

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Wall Street Rushes Aid To Ramadier's Cabinet

— See Page 3 —

Fighting Policy Adopted By CIO Packing Union

By Ted Selander

CLEVELAND, May 8 — In the militant spirit that marked every hour of their four-day convention, the 400 delegates to the Fourth Annual Convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America answered the anti-labor drive of Big Business with fighting calls to action on the economic and political front.

Their answer to the Hartley-Taft straitjacket bills was "to urge the leaders of organized labor to consider such militant joint national action as a one-day national work stoppage."

On the political field the packinghouse workers blazed the trail for the American union movement by breaking demonstratively with both the Democratic and Republican parties. Its political action resolution also called on the union's local to run and support "independent candidates dedicated to the interests of the electorate and that at the proper time along with all other groups in the community interested in the objective of the people's welfare, (they should) join together for the purpose of establishing an independent political party so as to give the voters an opportunity to vote for representatives that will act in their interests."

In presenting this resolution, the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Milton Siegel, of Armour Local 4 in St. Paul, declared that "the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party is a tool of the industrial and financial monopolists." He reminded the delegates how Truman broke the railroad strike last spring and that more Democrats voted for the slave-labor Hartley Bill than voted against it. Siegel got a big ovation when he asked: "Is there any reason why we shouldn't have packinghouse workers in Congress representing our interests?"

This resolution came to the floor only a few hours after Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, tried to blame the workers for the reactionary Congress now in Washington and warned they better get busy and provide the funds for another "all-out fight to elect friends of labor in 1948." The packinghouse workers answered Kroll and the other union bureaucrats who are trying desperately to keep labor chained to the Democratic and Republican parties, by saying: The Packinghouse Workers with 200,000 members are not going to play the game of twinedeeds and twinedeeds any more. We are going to run independent candidates and build an independent party.

Bilbao Strike Disturbs Franco's Fascist Rule

The Spanish workers have dealt a stiff blow to Franco's fascist regime. As reported in last week's *Militant*, work stoppages occurred throughout Spain on May Day. The Franco regime singled out the Basque workers of Bilbao for reprisals.

The May Day strike had been especially impressive in Bilbao, second industrial center of Spain. For two days the workers had shut down tight the great steel mills, mines and shipyards, including the Babcock and Wilcox machine shops.

Provincial Governor Riestra ordered mass arrests, but the strike remained solid. Then he decreed that all workers who had participated in the anti-Franco demonstration were to lose all seniority rights, suffer pay cuts and lose pension rights.

STRIKE SPREADS

The strike spread to other Basque cities. Guipuzcoa province was the scene of sympathy strikes which closed munition, sewing machine and bicycle plants.

Although the news is suppressed and the little that does get through is heavily censored, it is apparent that the announced penalties will not all be carried out. The Franco regime has been badly shaken.

The N. Y. Times reports that

Supreme Court Ruling Doooms Negro To Chair

By William Charles

An example of the kind of justice the capitalist courts have in store for minorities was revealed last week when the U.S. Supreme Court, whose Bourbon members were appointed by Roosevelt and Truman, gave their second judicial OK to the legal lynching of an 18 year old Negro youth, Willie Francis, at St. Martinville, Louisiana.

Francis was denied three times appeals for mercy by the Louisiana Supreme Court, and twice by the U.S. Supreme Court, which thus upheld the conviction handed down at a mockery of a trial in a Jim-Crow lower court.

A year ago, young Francis was taken to the electric chair for a crime allegedly committed at the age of 15. The first attempt to electrocute him failed because of faulty equipment, and ever since then the wheels of "justice" have been grinding steadily forward to send this youthful victim of Jim Crow through a second ordeal of electrocution.

Before his death, Francis thanked the thousands of people in this country and abroad who had supported the fight to save his life. Knowing his fate was sealed by the fascist-like racial laws in Louisiana, which are used by the Bourbon landowners and government officials to terrorize the working people into submission, he decided to die courageously.

Despite his youth, he declared he would die "like a man," which was in contrast to the barbarous judges howling for his blood. After hearing of their decision, he invited his jailers to lead him to the execution and asked his lawyer to make no more appeals on his behalf. Evidently he had concluded that a second trip to the chair would be an act of mercy compared to the agony of living under the "four freedoms" which were so lavishly promised the Negro youth who gave their lives in the last imperialist war.

MORE UNION BODIES JOIN CALL FOR 24-HOUR STRIKE

Build A Tank Trap!



Demand Release Of Jailed Trade Unionists In India

NEW YORK, May 9 — Mr. Asaf Ali, Ambassador from India to the United States and delegate to the United Nations, today received a strong protest against the arrest in Madras, India of C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with several other labor leaders.

This protest was signed by George S. Schuyler, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*; Philip Rahv, editor of *Partisan Review*; Dwight Macdonald, editor of *Politics*; Farrell Dobbs, editor of *The Militant*; Emanuel Garrett, editor of *Labor Action*; E. R. Frank, editor of *Fourth International*; Max Shachtman, editor of *New Internationalist*; and James T. Farrell, novelist.

The text of their protest follows:

"The undersigned have been informed of the following facts: 'C.S.S. Antony Pillai, president of the Madras Labor Union and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, together with Colvin R. De Silva, Muttiah, and other members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India were arrested and imprisoned on April 16. These men have been persecuted for leading and supporting a strike by 14,500 workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill in Madras. The union demanded that the workers be provided with decent housing, a cost-of-living bonus to meet inflated prices, and other necessary benefits.

"These just demands were met with violence and terror.

"We, the undersigned, have consistently supported the fight of the Indian people for freedom from all imperialist oppression. We have no less consistently defended the rights of workers in all countries to organize and strike to better their conditions. We believe that no country can be free if unrestricted exercise of these elementary democratic rights is denied to labor organizations, or if their leaders are persecuted for their political beliefs.

"For these reasons, we urge the immediate release of the arrested trade union leaders and members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India and further ask that you transmit this request at once to your government."

"In reply to this arrest of their leader, 100,000 workers struck in a 24-hour protest on March 31. When, on April 8, a demonstration of women and children attempted to petition the Madras premier for the release of Antony Pillai, they were heavily tear-gassed, clubbed and whipped by the police. Meanwhile the textile strike continues.

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Notebook Of An Agitator

The Mad Dog Of The Labor Movement

Among the whole gang of corrupt and contented labor fakers who infest the labor movement to its detriment — especially the AFL unions — and fatten on their crimes against the workers, one in particular is striving, not without success, to distinguish himself as the greatest scoundrel of them all. This is Daniel J. Tobin, the \$30,000 a year president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who has already won for himself the title of The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement and is demonstrating his right to hold it against all comers.

Tobin, a relic of the horse and buggy days of trade unionism, is a small, soured, grasping, selfish old reprobate who thinks the teamsters' union exists for his personal benefit. In addition to his huge salary he taps the union treasury for heavy expenses and pre-paid vacation trips for himself and family, and makes the union carry his son, whom he is grooming to become his successor, on the pay-roll at a fancy honorarium. A rich man himself, he fawns on the bosses and the capitalist politicians, but fights the rank and file workers with savage fury. In all his long and malodorous career he has never yet been caught in a generous impulse or a gesture of good will and solidarity toward the workers who pay his exorbitant salary.

A SKILLED OPERATOR

Tobin never knew anything about organizing workers and leading them in struggle to better their conditions. But he is an expert mechanic in the vile trade of breaking strikes, smashing democracy in local unions, working in cahoots with the bosses to keep rebellious workers from making a living at their trade, and spilling blood in gangster raids on the jurisdiction of other unions, and he is getting more proficient as he gets older.

Tobin disposes of a huge treasury — \$14,800,000 at the last report — accumulated from the dues payments of the hard-working and underpaid members of the union, and he utilizes a large part of it to maintain what amounts to a private army of murderous thugs, recruited in part from the underworld, many of whom have criminal records. These gangsters, under Tobin's direction, usually operating under the benevolent indifference of the authorities who are "taken care of" in various ways, wage war on the rank and file of the Teamsters Union, and are at present especially preoccupied with a jurisdictional war to force the brewery workers to quit the union of their choice — the Brewery Workers Union, one of the oldest industrial unions and one well-respected in the labor movement — and to compel them to pay dues into the Teamsters Union, whether they desire to or not.

In this campaign beating, maiming, incendiarism and dynamiting are routine procedures and murder is not excluded. Announcing a "knock down drag-out fight" against the brewery workers, Tobin sent his private army of professional thugs into Pittsburgh. They moved in on Pittsburgh to convince the brewery workers that they should give up their own union, now affiliated with the CIO as a result of a free vote of the membership for that preference, and sign up in Tobin's union. And this "convincing" process did not take the form of ideological discussion or logical elucidation. Tobin's mobsters relied on arguments of another kind learned in their own school, which honors Capone and Dillinger more than Plato and Aristotle.

USUAL PRACTICE

The usual practice of pulling drivers off their trucks and beating them within an inch of their lives was tried first but did not work very well. The Pittsburgh brewery drivers, with the help of other CIO fellow unionists,

proved able to defend themselves on this ground. Tobin's importees then resorted to other techniques. One of their arguments in favor of the AFL as against the CIO was the use of a little homemade gadget known as the fire bomb. These fire bombs, as one reporter described them, "were simple, devilishly destructive little devices consisting usually of a 200 watt electric light bulb, with a hole cut in one end. These were filled with high test gasoline, and the hole then plugged with surgical gauze, providing a fuse to be lighted. Tossed into the cab of a beer truck, they instantly sprayed both truck and driver with flaming gasoline."

These weapons were supplemented later with high explosive bombs, charged with dynamite, which were recklessly thrown through the windows of distributors handling the CIO beer, regardless of the possible consequences to people living in the building. Testimony before the House Labor Committee, which investigated the Pittsburgh "beer war," chalked up a score at that time of ten fire bombings of stores, five explosive bombings, and seven trucks bombed and burned. That was over three months ago. The latest scores are not in yet. At present there is a "truce" in Pittsburgh — the publicity about his fire-bombers and dynamiters got too hot for Tobin — but he is still recklessly carrying on his "war" in other parts of the country, spending lavish sums of the union's money to fight another union.

WHAT'S ON THE AGENDA

At this time, when the reactionary offensive against the workers on all fronts calls for a labor leadership which will map out the strategy of a counter-offensive and inspire the workers for the struggle, Tobin's hand-picked Executive Board occupies itself primarily with the war against the workers.

The three principal items on the agenda of the latest meeting, as reported in the March and April issues of Tobin's official magazine *The International Teamster* were:

(1) Hearing of appeals from rank and file workers who had been suspended or expelled from various local unions, which were of course denied;

(2) Unanimously "approving" the acts of the general president and his assistant in the brewery and other matters, and "instructing and empowering the general president to continue financial aid in these matters as long as the general president deems it advisable"; and

(3) The adoption of a resolution to take rigorous action against "unauthorized" strikes, i.e., strikes which the general president does not approve, which he nearly always does not. "By unanimous action the Executive Board decided that all unions bringing about unauthorized strikes be censured and condemned and if necessary that the officers be removed."

The published proceedings of the Executive Board dealing with the appeals of suspended and expelled members read like the minutes of an Army court-martial conducted by officers who act from the premise that the private soldier is always wrong. There is the appeal of 13 members of Local No. 549, Kingsport, Tennessee, who had been expelled for striking or talking out of turn. "Decision sustained and the appeals denied," in the case of ten of the appellants. But for all that, the report shows, Tobin's Board will give a worker a nickel's worth of justice if he humbles himself. Tobin, like God, grants mercy to penitent sinners — but not too much.

UPWA Call For A New Party Represents Big Step Forward

By George Breitman

When the convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers voted last week to break with both capitalist parties, it took one of the most encouraging political steps made by any section of the union movement since the end of the war. It gave voice at the same time to the aspirations of millions of American workers who are fed up with capitalist politics and want to establish a party of their own that will represent their interests on the political field as their unions represent them on the economic field.

The UPWA is not the first international union to criticize both the Democratic and Republican parties; but it is the first in recent years to condemn them equally and to urge the workers not to support either. Such a stand — without any reservations, ifs, ands or buts — is absolutely necessary if labor is to be able to defend itself against the political attacks of Big Business. For this bold and wise declaration the UPWA deserves the gratitude and support of the whole labor movement.

Similarly welcome is the UPWA decision to help nominate and work for the election of independent candidates, pending formation "at the proper time" of an independent political party. Only last month members of UPWA District No. 2 in South St. Paul, Minnesota, showed what could be done in this direction by nominating and electing independent labor candidates as Aldermen and members of the School Board. Political action of this kind on a local scale throughout the country can greatly strengthen the movement for a labor party.

The UPWA resolution is thoroughly progressive as compared with the position taken by other CIO and AFL internationals and by the CIO-PAC, which are committed to supporting so-called progressive candidates in the two capitalist parties. But it still leaves some questions without clear or complete answers.

What, for example, is meant by the formulation about creating an independent party "at the proper time"? The UPWA of course cannot create a new party by itself. Such a party can be formed only when it has sufficient union and mass support. No one can have any quarrel with the resolution's formulation if that is what it meant to say.

DIFFERENT MEANINGS

But on the other hand, "at the proper time" can have an entirely different meaning. It can mean, for example, that the present time is not the proper time, politically speaking, no matter how much support the new party movement may have. Such a position is taken by many union leaders. If that is what is meant, then it is dead wrong.

For in a political sense "the proper time" for a labor party is right now, or as soon as is humanly possible. The longer its formation is delayed, the longer the capitalist politicians will remain in power.

A resolution on labor political action should not be vague on this question, but should explicitly stress the need for independent political action at the

earliest possible time so as to educate and mobilize workers to the need for acting soon rather than late.

It must also be borne in mind that many union bureaucrats oppose formation of an independent party now on the ground that it will not be "the proper time" for such action until the Wallaces, Peppers and LaGuardias are ready to leave the capitalist parties and assume the leadership of a new party. It is necessary to clarify this question — and another one associated with it: What kind of independent party does the UPWA resolution advocate — a labor party or a third capitalist party?

From the entire tone and orientation of the UPWA resolution, we believe the majority of the convention delegates intended it to express their desire for a labor party and not for a new edition of the Democratic Party, which would be controlled by untrustworthy liberals whose only commitment is to the maintenance of capitalism. But the lack of exactness in the resolution makes it possible to read different interpretations into it.

To show how this is done, and how much confusion can be deliberately created as a result, attention should be directed to the May 8 Daily Worker editorial on the UPWA resolution. The Communist Party, it should be explained, is fiercely opposed to the creation of a labor party. Instead it favors a third (capitalist) party when Wallace and other capitalist party liberals give their approval to its creation. Yet, because the UPWA resolution is not sufficiently precise, the Daily Worker editors begin by saying:

"Hats off to the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union for giving a fresh push to the third party movement at its annual convention . . ."

Then, in order to disorient its readers about what kind of

Fighting Program Adopted By CIO Packing Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

pendent party pledged to the cause and needs of labor.

So many delegates wanted to speak in favor of the political action resolution that it was necessary at adjournment time for the chairman, President Ralph Helstein, to entertain a motion to suspend the rules and permit the session to run overtime.

The Iowa delegation told in detail how the Democrats and Republicans in the Iowa Legislature handcuffed the labor movement by passing the Anti-Union Security Law which wiped out every closed shop, union shop and maintenance of membership contract in Iowa. The law permits the checkoff of union dues only in the event that there has been a written, notarized authorization signed by the individual employee and his wife, if married.

The Canadian delegates stated that they had learned more than 10 years ago that they could not place any trust in their two major parties, the Tory and Liberal Parties. Back in the Thirties they began building the CCF as an independent workers' and farmers' party. The delegates from Saskatchewan, where the CCF is in power, read copies of their province's laws guaranteeing civil liberties and labor's right to organize, strike and picket.

In the discussion, it was noticeable that speakers from the strong Stalinist delegation limited their speeches on this question to exhorting the convention to "political action." They didn't say anything about the Democratic or Republican parties — they merely repeated over and over: "We've got to start earlier and ring more door bells, register the workers, get their dollars into the PAC, get them out to vote, etc., etc."

They kept shouting hysterically about "political action" without saying anything about independent candidates or a new party. They were very careful not to commit themselves and to steer clear of what kind of political action they stood for. Apparently their orders are to leave the door open so they can jump in any direction Stalin's foreign policy dictates.

Last December the union signed a two-year contract with the "Big Four" packers for a 7½ cents an hour increase and 8 paid holidays. The convention instructed its officers to reopen

the wage clauses in existing contracts and demand an increase of 15 cents an hour, retroactive to April 1, 1947, from the Big Four who employ about 80,000 workers. The officers were also directed to coordinate their efforts for the 15 cents wage increase with the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

The convention also adopted a program calling for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay; a guaranteed annual wage; adequate medical, health and hospital program financed by the employers; severance pay; more liberal vacation clause; time-and-a-half for all work performed on Saturday, etc.

On the third day, the convention adopted a statement of policy calling for unity in its ranks "against the present wave of witch-hunt hysteria as the weapon of reaction and monopoly whose goal is to destroy the trade union movement." It also warned against "outsiders, individuals, organizations or groups who attempt to infiltrate, dictate, meddle or interfere in any way."

Earlier, the convention had decided with only one dissenting vote, to place the full resources of the union behind a campaign to obtain the reversal of an order to deport R. R. Martinez, UPWA organizer, because he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1931 or 1932. The resolution stated explicitly that this order for deportation "constitutes a denial of a man to freedom of political belief," and is part of the growing anti-labor and repressive drive now current in the U. S.

One of the inspiring sights at this convention was the large number of colored delegates, who made up nearly one-third of the convention. Active in every phase of the union's activities, they contribute a great deal to the militancy and progressive character of the UPWA.

The convention adopted strong resolutions for an anti-poll tax bill; against lynching and police brutality directed against the Negro people; and called on all local unions to set up anti-discrimination committees to stamp out the disease of discrimination in their localities.

On foreign policy, a resolution was adopted calling for world disarmament by the United Nations; fulfillment of the declaration of the Atlantic Charter; establishment by the UN of a food and loans agency similar to UNRRA, with full financial support by the U. S. It opposed military aid in the form of men, money and materials to any government or faction in any country, and advocated immediate withdrawal of troops of all nations except in Germany and Japan until the establishment of stable governments. Another resolution opposed peacetime conscription.

There were no officers elected at this convention because the present officers were elected for two-year terms at last year's convention in Montreal.

Our Program:

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

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Meaning of Attack On Henry Wallace

The real meaning of the furious attack upon Henry Wallace by the capitalist press and Wall Street's representatives in Washington is explained in an article entitled "Wallace and the War Makers" by William F. Warde in the May issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale.

Wallace criticized U. S. foreign policy for speeding the drive toward war. But U. S. imperialism is determined to brook no opposition, no matter how mild, to its plans for world domination. Tremendous uneasiness was created among the American people by the Truman doctrine which was reflected in a growing pressure of mass opposition on Washington. The capitalist rulers feared that Wallace's warnings would "serve to expose their truly monstrous designs," and that Wallace himself would "become a rallying point for the vast anti-war sentiment within the country."

Wallace himself is appraised as a capitalist demagogue whose differences with the administration are not fundamental, and who diverts the people from the real anti-war fight. "The struggle against the war danger is inseparable from irreconcilable struggle to get rid of the imperialist power at Washington which breeds war and profits from it. People like Wallace . . . who preach confidence in capitalism and its agencies can only lead the anti-war struggle to disaster."

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The Prospects Of American Stalinism

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the seventh of a series of articles on Americanism and anti-Stalinism.)

The most reactionary power and the most formidable enemy of the workers in their struggle for a better life is American imperialism. This holds true on a world scale; and it is 100 times true as far as the direct struggle of the American workers is concerned. It is unpardonable to overlook this simple truism, and to see the main enemy in the person of the discredited, hounded and harried, and numerically weak Communist Party of the United States.

The strength and influence of the Communist Party here is in no way comparable to that of European Stalinism. There the Stalinist parties command the support of millions and are the chief prop of the decadent capitalist system, which could not maintain itself anywhere on the continent without their support. Here the role played by the Communist Party is a minor one, and most probably will remain so.

Historical reasons in the main account for this disparity. The socialist consciousness and tradition of the European proletariat attracted them very strongly to the Russian Revolution from the first. Since then, as the Soviet Union demonstrated its strength and viability, they transferred their sympathies to the Stalin regime, seeing behind its shoulders the image of the Soviet Union, and not noticing or not taking full account of the frightful degeneration wrought by this usurping bureaucracy.

Moreover, the European workers, who in their vast majority are anti-capitalist, recognize American imperialism as an irreconcilable enemy of their socialist aspirations, and feel the need of alliance with a power to counter-balance it. They turn more and more to the Soviet Union since the latter demonstrated its power on the field of battle against the Nazi war machine. The national Stalinist parties profit from this sentiment of the masses by a great swelling of their numerical strength and their influence in the political arena.

How American Situation Differs

In America the situation is quite different. Due to a number of historical conditions peculiar to the country, the great masses of the American workers never attained a socialist consciousness, not even to the extent of independent political action on a reformist basis, such as even conservative Britain has experienced now already for several decades. In addition to that, the American workers have shared the isolationist provincialism which dominated almost the whole population up until the most recent years. Except for a very thin stratum represented by the class-conscious vanguard, they saw Russia as a far-away country in which they had little interest; and such interest as they manifested was more hostile than friendly. Besides all that, beneath all their apparent conservatism, the American workers have a not inconsiderable feeling of independence and of confidence in their own power. They see no need of the help of any "foreign power."

All these circumstances have operated up till now to restrict and limit the growth and influence of the Communist Party, which appeared in the popular mind as the most radical party. On the other side, Stalinism has perhaps been more thoroughly exposed, and subjected to more effective criticism from the revolutionary point of view, in America than in any other capitalist country. The forces of genuine communism, as counterposed to Stalinism, have made more headway with the development of their independent organization and the extension of their independent influence here than elsewhere. Thus for reasons which may appear to be somewhat contradictory, Stalinism in the United States has been stunted in its growth. And, if we continue to follow a correct policy, there is good ground to believe that American Stalinism cannot hope to attain the present powerful position, and thereby the capacity for evil and betrayal, of its European counterparts.

The main strength and danger of American Stalinism lies not in its numbers and its popular influence, nor in its apparatus, its money and its terrorist agents—although it disposes of considerable forces in all these fields and departments—but rather in its demagogical capacity to deceive, demoralize and disorient the more radical elements who have attained a conscious anti-capitalist attitude, or are awakening to it. These forces of the class-conscious vanguard are as yet not very numerous in comparison to the size of the American working class as a whole. But they are the most decisive for the future, for it is their destiny to lead the others. Once the class struggle in America is posed in its sharpest and most irreconcilable form, they alone can lead; and they will then represent the greatest power in the world.

It is primarily on this ground, in the fight for the minds and souls of the awakening militant workers of the class-conscious vanguard, that the real fight against Stalinism must take place. Here we can already record considerable success; and we confidently count on more because we are gaining right along, steadily if slowly, thanks to our correct approach to the question.

Decline Of Stalinist Influence

Stalinism was a much more formidable danger when we first opened up the irreconcilable fight against it in 1928, and in the ensuing decade or so, than it is today, even though its numerical forces and its apparatus were smaller then than now. At that time the Communist Party dominated virtually the whole radical labor movement in this country. In the first years of the depression the party drew into its train a supplementary army of radical intellectuals, disillusioned in capitalism by the crisis, who rendered them great service in propagandizing and popularizing the lie that Stalinism was true communism.

In those days also the economic progress recorded by the Soviet Union under the Five Year Plan, while capitalist world economy, including its American sector, was plunged into the greatest difficulties, gave a new attractive power to Stalinism and its myth of "Socialism in one country." The critics from the Left Opposition, the Trotskyists, appeared to be refuted by events and were pushed into isolation on the side-lines. Thanks to this, the American Stalinists were able to vastly expand their propaganda mediums; to dominate the movement of the unemployed in the first years of the crisis; and then later to play a big role in the organization of the unorganized, and to in-trench themselves strongly in various unions of the newly created CIO.

But since the late thirties, both the organizational position and the influence of American Stalinism have declined rather than advanced. The Moscow Trials, which were so thoroughly exposed in the United States, dealt powerful blows to the moral position of American Stalinism and alienated a large section of its intellectualistic periphery. The great majority of the latter, now disillusioned in Stalinism, acquired a new faith in capitalism coincident with the temporary improvement of the economic conjuncture, and have since become professional red-baiters who damn and expose Stalinism on every occasion as assiduously as they once praised it and glossed over its crimes.

Led To Desertions And Splits

A smaller section of the former intellectual fellow-travelers of Stalinism carried their criticism through to its logical conclusion and joined the Trotskyist movement, and have contributed fruitfully to its ideological work. So also, numerous communist workers, who had mistakenly believed that Stalinism was communism, drew the necessary conclusions from the new events and revelations and transferred their allegiance to the genuinely revolutionary and communist party, the SWP.

Each turn and twist of American Stalinist policy, in consonance with the zig-zags of the Kremlin on the world diplomatic field, produced new defections, desertions and splits. The signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact brought with it the desertion of a small horde of careerists and muddle-heads who had mistaken Stalinism for the champion of bourgeois democracy, pure and undefiled. At the next turn the Stalinist support of the war, and their anti-worker jingo policy in support of American imperialism, steadily alienated increasing numbers of honest workers who had mistaken Stalinism for communism.

The betrayals, bureaucratic abuses, gangster methods and false policies inflicted by the Stalinists upon the unions which had fallen into their control are now beginning to bear fruit in widespread and violent revolts against the Stalinists. Increasingly numerous and militant oppositions are rising up against them from two sides: on the one side, from reactionary red-baiters who want to displace the Stalinist bureaucrats in order to take their places and appropriate their plums; on the other side, from militant workers, some of them former Stalinists, who want to throw out the Stalinist bureaucrats in order to provide the unions with a militant policy and an honest leadership. The CP of the USA, consequently, has been encountering a steadily increasing fire from all directions. Now it finds itself under the heavy guns of the Washington government as a direct result of the present conflict with the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party has to face these increasing troubles from all directions with a leadership of very low caliber.

The sterile bureaucratic regime of the Stalinized party prohibited any normal renewal of the leadership. The seed of talent could not sprout and grow. Independent-minded revolutionists could not breathe in that poisoned atmosphere. The party has to rely for leadership mostly on old hacks who know nothing but to do what they are told and lie to order, and characterless careerists who frequently desert them for greener fields. Budenz is only the latest of this unsavory crew, but by no means the last.

The present prospects of American Stalinism are not very bright, all things considered. Only one thing could rescue them from their difficulties and give them a new lease on life. A great wave of labor radicalism is in the making in the U. S. If the Stalinists are allowed to appear as the persecuted champions of the workers, instead of the cynical betrayers they are, there is danger of the radicalization being diverted to Stalinism. Therein is the tragic error of red-baiting, especially if the progressive workers go in for it. That error must be avoided.

The American workers will turn toward Communism, and they will move swiftly and massively once they start; of that there can be no doubt. Will Stalinism be able to seize upon this great movement, pervert it and demoralize it, and turn it aside from its goal? That depends on us. If we explain things correctly and work with the necessary energy, the American workers will embrace communism in its genuine form and reject the Stalinist counterfeit. In the great struggle for the American working class, Stalinism will be defeated by its revolutionary nemesis—Trotskyism.

Next week: The Revolutionary Fight Against Stalinism.

The Nature Of Stalinism

Ernest Germain compares the Social Democratic bureaucracy with the Stalinist bureaucracy in an article "Stalinism—How to Understand It and How to Fight It" in the May Fourth International, just off the press.

"Historically, both these bureaucracies are privileged layers which attain socially advantageous positions on the backs of the proletariat," he explains. But "the difference between the two bureaucracies appears when we examine the source of their privileges." The reformist bureaucracy issued out of the period of imperialist expansion before World War I. The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, "is historically tied to the phenomenon of the Soviet bureaucracy in the epoch of capitalist decay."

The article explains the reasons for the increasing strength of Stalinism, and its attractive power for the masses who are still under the illusion that it represents a revolutionary movement.

The struggle against Stalinism "is a fight to break the influence of Stalinism among the masses." Germain states these are ranged on three different planes: "Intransigent ideological struggle" against the poisonous Stalinist policies in the workers' movement; the ability to correctly apply the tactic of the united front; and the "patient penetration of our movement among the rank-and-file of the workers movement."

"The historical task confronting the Fourth International is to take leadership in the overthrow of Stalinism by the working class, and thus to prevent the crushing of the workers' movement by imperialism."

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Premier Ramadier's New Cabinet Wins Swift Aid From Wall Street

By Joseph Hansen

In Europe, the spotlight remained on France last week. A rank and file strike in two departments of the great Renault auto works had grown with lightning speed, bringing out more than 30,000 workers organized in the CGT (General Federation of Labor). A general strike committee elected by the ranks had sent

delegations to other plants calling for similar action and had received a warm response. The main demand of the Renault strikers was an increase of 10 francs an hour in basic wages and a sliding scale to protect this increase from further price rises.

The political splash created by this strike was spectacular, the widening circles rippling through Belgium and Italy and even reaching Washington. At first the Stalinists tried to break the strike. They control the CGT, hold posts in the management of the nationalized Renault works and, until the strike, had five ministers in the French Cabinet who supported a government policy of wage freezing and speed up. The Stalinists labeled the strike leadership "Hitler-Trotskyist."

But the swift spread of the strike and the equally swift rise of a rank and file leadership confronted them with the specter of losing their grip on the French working class. They made a switch, coming out in support of the strikers, but trying to trim down their demands and replace the strike committee.

Premier Paul Ramadier then called for a vote of confidence on the wage-freeze policy. The Stalinist ministers voted against. When they refused to resign their posts, Ramadier kicked them out.

On May 7, he appeared before the National Council of the Socialist Party seeking approval of this action. Previous Socialist Party policy had been to refuse to carry responsibility for running the capitalist government without the Stalinists. Ramadier got by in the Council with a slim majority of 2,529 to 2,125, but this vote was less a register of support than evidence of a deep-going split in the party.

Washington immediately rushed to bolster up Ramadier who had obviously forced the issue in response to the Truman "doctrine" with its proffer of aid to reactionary regimes throughout the world. The very day after the Council vote, 36,000 extra tons of grain were earmarked in Washington for May delivery to France. On Saturday, three days after the Socialists decided to back Ramadier's ouster of the Stalinists, the World Bank, which is controlled by Wall Street, granted the first loan since its formation—\$250,000,000 to France. The request for the loan, like the requests of other countries, had been pending for months.

During the French elections last November, the Stalinist paper, *Seine-et-Oise Marseillaise*, slanderously attacked the PCI and its candidates, including General Secretary Yvon Crapeau. The latter took the matter to court as a libel case, which compelled the Stalinists to try to back up their slanders. They failed miserably.

The tribunal found that the Stalinist "statements bear a defamatory and lying character" and "it is felt that the claimant is within his rights in demanding reparations and the sum of 500,000 francs as damages."

The case was dismissed, however, because of the failure of a court clerk to follow the necessary procedure of notifying the ministry involved. Nevertheless, the tribunal findings constitute a black eye for the Stalinist liars.

A United Press dispatch reported last month that "from Indian sources at London it is learned that the United States, in application of their world campaign against communism, have recently taken part in Anglo-Indian military talks at London, relative to the defense of India after the withdrawal of British troops on June 1948. It is believed that the talks principally centered on necessary British and American aid to India for protection against communist infiltration from the north."

A large-scale purge of Soviet troops in Germany and Austria is under way, according to the Berlin correspondent of the British Daily Mail. According to this report the purge is aimed mainly at Jewish troops, those not of pure Russian descent and those who have been living with German women or have become

Additional hundreds of millions of dollars will be granted, in the opinion of Washington observers, if the Socialists prove strong enough to retain office. The stake Wall Street sees in the new Cabinet is evident. The architects of the Truman "doctrine" are willing to pay high for such an agent as Ramadier. His party wields considerable influence among the French workers and as a "democratic" regime, his cabinet can help counteract the effect among the American people of Truman's supporting the Greek monarchy and Turkish dictatorship.

If the Socialists prove unable to hold power, then Wall Street will throw its support to the second line trenches where de Gaulle awaits under the skull and cross bones of Bonapartism.

The Stalinists in France meanwhile are insisting on their reluctance to go into opposition against the capitalist government. The last thing in the world they intend to do is lead the French working class forward to a communist society. The May 12 Time magazine reported that in the Political Bureau of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, Andre Marty pounded the table over the danger represented by the Renault strike: "If we allow this situation to develop, we will have broken our most important tactical rule, which is never to permit our left flank to be turned."

In the Cabinet meeting called by Ramadier to discuss the situation, Maurice Thorez, head of the French Stalinists, explained, according to the same source: "The General Federation of Labor has been overrun, or is in danger of being overrun, by Trotskyist elements. In order to prevent this movement from getting out of hand, we decided last night to support the workers' demands."

It was then that Ramadier announced, "This Cabinet is no longer possible."

Once they get the situation "in hand," however, the Stalinists have indicated they intend to make a bid to retrieve the posts from which they were ousted. Duclos, a high party functionary, declared that the Stalinists intend to act like an official government party even though "we are momentarily out of the government. And remark it well, I said 'momentarily.'"

Meanwhile, the Renault strikers, after closing down the plant for almost two weeks voted by 12,075 to 6,866 to return to work. They accepted a three francs an hour increase listed as a "production bonus."

International Notes

too intimately involved in German life.

One result is that "what was for a long time a trickle of Russian soldiers who deserted and gave themselves up in the British and American zones, has now become a steady stream." Officers and troops who are classed as "undesirable" are being sent back to the Soviet Union "for ordinary labor duties."

About 500 resolutions have been submitted by unions, local branches and affiliated organizations to the next annual conference of the British Labor Party, which will begin in Margate on May 26. These include the demand for more nationalizations, abolition of conscription, reductions in the armed forces, control of profits, etc. Of 21 resolutions on foreign policy, only two support the government. The other 19 for the most part follow the criticisms of government policy made by the Laborite "rebels."

A number of strikes in Czechoslovakia are reported in the Mar. 15 issue of *La Batalla*, paper of the Spanish POUM. Among these was a strike against the introduction of the piece-work system in the Prague locomotive works of the Kolben Danek company; a number against the rising cost of living in Prague; and several in private industries, demanding their nationalization.

The strikes have been attacked in both the Stalinist and Social Democratic press, but the Czech General Confederation of Labor has had to be more moderate in tone. However the GCL leaders have asked Parliament, which is formulating a new constitution, to recognize the workers' right to strike, but only when authorized by the GCL. All other strikes would be considered criminal.



John N. Meyers sits under an umbrella guarding his furniture after being evicted from a Chicago apartment. The placard tells the story. Federated Pictures

The Arab League Vs. Arab Masses In Middle East

(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of articles on the Palestine question.)

By H. Vallin

We have seen that neither the terrorists nor the leaders of the Jewish Agency act in the interests of the majority of the Palestinian population. Do the leaders of the Arab League act differently?

The political life of the Arab population of Palestine has been confined for a long time exclusively to the great semi-feudal landowning families. The different political "parties" which existed before the war were nothing but clans, each backed by a certain number of these "noble" families. Any idea of fighting for the political sovereignty of the masses was foreign to them. Their opposition to Zionist immigration and colonization was inspired by fear lest the industrialization of the country bring with it the proletarianization of the Arab masses and the sharpening of social struggles.

It was above all during World War II that industrialization of the Middle East advanced with giant steps. Egypt was transformed into an immense military camp for the British Eighth Army. An extremely prosperous industry, serving all the needs of the Allied troops, blossomed forth. Thousands of Arab peasants left their wretched villages to work in these industries or in the military installations. Commercially cut off from the rest of the world, Palestine was forced in large measure to provide for its own needs and, because of this, began to manufacture a number of products formerly imported from the great industrial nations of the world.

This feverish industrialization of the Arab world could have no other result than the rapid formation of an Arab proletariat which completely changed the relationship of social and political forces on the Middle East chessboard.

Thus the Arab owning classes have no intention of freeing their country from imperialist oppression. Their sole concern is choosing the master who will pay them the most for their services. Formerly the exclusive instrument of British imperialism, the Arab League is now divided into clans—pro-British, pro-American and perhaps even pro-Russian. The Arab masses can hope for nothing from these exploiters. From now on the task of leading the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the Arab world devolves on the Arab masses, and on them alone.

Next week: The Arab Revolution and the Zionist Workers' Movement.

RAPID PROGRESS

Arab trade unionism made rapid progress. The Egyptian trade unions became organizations of tens of thousands of members. Two Arab trade unions were organized in Palestine, one sponsored by imperialism, the other distinguished by exceptional militancy. In Syria, Lebanon and even in Transjordan, a trade union movement began to develop. There were great strikes all the way from the textile industry in Egypt to the first strike movements among the oil pipeline workers in Transjordan. But that was not all. The workers movement also played a leading role in the political struggle for independence which was unleashed against British and French imperialism toward the end of the war. In Syria and in Lebanon each wave of anti-imperialist struggle culminated in a general strike of the industrial workers. In Egypt a committee of workers and students led huge demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British troops.

In Palestine the Arab workers movement had to combat many enemies at the same time. Jewish fascist terrorists acted as strike-

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"We have entered an epoch when the periods of economic revival are short-lived, while the periods of depression become deeper and deeper."

Leon Trotsky

A Vote For War

By a vote of 287 to 107, the House of Representatives on May 9 rubber-stamped Truman's demand for authorization to intervene with U.S. funds, military missions and weapons in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. The majority consisted of 180 Democrats and 127 Republicans.

This approval of the Truman "doctrine" of heading America down the road to war flew square in the face of public opinion. A recent Gallup poll showed 64% of the people opposing it; a Roper poll indicated a still higher percentage in opposition; a poll taken by radio station WINX in New York showed a 4 to 1 opposition; and Congressional mail has been running 3 to 1 against military intervention in Greece and Turkey.

The implications of the bill were revealed even more clearly by what was rejected than by what was included. An amendment to prohibit sending atomic weapons, for instance, was brushed aside. A motion to limit Greek-Turkish aid to economic assistance alone was rejected without even a show of hands.

A proposal to forbid sending any combat troops into the two countries was rejected as was another to limit the size of military missions. They even turned down a motion to postpone action for 60 days.

The Congressmen knew that they were voting for a policy of war. "The sons and daughters of America will die on the battlefields of Asia and Europe to carry out this policy," Bender of Ohio charged. This charge was never refuted.

In fact Rankin of Mississippi, one of the most vociferous in the majority, declared he favored "breaking relations with Communist Russia" now and "if it is necessary" to "use the atomic bomb."

The next steps in carrying out the Truman "doctrine" as outlined by the Congressmen will be similar aid, but on a far more extensive scale, to other reactionary regimes throughout the world. Passage of the measure, as Buffet of Nebraska put it, "will cause a rat race" for American dollars to combat "communism" by "every ruler abroad, be he tyrant or parliamentary politician."

Thus barely two years after V-E Day, the seeds of World War III are already sprouting. The vote in Congress once again shows how correct *The Militant* has been in warning that the war for "Four Freedoms" would turn out to be simply preparation for a still more frightful conflict.

Act Now!

Signs are multiplying that the paralysis of depression is starting to be felt in America. Goods are starting to clog shelves. Plants here and there are closing down. The ranks of the unemployed are growing.

In one respect the opening of this depression differs from the one that paralyzed capitalist economy in the Thirties. Only the Marxists saw the approach of the 1929-30 crash. All the capitalist economists saw only an endless highway of prosperity. But the present depression is the most widely advertised in history. Virtually all the capitalist economists have admitted its approach, differing only on its exact date and probable depths.

Even President Truman gave a speech warning about the approach of depression.

With such unanimity about the certainty of depression, it might be expected that the ruling class would take preventive measures. Neither the capitalists, however, nor their political representatives in Washington are lifting a finger to halt the swift advance of the depression. They only shiver in their boots and think of atomic war and reconversion to war production as a possible way to stave off the inevitable under their system of economy.

It is thus up to the labor movement to take action. The unions should not waste another day in drawing up a program to fight the creeping paralysis of depression. If they wait too long, mounting unemployment will seriously undermine their strength, thereby crippling ability of the unions to press for adoption of the program.

The CIO Packinghouse Workers have already called for adoption of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. A measure such as this will

spread the work without lowering the standard of living. Other unions should pick up this demand and press for it while they are strong enough to secure its adoption.

A more far-reaching demand the unions should now begin considering is a sliding scale of hours. Under such a provision the available work would be divided up among all the available workers. Since this means a reduction in hours per man, the corollary provision must be included of no reduction in pay.

It is up to labor to consider right now what to do to battle the depression. It would be suicidal to postpone action under the vain hope that the capitalists or their government will initiate a positive program to save the workers from the dire consequences of the advancing depression.

Blow At Civil Rights

The U.S. Supreme Court, which inflicted heavy fines on the striking miners, delivered a new blow at civil liberties on May 5 by its decision in the Harris case undermining the Constitutional guarantees against arbitrary search and seizure.

The Fourth Amendment of the Bill of Rights was designed to prohibit general warrants which permitted police officials to ransack homes and arrest persons without specific charges. The use of such hateful "writs of assistance" by the King's men was a main grievance of the American colonists in their revolt against British tyranny.

Now the Supreme Court has opened the door to the reinstatement of these instruments of oppression. By its 5 to 4 ruling in the Harris case the high court upheld the FBI which arrested a man in his home on one criminal charge, tied him to a chair, and ransacked his house from top to bottom. Then, after finding no evidence sustaining the original accusation, the FBI agents arrested him on a completely different charge based upon papers found during the search.

Thanks to this decision, the FBI-Gestapo could break and enter anyone's home on trumped-up charges and then frame-up and railroad the victim to prison on real or alleged evidence turned up during the raid. This is precisely what happened to hundreds of native and foreign-born workers during the infamous Palmer "Red Raids" of 1919-1920.

By this Hitlerite precedent the Supreme Court is helping set the stage for a duplication of these witch-hunts by the FBI. Justice Murphy correctly pointed out in his dissenting opinion that: "the principle established by the Court today can be used as easily by some future government determined to suppress political opposition . . ."

The Supreme Court is not only restricting the democratic rights of American citizens; it is no less active in slashing at the gains of organized labor. Just prior to their action in the Harris case, the nine justices rendered a decision which seriously damaged the Norris-LaGuardia Law forbidding the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

Thus every branch of the government from the high court to the White House and Congress, is being pressed into service by the capitalist rulers to further their anti-labor drive.

Look At China

Toward the end of 1945 President Truman sent General Marshall as his special representative to China. According to the White House ballyhoo, the former Chief of Staff was going to settle the civil strife, democratize Chiang's despotism and clear the road for China's reconstruction.

Almost a year and a half have elapsed. General Marshall completed his mission and departed. What did he accomplish?

China's economic conditions are catastrophic. The value of the Chinese dollar is sinking toward zero. Prices for basic necessities mount beyond the reach of the masses.

Rice, the staff of life in China, is becoming ever more scarce and costly. In many towns the hungry have invaded rice shops and grain-hoards in desperate search for food. In the cities the patience of the starving, underpaid, slum-dwelling workers has been exhausted. In Shanghai street-car workers, telegraph and radio employees, and others have walked out on "hunger strikes," demanding wage-raises to meet the skyrocketing prices.

The Federation of Industrial and Utility Workers, Shanghai's principal trade union organization, has served notice upon the Mayor that it would call a general strike unless its wage demands were met. The Federation also demands an investigation into the private fortunes of leading government officials, reduction in the armed forces and heavy taxation of high incomes.

The Federation has declared it will take over rice stocks, halt industry, and form a workers' government if immediate steps are not taken to relieve the intolerable conditions.

These revolutionary mass movements have been directly provoked by Chiang's criminal civil war which drains the national resources and condemns the people to endless suffering and horrors. The rice shortage is caused by diversion of supplies to the army. For example, 2 million bags of rice destined for Shanghai and Nanking have just been taken by the generals. Government officials and rich merchants are exploiting this artificially-created scarcity by speculating in rice.

What is Chiang's answer to the cries of the angry people for food, freedom, a living wage, punishment of profiteers and an end to the war? More terror, more tyranny.

These are the real results of Marshall's intervention in China. This is the harvest of U. S. arms and aid to Chiang.

Today Marshall is applying the Truman Doctrine on a world scale. This program too, we are told, will bring peace, democracy, and prosperity to its beneficiaries.

What are these claims worth? Look at China.



"Don't use so much polish. It's hard rubbing that does the trick, you know!"

Workers BOOKSHELF

MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES by Leon Trotsky, Workers Party Publications, 44 pp., 1947, 35 cents.

This document by Leon Trotsky, now reprinted in convenient pamphlet form, was written as an introduction to *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*, published in 1939 by Longmans, Green and Co.

In this exposition, Trotsky underscores the essence of the revolutionary message which Marx was the first to bring to the world working class. "Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first pre-requisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale."

Trotsky analyzes the development and decay of capitalism as a world system through an inspection of capitalism in the United States. Statistics of the United States are used, he says, because this country is 20th Century capitalism's "most perfect mirror."

Even before the second World War, the U. S. held 40 per cent of the world's wealth although it had only 6 per cent of the world's

population. "Still, one-third of the nation, as Roosevelt himself admitted, is undernourished, inadequately clothed, and lives under sub-human conditions. What is there to say then, for the far less privileged countries?" Trotsky traces the basic economic process of the imperialist epoch: the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the monopolists at one pole, paralleled by the accumulation of increasing poverty and misery at the other.

After the economic collapse of 1930, the capitalist rulers sought to save their doomed system through two different methods: through fascism in poverty ridden Europe and through New Deal reforms in the richer United States. "Fascism bases its program on the demolition of labor organizations, on the destruction of social reforms and on the complete annihilation of democratic rights, in order to forestall a resurrection of the proletariat's class struggle."

In the wealthy United States, the New Deal tried "to save imperialist democracy by way of sop to the labor and farmer aristocracy" and other emergency measures. But, Trotsky points out, even the richest country in the world cannot indefinitely afford these expensive

measures. In the end this policy also "leads unavoidably to ferocious capitalist reaction and a devastating explosion of imperialism. In other words, it is directed into the same channels as the policy of fascism." Events today are reinforcing Trotsky's analysis of 1939.

In a slashing attack upon the liberal and reformist agents of imperialism, Trotsky demonstrates that the time is past for "partial reforms and patchwork." To save society from further wars and depressions, it is necessary to "separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners and to organize society in accordance with a rational plan." That plan can be realized only after the working class has conquered power.

"Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads today . . . The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height."

—Larissa Reed

Diplomatic War Goes On As Moscow Conference Fails

By Jean Paul Martin

PARIS, May 2—The Moscow conference has terminated in complete failure. Not only on the German question, but on the Austrian treaty as well, no agreement could be reached.

The "Big Four" have decided not to meet before next November, estimating that a certain amount of time will have to pass before they can hope to resume the discussion with some possibility of arriving at an accord. Between conferences, diplomatic war continues between the U. S.-British imperialists and the Russians.

Marshall, in his April 28 speech in the U. S., revealed that in his interview with Stalin at Moscow, the latter expressed the belief that, despite the failure of the Moscow conference, "a compromise was possible on all the major questions, including demilitarization, the political structure of Germany, reparations and economic unity."

THE TIME FACTOR

But Marshall replied that "unfortunately we cannot leave out the time factor. The revival of Europe is a much longer process than people thought. While the doctors discuss, the patient lies in agony. Therefore in my opinion, we cannot wait for a compromise that would come as the result of everyone being tired out by long discussions."

In other words, Washington has decided to carry out its own policy everywhere, without waiting for a compromise with the Kremlin. It now believes that any compromise reached will be the result of ever-increasing pressure of the kind implied by the "Truman Doctrine."

It is expected that the immediate action planned by Marshall will be the further fusion of the U. S.-British zones in Germany with the French zone. This fusion would be both economic and political. The possibility of establishing a Government of Western Germany, eventually presided over by ex-Chancellor Bruening, who has just come back to Germany after a long stay in the U. S., is being spoken of.

This policy in Germany fits into the framework of a more

general policy for Europe, which aims at the creation of a bloc of all European countries except those under Soviet control. This bloc will be led by the Americans and British, and will be directed against the Kremlin.

The keystone of this bloc is France, and the U. S.-British imperialists are now putting joint economic and diplomatic pressure on this country to accentuate its division from the Kremlin—a division which already appeared in the discussion on the Saar question at the Kremlin conference.

For coal and wheat, as well as for the capital necessary to finance the Monnet Plan to set the battered French economy on its feet, France depends directly on American aid and on the U. S.-British policy in Germany.

France's game until now has been to play upon the antagonisms between the "Big Three" in order to obtain from each of them as many advantages as possible. Now it is a question of choosing sides because each of the partners has laid out his cards, and each one is in a hurry to strengthen his future game by making sure alliances.

Capitalist France's situation as a whole requires it to enter

into the American orbit, whether it likes to or not. The consequences of this orientation will show themselves on the French domestic scene by the break-up of governmental unity, since the bourgeoisie is obliged to look forward to throwing the Communist Party out of the government.

But this plan can succeed only if the Right installs a "strong" government, capable of withstanding the agitation of the Communist Party once it is thrown into opposition. Hence the arrival on the scene of de Gaulle and his RPF (French People's Rally), destined to be tomorrow's vehicle of the capitalists' "strong" action and to meet the new situation that will be created by having the Stalinists in opposition.

French Trotskyists May Face Prosecution

PARIS, May 2—The secretaries of the PCF, French Trotskyist party, have been called before the criminal authorities to answer charges of "undermining the morale of the army and of the nation" in a PCI poster entitled "Down with the War in Indo-China!"

The hearing was of a preliminary character, and it is not yet known whether a sedition trial is being planned against the French Trotskyists.

Revolutionary Marxism Or Petty-Bourgeois Revisionism

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Soviet Co-Ops Become Capitalist Enterprises

By John G. Wright

Stalin's regime has made the most far-reaching concessions to capitalist tendencies in the field of Soviet trade and production since the promulgation of the New Economic Policy (the NEP) 26 years ago under Lenin. This abrupt change in economic policy went into effect on Nov. 9, 1946 when the Council of Ministers issued a decree removing all previous restrictions on consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

The sole major restriction upon the current activity of these enterprises is that they are limited to the sphere of consumer goods. But within this sphere they are henceforth enabled to legally sell and produce on their own account, free from state controls, and independently of the plan for the economy as a whole. In addition, they have been extended exemptions from taxes. They are entitled to grants of land and allotments of buildings or building materials by the local authorities and they are to receive government subsidies in the form of state credits, allocations of raw materials, supplies, machine tools.

They are free to fix their own prices, with the sole proviso that these cannot go above the "free" prices set by the state-operated "commercial stores." They are free to produce and sell to non-members. There are no restrictions whatever upon membership.

While it is true that the bulk of the producers' cooperatives are on a handicraft basis, their operation is not confined to handicrafts. The USSR Information Bulletin, published by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, April 30, carries a picture of a mechanized winding shop of a cooperative knitting mill. The accompanying article boasts that: "A considerable number of these enterprises (producers' cooperatives) are well equipped with machinery; many of them work on electric power and have auxiliary shops."

What we have here is in effect the legalization of private ownership of the means of production in a sector of Soviet industry, limited as yet in scope but deep-going in its implications.

According to the above-cited article these enterprises already number "some 70 thousand and (are) employing nearly one million persons." 2,500 new producers' cooperatives are scheduled to go into production during the current year. Last year's gross output amounted to close to nine billion rubles in 1932 prices (the amount in the inflated ruble prices is of course, several times larger). This sum is almost five times the value of all agricultural machinery supplied under the Second Five Year Plan. A large-scale expansion is projected for the years ahead.

Private individuals and groups are henceforward free, under the guise of cooperatives, to invest capital, accumulate and reinvest. The doors have thus been flung open to the fusion of these enterprises with the restorationist elements in the bureaucracy and with the "millionaire" collective farmers.

This adds a new impetus to the centrifugal forces now ripping apart Soviet economy and especially Soviet agriculture.

It is clear that the Nov. 9, 1946 decree sets the stage for a new phase in the consolidation and expansion of neo-capitalist elements, already strong among a section of the ruling bureaucracy and in agriculture. Implicit in this development is the threat of capitalist restoration in the USSR, for which Stalinism has been paving the way since the death of Lenin.

Communist Party Outlawed In Brazil

By Charles Cornell

Effects of the Truman Doctrine were felt last week in Brazil where President Eurico Dutra's government, undoubtedly acting under pressure from Washington, banned the Brazilian Communist (Stalinist) party and suspended the Stalinist-supported Brazilian Workers Confederation for six months.

On May 7, the day the decision outlawing the Brazilian Stalinist party was handed down by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, Dutra's Army and Federal Police moved swiftly to padlock 445 Stalinist clubs. Action proceeded without delay despite provisions in the new Brazilian Constitution which allow defendant organizations ten days in which to appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Brazilian Stalinist party is the largest in the Western Hemisphere. It is credited with 140,000 members. It polled 800,000 votes in the 1945 presidential elections, elected a senator and 17 deputies and later helped elect eight state governors.

This widespread support was gained mainly through demagogic attacks on American imperialism. At the same time Brazilian Stalinists tried to curry favor with the Dutra regime which is completely subservient to Washington. Ever since legalization of the party in 1945, Luis Prestes, leader of the Stalinists, protested his party's loyalty to the Brazilian government and for the past year has been pleading for collaboration with Dutra.

Confronted with the present dictatorial blow Prestes has ordered his followers to "remain calm." Other Stalinist leaders stated that they have no intention of staging demonstrations or resorting to any but juridical measures.

The desperate plight of Brazilian workers and lower middle class people is driving them toward radical political action. Official records show that living costs are now more than double pre-war levels. Actually the increase is far greater than that. The May 13 *World Report* states that "many necessities are selling for five or six times as much as they did in 1939." Wages have increased very little. Unemployment is mounting.

Business fell off 10% in the first quarter of this year. Trade with the United States is running against Brazil. Under such conditions Dutra fears even the mildest political opposition. This plus the necessity of placating Washington, on whom the Brazilian government depends for economic and financial aid, were the factors determining Dutra's dictatorial action.

Although Dutra's move against the Stalinists was the most drastic and sweeping since Truman announced his reactionary doctrine, it was not the first in South America. In April, Washington's heavy handed policy was manifested in Chile. Stalinists were ousted from the Chilean Cabinet despite their electoral strength.

One of the chief causes for this action, according to the April 30 *Christian Science Monitor*, was "a growing sympathy with the stiffer line against communism as heralded by the Truman Doctrine."

Pressure from Washington to remove all political tendencies that are the least bit critical of American imperialism from the governments of South American countries has been increasing for the past year. Thus, representatives of the Apra — a petty-bourgeois anti-imperialist party in Peru — were forced to resign from the Cabinet last January.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Why We Ballot As Trotskyists

Editor:
In a letter published in this column, Bob Carlson opines that the reason we have used the name Trotskyist in election campaigns is for the purpose of clarification, to distinguish ourselves from the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party.

I am afraid he is somewhat off the point. We employed the ballot designation "Trotskyist" primarily because the law in many states prohibits more than one party from using the same name on the ballot.

In the last gubernatorial election in New York, however, the Norman Thomas "Socialists" challenged our right to use the name Socialist Workers Party. The New York Supreme Court rejected the challenge and upheld our right to use the SWP name on the ballot. We will continue to contest future elections in this state as the Socialist Workers Party.

George Clarke
New York City

Criticizes Editorial On British Murders

Editor:
Your editorial in the issue of April 26 on the recent execution of David Greiner and three others by the British in Palestine falls wholly into the pro-Zionist line of the Workers Party and properly belongs in their Labor Action, not in The Militant.

The Zionist-Revisionist terrorists whom these youths represented, far from being champions of the "Four Freedoms," are struggling to fasten upon the Arab masses, who constitute the great majority of the country's population, the harsh yoke of American imperialism.

In this endeavor they naturally meet vigorous resistance from the latter's British competitor. There is nothing whatever progressive in their struggle. On the contrary, they employ their reactionary terrorist means toward the reactionary objective of a Jewish state, ruling as an agency of U. S. capitalism over an Arab country.

It goes without saying, that we nevertheless do not entrust to British imperialism the defense of the Arab masses against the reactionary designs of Zionism. But toward David Greiner and his companions we should show no sympathy whatever—only regretting that they met a richly deserved fate at the hands of the wrong executioners.

Dave Carpenter
New York

Editorial Note: The editorial in question protested the savage reprisals of the British despots against the Jewish terrorist movement. We have similarly protested atrocities of the British, French and American imperialists in India, Indonesia,

Indo-China, China and the Philippines without in every instance explaining all our political differences with the victims.

Our sympathies in every case lie with the victims of these imperialist atrocities, no matter how mistaken we may consider their political aims or methods.

For an exposition of the Trotskyist position on Palestine, we refer our readers to The Militant's current series of articles by H. Vallin on this important question (see Page 3).

Stalinist Goons Attack "Militant" Distributor

Editor:
On May Day members of the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party gathered to distribute our paper, The Militant, to Stalinists attending the May Day meeting of the Chicago Communist Party at Ashland Auditorium.

Five minutes after we arrived one of our girls was attacked by a group of Stalinist goons led by Leon Katzen, a United Electrical Workers functionary, ex-chairman of the Chicago Area AVC and well known Stalinist hack.

Katzen was overheard telling his gang at the entrance to the Auditorium: "There are no cops around now. Let's get these Militant girls."

Pretending to want to see one of her papers, Katzen tried to seize her bundle. On failing this, he grabbed the girl, swinging her around violently and attempting to pry the papers out of her arms.

Some bystanders, indignant at this brutal violation of the democratic right to distribute a working class paper, immediately came to the girl's aid. After the brief skirmish that followed, the Stalinists retreated. We continued to distribute The Militant for 45 minutes and then left in an orderly manner.

A Reader
Chicago, Ill.

Dump Surplus Spuds While Prices Soar

Editor:
This is a story about potatoes. All other food items could be connected with this story. At Fort Fairfield, in the heart of a potato farming region, workers were dwarfed as they added to the thousands of bushels of the sun-dried vegetables already dumped in a huge mound.

If they placed these potatoes on the market, we workers would not have to pay about 50 cents for 10 pounds. In the May 6 N. Y. Times came an interesting potato story. It seems that 13,500,000 pounds were rotting in Texas. The Army had to sell them very quickly. They gave them to the Idaho Baking Potato distributors for about 1½ cents for 10 pounds.

One dealer said that the salvaged potatoes might bring \$2.75

to \$3.25 for a 100 pound bag at resale. Again I say: we workers have to buy potatoes at 50 cents for 10 pounds. Before the war we used to buy potatoes for a penny a pound.

According to Marquis W. Childs of the N. Y. Post, 90,000, 000 bushels of potatoes are being destroyed this year. He further says that DDT was used on the farms to kill insect pests; therefore, we have a surplus of potatoes.

In so-called boom time we have poverty amidst plenty. Because we have too much, we have to starve. This is a preview of a real depression that is to come.

People used to starve because there wasn't enough to eat. Today there is no reason for such a situation. But when there is over-production we go hungry just the same. The greed for profits is what keeps prices high today.

Abe Davi
New York

Public Funds Used To Extend Jim Crow

Editor:
How the capitalist authorities subvert public housing programs in the interest of racial segregation is well illustrated in the report of the "Proceedings of Social Work."

As an excuse for driving minority groups out of areas they now occupy the authorities cite the fact they "may be blocked in an undesirable, pocketed area or may be living in rear streets or alleys."

"In such cases," says the book, "the neighborhood can hardly be termed desirable or well established." And under this hypocritical excuse the minority group is forced out of their homes.

But this is not all. While "local authorities" usually extend Jim-Crow segregation where it already exists, "there may be a tendency to use public housing to displace minority groups—particularly the Negro—from desirable neighborhoods in which they now live." Under guise of "City Planning" or "reclamation," minority groups "may be forced to relinquish areas in which they have established themselves at considerable sacrifice."

"In a desirable area long occupied by Negroes," the authorities build a housing project open only to whites. As the report points out, this means "the use of public funds to initiate and extend residential restrictions for Negroes."

Adolph Kruger
New York

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Seven-Day Strike Forces Inland Steel Corp. To Withdraw Union-Busting Contract Clauses

By J. Lyons

EAST CHICAGO, Indiana, May 7—The workers of the Inland Steel Corporation, members of United Steelworkers of America Local Union No. 1010, concluded a highly successful seven day strike.

Although all major steel producing concerns in the U. S. signed agreements with the United Steelworkers before the April 30 deadline, Inland alone held out. This concern decided to test the basic loyalty of the steelworkers to their union by offering the 12½ cent wage increase formula, but tying it in with more than a dozen union-busting proposals.

Among other things, it insisted on including in the contract a vicious "responsibility" clause which would allow the corporation to fire any union steward who "condoned" a strike. In addition, the corporation sought to undermine the entire seniority principle by demanding the right to exempt 120 of their chosen men from seniority regulations. This would permit the managers to place their own stooges on any job in the plant and bump men with years of seniority.

18 SCHEMES

The union listed 16 separate union-busting schemes which Inland wanted included in the contract in return for the wage increase. When it became obvious that the negotiating committee refused to accept a "yellow dog" contract, the company appealed to the men directly. Posters were placed throughout the giant steel plant notifying the men that the company had agreed to grant the wage increase. The intent was to place the blame upon the local leaders and to stir dissension within the ranks.

On the night of April 30, several thousand union members jammed the union hall to hear the negotiating committee's final report. The committee did not appear, because negotiations were still being carried on. When it became clear that no contract was forthcoming, the workers marched to the plant and set up the picket lines one hour before the old agreement expired.

Several days later, each worker received a letter from the plant manager, in which the company again tried to bribe the men into defying their leaders. The letter pointed out that the strike was not over wages, and that the local leaders were responsible for the lack of an agreement. The workers responded to this propaganda by strengthening their picket lines. Each day brought more and more men to the picket lines and morale steadily grew stronger. Only the U. S. mail trucks were allowed to go through. The union provided no maintenance crews and allowed no members to work on the traditional "stand by" operations.

After five days of the strike, the company saw the hopelessness of its position and settled down to negotiating a genuine contract. The union's commitment

was held in continuous negotiations for 31 hours on one occasion and 24 hours on another. After seven days, the committee returned with a contract which most activists consider even better than the basic steel contract. All 16 of the company's union-busting points were knocked out. A number of concessions over and above the basic steel agreement were granted. In the last few hours of negotiations, the company representatives were literally begging the union negotiators to call off the pickets. Seven days of costly production has been lost in an attempt by the company to split the union.

This was the fourth plant-wide Inland strike in the last ten years, and it represents the fourth victory for the union.

An interesting sidelight to the strike was the fact that the negotiating committee was headed by James Griffin, who was recently elected District Director of the Youngstown district in a contest with the Murray-sponsored incumbent. Griffin received a tremendous ovation at the victory mass meeting of Local No. 1010.

Local Settlements Pave Way To End Of Telephone Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)

of the New Jersey operators, who defied state "seizure" and onerous jail and fine sentences to show how strikebreaking laws could be beaten.

Against the combined forces of all state agencies and the kept press, these heroic girl operators refused to yield an inch. As a result, they forced a complete retreat by the state, the dropping of charges against their officers and revision of the new state slave-labor law.

This resistance in New Jersey undoubtedly discouraged the federal government and other states from trying to swing a club against the phone workers. The fact that the New Jersey operators received the highest wage settlement yet negotiated in the strike is a direct result of their militancy.

EFFORT FAILED
On the other hand, the NFTW leadership failed in its effort to achieve nation-wide settlements, if not in one master contract, at least through NFTW review and approval of regional agreements.

The main reason for this setback was the tremendous strength and high degree of centralization lodged in AT&T, which was determined at all costs to prevent nation-wide bargaining and to impose a divide-and-conquer policy.

Aided by scores of government mediators on national and state levels and the deliberate misinformation spread by the kept press, AT&T hit the unions from all sides, trying to split them apart. The non-NFTW New York unions cracked first under this company-government pressure.

When they were followed by NFTW locals in Chicago, the dent in the strike front caused the NFTW leadership to disband its national committee and hurry home to achieve the best possible local settlements.

AT&T was able to take advantage of the looseness of the unions' structure and lack of coordination. Of the 340,000 on strike, only 280,000 were members of the NFTW. The NFTW itself is only a loose federation of autonomous locals in process of building a national centralized union.

To offset this, the NFTW leadership had adopted the strategy of utilizing the strike itself to consolidate its own autonomous sections and, moreover, to pull in over 60,000 non-affiliated unionists.

Given the will of the rank-and-file to battle, which was proved time and again in action, the success or failure of such a

strategy fully depended on the qualities of the national leadership, its ability to maintain nationwide solidarity, sustain morale and enforce its directives for settlement.

The NFTW leadership proved unable to hold out longer against the combined might of corporation and government attacks.

While the leadership rejected government demands for arbitration, nowhere did it warn the workers against the role of government conciliation and mediation, and the clearcut fact that government officials were using every lever to help AT&T divide and split the ranks of the strikers. This was due to the leadership's own lack of understanding of the government as an agent of Big Business.

This shortcoming was coupled with a weak approach to bargaining. When the CIO unions began to sign contracts for \$6, the NFTW leadership immediately halved its \$12 figure on the ground that the trust would be bound by the CIO figure as a "national pattern." Recognizing this as a sign of weakness, AT&T and the government began to chisel still lower.

MORE CHISELING
When the government chipped almost a dollar from this figure with a proposal of \$5.14 for the long-line operators, the union hastened to accept. AT&T refused, still offering \$1-3, \$2-4. This then enabled the government mediators to do some more chiseling with the formula of "let's compromise the differences." Thus the union leadership was pressured, chiseled and maneuvered to below the \$6 CIO pattern.

The outcome of their first great struggle has demonstrated that the most militant phone workers that they need above all to strengthen their national organization. The launching of their new proposed national union, the Communications Workers of America, the organization of the unorganized, the extension of the CWA to embrace every phone union, and the adoption of a progressive program of action, can effectively prepare for the next battles against the AT&T monopoly.

In another letter from Detroit, Comrade Brent tells us that "6 of the 9 subs enclosed" were scored by E. Drake. Comrade Drake is a dynamo when it comes to getting subs and we would like to get a first-hand report from him. How about it, Comrade Drake?

"Allow me to introduce myself. I'm the new Militant Director, Gordon Dunbar, taking El Snyder's place for Flint branch. I sincerely hope I can continue the excellent work that Comrade Snyder has accomplished."

We welcome Comrade Dunbar as a Director in the ranks of The Militant Army.

Two of this column's critics have hinted that they are getting bored with all the success stories they read here week after

THE MILITANT ARMY

Special Bulletin Sparks Chicago Sub Campaign



Chicago Local's 8-week campaign for 300 subs to The Militant got off to a flying start. During the first 9 days, the comrades chalked up 85 subscriptions. Chicago's live-wire literature committee is putting out a one-page mimeographed bulletin called the "Militant Sub Campaigner," to keep Militant boosters in that area informed on the progress of the Campaign. The Southside team leads with 30½ points, reports the Campaigner. Comrade Howard is setting the pace with 13 points, followed by Comrade Frank with 10½ points, Comrade Heet with 9 points and Rosalie with 8. (One point is credited for a 6-month sub; 1½ points for a one-year sub.) The Campaigner ends with this reminder: "Remember—the grand prize is a week's vacation at the Mid-West Summer Camp! The four Pace-Setters listed above are out in front. Anyone else who has ideas of winning had better turn on the steam in a hurry. It can still be anybody's race. BE A CHAMP—GO TO CAMP."

Boston's campaign netted 31 subscriptions during the week. Rena Breshi who is directing the campaign hopes that the weather will be good at least on Sundays so the branch can continue its campaign without delay.

Dick Carlson of the Minneapolis branch writes: "We were distributing at a meeting of the telephone workers yesterday. We passed out about 75 copies of The Militant and had an enthusiastic response. Some workers who received a paper came back and asked for another to give to a friend. One woman took a paper and after reading it, came out of the meeting hall and paid me for it."

Los Angeles Local reports excellent cash returns from its distributions during the past few weeks. For instance, 67 Militants were sold to a mass meeting of the telephone strikers, 14 to a meeting of the teamsters, 29 Militants and 89 Labor Party pamphlets to the CIO meeting to protest anti-labor legislation, and 14 to an AFL protest meeting.

"The workers are responding very well when approached for a subscription to The Militant—they know the truth-revealing facts that are published in this working man's newspaper." This statement by Charles Carlson, Buffalo's Literature Agent, is backed up with 10 subscriptions to The Militant. "All were sold in the various shops that the comrades are working in."

"These 8 Militant subscriptions," says E. Brent, Literature Director for the Detroit branch, "were sold at the Turkey Dinner we held Sunday, May 4. We had over 100 people present and it was one of the most enjoyable socials I have ever been to."

In another letter from Detroit, Comrade Brent tells us that "6 of the 9 subs enclosed" were scored by E. Drake. Comrade Drake is a dynamo when it comes to getting subs and we would like to get a first-hand report from him. How about it, Comrade Drake?

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Two of this column's critics have hinted that they are getting bored with all the success stories they read here week after

week. They say that certain agents, certain branches, appear in the column every week with the number of subs sold. These critics would like to see some new names and ideas in The Militant Army.

We could write about all the subs some of the branches aren't selling, but we think a better idea would be for the rest of you Militant boosters and sub-getters, who find it easier to get subs than to write about it, to give our critics a break. Send in your sub-getting experiences, the approach you use in getting subs from workers in your shop, the method you use in telling your neighbors about The Militant. The Militant Army fans are clamoring to hear from you.

Total subs for April were 665 as compared with 821 for the previous month. The subscriptions received are listed by branch.

Chicago	112
Boston	69
Detroit	52
Buffalo	51
Milwaukee	47
New York Local	39
Los Angeles Local	34
San Francisco	33
Newark	27
Minneapolis	25
Flint	22
Philadelphia	19
Cleveland	18
St. Paul	15
Lynn	14
Seattle	10
Youngstown	10
Akron	8
Reading	8
Connecticut State	7
St. Louis	7
Allentown	6
Pittsburgh	6
Calumet	5
Toledo	5
Oakland	1
Portland	1
Rochester	0
San Diego	0
General	14
TOTAL	665

Gala Floor Show To Be Featured At ACEWR Ball

The New York chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief is presenting "Cafe Internationale" on Saturday evening, May 17th at Irving Plaza, 15 Irving Place.

The gala floor show, which goes on at 11 p.m. will feature such professional entertainers as an Irish tenor, a primitive dance interpreter, belted singers and two guitarists who are appearing on the radio. Music for dancing will be provided by Karl Taylor and his orchestra.

The entire proceeds of this affair will be used to send food, clothing and medicine to needy European families in Italy, Holland, France, Austria, Germany, Belgium and Greece.

Tickets at \$1.20 including tax may be purchased at the door.

NEW YORK
Invitation To
Cafe Internationale
Sat., May 17, 9 p.m.
IRVING PLAZA
15 Irving Place
(Near 14th Street)
Admission:
American Committee for European Workers Relief

NOTICE
The American Committee for European Workers Relief (ACEWR) Has Moved to:
130 West 23 Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

Season June 29 to Sept. 2 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15
OSCAR COOVER, Manager
116 University Place
Reserve accommodation, "or below from.....to....."
Family ☐ Couple ☐ Single ☐
(check one)
List all who will attend:
Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss)
List of Children and Age
Name of Applicant (Please sign)
Address
City & Zone..... State.....

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

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

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

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

Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Friday, 8 p.m.—Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

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

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

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

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

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

Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

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

Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

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

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W.

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

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. 7 to 9:30 p.m.; Sat. and Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. 3 p.m. Tel. Court 6060.

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

SAN FRANCISCO—School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat. Tel. SE-0453 Library, bookstore.

Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.

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

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

TACOMA, Wash.—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

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

YOUNGSTOWN—35½ South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

NEW HAVEN
"The Truman Doctrine"
Speaker:
Doris Fletcher
Sun., May 18, 8:30 p.m.
855 Grand Ave.

NEW HAVEN
Spring Frolic
Sat., May 24, 8 p.m.
855 Grand Ave.

CHICAGO
A Series of 6 Lectures On
AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE
Sundays, 7:30 to 9:00 p.m.
May 18—Boom and Bust: Rise and Decline of U.S. Capitalism
Speaker: Arne Swaback

May 25—World Empire
Wall Street's Goal And Foreign Policy
Speaker: Howard Anderson

June 1—Rise of American Labor: Trade Unions In The Era of Capitalist Decline
Speaker: Arne Swaback

June 8—Negroes And The Labor Movement
The Struggle Against Jim Crow

June 15—The Revolutionary Party In The U.S.
Role of the SWP
Speaker: Michael Bartell

June 22—America's Socialist Future
What Socialism Will Mean For the American Workers
Speaker: Hayden Perry

The Unknown Child

By Theodore Kovalesky

The spring is sweet, the tender spring is sweet, and good things grow in the black earth. It is fine to feel the sunshine, to see it flickering through the leaves. Life is good, and it is good to hear the laughter of the children. But there are shadows still on earth, and the dark wind moans at sundown.

Death is a terrible and grotesque thing in the springtime, when life shoulders its way up from the earth, thickens on the boughs of the trees, spreads through the air with the happy odor of green things growing.

And the death of a child, or children, is even more horrible in the springtime, the season of earth's childhood.

But it is spring in the northern half of the world. It is spring in Prague, Czechoslovakia, where they have a new monument, a memorial to the Unknown Child of World War II.

Fill your lungs, brothers, swell your chests with pride. We have grown wise and great through the centuries.

Once men lived in the caves of the mountains, in crude tree shelters in the forests, hounded by hunger and cold, hunted by wild beasts. Once men fought for food, armed with wooden clubs and stone knives.

But mankind has grown great and wise. Today we don't fight for food; we fight to make the capitalist parasites richer and more powerful. Today we need not depend on the stone axe or even the bow and arrow. We have harnessed the mighty energy of nature to blast and atomize the crowded poor as they huddle in the city slums.

It was only a scant quarter of a century ago, brothers, that our masters sent a squad of men out to gather up the few rags of bone and rotten flesh that were all that remained of one man, a broken, anonymous man who was sent out to die to make the world safe for the profit system in World War I. They called him the Unknown Soldier and made him a cynical symbol of human suffering and capitalist greed.

But the world marches forward, and we grow great and wise with the progress of modern capitalism. What a step forward, what a great advance! Today in Prague, Czechoslovakia, we see the monument to the Unknown Child of World War II. To whom shall we dedicate the memorials of World War III?

And you, child, unknown, remembered only as a symbol, could you forgive us for being so slow to learn, to act?

We have tried to build a world where you could know the joys of springtime, the happiness of play in the sunshine. There have been reasons why we have not yet succeeded. But could we make you understand?

There are millions upon millions of us in the crowded streets and factories of the cities, millions more in the hard-worked fields of the mortgaged farms and share-cropping plantations. The time will come when we'll smash the capitalist system of poverty and war and build a world of peace and plenty.

But nothing can change the horror that was your little life, the agony that was your death.

We have been slow to move, slow to anger. But the anger is mounting, and hard, stern action will follow. A little more time and we shall be ready. And then the workers of the world will claim vengeance for your death and give happiness back to the children of the future.

The Negro Struggle

Against The Anti-Labor Bills

By William E. Bohannon

Wall Street's anti-labor drive to cripple and destroy the unions seriously affects the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro people. The labor movement is the natural ally of the Negro people. Both face the same enemy: the titans of Big Business who seek to drive down living standards by all types of brutal methods. Wall Street seeks to destroy the democratic rights of labor, even as it seeks to perpetuate its Jim-Crow "divide and rule" tactics against the Negro people.



Long ago Karl Marx emphasized that "labor in a white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." And the present onslaught against the unions poses an opposite lesson: The Negro people cannot gain an inch in the struggle against Jim Crow IF the labor movement should be crippled and hamstrung. Our fight to achieve democratic rights demands that we fight to retain the democratic rights of the labor movement. Every Negro has a stake in this fight to defeat Wall Street's Congress in its dastardly legislative plot against the union movement.

The future and the hopes of America's 14 million Negroes are therefore solidly linked with the future of their natural ally, the organized labor movement. These ties are made even more binding by the fact that close to 2 million

of these 14 million Negroes are themselves union members, part and parcel of the great American labor movement.

One of every seven Negroes is a unionist. We can be very proud of this fact. It shows that the Negro workers are well aware that the unions are their best protection as exploited workers.

It is true that the Negroes have had a tough fight on their hands for admittance into the unions, especially in the AFL. Once in the unions we have proved our right to full participation in all union affairs. We have made many gains in these respects, including gains in seniority rights, upgrading, equal pay for equal work, etc. We did this because solidarity was achieved and proved in action with our white fellow workers. Now we must again prove that we are in the front lines of union action by lending every effort to defeat the boss offensive against the unions.

If the Negro people are to continue to play a progressive role in the labor movement, if we are to protect and further our gains on the economic field, if we are to help protect the democratic rights of the working class as the best way to fight for our own democratic rights for equality—then we must all, union member and non-member alike, close ranks with labor, and work with might and main to defeat the Hartley, Taft and other anti-labor bills.

Beating A Rent Gouger

CHICAGO — This is the story of how a rent-gouger in a big city was beaten when his tenants organized. It is a true story, scores of families can testify, and it is a story with a happy ending, as was demonstrated last week when the tenants won their ten-week long fight by receiving \$5,500 in payment for lack of services in the past year, refund of bonuses extorted from apartment hunters, and compensation for money spent by tenants to decorate their apartments.

Residents of the Sterling Apartments a North Side building with 97 units, were angered by the extortion of huge "bonuses" from apartment seekers, the arrogance of the manager, and the elimination without rent reductions of all services, including weekly linens, window washing, clean curtains, repairs, painting and decorations.

When individual complaints to the OPA failed to get results, the Sterling Apartments Protective Association was organized on Feb. 23. Officers were elected, a dues system was instituted, and an attorney, M. J. Myer, was retained.

The next day a committee went to work on the OPA, filing complaints against the landlord, Samuel Server, for violation of OPA regulations. At first the OPA officials were not interested, but when stories about the case began to appear prominently in the press and they saw the tenants meant business, investigators were sent to check on the complaints. The landlord then got an OPA notice to restore all services at once or a retroactive rent reduction would be ordered.

Meanwhile the tenants proceeded in a num-

ber of other ways. Preparations were made for filing a collective suit in court against the landlord for recovery of treble damages for extortion of "bonuses." The Department of Building Inspection, the Fire Department and Bureau of Electrical Inspection were notified of various violations of municipal ordinances, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue was informed of income by the management for which it was suspected no income tax had been paid. A news bulletin, Sterling News, was distributed to tenants. Plans to organize tenants of other Server-owned buildings were initiated.

Faced with this well-organized campaign, the management gave in, after a feeble attempt at intimidation and red-baiting. Two collective bargaining sessions between Server and the association's executive committee, produced agreement on the following terms: 1. The much hated building manager was discharged. 2. All services were fully restored. 3. All apartments will be completely redecorated. 4. Return of \$70 to each of 65 tenants for lack of past services. 5. Return of \$720 to four tenants forced to pay "bonuses." 6. Repayment of \$238.50 to five tenants who had decorated their own apartments. 7. Recognition of the tenants association.

Enthusied by this success, the tenants voted to continue the association as a permanent organization and to extend it by organizing other buildings on the North Side.

Does this give you some ideas? What was done in Chicago can be done elsewhere.

Notes From The News

Salvation Army official Arthur Brewer told a business men's meeting in Los Angeles last week that bosses should sing as they enter their offices in the morning and as they move among the workers during the day. "The happy effect will influence everyone in the plant, from manager to office boy, and increase the confidence of customers," he declared.

Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro veteran backed by the United Labor Committee, was elected to the Winston-Salem City Council last week. He is the first Negro to win such an office in North Carolina since Reconstruction days.

Several hundred Ohio movie theatre owners are calling for a boycott against the showing of Charlie Chaplin's new anti-war film, Monsieur Verdoux.

The South's biggest lynching trial has begun in Greenville, S. C. Thirty-one are on trial for the mutilation lynching of 24-year-old Willie Earle last February 16. A lily-white jury is being selected.

The Stalinists are embarrassed by the new

book about the NMU, *The Dark Ship*, although its author is the well-known New Masses writer, Richard O. Boyer. It contains a 68-page, highly flattering section about Joseph Curran, written before he and the Stalinists came to the parting of the ways in the NMU.

James Larkin, Jr., son of the famous Irish revolutionary and labor leader, is in New York. The CIO Transport Workers Union invited him to speak at a memorial meeting for James Connolly, Socialist leader executed by the British during the Easter Rebellion.

Oakland's striking AFL Retail clerks won an agreement from the department stores last week. Their seven-month strike reached its climax in a general strike of the city last December.

Harvey W. Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists, urged the 600,000 members of his union to vote against re-affiliation with the AFL in next month's referendum. Brown led the IAM out of the AFL because of a jurisdictional dispute.

Actors Equity Association will refuse to sign up next year with the Capitol's only legitimate theatre, The National, unless the policy of barring Negroes from the audience is ended.

Building Workers Feel Impact Of Depression

By Joseph Hansen

A cold wind is blowing in the construction industry. Already tens of thousands of building trades workers have been swept out of their jobs. Additional scores of thousands will follow as the postwar depression gains momentum.

In scattered areas employment is still holding up. But in a number of key cities the picture is a grim one. In Washington, D. C., for instance, about 25,000 laborers are idle.

One-fifth of Portland's 5,000 carpenters are out of work. Even with hundreds of homes standing unfinished, "stagnation" has hit the building industry.

In Little Rock, Ark., representatives of the carpenters' union report that some 20% of the city's skilled construction workers are looking for jobs.

Building "slumps" are reported in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Des Moines, Oklahoma City, Salt Lake City and San Francisco. In Columbus, Ohio, and Memphis, Tenn., present construction may be completed, but further plans are being shelved.

Philadelphia contractors expect a "terrific" slump within a few months.

NEW YORK HARD HIT

New York has been hard hit. By April 25 a conservative estimate put the unemployed at 9,000 bricklayers, 5,000 carpenters, 2,500 painters, 2,000 plumbers, 500 iron workers, 300 sheet metal workers and 300 excavators. "Since then," an official of the Building Trades Employers Association declared two weeks later, "all these figures have jumped. Some place the number of unemployed bricklayers at 12,000—more than 25% of the union members available for work."

In Manhattan alone an estimated \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 in projected housing construction has been abandoned.

The excuse commonly advanced by the capitalists for the slash in housing plans is the "high cost" of building materials and labor. But a more compelling consideration is revealed in the pigeonholing of innumerable blueprints for plant expansion and new factory construction. With depression signs multiplying, the capitalists "are a mite nervous about business holding up," says the Wall Street Journal.

A plant manager in Seattle where a new factory was finished last fall is reported by this Wall Street organ to have declared: "We hope that our own prices and high sales will hold up long enough to pay the bill. But we aren't quite sure. Our salesmen out in the field say stores are heavily curtailing their inventories."

The over-all figures on hous-

ing construction show a staggering decline since last year. In 1946 some 1,000,000 units were started. Government housing officials expect that not more than half this figure will be started in 1947.

Private companies started only 60,449 units in March 1946. This year, however, construction is bogged down to only 49,800 units in March.

The decline for April is expected to reach as much as 40% of last year's figures.

Thus America is faced with one of the outrageous contradictions that mark capitalism in its period of decline. Never before has the housing shortage been so acute. Millions of housing units are needed at once. Yet instead of a steady increase in construction, a steep decline has set in! The streets are filled with people looking for homes and with workers seeking an opportunity to build them.

What should be done to meet this acute crisis? The incapacity of privately-financed construction could hardly be more obvious. The only serious hope is a federal housing program of a sufficient size to provide employment for the building trades and get the homes built that are so sorely needed.

The productive machinery for such a construction program is available. Materials and supplies are likewise at hand. The labor force is more than ample. Nor can the government plead a lack of funds. If billions upon billions of dollars can be diverted—as they are—into maintaining and extending the biggest "peacetime" military force in history, why can't the necessary billions be earmarked for housing?

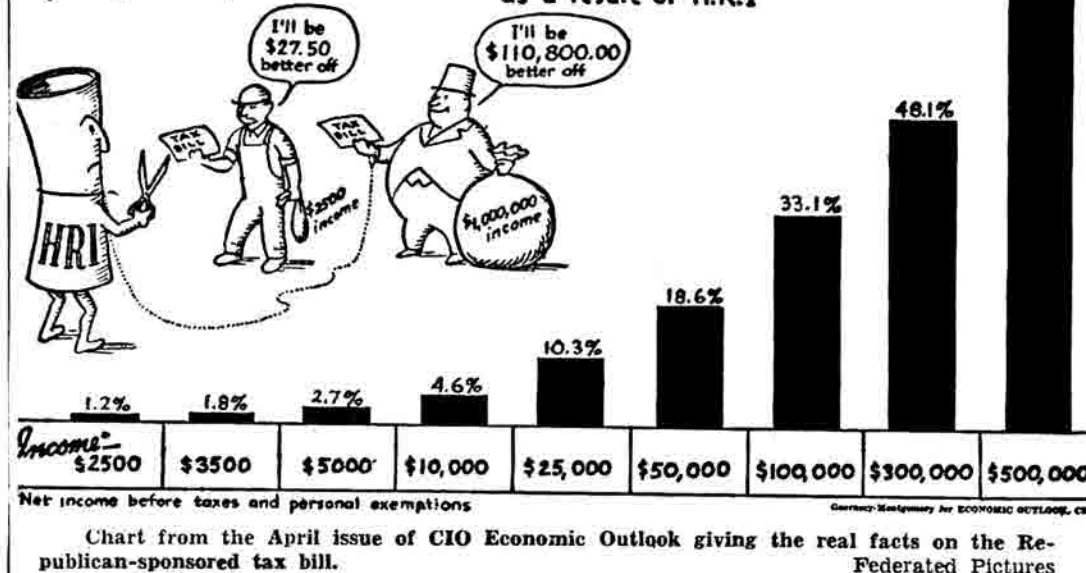
It goes without saying that this will not be done by the government of its own volition. But mass pressure can compel action.

The organized labor movement, in the first instance, the unions in the building trades, should assume the initiative in pressing resolutely for large scale federal and state grants to nationwide public housing programs. Such a campaign would meet with a hearty response from millions of people now forced to live in slums and the ex-GIs who are still looking for shelter.

(See editorial: "Act Now!" on page 4.)

The Big Steal

Percentage Increase in Spendable Income (Family of Four)



GM Rehires 15 Men But UAW Suffers Bad Blow

DETROIT, May 11 — The 15 local union officers and committeemen fired by General Motors for supporting the April 24 Cadillac Square demonstration have been reinstated as a result of negotiations between GM and the UAW. The agreement with the company was reached late Thursday after a meeting of 150 UAW local union presidents Wednesday night had put the heat on the international officers and had pledged all-out support to the victimized GM workers, including strike action if necessary.

However, the auto union has received a severe setback from this settlement. For the fired men, although reinstated, have received penalty layoffs for periods up to 70 days (for carrying through the instructions of the International Union.) The final settlement also contains a commitment by the International Union that there will be no work stoppage of any kind under the recently signed GM contract.

WHAT IT MEANS

What this means in life is that the UAW leaders have surrendered the rights of the auto workers to peacefully assemble and demonstrate for their rights. As the Hearst Detroit Times stated, this is the boldest blow delivered the UAW in the course of the past ten years.

The top UAW officials not only agreed to this miserable settlement, but they had the gall, in

unprincipled factional warfare in the top circles of the UAW ever since the Atlantic City convention; the weak-kneed conduct of the Reuther-Thomas-Addes leadership of the UAW and the other CIO unions in recent wage negotiations, which have resulted in extremely limited gains — all these have produced moods that endanger the very life of the union. The demoralization in the ranks resulting from the criminal policy of the top UAW leaders enabled the GM corporation to deliver this latest blow. Critical days lie ahead for the auto union.

The Cadillac Square demonstration was forced on the top leaders by the pressure of the militants in the secondary leadership of the union. The mass turn-out in Cadillac Square, the greatest in Detroit's history, did much to revive the fighting spirit and militancy which were so much a part of the UAW in the years gone by. The newest capitulation to GM has done much to dampen that militancy.

The time has come when the militants must intervene in the situation or see their union disintegrate before their eyes. A halt must be called to the unprincipled factional bickering of both the Reuther and the Thomas-Addes leaders. A halt must be called to their cowardly policy of retreat and capitulation.

ONLY PART OF STORY

The Thomas-Addes forces have attempted to make political capital of the situation by charging that the failure of certain Reuther-led GM plants to shut down and join the Cadillac Square rally was responsible for the victimizations. It is true that such sabotage gave the corporation an excellent opening which it did not fail to take advantage of. But this is only part of the story.

This blow to the UAW cannot be properly understood merely in light of the demonstration and developments since then. The very fact that the GM plants continued to operate in the face of the discharge of three union presidents and 12 other leading officers is something without precedent in this union.

Just imagine: the leadership of UAW locals in the major auto corporation is decapitated and yet the plants continue to operate and the leadership is permitted to follow a hush-hush policy which prevented the militants in other plants from even knowing what was happening! To this day there has been no union statement on this matter in the press. The conspiracy of silence was broken only when Briggs Local 212 officers sent wires to the international officers, with copies to all UAW local presidents, condemning the manner in which this attack was being handled.

This whole experience cannot be explained merely by the failure of some Reuther locals to support the demonstration, criminal as that sabotage was. What is glaringly revealed by this incident is the demoralization and passivity developing in the ranks, especially of the GM workers, because of the criminal policies of the entire UAW leadership over the last year and a half.

The reaction to the drawn-out GM strike of 1945-46, which saw the 18½ cent increase won and then wiped out by soaring prices in a few months; the constant

Dunne Winds Up Campaign For Mayor Of Minneapolis

By Grace Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS, May 9 — Winding up a lively and spirited campaign, V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis, tonight lashed out at the "anti-labor records" of the Democratic and Republican candidates in a radio speech over WMIN.

Pointing out that to the workers the telephone strike has been a central issue of the Mayoralty campaign, Dunne said, "On this exceedingly important question, the public declarations of the Democratic Party's Mr. Humphrey and the Republican Party's Mr. Collins show little if any difference. Of course, Mayor Humphrey always announced he was 'neutral' before he ordered a police assault on the Telephone Workers Union picket lines. However, Mr. Collins withheld full praise because the Mayor wasted too much time in breaking the strike."

Dunne, who was introduced to the radio audience as an organizer and builder of General Drivers' Union, Local 544 and an active trade union leader for more than 25 years, called upon the labor movement "to repudiate both Humphrey and Collins" and thus "deliver a solid blow against government strikebreaking."

Despite the fact that Mayor Humphrey has been endorsed for re-election by the official AFL and CIO of Minneapolis, Dunne charged that his record has not been that of a labor Mayor. "Mayor Humphrey is busy and troubled about many things," the SWP candidate

the Democratic Party candidate, Humphrey, from criticism for his infamous role in the telephone strike. Despite the fact that Humphrey has become a leading red-baiter in this area, the chief Stalinist criticism of the Mayor has been that "he is attempting to appease GOP reaction."

Much stronger language was found by the Stalinists for their attack on the Trotskyist candidate, V. R. Dunne. In every radio speech and in all the Stalinist election literature, Dunne has been slandered as a "fascist" by the desperate supporters of the strikebreaking Humphrey.

Despite this maze of confusion and betrayal, V. R. Dunne emerges as the only candidate worthy of the support of the working class voters of Minneapolis in the primary election on May 12.

NEWARK

Meeting and Dance

Speakers:
WILLIAM E. BOHANNON
GEORGE BREITMAN
ALAN KOHLMAN

SWP candidates for Delegates to N. J. Constitutional Convention

Thurs., May 29, 8:30 p.m.

Cadillac Restaurant

Halsey and Hill Streets

Music Refreshments