry's first time out so it looks like the Militant Army has a new supporter."

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen S. reports continued good sales. "Lindy, Larry, Millicent, and Helen sold 21 Militants at the AFL Hall last week. At a meeting of the Progressive Party, Doris, Lindy, Larry, and Donald sold 11 papers, three 'Road to Peace,' and three copies of 'The Jim Crow Murder of Harry T. Moore.' Anticipating Militant salesmen at their meeting, the Stalinists brought out a box

labeled 'Deposit your Militant

here, please' — all to no avail!" St. Louis Literature Agent D. C. tells us of several interesting experiences he had while doing sub work. He sold subs to two Negro pastors recently one of whom invited him to speak at his church. "I talked about Harry Moore's murder, about John Brown, Harriet Tubman, Nat Turner, and how these people had struggled and sacrificed to make this world better for all of us. Much of my subbing is done in a working-class Negro neighborhood. I am getting acquainted here. Often workers say hello when they see me on the street."

Local Addresses of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — For information, write P. O. Box 1642.
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social Sat. of every month.
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 429 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 3940.
CHICAGO — 134 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 11:30-7:30 P.M. Phone HARRISON 7-0403.
CLEVELAND — 10006 Superior Ave. DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 11-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6287.
ELST — SWP, 1307 Oak Street. Phone 2248.
LOS ANGELES — 1702 44th St. Phone ANGELES 4-4853.
MILWAUKEE — 817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. 2-5 P.M. Phone 2-1111.
MINNEAPOLIS — 10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-4 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7701.
NEW HAVEN — For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
NEWARK — 423 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY — 116 University Place. Phone AL 5-7652.
BROOKLYN — 18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.
OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, write P.O. Box 1805.
PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone STEVENSON 4-5820.
ST. LOUIS — For information, Phone MO 7194.
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SAN FRANCISCO — 1133 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 11:30-5 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.
SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 5272.
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Monday, June 30, 1952

A Case of Indecent Exposure

Generally we feel it's undignified to point at such things, but in this case we don't see how it can be avoided. From where we're at in the crowd it looks like the State Department has been caught with its striped pants down.

Here's how it happened. The Washington Post said that the State Department had sent out a secret order barring Professor Owen Lattimore from leaving the country. Officials claimed the action was taken on a "tip" that Lattimore was planning to visit the Soviet Union or one of its satellites.

Lattimore called it "midsummer night madness." He had merely thought of going to England or France, and had also considered an offer to lecture at the University of New Delhi. But he had made no application for a passport.

The Seattle Times announced it had learned from "unimpeachable sources" that the "tip" had been faked. The Washington Post said that the FBI had admitted the "tip" was a "sheer fabrication."

Unnamed officials of the department now say they are "prepared" to make "full amends," that is, if "investigation" proves the action to have been "unjustified." That's the State Department's new "total diplomacy" — in case of indecent exposure stay dignified.

But while you're laughing at the red-faced bureaucrats, consider (1) the procedure, (2) the crime. The word of an unknown liar is sufficient to convict a man without public charges, without evidence, without witnesses, without a hearing, without even notifying the victim. In America it used to be you were presumed innocent until proved guilty. Now you are presumed guilty and not even given an opportunity to prove you are innocent. Lattimore would not have known of his conviction if a newspaper hadn't exposed it. Such condemnation has happened to hundreds, perhaps thousands, of victims of the Truman purge.

And the crime! It is nothing less than having thoughts different from those now holding office (which Lattimore vehemently denies) and, holding such thoughts, wanting to travel abroad.

America was once known as the land of the free. This included freedom of travel as well as freedom of thought. The witch hunters, however, are converting the U.S. into a land that more and more begins to resemble a concentration camp. What is the State Department's illegal, unconstitutional action but a form of house arrest so familiar under fascism?

Labor's Political Rut

As the 1952 presidential elections draw closer, the CIO NEWS is forced to admit the bankruptcy of labor's past political efforts. "What incentive remains for collective bargaining when industry can rest assured that it has Congress in its pockets, regardless of the merits of the issue?" the spokesman for 6 million CIO workers stated June 16.

This admission accurately describes the position of American labor. Far from being able to use its political power to buttress its economic strength, organized labor finds that its ability to defend the standard of living of workers, is frustrated by the political monopoly of Big Business.

Striking steel workers have found this to be their main problem. They can shut the steel mills down, but the government, mobilized on the side of the corporations, has stalled their demands, and now threatens to deprive the union of its right to strike.

Government power is used on the side of the industrialists, not only to break strikes, but in every possible way to strengthen the position of the corporations and undermine that of the workers.

What workers win in wage increases is in large measure taken away in taxes, while the tax program allows the monopolists to amass ever greater profits.

Billions of tax dollars collected from the workers are used to build huge industrial plants, which are donated to private companies through the amortization program. The need for a public health program, a housing development, expanded educational facilities is ignored by Wall Street's Congress. While wages are controlled, prices are allowed to skyrocket, rents are pushed upward.

Restrictive legislation has effectively stymied the organization of the unorganized. The most important block in the way of organization of the South is the Taft-Hartley "Slave-Labor" Law. At the same time, anti-trust laws are weak, and those on the statute books are at all intents and purposes unenforced.

On the civil rights front, failure to enact Fair Employment Practices legislation is accompanied by a government-inspired witch-hunt designed to stifle all criticism and prepare a police regime in the U.S.

Yes, industry has Congress in its pocket. Recognizing this, does the CIO propose a new political program for labor? The CIO News has only this to say: "... the voters will remember when the conservatives appeal for votes as 'friends of labor'."

It is true that working-class voters will remember Truman's betrayal of his 1948 "fair deal" promises. They will not forget that both Republicans and Democrats represent the rich and not the poor.

The position of the labor leaders is one of complete failure, with no outlook for a new course. The time is long overdue for the building of a great labor political force, independent of the old capitalist parties, to break the Washington monopoly of Big Business, and unleash the tremendous potential political power of 16 million organized workers.

Workers who are fed up with dependence upon "friends of labor" will be able to vote for genuine working-class candidates in 1952 by supporting the presidential Ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, which has as one of the planks in its platform, the formation of an American labor party.

Surveys Show Negro Vote Divided

WASHINGTON OATH LAW HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL

SEATTLE, Wash., June 14.—The loyalty oath provision of the Kimball law for state of Washington candidates has been declared unconstitutional by Judge Charles T. Wright in the Superior Court of Thurston county. The judge ruled in a suit brought by officers of the Progressive Party. State Attorney Smith Troy announced that an appeal will be taken to the State Supreme Court.

Daniel Roberts, chairman of the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party, declared that "it is imperative for all believers in free speech to continue to support the Progressive Party in its legal fight to knock out the totalitarian-type oath." The SWP has taken this position despite the fact that the Stalinist leaders of the Progressive Party are utilizing the county court victory as the occasion for a slanderous smear attack on fellow-fighters against the oath who do not happen to see eye to eye with the Stalinists in political matters.

THE PETTUS FORMULA

The Pettus formula is this in effect: That the main concern in a free speech fight is with the judges and with tricky points of law.

This goes completely counter to all past experience in civil liberties battles. Judges are not generally guardians of democratic rights. As an institution, the judiciary is part and parcel of the witch-hunt machinery, despite a favorable verdict now and then. The course most likely to bring victory in a free speech fight is a militant campaign based on a united mass movement of labor, Negro and liberal organizations.

It was that kind of united front for free speech which the SWP built around its challenge to the Kimball oath. That kind of united front must be built once more to insure victory for the Progressive Party in the hearing before the Washington Supreme Court. But it was that kind of united front that the Stalinists stabbed in the back in the Roberts case.

SWP BEGAN ACTION

The struggle against the oath was initiated by the Socialist Workers Party last January around the candidacy of Daniel Roberts for mayor. With the support of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose attorney appeared in court on the side of Daniel Roberts, the SWP challenged the constitutionality of the oath.

The SWP case was backed by the Seattle Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action and Hope Lodge No. 79 of the Machinists' Union. In addition, prominent individuals from pacifist, liberal and labor circles enrolled in the fight. The vigorous campaign started by the SWP was widely publicized in the local press and helped pave the way for the welcome victory of the Progressive Party.

When the Progressive Party entered the struggle against the oath with a case of its own, the SWP hailed the action and urged a united front. But Thomas Rabbit and other Stalinist leaders of the Progressive Party would have none of it. Instead, when the Roberts case came before the State Supreme Court, they entered a brief asking the court to refuse to rule.

JUDGES RESPOND

This monstrous attack on the principle of united defense of free speech advertised to the judges and the public that disunity prevailed in the ranks of opponents of the Kimball law. The judges took that as their cue to duck the issue and threw the Roberts case out of court on a technicality. A united defense might have forced the judges to grant a full victory at that time.

Rabbit and the other Stalinist leaders were severely criticized by rank and file members of the Progressive Party for this stab in the back. Now they seek to use the Thurston county court victory to justify their earlier disruptive course. In an article in the June 6 Peoples World, Terry Pettus, local Stalinist leader, argues for a line of conduct that must be rejected by every defender of

free speech. If persisted in, it can endanger the case against the oath before the Supreme Court.

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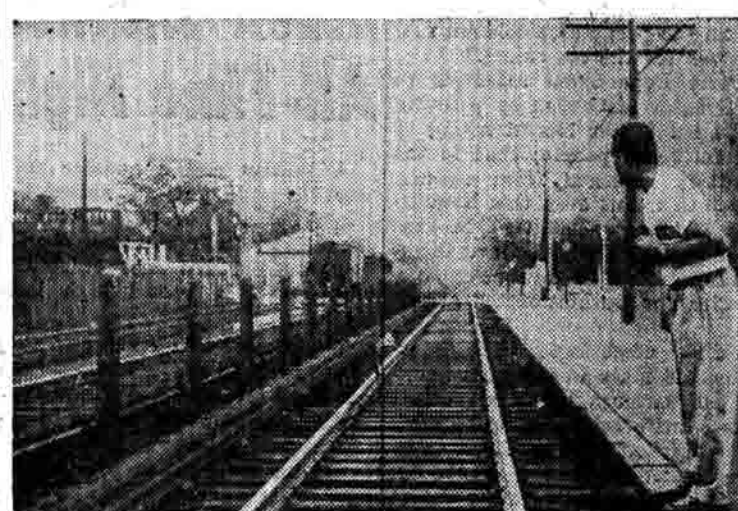
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Shut Down Tight



The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in New York shut down the Long Island Railroad in a two-day strike that forced the company to accede to the union's demands. Main issues were over proposed changes in rules, insisted upon by the company. But the effective strike soon changed their minds.

linked it, as the Progressive Party did not, with the basic issue of free speech.

VICTORY STILL TO BE WON

This had the great merit of being easily understood by the public, which made it easier to mobilize wide support. But who, besides lawyers and judges, can become aroused over a pure legal technicality? It is no accident, given its line on civil liberties, that the Progressive Party failed to wage a campaign around the loyalty oath for public support.

Moreover, they did not win a full victory in the courts with their technicality. Even if Judge Wright's decision is upheld by the State Supreme Court, the loyalty oath for candidates for public office will continue in force

"DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS" INITIATED IN SOUTH AFRICA

JOHANNESBURG, So. Africa — A "Defiance of Unjust Laws" campaign is to open on June 26 in South Africa according to a statement by the National Action Committee

of the African National and South African Indian Congresses. "On that date," says the press release, "batches of volunteers will go into action in important centers of the Union to defy selected laws and regulations. If confronted by the authorities they will court arrest and bear the penalty of imprisonment."

The Action Committee explains that the selection of June 26 stems from the one-day protest strike of June 26, 1950. This strike of the non-whites against racial discrimination and segregation is regarded as an important turning point in the history of the nation.

NEW AWAKENING

"Since April 6th 1952," the statement continues, "when the people of South Africa initiated the campaign of the Defiance of Unjust Laws by holding mass gatherings of protest, the movement developed from stage to stage. Throughout the land there was a new awakening of the people. Instilled with the spirit of freedom, the African giant began to rise. In the factories, on the farms, in the far-off reserves, everywhere there began a stirring

of the people were on the march."

The statement reports the despotic measures the Malan regime used against the people, including a fascist-type ban on freedom of movement and speed directed mainly against four leaders of the two African Congresses, and then continues: "It is fitting that at this dark hour in the history of South Africa our national organizations, fully conscious of their responsibilities, and jealous of their honor should come together and forge an imperishable iron brotherhood between our people and together sound this clarion call to the people of our country to rally to the defense of our civil liberties, freedom and democracy."

"A grim period of hard work, self denial and trial stretches out before us. The times are momentous, so will be the individual sacrifice we shall be called upon to make. The inner citadel of our strength and the foundations for a free South Africa lie along the path of a well-disciplined and non-violent struggle for the removal of the unjust laws."

In fact, The Budget of the U.S. Government represents today the biggest swindle-sheet in history. Whoever is in power disposes of vast sums. And the post of President is among the biggest of fiscal enterprises.

Take the single item of "funds appropriated to the President" and requiring merely his signature for disposition. In the fiscal year of 1951 these funds amounted to almost \$10 billions in "current appropriations." For 1952, these amounted to \$8,598,320,482, with a like sum projected for 1953.

Lack of Leadership Deprives Negro Voters of Decisive Power at Polls

By Jean Blake

The lack of independent Negro political leadership is the chief obstacle to more effective voting by the Negro electorate, two recent surveys reveal.

The weekly Elmo Roper Survey of Public Opinion broadcast over the NBC network June 22 was devoted to the Negro vote. It revealed that only one-third of the Negro population of America is located in the North, yet two million voted in the North and only one million voted in the South.

The importance of the Northern Negro vote is indicated by the following facts:

(1) Although 62 per cent of the general public voted, only 31 per cent of all the Negroes in the country voted. But while only 15% of the Negroes below the Mason-Dixon Line went to the polls, 62 per cent, which is above the national average for the population as a whole, voted in the North, where Negroes are concentrated in metropolitan centers.

(2) In the past three or four national elections there has rarely been more than 500,000 votes difference between the Democrats and Republicans in the important centers of Negro population — New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California, New Jersey and Michigan. The net Negro lead for the Democrats in these states has been 750,000 votes, according to Roper, so that the Negro vote in this area where there is any contest between the Democrats and Republicans constitutes the balance of power.

The Roper poll found that in answer to the question of what organizations they consider good sources of advice on candidates, 33% of the Negroes questioned named none, 16% said the CIO and AFL, 25% church officials, and the most frequent answer was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But since this last named organization does not officially endorse any candidates, the bulk of the protest sentiment both in the South and the North is not expressed at the polls, although the potential Negro vote is 10% of the electorate.

These figures, revealing consciousness of the lack of Negro

political leadership, are corroborated by the results of a survey of opinions of race "leaders" published by the Pittsburgh Courier on May 24. In New York and Detroit, two cities of over a million population, where some of the most politically experienced Negro voters are concentrated, these were the answers to the question, "Are our race 'leaders' really sincere?"

Yes No Undecided
New York 25% 45.8% 29.1%
Detroit 41.3 48.2 10.3

The Courier survey also showed that for the country as a whole, working class Negroes, who are the overwhelming majority of the group, have somewhat less confidence in the official Negro leaders than professional, or middle-class elements. In answer to the same question, 33.3% of the former voted no, to 34% of the latter.

NEED FOR POSITIVE PROGRAM

What both the Roper and the Courier analyses of the vote failed to observe is that the voters' cynicism about the present Negro leadership, and the failure to register the full potential protest at the polls, both stem from the fact that the leaders provide no independent alternatives to the bi-partisan policy of discrimination. Many Negroes in all parts of the country know from experience that they cannot expect any serious attack on Jim Crow from either the Democrats or Republicans. In addition, those who do vote remain unorganized and divided by the fact that Southern Negroes are given a choice only between candidates of the Democratic Party which has ruled them despotically all these years, while the Northern Negroes get more demagogic promises from the Democrats than from the Republicans.

The trend in Negro voting in both the North and South shows increased political consciousness and a desire to express opposition to discrimination. But the absence of a leadership that expresses the needs of the masses keeps the Negro voters politically ineffective. What is needed is opposition to both capitalist parties and organization of an independent labor party with a positive program aimed at ending the double exploitation of Negroes as a racial minority and as workers.

These figures, revealing consciousness of the lack of Negro

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Why Republicans Are Squabbling

(Continued from page 1)

likewise split down the middle, with the pro-Taft generals lining up with MacArthur and the others rallying behind Eisenhower. Military careers are now riding on which side wins at Chicago, and with the enormous power now wielded by the military caste, these are by no means insignificant stakes in the struggle.

How could such a situation have ever arisen in the Republican Party which has so long been the private preserve of the Big Money gang? Over the years their decisions have been the law. Not so long ago, they did not have the slightest difficulty in engineering the "spontaneous" nomination of the then virtually unknown Willie.

In Eisenhower's case, everything apparently had been taken care of, except for one detail, and that is, control of the Republican Party machine. This, of course, suddenly turns out, is in the hands of the pro-Taft, and not of the pro-Eisenhower combination.

MACHINE LIKES TAFT

After the Taft forces seized the machinery of the Republican convention, this fact became quite apparent. But the Taft control of the Republican Party machinery goes much deeper than is com-

monly recognized. A recent "special" Gallup poll of 1,422 Republican county chairmen shows that the pro-Eisenhower group controls less than one-third of these key organizations. Taft received 61% of the poll and MacArthur 5%. Eisenhower polled only 31%.

These figures suffice to explain why Eisenhower has been crawling out of his skin to out-Taft Taft, to picture himself as an out-and-out Republican who never in his life came closer than several hundred yards to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that is, the "New Deal crowd." In other words, Eisenhower is belatedly trying to make himself acceptable to the "old-guard" Republican politicians.

They trust Taft, because he is one of them, a party hack who can be depended on to take care of his friends when in power, and more than that, to share power correspondingly with them. With Taft in, they are sure of their slice. With Eisenhower, they are not so sure. This is Taft's biggest trump, and he is making the most of it.

COLOSSAL BOOTY

The booty at stake is indeed colossal. The Republican politicians are ravenously hungry for the fleshpots of federal patronage from which they have been de-

barred now for twenty years. In this interval federal patronage has increased enormously. The federal employees alone today number more than two million. Mushrooming federal departments provide literally thousands of lush sinecures.

But federal patronage, juicy and huge as it is, is only one side of the spoils-pictures. Whoever controls the administration, controls the Biggest of Big Businesses, for that is what the federal government has become. The military expenditures, rapidly climbing to an annual rate of over \$60 billion, by far surpass the annual outlays of the biggest corporations, steel, auto, oil and rubber combined.

In fact, The Budget of the U.S. Government represents today the biggest swindle-sheet in history. Whoever is in power disposes of vast sums. And the post of President is among the biggest of fiscal enterprises.

Take the single item of "funds appropriated to the President" and requiring merely his signature for disposition. In the fiscal year of 1951 these funds amounted to almost \$10 billions in "current appropriations." For 1952, these amounted to \$8,598,320,482, with a like sum projected for 1953.

The Negro Struggle

State Dept. on 'Race Problem'

By Jean Blake

A very informative and interesting article on American State Department propaganda on the race problem appeared in a number of weeklies recently under the by-line of Louis Lautier, Washington correspondent for the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

Since the truth about Jim Crow in the United States is extremely difficult for the rulers of the "free world" to explain away, an elaborate lie factory has been developed, called the International Information Administration. This agency, formerly the United States Information and Education Program, provides State Department employees overseas with a monthly "kit" prepared by the press and publications division. This material, according to Lautier, serves as a guide to propaganda.

The kit for last November dealt with the history of minority problems in every part of the world and avoided the big question of how the United States can be the leader of democratic forces when it denies democratic rights to its own colored citizens. Instead, it attempted to show "(1) that this problem is not uniquely one involving colored Americans nor one confined to the United States, whose treatment of its colored citizens 'has been viciously slandered by Communist propagandists'; and (2) that, on the contrary, the problem is universal, and efforts to wipe it out must be universal."

This approach, of course, still does not answer the question of Africans and Asians as to exactly what the United States proposes to do about the problems of racial oppression, whether it is a local or a universal issue.

As a matter of fact, many colonial peoples are willing to take the pretensions of the State Department at face value, and ask for help in the universal struggle against discrimination because of race.

Senator Pat McCarran, author of some of the most vicious thought-control legislation for Americans, in a recent attempt to extend his kind of "democracy" throughout the world, asked the State Department "what effort is being made to inform colonial countries that Soviet domination has nothing in common with national independence and that only the democracies can guarantee such independence?" Lautier reports.

In reply, the State Department acknowledged that to Asians and Africans "we are part of the white-skinned 'West' from which the colonial

masters of the last few centuries have come." Moreover, since some of the chief allies of this country "in resisting Communist expansion throughout the world are also the chief colonial powers," the State Department admits, "when we step in to prevent Communist penetration of any area, we are misrepresented by Communist propaganda as seeking to perpetuate colonial rule or substitute ourselves for the old rulers."

However, the State Department attempts to console itself and Senator McCarran by pointing to one asset the United States has in trying to make friends and influence people; that is the fact that this country emerged from colonial status through revolution. But even this boomerang and becomes a "major liability" because "colonial peoples and peoples who believe themselves oppressed by any form of foreign exploitation look to America for 'revolutionary' assistance."

But that is precisely what imperialist America cannot give. For, the State Department maintains, that would be "encouraging the reckless throwing off of bonds and breaking of foreign ties by peoples without sufficient military strength or governmental experience."

These are exactly the arguments of the Tories of 1776. If the majority of Americans of that day had listened to such "democratic leaders" we would still be a British colony and the great productive forces of this continent would have been warped and restricted to accommodate the English imperialists.

The Central African colonies have been a particular problem for State Department propagandists. At the time Willie McGee, charged with rape, was put to death by the State of Mississippi in 1951, "To defame and expose the propagandist lies (of the Communists) USIE sent a reporter to Mississippi where with the aid of the State Attorney General and court authorities, an accurate account of the legal processes and a documentation of Communist mistreatment was obtained and distributed to editors abroad," the State Department reported to Senator McCarran.

This was too much for any self-respecting Negro paper to print without comment. A brief parenthetical observation at the end of Lautier's article provided all the comment necessary on the whole fabric of State Department lies: "Editor's note: It is quite doubtful that an objective account of the Willie McGee case could have been obtained from white Mississippi sources."

Thurber on Blatherskites

By Fred Hart

A blatherskite is one who talks much and very loud, but says nothing worth hearing. It has in the recent past been most aptly applied to radio and television announcers. But it has now become the favorite word in the hitherto gentle vocabulary of the humorist, James Thurber, to describe Congressmen.

Thurber has been poking delicate and sympathetic fun at human foibles for 25 years now. His plays, stories, and cartoons have delighted sophisticated readers and audiences. He might be described as the intellectual's Al Capp.

But like Capp, who was forced by the thought-control campaign to say goodbye to the Shmoos, Thurber has discovered it is no joke to be an American humorist.

"Blatherskiting" Congressional investigators are killing American comedy and culture in Thurber's opinion, according to N.Y. Post columnist Earl Wilson. "Hell," Thurber says, "people are saying American writers' exuberance is gone. What is more, the truth is, everybody's scared to death of these blatherskites."

"Who can write," asks Thurber, "where everybody's scared? The end of American comedy is in sight, and the theater's gone to hell, and you can thank a bunch of guys in Congress."

To illustrate his point, Thurber pointed out that in his play, "The Male Animal," now being revived on Broadway, there is a line about nobody telling an American what he can read — "Not yet!"

"It used to get great cheers," said Thurber. "Today it gets dead silence. Because of these blatherskites. . . . Ask any foreign correspondent what he thinks of control of culture by Congress, and he'll say 'it is imminent and dreadful.'"

Notes from the News

WITNESS CHAMBERS NEEDS A WITNESS. Justice Michael A. Mussmanno, witch-hunter of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, told a state convention of the Disabled American Veterans that Whittaker Chambers was making a fortune by "lauding communism as a great faith and a vision." Mussmanno called Chambers' bitter, witch-hunting, anti-communist book "Witness" propaganda "in behalf of communism," and Chambers himself "an accomplice of Alger Hiss." Who will stand witness for the witness?

TWO-THIRDS OF N.Y. RAT ATTACKS on children occur in Harlem, the city Health Department reports. The congested Negro area has more than its share of absentee landlords who collect exorbitant rents and do not collect garbage. A Harlem attorney reports that residents often fail to make complaints for fear of losing their apartments.

"RISK OUTRIGHT WAR" by getting "firm and tough" with the Communists in Korea, says Senator Irving M. Ives (R., N.Y.). Ives is a strong supporter of Eisenhower for the Republican Presidential nomination. He also advocated the same "showdown" methods in Europe; only there he wants to get "firm and tough" with U.S. allies, and threaten to cut off military aid unless they show a more martial spirit and better performance in getting ready for attack on the Soviet Union.

A SLAP ON THE WRIST is all three Cicero cops get for organizing a pogrom against a Negro family that wanted to move into Cicero last summer. Police Chief Erwin Konovsky was fined \$2,000, and two policemen \$250 each for their part in inciting and leading violent mobs against the Harvey Clark family. Meanwhile, the Clarks are still out of the apartment they rented, and Konovsky and his aides are still in office.

\$100 MILLION WITH NO STRINGS attached is demanded by Fascist dictator Franco of Spain before he will begin bargaining on what he will do in the "fight against communism." Senator McCarran, Nevada Democrat, is in a hurry to give him the money. He complains that the State Dept. "has shown no enthusiasm about this Spanish matter." A State Dept. official replies: "All we

are trying to do, Senator, is to work out a fair agreement to obtain certain bases."

"LET NO ONE PAY ME HONOR with fear, nor celebrate my funeral with mourning," quoth Cicero, and the Socialist Party sayeth amen. The Reading Labor Advocate, official paper of the Berks County (Pa.) S.P., in replying to a Life magazine article which said the Socialist Party is dead, printed the following: "It is just possible that the Socialist Party as an organization will die. When that time comes, we ourselves will do the burying. Only we who have suffered and fought the fight have that privilege. We ask only the courtesy of permitting us to mourn in private."

BREAD IS THE STAFF OF LIFE, the old saying has it. Big grain companies take this so literally that bread is often made of the same material that goes into a staff. Not only sawdust, but sand, cinders, screenings, chaff and other such palatable items are used to "plug" grain shipments to bring the weight up. The Agriculture Department admitted to the Senate Agriculture Committee on June 18 that the government has lost \$3,000,000 through "plugging" of shipments of flaxseed, and that no action was contemplated against companies which had admitted the practice. Witnesses testified that "plugging" is a common practice in the grain trade. Are you eating a sandwich? Watch those cinders!

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION swings a big stick for reactionary purposes in Congress, a recent incident showed. On May 12 a bill was introduced in the House which would have increased disability benefits under the Social Security Act. The AMA sent a telegram demanding the proposal be defeated. Immediately congressmen called the bill up under special procedure, and voted it down decisively.

THE DUTCH LABOR PARTY came out first in a big upset in the Netherlands elections. Both the Catholics and the Communists lost votes to give the laborites a plurality. Commentators said it was the biggest shift in Dutch politics since the war.

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Living Cost Index Marks All-Time High

A million and a quarter rail workers will get an automatic wage increase of two cents an hour under their escalator clause contracts, as the cost of living shot up to a record high last week.

The cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has increased from 190.2 last January, to 190.4 on June 19 on the basis of the old index. This index is based on the 1935 to 1939 average.

NEW INDEX

The BLS is now using a new index, which places less importance on food and rent factors in living costs, and estimates the latest cost of living figure to be 189 percent of the 1935-39 average. According to the new index the cost of living was 189.1 last January.

But it is precisely food and rent costs that have gone up the most. Rent rose four-tenths of one percent nationally, and food rose three-tenths of one percent since last January.

Auto workers, whose contracts are based upon the old index, will be entitled to a wage boost in August if the trend upward continues.

UNIONS NEED OWN INDEX

The disproportion between the new and old index adds new evidence to bolster the demand that unions establish their own statistical departments, with their own cost of living index. Even the old index was unreliable, and played down the actual rise in the cost of necessities. It included too many items which do not go into the average workers' budget, and gave too little weight to the basic necessities which comprise the major expenses of low-income families.

The wage increase automatically given to the rail workers, and similar boosts now due to the textile workers and oil workers under terms of their escalator clause contracts, show that even when based on falsified government figures, there is a degree of protection in these contractual provisions.

Nevertheless, for workers to keep their wages abreast of the actual rise in living costs, the unions would have to base the escalator clauses on figures computed by dependable statisticians on the basis of an equitable system. This can only be done by establishing a labor cost of living index.

Most important fact omitted from government living cost indices is the huge tax bite which slashes workers' pay envelopes. Any just estimate of living cost would have to include this major item.

Chicago Stockyard Workers Rally to Back Steel Strike

CHICAGO, June 19 — Fifteen thousand members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers Union today expressed their solidarity with the striking steel workers in a noon-hour demonstration held in the Union Stockyards. The demonstration was called in sympathy with the steelworkers and to support the contract demands being made by the Packinghouse workers in negotiation with the packers. The present contract expires in August.

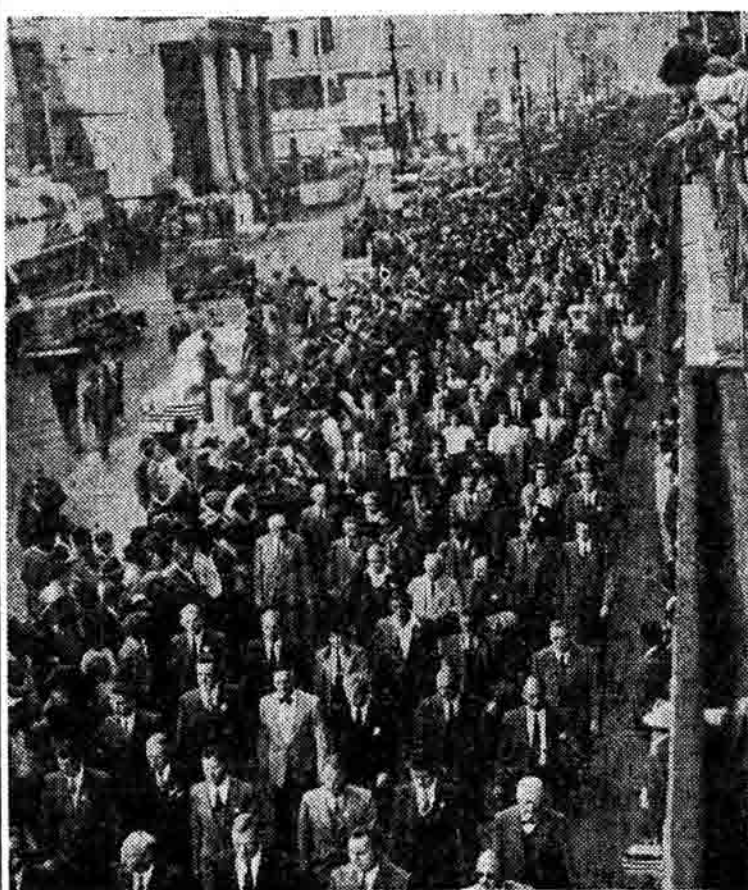
The long lines of white-coated and rubber-booted workers — men and women, Negro and white — walking down the stockyard streets to fill the square in front of the Swift Co. general offices made an impressive sight. The response, the rounds of applause the workers gave the speakers, plainly showed they understand the steel union's fight is their fight and that both unions face the same type of enemy in the steel and packing bosses.

Because of the staggered lunch hours, many workers lost as much as 45 minutes pay in order to participate in the demonstration.

Clarence Hathaway, newly elected international secretary-treasurer of the union, was the main speaker. The demonstration unanimously passed a resolution pledging moral and financial support to the steel workers. Representatives of the steel union in the area were invited to speak, but were unable to be present.

THE MILITANT

South Africans March



A great demonstration of South Africans, held to protest the dictatorial action of the Malan White Supremacist government in attempting to reverse a Supreme Court decision holding a racial supremacy law to be unconstitutional. Rule by the white capitalist minority is meeting with growing resistance. (See story page 3.)

YALU RIVER BOMBINGS HEIGHTEN WAR DANGER

(Continued from Page 1)

conferences. Kennan, the State Department's top expert on the Soviet Union and architect of the Truman Doctrine of the "containment" of communism, has been called in for participation. In the light of the deliberate moves to extend the conflict, the question inevitably arises — what will this meeting behind the closed curtains of secret diplomacy discuss except the timetable of war and the hesitations of Washington's West European partners over the heading pace toward war with the USSR, China and the colonial peoples?

The latest provocation flies in the face of all the West European reservations over Washington's course. The bombings at Yalu thus appear as a whip wielded over reluctant allies to start them moving and moving fast.

The reaction of the North Koreans, the Chinese government and the Kremlin is still not known at this writing. The delay in acting indicates hesitation on how to react to this monstrous provocation.

But no matter what the response is, the Yalu bombing is fresh evidence that American Big Business and its political representatives have decided to risk atomic war in their drive for world conquest. Whether or not this incident now widens the conflict does not depend on the Truman administration. Their decision has been made. It now hinges on the reaction of the victims marked for the kill.

STEEL SHOWDOWN NEAR

(Continued from page 1)

ure legislation," etc., but the whole discussion was dampened by well-founded doubts that the steelworkers would stand for any more government trickery. The most impetuous wing of the capitalist class played with the thought expressed by Henry Hazlitt, Newsweek commentator, who wrote earlier in the steel dispute: "We must make it legal once more to break strikes." Cooler heads among the big businessmen raised the objection that "legal" and "possible" are two different things.

PONDER LESSONS

Workers in other industries ponder the lessons of the past six months of steel battles, and draw conclusions. A. H. Raskin wrote in the June 15 N.Y. Times about the United Mine Workers Union: "Mr. Lewis does not wish to find himself ensnared in a net of Government-directed moves of the kind that have led Philip Murray's United Steelworkers of America, CIO, through the Wage Stabilization Board, the Supreme Court, the White House and Congress without any final settlement of the steel muddle."

The six-month government-sponsored tour of Washington to which the steel union has been treated leaves the whole labor movement with a bad taste in its mouth. Workers and local union leaders may not be ready as yet to abandon their liking for President Truman, because he has succeeded in giving the appearance of siding with them. But they are losing confidence in his ability to produce, even though

Tenants Rally In New York Hits Evictions

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 24 — One hundred and fifty residents of East Harlem participated in a rally tonight protesting eviction from their homes. The rally was sponsored by the newly organized East Harlem Tenant's League, opening the fight to prevent the City Housing Authority from evicting more than 800 families to make way for the city-sponsored Carver Houses. No provision has been made to find new homes for these families.

Almost all of the eight hundred Negro and Puerto-Rican families confronted with the threatened evictions have found it impossible to obtain livable quarters at a rental they can pay. Individual efforts to secure new homes through the Housing Authority have been in vain.

The next meeting of the League, which is to be announced shortly, will map out further plans for the Supreme Court hearing, and will discuss organization of presentation of the signed petitions to the Housing Authority by a mass delegation.

CONRAD LYNN SPEAKS

Conrad Lynn, Harlem attorney prominent in the struggle for Negro rights, and counsel to the League, told the audience that the laws which protected their rights would be enforced only by their own "united mass action." The City's attitude toward the problem, he said, was expressed by one official as, "It's summer. They won't mind being in the streets."

Francisco Archilla, Chairman of the 14th A.D. American Labor Party club, charged the City of officialdom with responsibility for the fire trap conditions which resulted in the death of seven Puerto Ricans in Brooklyn last week.

TO FILE FOR STAY

On July 15 the League will file an application with the State Supreme Court for a stay of evictions until all residents of the area have been relocated in satisfactory new homes at rentals no higher than their present ones. The application will be accompanied by more than forty affidavits taken at the rally from people whose initial attempts to secure city housing have run into a stone wall.

Both Conrad Lynn and Walter Ketley, chairman of the meeting,

urged that the courtroom be packed the day of the hearings to help win a favorable decision. Petitions to the Housing Authority, embodying the demands of the League, were distributed for circulation.

The next meeting of the League, which is to be announced shortly, will map out further plans for the Supreme Court hearing, and will discuss organization of presentation of the signed petitions to the Housing Authority by a mass delegation.

'Militant' Sales Blocked at Gary

By H. Michaels

GARY, Ind., June 22 — Minor union officials turned witch hunters, stopped five salesmen of The Militant from exercising their democratic right in the streets near Memorial Hall where a mass meeting of the Steelworkers Union was held today.

The Militant has backed the steelworkers 100% in their fight against the mill owners. The issue being distributed featured a headline, "Steel Workers Can Win on the Picket Line."

Shortly after the distribution began, about a dozen men with Sergeant-of-Arms bands cornered three of the distributors, one at a time. Two women distributors put up a real battle, leaving a few scarred shins, and succeeded in passing out a number of papers before the bundles were ripped out of their hands.

The crowd was sympathetic to the distributors although no one intervened to help them physically. Remarks like: "Let her distribute — this is a free country" and "People have a right to read what they want" were heard. Some workers came up to ask for The Militant after the fracas began.

FLINT UNION ELECTIONS SHOW RISING DISCONTENT

FLINT, Mich., June 21 — Elections of officers and shop committeemen in the five General Motors locals in this city have been completed. In every local except AC Sparkplug 651, UAW-CIO, there were major changes in the administration.

At the last UAW convention in April 1951, all locals were dominated by anti-Reuther caucuses. Between that period and the present, resentment against Reuther has grown. He attracts very small, apathetic audiences in Flint now, compared to large meetings of a few years ago. But none of the incumbent groups succeeded in capitalizing on this sentiment.

Reason for this failure is the fact that no group has distinguished itself from Reuther's policies in concrete action. There have been plenty of issues, among them the question of FEPC, Independent labor political action, unemployment, speedup, and the five-year GM contract.

Local union members by their votes indicated sharp dissatisfaction with talk as a substitute for action. Defeat of Coburn Walker, former president of Chevrolet local, is the best example of this.

FORM OF PROTEST

During the past year it had become apparent that no fundamental differences existed between the Reuther groups and their opponents in most locals. The only means of protest left open to the ranks against the inaction of the leadership was to boot the incumbents out of office. Where the membership had an opportunity to back an independent caucus, separate from the two main groups, it did so.

This is what happened in Buick Local 599. Officers in this local had submitted a resolution to a membership meeting several weeks ago inviting the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate "Communists" in the local. Both groups in the local, the pro-Reuther group and the opposition, supported this red-baiting proposition.

In protest against both groups and their stand on this resolution, a third group was formed by John McGill. The program of the McGill group was noteworthy in its opposition to the five-year contract, local union autonomy,

CHEVROLET ELECTION

In Chevrolet, not a single real issue separated the three groups contending for election, except their desire for posts. The defeat of Walker and election of Tony O'Brien as president does not signify strong Reuther support in the local. No group made Reuther an issue. Shop committees were split up among the three groups.

At Fisher Body I with two slates in the field, the Reuther slate was elected. The anti-Reuther group, who had been in office, had failed to combat the speed-up effectively, which probably accounts for their defeat.

Perhaps the most interesting election was that at Fisher Body II, where approximately a thousand workers are employed. Bill Connolly, well known shop militant, ran against a field of five candidates for president. He campaigned openly against Reuther's policies and came out sharply for a policy of independent political action. In spite of company intervention in the elections, Connolly missed winning the post by a mere sixty votes.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.