

Madras Textile Strike Still Going Strong

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Workers Of The World, Unite! THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XI — No. 27

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1947

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

BATTLE BEGINS AGAINST SLAVE LAW

Labor Must Build Own Party To Combat Taft-Hartley Act

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Few laws have ever been passed in America more hated and unpopular than the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act.

It was bitterly opposed by the 15,000,000 organized workers who, with their families and allies, constitute the overwhelming majority of the country's population. It evoked the greatest flood of protest letters and telegrams in the history of Congress. The most widely assorted groups, including the generally conservative spokesmen of religious bodies, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, denounced it as inimical to the welfare of America. Virtually all Negro organizations opposed it. A number of veterans' groups went on record against it. Its passage was protested even by sections of the business world. This opposition was the real will of the people, which Congress contemptuously flouted.

The Slave Labor Law is in the tradition of the edicts enacted against labor's economic and political organizations by the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany. It sets the clock back 100 years in the legal status of American organized labor. At one blow it wipes out legal rights won in a century of bitter struggle.

In its restrictions on the right of free speech and free press and the right of union members to engage in political activities, the Taft-Hartley Act violates the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution in a way not equaled since the notorious and short-lived "Alien and Sedition Act" of 1798. It bans thoughts about communism dangerous to Wall Street's rule, in the same way that the Japanese military dictatorship banned "dangerous thoughts."

The full implications of this Slave Labor Law are not yet fully revealed. Its sponsors and authors themselves do not dare to enforce all its provisions at one stroke. But the poisoned barbs are there, ready for use against organized labor.

Designed to Crush the Unions

In essence, the new law mobilizes the federal administration, the courts and the new federal labor czar in Wall Street's drive to illegalize strikes and break them by injunction. It provides the bosses with innumerable devices to undermine unions, intimidate and victimize their members and leaders. It opens the way for the complete destruction of union security and a return to the wide-open shop.

Do not think that this oppressive and tyrannical law was the product of some temporary emotional frenzy in Congress, as some union leaders indicate. It was drafted and passed by the most calculating and cold-hearted class that ever existed—the Big Business tycoons who insist on ruling the country without restraint and smashing any restrictions on their exploitation of America and the entire world.

The Taft-Hartley Act is the first big pay-off on the gilt-edged promises made by the imperialist war propagandists. They promised "Four Freedoms" and assured in the Atlantic Charter "improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." The workers were promised again and again and again that once the war was over, a new and glorious day would dawn for the common people.

But for labor V-J Day dawned with stormy skies. American Big Business launched its all-out assault on the unions and the Democratic administration spearheaded the drive. Within two years, this savage offensive culminated in passage of the Slave Labor Law.

Does this law mark the end of the anti-labor drive? Are the capitalists now satisfied? No. Having tasted blood, their appetite has only been whetted. They view passage of this act as just a beach-head in Operation Anti-Labor, as just an advance base from which they can thrust toward their ultimate objective—the outright destruction of the labor movement.

The Taft-Hartley Act is the domestic section of Wall Street's plans for world conquest as formulated in the war-mongering Truman Doctrine. It is the application of this doctrine to the American people themselves. In order to oppress people all over the world, Wall Street must have a submissive working class at home.

Behind this anti-labor drive is the same logic that led in Europe to the rise of Hitler and Mussolini. It is the arrow pointing straight down the road of capitalist reaction to the abyss of fascism. Passage of this act is the gravest possible warning to labor that Wall Street will stop at nothing.

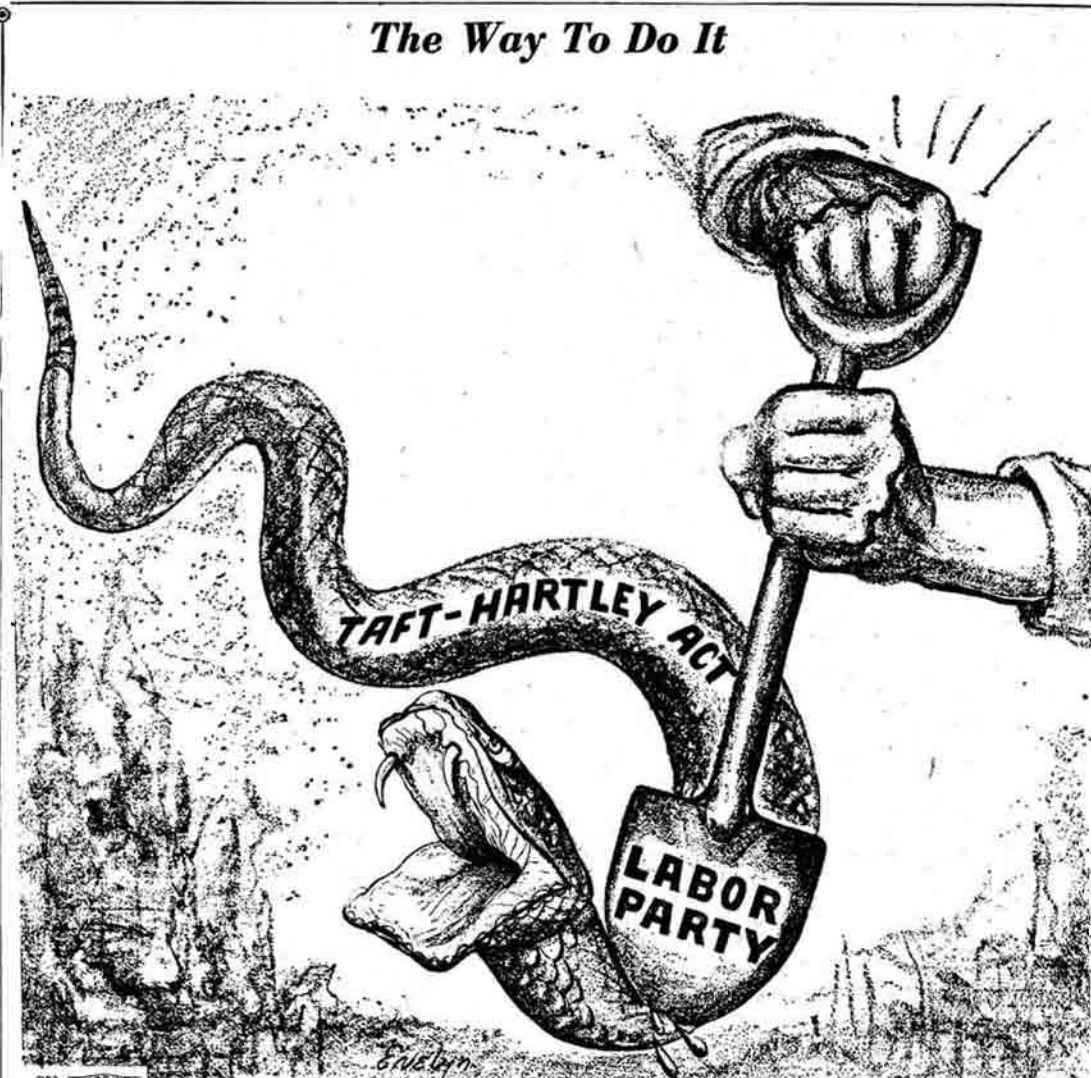
They know a great economic breakdown is looming. They have placed another world war on the agenda. That depression and that war—if Wall Street succeeds in carrying out its plan—mean catastrophe for the working people.

The Workers Wanted to Fight

The union rank-and-file instinctively grasped the meaning of this postwar assault. They felt that the capitalists were conducting ruthless class warfare. They understood that the spirit of compromise displayed by the labor bureaucrats was regarded by the capitalists as a sign of miserable weakness. The slogan inscribed on the banner of Big Business is, "Class against class! War without quarter!"

The workers wanted to fight passage of the Slave Labor Law without compromise, with every means at their command, on every front. They tried to force the top

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Hi-jacking Rent Measure Gets Truman's Signature

By Art Preis

Although he denounced Congress' bi-partisan Rent Hi-jacking Bill as a "most unsatisfactory" measure that "irreparably weakened" federal rent control, Truman on June 30 signed this landlord-sponsored bill against the opposition of labor, tenant and liberal organizations.

Truman admitted that "for millions of families, it will result in substantial increases in rent." That section of the bill which permits "voluntary" 15% rent increases, he described as "voluntary only so far as the landlord is concerned."

Under the new law, landlords will be in a position to coerce and blackmail tenants into accepting leases providing for higher rents. By restoring eviction proceedings to the respective states, the law will permit evictions within 30 days in most states.

Rent controls, of even the fictional variety otherwise provided in the bill, are completely removed for all so-called transient dwellings, new or newly-remodeled housing units, or dwellings not previously rented. This will affect veterans, newly-weds, evicted families and others seeking homes.

One of the most threatening

sections of the law provides for the establishment of local area rent boards, nominated by the respective state governors. These are empowered to authorize the Office of Rent Control to eliminate all rent controls in their area, approve blanket rent increases or individual "hardship" rent-hikes.

Real estate and landlord groups are already pressuring the governors to nominate their spokesmen to these boards. In most instances it is expected that representatives of the rent sharks will dominate these boards.

This, in reality, continues the policy put into effect by the Truman administration. In the past year the federal agency has granted more than a million "hardship" rent boosts. Truman's own Office of Rent Control, it was revealed last week, approved 6,664 such boosts in the New York area during the past four months without even notifying tenants that landlords had made such application on the plea of "hardship."

Truman's sole justification for signing this infamous rent-

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Miners Hurl First Challenge At New Union-Busting Law

JULY 1—"Let the Senators dig the coal!" was the embittered war-cry of 250,000 soft coal miners who angrily quit the pits last week in a spontaneous strike against the venomous Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act.

By the week-end, all mines were down as the strike continued directly into the scheduled 10-day vacation period for 400,000 members of the AFL United Mine Workers.

On July 8, when the paid vacation ends, the miners are determined to have a new and improved contract or act on their traditional slogan: "No contract, no work!"

The UMW's contract with the government ended yesterday, with expiration of the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act under which Truman seized the mines in May 1946 in an attempt to break the mine strike.

All the savage blows of the government against the miners—the injunction and fine levied by a Federal District Judge, the Supreme Court decision against the UMW and John L. Lewis, the Taft-Hartley Act directed most immediately against the mine workers—all these have failed to curb the miners' fighting spirits. Their latest action is an expres-

sion of the American workers' wrath against the new union-busting law. This is but the beginning of wholesale defiance.

Already the miners' challenge to the Slave Labor Law has brought rumors of a split in the mine operators front. It is reported that several of the biggest mine owners, including U. S. Steel, have offered to grant the UMW's wage demands of \$13.05 for an eight-hour, portal-to-portal day instead of the present \$11.85 for nine hours overall.

But other issues of equal importance to the miners, such as safety and health and welfare provisions, remain completely deadlocked. The coal operators are working to blast these vital gains from the UMW contract.

Newspapers last week sneered that the mine strikers didn't even know the exact provisions of the new law. Neither did most of the Congressmen who voted for it—they just knew it was against the unions. The miners knew that too.

StrikeSpreads To 132,000 In Shipyards

Vicious Law Stiffens Holdout of Profiteers

NEW YORK, July 1—Continuing and extending its defiance of the new Slave Labor Law, the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers today called out 90,000 more East Coast and Gulf shipyard workers, to swell the strike ranks to 131,500.

The strike began last Thursday, two days after passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, when 41,500 militant shipyard workers in ten yards, nine of them Bethlehem Steel Company subsidiaries, set up mass picket lines.

Shipyard owners, emboldened by the Taft-Hartley Act, have arrogantly refused to offer any wage concession. The union had scaled down its original wage demands to a "bottom dollar" demand for an across-the-board 13-cent hourly raise, plus several minor concessions. This demand corresponds to increases won in other industries such as steel, auto, rubber, etc.

MEANS PAY SLASH

IUMSWA-CIO President John Green stated after the breakdown of negotiations that the employers' "best offer" was an extension of contracts that expired last week. "At the same time, certain other management requests would mean a reduction in pay for thousands of workers who are on piece work or receive incentive bonuses."

Laborers' wages under the old contract were 96 cents an hour; skilled workers, \$1.38. These rates were fixed prior to the latest big upward spurt in living costs.

When the union pointed out that workers in West Coast shipyards are receiving the higher wages demanded on the East Coast, a Bethlehem spokesman said the union was "calling attention to a mistake" made by the western shipyards.

Most of the struck shipbuilding companies were named in war profiteering reports of Congressional committees as among the biggest looters of the public treasury during the war.

Union Ranks Want Militant Struggle And Open Defiance

The union rank and file are clamoring for militant action on every front to openly defy the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. This was made clear during the first week after the new law's passage by the mine and ship-

yard strikes and by the widespread demand from the ranks for a nation-wide protest strike against the law.

As final passage of the Slave Labor Act underscored the immediate deadly menace facing all organized labor, union leaders nationally and locally met last week to lay plans to safeguard the very existence of the unions from the explosive effects of the new law.

AFL and CIO chiefs, surrounded by batteries of lawyers, gathered in their respective headquarters in Washington. Both organizations announced plans for testing various provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in the courts.

OUTRIGHT DEFIANCE

Outright defiance of some of the most clearly unconstitutional provisions, particularly those affecting the right to publish political opinions in union-financed publications, has already been endorsed.

Most unions, according to both AFL and CIO leaders, are expected to refuse to submit to sections of the law requiring union officials to swear they are not "communists" in order for their unions to be recognized. But dependence exclusively on legal actions and the courts will not suffice to protect the unions from the Slave Labor Law. It will take years before the hundreds of provisions of the Act can be tested in courts. And these courts are notoriously pro-capitalist and anti-labor.

BANKRUPT POLICY

However, the CIO and AFL leaders rejected out of hand any suggestion of militant union action, such as the much-demanded nation-wide protest strike. AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin, always in the forefront of reactionary attacks on the union ranks, went so far as to urge the workers to abide by the Slave Labor Law "scrupulously." He slandered the hundreds of thousands of workers who have called for a nation-wide strike as "enemies of labor."

The top union leaders likewise indicated they intended to

Akron Labor Urges Nation-Wide Strike

AKRON, O., June 26—The Greater Akron Area Council of Labor Unions, a joint body of the CIO, AFL and independent unions in this area, today urged the national union leaders to call a nation-wide general strike in defense of labor's civil liberties "should the Taft-Hartley Law, a presidential decree, or a new strikebreaking law be invoked against the Mine and Shipyard workers."

The Area Council, representing 185,000 organized workers, also advocated a National Conference of Labor of all international and local unions bodies "for the purpose of consideration and action on the problem of defending labor's rights," to be held not later than July 31, 1947.

continue their bankrupt and dangerous policy of supporting capitalist politicians for office. While they threaten to work for the defeat of those who voted for the Slave Labor Law, they reassured Wall Street's Democratic and Republican hatchmen that they are opposed to breaking with the capitalist two-party political monopoly and forming a labor party.

Truman, whose last-minute vote-catching veto gesture gave the union leaders a pretext for passing him off as a "friend of labor," made it clear last week he intends to enforce the Slave Labor Law to the full.

Not a single rational pretext remains for the union leaders' continued hostility to a labor party. Yet they still try to cling to the political coat-tails of Big Business.

The workers have long since shown their desire for a party of their own. But they must break through the obstruction and hostility of the union leaders to a labor party.

The Slave Labor Law and its promulgators will be smashed decisively only on the political arena. The weapon needed is labor's own party.

AFL PAINTERS IN New York OUST LOUIS WEINSTOCK

NEW YORK, June 28 — In a hotly contested election for Secretary-Treasurer of District Council 9 of the AFL Painters Union, Martin Rarback, candidate of the Progressive Caucus, defeated Louis Weinstock, candidate of the Rank & File Caucus, by a vote of 2991 to 2796.

Weinstock, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, held office for approximately 10 years. Last year, Rarback came within 13 votes of being elected against Weinstock. This set the stage for the struggle waged this year to wrest control of the union from the Stalinist machine.

The Rarback group conducted a vigorous campaign against the sell-out record of the Weinstock administration. In the 10 years of Stalinist control the union had declined to the point where open shop conditions prevailed.

ADMIT BETRAYAL

Approximately 75% of the trade remained unorganized. The bosses had unlimited control of hiring and firing. The speedup system reigned unchecked. Unemployment mounted as non-union bosses encroached more and more on the union's jurisdiction.

These conditions were due in large measure to the Stalinist

war-time policy of union surrender. Under the hammering of the Rarback group the Stalinists were forced to admit their war-time betrayal. In the Rank & File Painter, their caucus paper, they confessed:

"During the war years, regular organizing drives in the painting industry were sharply curtailed because of the war. It is true that this period presented an opportunity to the Union of really enforcing conditions in shops signed by District Council 9. This was not done to any great extent. Our win-the-war efforts took up most of our time."

Being unable to defend their record in the union, the Stalinists resorted to the most violent and unrestrained campaign of slander against Rarback and his supporters. They attacked the opposition as "gangsters, racketeers," and, of course, "Trotskyites." In their factional frenzy the Stalinists completely abandoned every decent standard of working class behavior. To illustrate:

SLANDEROUS LIE

In the primary election, which is held to nominate candidates for Secretary-Treasurer, the Rank & File Painter came out and accused Weinstock's opponent of having scabbed during the 1937 general Painters strike. This slanderous lie was im-

mmediately nailed by the Progressive Painter, caucus paper of the Rarback group. Photostatic copies of the picket card and other documentary evidence was produced proving that the man accused of "scabbing" had been arrested for union activity on the picket line, jailed and released on bail supplied by the union.

The Stalinist slander campaign served mostly to discredit their candidate. The members of the union turned out in force on the day of election. The total vote cast was the largest in many years. Of the 11 local unions comprising District Council 9, seven endorsed Rarback prior to the election on June 28.

In a short speech made after the returns were announced, Rarback declared he would devote his energy to rebuilding the Painters Union and restoring it to the position it once held in the forefront of the Building trades.

Notice On New Publication Date

Effective with the next issue, **THE MILITANT's** publication date will be advanced from Saturday to Monday. In most cases subscribers will receive their copies one or two days later in the week than under the Saturday publication date.

Fight Slave Law With Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

CIO and AFL leaders into national joint action. They initiated local joint actions in scores of communities. They poured out by the hundreds of thousands in protest demonstrations. They flooded Washington with letters, telegrams and petitions. They demanded a 24-hour nationwide protest strike. Against the opposition of the top AFL and CIO leaders they tried to organize a national labor caravan to Washington. The coal miners downed tools in Western Pennsylvania.

The overwhelming demand of the ranks was for united mass action. This sentiment reached its climax the very day the act was passed, in a mighty spontaneous strike that swept through the coal fields.

Why They Got Away with It

In the face of the workers' determination to resist Wall Street's attack, Congress nevertheless steamrolled through the savage Taft-Hartley Act. How did these political representatives of the rapacious rich, this handful of political hatchmen, dare to strike such a blow against 15,000,000 organized workers, their families and allies? What made them so sure they could get away with it?

They consider themselves immune from public wrath and reprisal for two reasons: 1) Wall Street has a monopoly of politics; 2) The labor bureaucrats oppose mass action and independent labor politics.

Big Business wields the government as a powerful weapon against labor. Wall Street's legislators pass the laws. Its courts decide their constitutionality. Its administrators enforce them.

Wall Street's political monopoly is maintained through the two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats, controlled lock, stock and barrel by the ruling corporate interests.

The campaign promises made to the workers by these political Siamese twins are nothing but lies designed to catch votes. In office an occasional liberal gesture is designed for the same vote-getting purposes.

Truman's conduct on anti-labor legislation affords a striking example of how a Wall Street political chieftain operates. He took the lead in the labor-hating drive of 1946. He threatened the miners and seamen with military force. He smashed the railroad strike. He called a special joint session of Congress to demand shot-gun passage of a law to draft strikers and force them back on the job at the point of a bayonet. He initiated the injunction action against the miners and solicited the Supreme Court to uphold the injunction and to plunder the miners' treasury with a gigantic fine. At the opening of the 80th Congress, he called for legal restrictions on the unions. He signed the bill that outlawed postal-to-portals pay and swindled American workers out of billions of dollars in back wages.

The Republicans and Democrats in Congress took their cue from Truman. As they vied with each other in cooking up the harshest anti-labor laws, Truman—looking ahead to the 1948 elections—changed his tactics. He hoped to evade political responsibility for the oppressive law. He became silent, uttering no protest as the Taft-Hartley Act was slicked through Congress.

Then, at the last hour, Truman made his grandstand play for labor support by a belated veto. This was the selling-point he provided the top labor bureaucrats in their efforts to peddle the Democratic Party in 1948.

As for the Democrats in Congress, who have long painted themselves as "friends" of labor, they gave a decisive majority to the Slave Labor Law—voting 106 to 71 in the House and 20 to 22 in the Senate.

Labor Leaders Tied to Capitalism

But in spite of Wall Street's political monopoly, even the most calloused capitalist political gangsters would have hesitated to pass such a sweeping anti-labor law if they had not received objective aid from the cowardly and treacherous top union bureaucrats.

These "labor statesmen" — Murray, Green, Lewis, Reuther, Tobin, Dubinsky, and so on down the list—did little more than call names while the Taft-Hartley Act impended. They really put their hearts only into the job of discouraging and squelching effective mass action. They believed it possible to sweep back the reactionary tide with a paper broom of telegrams and petitions.

Finally, these cringing union bureaucrats did their best to behead any movement for independent labor political action through organization of a labor party. They grasped at any pretext to oppose a clean-cut break of the labor movement from the two-party system of Wall Street. Not all the violated campaign promises, not all of Truman's strikebreaking, not even the revolt of the voters in November 1946 against Democratic misrule and corruption could swerve the allegiance of these union leaders to the capitalist politicians.

Political Deception and Betrayal

Why do these labor leaders continue to support Wall Street's political parties? They are bound to the capitalist system and its way of life by their whole tradition and training. They are tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist government and the political parties of Wall Street. A few union officials, like Lewis, stand under the Republican wing of the Wall Street culture. Most of them flock under the Democratic wing. They know no other political game but that of back-room deals, petty intrigues, and button-holing labor's political enemies for small personal favors.

The most pernicious group in this monstrous political deception and betrayal of the workers is the so-called Communist Party—the Stalinists. During the war, the Stalinists were the most servile supporters of the Democratic administration, the leading advocates of the no-strike pledge, notorious finks and strikebreakers, shameless supporters of Roosevelt's demand for universal labor conscription.

In November 1946 they attempted to whitewash Democratic reaction and called on the workers to back the party of Bilbo, Rankin, Boss Hague, Boss Kelly and Tammany Hall. They urged the workers to vote for Democratic candidates who were openly spewing anti-labor, red-baiting, war-mongering poison. Today they continue as loyal supporters of the Murray bureaucracy and apologists for their cowardly policies.

The union bureaucrats are doing their utmost to beat down the swelling demand of the ranks for the formation of a labor party. One of the first things CIO President Philip Murray assured the capitalists after the enactment of the Slave Labor Law was that the CIO officialdom had no intention of supporting any third party movement. As for the AFL chiefs, they continued their old sing-song of "reward your friends and punish your enemies"—when the Republicans smash you over the head, offer your back to the Democratic knife, and vice versa.

These bureaucrats either do not understand or deliberately shut their eyes to what is really at stake in the present crucial struggle between the capitalist class and the working class.

The immediate issue is the distribution of the national income. Who will get the benefits of the wealth produced by American labor? What will be the share of the workers in the national income and who will determine it? Who shall control the country's rich resources and receive the wealth produced by the toil and sweat of the working people?

The billionaire monopolists have answered these questions in accordance with their own selfish interests. They mean to continue, at any cost, their control of the national economy and to exploit its resources and labor power for their own exclusive benefit.

The basic issue confronting American labor, in its full implications, is: Who shall govern the land? What class shall govern this country? What shall be the fate of mankind?

Total War Against Labor

There is no misunderstanding among the top circles of the capitalist class about the real issues. That is why they fight as a class, with every weapon at their command, mercilessly and without compromise. The Taft-Hartley Act is a declaration of total war against labor. In this total war, their chief weapon is their political monopoly, their state apparatus, their government, their two-party system.

That is why they resist with such ferocity any attempt of the workers to break away from the two-party system and start down the road to independent political action through a labor party.

Consider the implication of that special section of the Slave Labor Law on political action. This makes it a criminal offense for a union to engage in a political campaign. It prohibits union publications from so much as publishing the political record of the very legislators who pushed through the union-busting Slave Labor Law.

Will American labor, this mighty giant, meekly submit to the Slave Labor Law?

Such a cowardly capitulation is belied by the whole tradition of struggle of the American workers. It is belied by the age-long struggle of humanity for progress and against oppression. It is belied by the entire record of revolutionary resistance to vicious laws imposed by brutal ruling minority classes. American history itself is filled with such glorious struggles.

The Tradition of American Struggle

All the capitalist politicians and the kept press are advising labor, "Now that this is the law of the land, you ought to be good sports and knuckle under." They are trying to impose on labor's credulity, as if it were a parlor game where sportsmanship demands a "good loser," and not a crucial issue affecting the welfare and rights of the American people.

This nation was founded in revolutionary struggle against tyrannical decrees. When the Sons of Liberty dumped British tea in Boston Harbor in defiance of the hated Stamp Act and the Minute Men at Lexington fired the shot heard round the world, they set an example for lovers of freedom in handling such despotic "laws of the land." The heroic Abolitionists who defied the Fugitive Slave Act and aided thousands of Negro slaves to escape to freedom, likewise set an example for the American workers of today in opposing such decrees as the 1947 Slave Labor Law.

In the heroic tradition of the Sons of Liberty and the Abolitionists, labor today will fight against the Taft-Hartley Act without compromise, with every weapon at its command, on every front.

During the war the union workers displayed sufficient resourcefulness, militancy and solidarity to counteract the anti-labor designs of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law and to preserve their union organizations. We can be sure that they will now display the same qualities in even greater measure to prevent the atomization of their unions and preserve the integrity and fighting capacities of their organizations.

Labor will fight on the picket lines, fight in the courts

and, above all, fight on the main arena—the field of politics.

We can be assured that this onerous, hateful law will be wiped off the books and the American working people safeguarded against the passage of even worse laws—only when the political representatives of Wall Street are driven from the seats of government. Never again must they be entrusted with power they can turn against the welfare, security and inalienable rights of American workers.

Right now is the time to build the Labor Party, the independent political instrument of the American workers. To hesitate or procrastinate in carrying out this Task No. 1 is to invite disaster.

A National United Labor Conference of representatives of all unions, with full rank-and-file representation, must be convened as quickly as possible. The main point on the agenda must be the complete break of the unions from the capitalist parties and the launching of the Labor Party.

"A Labor Slate in '48!"

The slogan of this Conference must be: "A Labor Slate in '48! Put Labor in the White House! No one in Congress not controlled by Labor!"

In every state, in every community, the unions must get together and form state and local organizations to run independent labor candidates for every office from Governor down. The machinery for running labor candidates already exists in many communities in the form of the CIO Political Action Committee and AFL-CIO Joint Action Committees. These must be converted into real instruments for independent labor political action in contrast to the present policy of supporting capitalist party "friends of labor."

Can the workers count on the top labor bureaucrats to take the first steps in initiating this great move forward? Unfortunately, no. The bureaucrats are now urging the workers to limit themselves to appeals in the slow-moving, corporation-dominated courts. Relinquish the fight to a few high-priced lawyers! That is the sniveling counsel of the "labor statesmen."

Whom can the workers depend on to begin organizing a Labor Party and lead an effective struggle to repeal the Slave Labor Law? They must depend on themselves. There are thousands of courageous, tested and far-sighted fighters in the ranks of the unions. They are the backbone of the shop committees, the picket-line captains, the men and women who built the unions and stood firm in times of storm and stress.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

These are the men and women who must forge a new leadership; a leadership imbued with courage and devotion and class consciousness. This leadership must be prepared to meet the great political tasks facing the American working class.

Over and over again the workers have indicated their desire for a new party, a party of their own, to fight against capitalist rule and corruption. Hundreds of union locals have passed resolutions for a new party. Several CIO international unions have gone on record for a break with the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties.

The next step is to mobilize the union militants, arouse the ranks and break down the inertia and resistance of the top bureaucrats.

The formation of an independent Labor Party with a program of militant struggle against Wall Street will inspire a crusade of the people against entrenched reaction. All the poor people, all the oppressed races and minorities, all who face nerve-racking insecurity under capitalism, are looking for political leadership and a program. They want a way out of poverty, depressions, race hatred, wars and fascism.

Those who assume the initiative in the struggle for the political emancipation of the American workers must unite with all like-minded people in labor's ranks.

They will find such people in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. This is the only party that has fought consistently and uncompromisingly against the American monopolists. It is the party that has fought year in and year out for the political independence of the working class. It is the party that has called from the first for united mass action to defeat the anti-labor drive. It is the party in the forefront of the struggle for the abolition of monopoly capitalist rule and for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

All who earnestly want to prepare themselves for leadership in the great emancipating struggle for peace, plenty and security owe it to themselves and their cause to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Only the working class can provide that leadership and program. It is for organized labor to recognize its duty and historic destiny as the leader of all the oppressed and rally them to its political banner.

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We The People

By Marvel Scholl

It seems there is a new and better way of getting a raise out of the boss — "better," that is, than just baldly asking for one or joining a union.

By these two latter methods you are likely to hurt the boss's feelings and create an atmosphere most uncongenial. The new method is advocated by Lorraine Brophy in her book *There's Room At The Top*. One of its chapters, *How To Get A Raise*, is published in the July issue of *Scope*.

You do it by innuendo. You use sly, indirect methods to indicate to the boss that you could use a bit more money. For instance, one bright young man is reputed to have gotten his pay envelope fattened by remarking airily to the boss that he was going to buy himself a new suit for his wife's birthday present.

"She says that is what she wants more than anything else," he remarked as he and the boss were leaving the office together on pay day. "Of course I'm going to get her something special too, but it is going to strain the old budget." The next week he got his raise.

According to the author's theory, this young man accomplished his purpose not only without hurting his dear bossman's feelings, but he actually did the old dear a favor — he allowed Mr. Boss to do something "good" and thus got his battered old ego bolstered up a bit!

Maybe when you have sufficient income to allow you to buy yourself a new suit of clothes and do "something special" for the little woman all out of one pay check, you get a different perspective on the boss's sensitivity. Or maybe this guy's boss had his sensitivity located in a different area. All my bosses have had all their most sensitive feelings located squarely in their pocketbooks.

During the last four months the Office of Rent Control (ORC) in the five-state area, includ-

ing New York, has granted 6,664 rent increases to landlords who pleaded their cases on the basis of the "hardship" loophole in the federal rent control legislation.

Rent increases average \$4.40 per month, and set a new base on which future increases can be computed — including the 15% "amicable" agreement you are expected to negotiate with your landlord after June 30.

In not one of these cases were tenants notified that their landlord was seeking an increase. The first notice they got was when the landlord sent them a notice of a rent boost, accompanied by the ORC ruling. A spokesman for the New York Area ORC said that even if the tenants had known about the hearings, they couldn't have attended: "The confidential nature of the landlord's business and figures made it impossible for the ORC to allow affected tenants to attend the hearings." But, this spokesman contends, the tenant is still "protected."

All the tenant has to do is pay the increase. And then he can go to the area rent office and certify that the landlord has discontinued services, refused repairs, etc. If the facts warrant it, the ORC might reopen the case.

That's about as much protection as an umbrella in a hurricane.

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Germany 1947

The Working-Class Parties In Germany

By Ernest Germain

The common feature of the two political parties in Germany which claim to be working class parties — the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Stalinist Party (KPD) in the Western zones, SED in the Russian zone — is that they both accept as the basis for their political activity the Potsdam declaration, the myth of the collective guilt of the German people. Consequently, they both apply themselves to collaborating loyally with the occupation powers. Neither of the two organizations think for a moment of advancing the slogan of withdrawal of the occupation troops.

In the Russian zone, the Socialist Unity Party (SED), under the leadership of the Stalinists, considers as its main task the justification of each measure of the Russian military administration. Although it carries on at the same time frenzied nationalist agitation for the unification of Germany, even making frequent use of Nazi phraseology, it still stands for complete submission to the orders of the "conquerors." Thus we read in the February 1947 issue of its theoretical magazine *Einheit*:

"GERMANY GUILTY"

"Since Germany is guilty of having started the war, it will have to accept the verdict and judgment passed by the peoples, no matter what it may be."

The Social Democratic Party has shown just slightly more independence — in words — than the Stalinist Party. But Herr Schumacher remains in the same party with the Bavarian "socialist" Hoegner, an open supporter of federalism; he maintains the closest ties with the "socialist" Blum, under whose leadership measures were taken to annex the Saar to France; and in his speeches in England he didn't leave the slightest doubt that he is calling upon the imperialists, and not the action of the masses, to bring about the "gradual emancipation of the country from its present bondage."

Does this mean that these two parties should be considered "quiescent parties"? Not in the same sense that this term had during the Hitlerite occupation of Western Europe. Although these parties are under the leadership of politicians who are simply instruments of the various occupation powers, they are nevertheless the legal gathering place for all political activity existing in the working class. There is no question whatsoever that the future revolutionary party in Germany will be formed in large measure out of the oppositionist militants who are still, at the present moment, in the SPD, the KPD and the SED.

Is there more or less internal democracy in these parties? Apparently no more than in the reformist and Stalinist parties in other countries. The special

The Seventh In A Series Of Articles

conditions in Germany actually promote the formation of a bureaucracy without political independence or moral backbone: when life or death often depends on a package from the United States!

SPECIAL DEGENERATION

But despite the utter corruption of the top layers of both parties, there is a special phenomenon which makes the atmosphere of these parties different from the stifling atmosphere of the old parties on the rest of the continent.

This special phenomenon is the fact that the degeneration has not followed a "normal" and "gradual" course, but has come about in great leaps. Thousands of sincere communist militants, educated in the Third Period spirit, have been confronted day after day with a political line from "their" party which puts it far to the right of the Social Democracy in 1933.

Although the corruption also penetrated the concentration camps, it is nevertheless to these camps that, by one of the strangest paradoxes, we owe the fact that Germany today unquestionably has more genuinely communist cadres than any other country in Europe. Having gotten over their first reaction of stupefaction, a considerable section of these cadres — the backbone of the conscious proletariat — is taking, and will take more and more, the road of opposition and split. This is the explanation for the increasing number of public splits which have occurred for some time within the KPD.

TRADITION LIVES

The German Social Democracy, along with the Austrian Social Democracy, is today the only socialist party in Europe which still contains thousands of members educated in the Marxist tradition, even though a scholastic and emasculated "Marxism" is attempted to inculcate in them a "humanitarian socialism" a la Blum or a "Fabian Labor Party-ism" a la Attlee — with silk stockings, and weekly attendance at church on Sunday! — must inevitably run headlong into violent resistance.

We must add that the internationalist tradition remains alive in the tens of thousands of young socialists — and here we find the objective bases for the steady development of centrist currents within the SPD as in the KPD.

These currents exert pressure on the leadership — undeniably a

pressure of radicalization. But this pressure is limited, because both the KPD and the SPD are small in genuine members. One mustn't be taken in by the inflated membership figures given by the leaders of these parties. The trade unions, too, list six million members today, more than in 1932 — on paper.

HOW MASSES VOTE

On the other hand, a much more conclusive factor in explanation of the political turns of both these parties is their desire to win the sympathies of the great passive masses who make up the bulk of the electorate. We can be certain that the genuine sympathy of the masses will not go to these parties, since they dare not take a stand against the occupation powers.

Nevertheless the masses vote, though reluctantly, for what they consider the lesser evil. Hence Schumacher's demagogic campaign, hence the frenzied nationalism of the Stalinists. They both hope to make the masses forget their own crimes by hysterically denouncing the crimes of their rival.

But if this demagogic impresses the older layers of workers, it has no effect on the mass of young workers. The great majority of these young workers today are nowhere, neither in the SPD, nor the KPD, nor with the underground Nazis. They are waiting for a new movement which will furnish an answer for their restlessness, express their concerns, concretize their desire for an overturn and at the same time open up a positive way out of the present chaos.

Germany has always been the country where theoretical thought has been carried furthest. It would be interesting to demonstrate in greater detail the terrible degeneration of the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies, by a detailed analysis of their present "theoretical" positions. We will limit ourselves here to one simple example.

According to the Stalinists, the question of transforming Germany into a workers' republic cannot be posed at the present stage because "the German people are not yet ready for it" (sic!). The program of the Stalinist party explicitly guarantees private property. Furthermore, the Stalinists say that German monopoly capitalism has been destroyed; Germany must therefore "complete its democratic revolution, which miscarried in 1848 and in 1918" (!), and along this road it will "gradually arrive at socialism." This fantastic nonsense passes over in silence not only the occupation, the ruins, the problems of reconstruction, the question of the world market on which German economy depends so closely — but even the class struggle!

The Social Democracy for its part "fights" — that is to say, begs of the "conquerors" — for "socialization in the West and democracy in the East." It supports the nationalizations in the British zone, which are a way of subjecting German economy to British imperialism. Its ideal is a bourgeois parliamentary republic without "private" trusts but with reasonable "capitalist methods." These theories become more and more esoteric as the reformist bureaucrats fight more and more strenuously for their own juicy piece of steak. (Next week: *The Road to Action*.)

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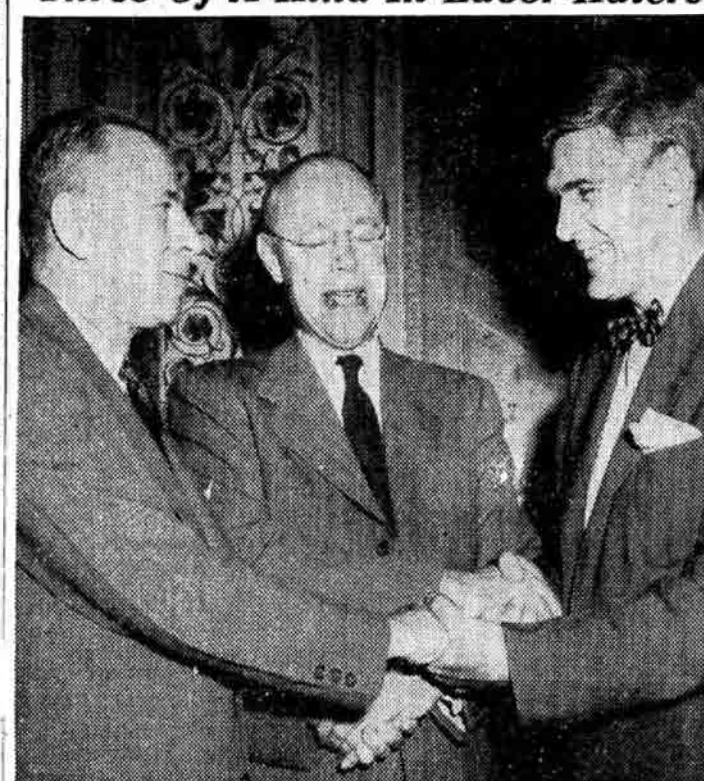
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Madras Textile Strike Firm Despite Government Attacks

By V. Karalasingham

COLOMBO, Ceylon, June 19.—In Madras at any rate the Congress Party has stripped itself of all democratic trappings. It stands nakedly before the masses club in

Three Of A Kind In Labor-Haters



Smiling over their success in forcing the Taft-Hartley bill through Congress, (left to right) Senators Irving M. Ives, (New York), Robert A. Taft (Ohio), and Joseph H. Ball, (Minnesota), congratulate each other. These three were leaders in the campaign to wreck labor's rights, crush the unions, lower living standards and to destroy labor's political action activities.

—Federated Picture

Sentiment For New Party Shown By Wallace Tour

By Arthur Burch

The successful tour of Henry Wallace has highlighted the growing revulsion of the American people to the Truman war doctrine. The huge crowds who came to hear



WALLACE

Wallace has used some very slippery formulas in his recent speeches. In one breath he says the two capitalist parties are reactionary, driving toward war and under complete control of the capitalists. In the next breath he speaks as a member of the Democratic Party, holding out the hope it will not come under the domination of the capitalists but will take the path of peace and "progressivism."

MANUFACTURE WAR

In his Washington speech on June 16, he stated: "If no agreement is reached, when depression hits, we can either let Russia save us with large purchases of goods at depression prices or we can manufacture a war as an escape from the doldrums of depression and to ward off any moves toward socialism which might be undertaken in a time of crisis."

And in New Jersey he remarked that he was out "to find those who will carry on the fight against the warmongers and depression makers."

The two wars and the devastating depression between them have had a profound effect on the American people. There are no longer any illusions about the next war and the next depression. There is no faith in the United Nations or the president or Congress. There is growing disgust with both the Democratic and Republican parties who work hand in glove on domestic and foreign measures directed against the welfare of the American people.

The American people sense that the capitalist class is floundering and has no way out of its dilemma except by war and further lowering of the workers' living standards. They even see the monopolists preparing the groundwork for fascism by passing the Taft-Hartley Bill and the 48 state versions of more drastic anti-labor laws.

"More than ever I am certain that a new spirit is stirring in America which before long will be felt in Washington and throughout the world," says Wallace. He knows he did not inspire this awakening spirit. He said the things he did because the masses were already thinking them. He knows the people are looking for a new leadership and no campaign of red-baiting is going to swerve them from

that the workers insist on forming their own party, in which case he will try to steer them into a third capitalist party in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt and the older LaFollette.

Like all liberals, Wallace will desert the cause of the workers in time of crisis, as his record shows, he supported the last imperialist war. He has already hedged on his opposition to the Truman Doctrine by asserting American imperialism "should" go to war against the Soviet Union if its financial interests in the Near East were threatened. He changed "should" to "would" when he realized this remark was a little too previous and apt to scare off some of his followers. But he left little doubt thereby that he would be found on the war bandwagon when the time came.

Although Wallace must inevitably lead his labor and middle class following into a blind alley, his tour has involuntarily succeeded in showing that there is already a strong sentiment in this country for the creation of a labor party to fight against war and reaction.



ANTONIPILLAI

so thought the Congress bosses. The government expelled Comrade Antonipillai from Madras Presidency and deported him to Ceylon on May 11. But the 14,000 strikers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills were not to be satisfied by this. They demanded as a condition for their return to work the withdrawal of the externment order against their President.

Indeed, so strong was the feeling of the workers that the reception meeting to the Congress Interim Government members, C. Rajagopalachariar and Rajendra Prasad in Madras on May 19, broke up before it could commence as the demand was raised that the externment order should be cancelled.

To resolve the deadlock, Comrade Antonipillai after attending the BLP Convention in Bombay, decided to defy the ban and on May 31 appeared at the strikers' meeting to urge that the strike be called off on the basis of the government's terms. The Executive Committee of the union had earlier accepted the government formula subject to the withdrawal of the externment order.

Before Comrade Antonipillai could finish his speech, the Deputy Commissioner of Police with a posse of over 100 constables and inspectors swooped down on the meeting and arrested Comrade Antonipillai. A free-for-all fight ensued. The police lathi-charged and later opened fire. The workers hurled stones, the only available weapons. Thirty constables were injured and several workers were arrested on charges of rioting and unlawful assembly.

A few days later Comrade Antonipillai was produced in the Magistrate's "Court," not the usual court where the Magistrate sits, but in a specially hired room ten miles from the city. He was charged with having violated the government order on May 11. After a legal tussle the Magis-

trate ordered the release of Antonipillai on 500 rupees bail. Although the bond was duly executed, he was rearrested immediately under the Public Safety Ordinance and is being detained in the notorious Vellore Jail.

The government made yet another appeal to the workers. The Union stood by its earlier decision. Under government pressure, one of the vice-presidents of the union, a Congress Party member named Suriya Prakashrao, without consulting the union called the workers to return to work. This was repudiated by the Union Committee and the vice-president was unceremoniously expelled.

Faced with this magnificent solidarity the government, determined to break the strike, took the only course open to it. It has instituted a reign of terror in the working class district of Perambur where the mill is situated.

On the specious plea that 200 workers by intimidation were preventing 12,000 workers from attending work and that the union was the "hot bed of power politics," the Congress government declared the Madras Labor Union an unlawful body and on June 9 seized its funds.

This was followed up by the arrest of the two remaining leaders of the strike, Caroline Antonipillai and Kalyanasundera Mudaliar. The Prime Minister himself made an appeal to the workers and wanted the workers to return to work on June 11.

Six workers responded to the call of the Premier. This was the biggest blow to Congress prestige. Infuriated by this calculated defiance, the Congress Home Minister has arrested nearly 200 mill workers. Neither the arrests nor the excesses of the police have caused any change in the situation. Even the six who went back to work have returned to the strike.

The strike that commenced on March 11 still continues. For over three months these workers have fought back every assault of the government. There is a limit beyond which even these brave workers cannot go. Labor and radical organizations in America must lend their weight to the demands of these workers.

They should demand the legalization of the Madras Labor Union, the withdrawal of the case against the Union President, and his unconditional release, the release of all militants detained, the cancellation of criminal proceedings against strikers, and the withdrawal of detention warrants.

(Editorial Note: The Socialist Workers Party has already telegraphed vigorous protest against the repressive anti-labor acts and ordinances of the Congress Party leaders in Madras and other sections of India. The Militant urges all labor organizations favoring a free India to do likewise.)

How "Unification" Of Europe Is Used To Cloak Reaction

By John G. Wright

The entire modern history of Europe shows how reactionary is Marshall's plan which, it is claimed, will achieve the economic unification of the old continent on a capitalist basis.

In the space of a little more than three decades — from 1914 to 1947 — there have been several capitalist attempts to "unify" Europe.

The German capitalist class tried to accomplish this twice by resorting to war. Both attempts failed miserably.

Instead of bringing unification, the first world war produced the Versailles Treaty which still further split up the productive forces of Europe by multiplying the existing number of national frontiers and tariff barriers. The end result of Hitler's attempt to "organize" Europe has been the brutal dismemberment of Germany herself.

In the interval between the two imperialist world wars, a section of the French capitalist class, under the leadership of Premier Briand, engaged in a number of diplomatic maneuvers in order to achieve the unification of Europe. French imperialism was at that time the dominant power on the European continent. It sought through the Briand plan, with the slogan of the United States of Europe, to buttress itself up against the overwhelming strength of American imperialism and also to mitigate the effects of the then impending world depression. This attempt proved completely abortive.

Talk of "unifying" Europe was resumed last year by Winston Churchill when, following his war-mongering speech at Fulton, Mo., he organized in London a committee for the "unification of Europe."

Churchill's goal was not hard to discern. He hoped in this way to consolidate a "Western Bloc" under the hegemony of Great Britain, which could be used first against the USSR and ultimately as a defensive measure against the USA.

Marshall has thus in effect merely borrowed the formula of Churchill who had in his turn revived the still-born project of Briand.

In the meantime, what happened to Europe in the interval from 1914-47 has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that under capitalism all paths to progress had been cut off for the European peoples. Worse yet, they found it impossible to retain levels formerly achieved.

The living standards of all European countries declined steadily between the wars. This economic decay found its expression in the spread of political reaction. Europe started to rot alive, economically, politically, culturally.

At the same time, it became equally clear that the overwhelming preponderance of America stood as the chief obstacle in the way of Europe's economic regeneration.

Today the living standards of the European countries are lower than they were during the war. Furthermore, as a result of America's victory over Germany and Japan, its preponderance over Europe as a whole has be-

come even more accentuated.

Unification of Europe on a capitalist basis therefore means the perpetuation of the same conditions that brought about its decay. Such a "unification" under the hegemony of the United States can furthermore mean nothing else than the complete reduction of the old continent to the status of Wall Street's colonial preserve, doomed to subsist on American rations.

The bankrupt and corrupt ruling classes of Europe are only too happy to clutch at this prospect. In any case, they have little choice; they can survive, if at all, only with Wall Street's aid and on Wall Street's terms.

But the working class of the European countries, especially in France and Italy, have turned their backs on capitalism. They are permeated with socialist ideology. They have learned from long and bitter experience that there is no possibility whatever of a stable life, of security, employment and decent living standards under capitalist rule. They are striving to establish a socialist system of society.

They are beginning to understand that the economic unification of Europe is conceivable and possible only on a socialist basis.

What makes the Marshall plan so arch-reactionary is precisely the fact that it is aimed in the first instance against the socialist-minded masses abroad. The precondition for Marshall's success is the subjugation of the working class of the European countries through the establishment of military and police dictatorships, with American aid and under American sponsorship.

International Notes

The U.S. government last week announced the sale to China of 130 million rounds of small ammunition at one-tenth of its procurement cost of 6½ million dollars. The ammunition was manufactured by Chinese specifications during 1942-44, supposedly for use against Japan. Now it will be used against Chinese opponents of the Chinese dictatorship.

The Radical Party, biggest of the anti-Peronist bourgeois organizations in Argentina, was last week reported to have attacked the U.S. arms-standardization plan because it would provide weapons for "governments that suppressed democracy" and strengthen "professional militarism" in Latin America. Posters of this party plastered around Buenos Aires described Peron's regime as one that would be strengthened by the receipt of arms from the U.S.

British correspondents in Warsaw report that the Polish Communist Party is now undergoing an extensive purge and that hundreds of party members have been expelled: "The principal offenses are drunkenness, dissolute living, and the mishandling of public funds. The most common offense seems to be the exploitation by the communists of their public function for their greater personal profit."

Recruitment offices for enlistment with the French Foreign Legion in Indo-China have been opened in several large cities in the French occupation zone of Germany. A very large number of former Waffen SS members were recruited in prisoner-of-war camps in France and have been fighting in Indo-China since

the beginning of the hostilities there.

The series of strikes sweeping back and forth across France continued last week, with the miners agreeing to return to work on the basis of a compromise offer raising wages 35 francs a day plus additional bonuses. The Stalinists, who do not lead these strikes but try to make political capital out of them, demanded that they be readmitted into the Cabinet. The Ramadier government itself continues to rock back and forth as a new economic policy is debated and all eyes are turned to the Foreign Ministers Conference to discuss the so-called Marshall plan for European reconstruction.

The Hungarian Parliament gave full powers to the new Dinnyes government for four months, after the government had outlined a program including a three-year plan and the nationalization of the banks.

Deputy Suloyk, leader of the right opposition to the Stalinist-dominated government, accused it of installing a police regime in which even the private lives of citizens are under police supervision, and demanded that the coming October elections be supervised by an international commission. A Stalinist deputy denounced Suloyk's speech as "an act of high treason against Hungary."

When the trial of those arrested for "conspiracy against democracy" began in Budapest last month, Small Landholders Deputy Misteth denied his previous "confession" before the tribunal, declaring it had been extorted by violence during the questioning he underwent in prison.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

Vol. XI — No. 27 Saturday, July 5, 1947

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 118 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9226
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months.
Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months.
Single copies: 2 cents per copy for 5 copies or more
in the United States.
4 cents per copy for 5 copies or more
in all foreign countries.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



"If the rulers of the Kremlin want to complain that through my writing I am aiding a future victory of the Soviet people over their reactionary bureaucracy, then I can reply, yes, I am guilty of that."

Leon Trotsky

Make It Boomerang

There was one thing they all agreed on in Washington — both the majority of Republicans and Democrats who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, and the small minority of Republicans and Democrats who voted against it. And that was to keep the labor movement from engaging in independent political action.

The supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act showed where they stood on this question by prohibiting unions from making contributions or expenditures in political campaigns. They made it illegal for unions to even inform their members through union publications about the records of the politicians in Congress.

Truman echoed labor's objections to these provisions in the bill. Yet in his veto message Truman showed that he too is afraid of independent labor political action:

"By raising barriers between labor and management and by injecting political considerations into normal economic decisions, it (the bill) would invite them to gain their ends through direct political action," he declared. "I think it would be exceedingly dangerous to our country to develop a class basis for political action."

Taft and Co. want to stop independent labor political action by a law. Truman and Co. think such a law will defeat its very purpose; they propose to head off independent labor political action by posing as "friends" of labor and covering up the fact that capitalist parties are and can be nothing but servants of Big Business.

The Taft-Hartley Act itself served to explode that lie. Based on the needs and interests of the capitalist class and supported by a majority of both capitalist parties, it proved that Democratic and Republican political action already has "a class basis," to use Truman's term. What would really be "dangerous" for labor would be failure to meet the attack of capitalist class political action by engaging in working class political action through a labor party.

Let every militant study that section of Truman's veto message about passage of the slave labor law inviting the workers "to gain their ends through political action." That warning to the capitalists expressed the well-grounded fear of a professional politician visualizing how the intended victims of the measure could organize the most effective defense.

Well, they passed the law. Now how about getting busy and organizing labor's forces for this "direct political action" feared by the political hatchmen of Big Business? That's the way to convert the Taft-Hartley Act into a boomerang.

Two Years Of The UN

The official celebration staged by the former Allied powers on the second anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter June 26 fizzled like a wet firecracker.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, now up to his neck in raging civil rebellion against his hated and bloody regime, said "the millennium is not in sight."

Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, busy holding down the lid on the colonial rebellions threatening to blow up the British Empire, declared pessimistically that the world "must not expect immediate results."

Generalissimo Stalin, head of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy who shouted the loudest for the organization of the UN, refused to talk. Andrei Gromyko, speaking in his behalf, added little cheer by saying that two years was too short to permit drawing "any final conclusions as to how successful the United Nations has been . . ."

Truman was the only representative of the major powers who tried to sound an optimistic note. As political representative of the Wall Street inspirers of the United Nations, Truman tried to make out that only "temporary setbacks" have occurred. According to the holiday speech he read, the UN is still "the hope of the world for lasting peace."

No one paid much attention to this official cheer. It is becoming more and more obvious to everyone that the United Nations is nothing but a second edition of the old League of Nations. It is suffering the same unhappy fate as that thief's kitchen, except at a much faster rate.

The UN has not halted the advance of a paralyzing economic depression by one day.

It has not helped in the cause of world peace by one iota. Like the old League of Nations it is nothing but a sounding board for the powers preparing a new world slaughter.

No, the UN is not the hope of the world for lasting peace. It is nothing but a false front designed to delude the masses.

Only by ending the rule of the capitalists and uniting industry in a planned and rational economic order can enduring peace and abundance for all be achieved. Not the treacherous mirage of the United Nations but the goal of a socialist world — the only hope of mankind.

The Witch Hunt

After the U. S. entered the war, Roosevelt did not persecute the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Following Kremlin orders, the Stalinists here were the most loud-mouthed peddlers of the no-strike pledge, incentive pay and Wall Street war propaganda. The capitalists found them highly useful bloodhounds in persecuting trade union militants.

Now, however, American imperialism is preparing for war against the Soviet Union as part of its blueprint for world conquest. To achieve this it must silence all opposition in the labor movement, including the opposition of the Stalinists.

This is the basis for the persecution of the "reds" now going on. The Stalinists, Gerhard Eisler and Eugene Dennis, have been convicted on technical charges although everyone knows they were convicted for quite different reasons. Carl Marzani, former State Department employee, for instance, has been sentenced to one to three years in prison for not having revealed his membership in the Stalinist Party. Sentence is pending on 16 members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Even a blind man can see that this campaign is not only against the Stalinists. It is part of the whole anti-labor drive. The reactionaries intend to use the repressive machinery against all union militants and radicals and finally against anyone who opposes Wall Street's war plans.

In the opening of World War II the Roosevelt Administration railroaded 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party to prison. These 18 were not Kremlin agents. They were well-known figures in the American labor movement whose only crime was opposing the imperialist war and advocating socialism. The Stalinists were among the most rabid of the pack howling for heavy sentences against the Trotskyists. By their attitude then, they helped pave the way for the present witch hunt.

Today this witch hunt has been extended up and down the labor movement and throughout the ranks of millions of government employees. The purge board in the State Department can now fire an employee on testimony of agents whose identities are never made known to the accused, and for belonging to organizations which are never named. As the circle of the witch hunt widens, it can eventually threaten every militant who dares stand up and defend his union.

All workers must condemn these witch hunt trials and the purge of government workers. It is not all a question of defending treacherous and perfidious Stalinism but of defending the American labor movement and the civil rights on which this movement is grounded.

Death Of Our Society

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists issued a statement June 29 on the results of one year's attempt to control atomic weapons. The Committee is a distinguished body, counting Albert Einstein among its members as well as the scientists directly involved in the production of the atomic bomb.

They say "our hopes for international agreement on control of atomic energy have come to nothing." They ask if "thoughtful and well-informed men" can any longer expect "fruitful agreements to come out of UN discussions."

Far from finding a road to control of atomic weapons the powers "prepare feverishly for war . . . day and night on both the material and psychological planes." "Militarism," they point out, "is rampant throughout the world. In all history, never in any period of 'peace' have so many men been under arms."

They sum up what is happening in a terse sentence: "The Prussian disease of which the German and Japanese states have died is beginning to infect the conquerors."

In the light of these facts what are the perspectives? Atomic bombs can now be "made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive."

Preparedness, they say, "is futile;" for "there is no military defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected." Soon other nations will work out the so-called "secrets" and begin stockpiling bombs like the United States.

Then when war breaks out, "atomic bombs will be used and they will surely destroy our civilization." They conclude that unless a real means of controlling atomic energy is found, "the alternative is the death of our society."

Their proposal is the creation of a "supranational government" with "adequate" powers to maintain peace. Here we differ with the atomic scientists. Outside their own limited field their advice has proved illusory. The proposals they made last year are now admittedly bankrupt and worthless. No better fate is in store for their current proposals.

The crisis over atomic energy is only one of the most acute expressions of the general crisis now shaking the capitalist system to its foundations. Atomic energy cannot be isolated and put under control without also putting the economic and social system under rational control.

This can never be done under capitalism. Mankind can hope to eliminate wars and with them the danger of atomic destruction only by establishing socialism.



Isn't it grand to relax in peace now that Congress has passed those labor laws?

BOOKSHELF

Revolutionary Marxism Or Petty-Bourgeois Revisionism, published by Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y., 32 pages, 35 cents.

Readers of *The Militant* can acquire a more precise understanding of the basic principles of modern Marxism from this statement issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a serious study of the contrasting programs of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party which surveys the differences between them on the crucial questions of revolutionary working class politics today.

The most pronounced conflict between the two parties, the document explains, arises from their divergent evaluations of the Soviet Union. The SWP views the USSR as a proletarian state because its economic life remains rooted in the nationalized property, foreign trade monopoly, and planned economy created as a result of the 1917 Russian Revolution. At the same time it is a deeply degenerated workers' state dominated by the Kremlin oligarchy which has politically expropriated the Soviet workers, tyrannizes over the masses, mismanages the Soviet resources, and acts solely in the interests of its bureaucratic privileges and despotic power.

Because the Soviet Union still rests upon invaluable economic elements for the construction of socialism, the Trotskyists conclude that it must be defended by the world working class. Despite the countless crimes and utterly reactionary policies of Stalin's totalitarian regime, the USSR must be defended against all imperialist attacks for the underlying aim of the Anglo-American bandit in a war against the Soviet Union is the destruction of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution and the restoration of capitalism.

To save the Soviet Union, it is equally imperative to smash the dictatorship of the Stalinist gang whose whole course is leading the USSR to ruin. This task can be accomplished only by a

political revolution in the USSR which will restore workers' democracy and revive the spirit of socialist internationalism.

This class analysis of the Soviet Union and the political program flowing from it is flatly rejected by the Workers Party. They do not consider Russia a workers' state in any sense. It is an entirely new reactionary social order, different from both capitalism and socialism, characterized as "bureaucratic collectivism." At first the Workers Party theoreticians held that this unique system was "a nationally limited phenomenon," but they now regard it as a world-encompassing social order which in the form of Russian imperialism is contending with private capitalism for world supremacy.

The WP is intrinsically opposed to defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks, believing that the workers have nothing at stake in a war between the capitalist countries and the USSR and can remain indifferent to its outcome.

Foreshadowing against these views during the last year of his life, Trotsky declared that they constituted a break with the fundamental principles of Marxism and violated the interests of the international struggle for socialism.

Corresponding with their different estimates of the nature of the USSR, the two parties likewise have divergent attitudes and propose different tactics in the struggle against the Communist (Stalinist) parties in capitalist countries.

The document deals in detail with the differences between the two parties on the colonial question and on the no less vital problems of revolutionary policy and perspectives in Europe. The political program of the WP on the national question is summarized as follows:

"We get the bizarre combination that for colonial Asia, where national defense and national liberation are progressive tasks, only the proletariat can relaunch the national struggle, and therefore only struggles headed by a revolutionary proletarian leadership merit support.

The Workers Party would not support the struggle initiated by the Congress Party in India in 1942. But in Europe, where the defense of the national state, or 'national liberation' separate and apart from the socialist struggle are reactionary slogans — in Europe the proletariat must dissolve itself in the 'whole nation' and put to the fore the fight for national independence!"

Several sections of the statement are devoted to examining the conduct of the two parties in the class struggle here in the United States. Despite apparent agreement in the formulation of their positions, the test of practical work has revealed that the two parties have sharp divergences on such important questions as the Labor Party, trade union tactics and methods of fighting American fascism.

The two organizations also clash in their conceptions of the kind of party they seek to build. The SWP aims to create a disciplined party of workers, democratic in its inner life but centralized in action. The SWP wants an integrated, homogeneous party, based upon a common program and common methods of thought and of work. The WP wants an organization of diverse tendencies, a federation of factions, where any anti-Marxist innovation is assured a friendly hearing.

The document concludes by defining the diverse political tendencies represented by the two organizations. The SWP is an orthodox Marxist and genuinely revolutionary working class party based upon the program of world Trotskyism. The WP, on the other hand, is a typical revisionist and opportunist political grouping. "The Workers Party, originated as a petty-bourgeois faction in revolt against the program and tradition of the Fourth International . . . The record shows that the Workers Party remains a petty-bourgeois organization, both in composition and in the class roots of its ideology."

—John Marshall

Congressmen At Work

Orchids To Green And Murray

What was the reaction of Wall Street's Congressmen to passage of the slave labor law?

On the very next day after the mob stamped it through the Senate, Rep. Smith (D., Va.) introduced a bill to extend the Smith-Connally Act of which he is co-author. He acknowledged that the President could halt a strike for 80 days by injunction under the Taft-Hartley Law, but what then? With the dictatorial war-time powers of the strike-breaking Smith-Connally Act "the President will . . . have some power of seizure and operation . . ."

Rep. Owens (R., Ill.) wanted to know why after the 80 days are up "the Attorney General cannot go in a second time for an injunction" under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Smith replied, "I do not think that after this injunctive procedure is exhausted you have the right to start all over again and do it again. I wish it did."

Rep. Hoffman (R., Mich.) demanded stern enforcement of the Taft-Hartley Act, threatening Truman with "impeachment" if he doesn't "hold steadfast to the oath which he has taken."

By Wednesday, however, a different note was sounded. Said Rep. Ellis (R., W. Va.): "The strike news from the coal fields today is very distressing and from the morning papers there is every indication that the strikes are spreading in an alarming degree." He feared the "disaster" of a general strike.

As the strikes continued the next day, June 26, Senator Martin (R., Penn.) became quite upset. "Something ugly has developed . . . In my own state of



Pennsylvania and in other states some 200,000 men have marched out of the coal mines. They have laid down their tools and have declared they will not work because they do not like the law." He denounced the "threats to dig in and organize a last-ditch fight to defy and obstruct the operation of this law" and scored the union that "has elected to flout the law with a walk-out."

He argued that the law is a good one because both the Democrats and Republicans got together to pass it but "unfortunately, there are those in the labor movement who will set booby-traps in its path."

Senator Morse (R., Ore.) who made headlines by engaging in a short filibuster to delay the vote on the law, chimed in: "The bill should be enforced in its entirety . . . Let it be tested in the courts — not on the picket lines."

The alarm of the Congressmen, however, was soon allayed. On June 27, Rep. Robison (R., Kan.) congratulated William Green, President of the AFL, because he "wisely suggests that labor avail themselves of the courts" and "declined to enter-

tain" a proposal for "a general strike of workers." "I have been informed that President Murray of the CIO has taken a position similar to that of Mr. Green. If these reports are true, I wish to commend each of them."

Senator Wiley (R., Wis.) representative of the cheese interests in his state, went poetic the day after Congress overrode Truman's veto. Here is his last verse:

"The doubters and the leftists cease

Their yapping and their spurious fears.

The people rise and gain release. Restored, we have the golden years."

Just in case any sucker stuff is still left among the labor voters in his home territory, Wiley included in the Congressional Record "An Open Letter to American Workers on the Pro-American Labor Law." One of his important points in defense of the slave labor law was the allegation, "I can understand their feelings, for I have been a laboring man myself."

After cutting this thick odoriferous cheese, Wiley went to the exercises of the 35th graduating class of the FBI where he delivered an impassioned oration on "Challenges to American Law Enforcement." Said he, "It is an ironic indictment of our high-octane civilization that the list of statutory crimes has lengthened with the growth and development of modern life." And in his peroration he wound up in a whirlwind of enthusiasm for the FBI graduates: "You in your uniform are the center of all eyes, whether you know it or not."

Production Curtailed By Textile Mills

The picture of the slumping textile industry is beginning to take on a clearer outline. The industry reached its peak consumption of cotton in January; consumption then levelled off in February, March and April only to break sharply in May, when the mills consumed 55½ thousand bales less than in the previous quarter, or a decline of 6.3%.

There is of course a direct connection between the mill consumption of cotton and the output of the textile industry; these two being roughly proportional to each other.

The decline in the consumption of cotton represents a reversal of the trend in the industry last year when production of textiles and therefore consumption of cotton sharply expanded.

The drop of 6.3% may appear trifling, but this is not at all the case. For should this trend continue in the next period it will denote a very grave condition of the textile industry.

This is most clearly to be seen from a comparison with the past. In the 1920-21 depression which began with a slump in textiles and which hit this industry very hard, the over-all drop in production over a period of one year (from 1919 to 1920) amounted to only 8%. On the other hand, the first year following the 1929 crash witnessed an over-all decline three times as great.

The initial drop in May is already quite close to that of 1920-21 (6.3% as against 8%); should it continue at this same rate, it will approximate the 1929-30 decline within a period of 4 months.

It is of course too early to tell just what will happen in the near future in the textile industry. But this hardly leaves much room for the capitalist optimists who see only a "mild recession" ahead.

For while the movement of the textile industry is not decisive in determining the future condition of the economy as a whole, it is nevertheless highly symptomatic. Hence the developments in this industry will bear close watching; they cast the shadow of coming developments in other branches. The rate of decline in textiles will be indicative of the rate of decline of industry as a whole in the next period.

Rail Moguls Catch The Gravy Train

How can anyone say that the Big Business stooges in Washington don't work hard? Why, when they aren't working all night cooking up anti-labor laws and rulings, they are sweating over new plans to give millions of the public's money to the corporations.

Since the war they've done pretty well by the big industrialists with tax rebates, etc. The meat packers got more than their pound of flesh. The landlords are getting theirs. But the Washington politicians are fair—to the bosses—and decided the railroad magnates weren't getting enough of the gravy. So a little deal has been arranged to take care of them.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has just granted a 10% passenger fare increase to 60 roads east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. The reason given by the ICC for the increase is that these railroads have not been doing too well financially.

Those who have studied the growth of the great American fortunes know that railroad stock has been watered to such a soggy extent that it can always be claimed the roads are losing money.

However, figures released by the ICC eight days before the passenger fare increase revealed that the eastern railroads had a 12% increase in revenue for the first quarter of 1947 over the same quarter in 1946.

Take for example one of the giants, the Pennsylvania Railroad. With this passenger fare increase, plus the freight rate and express increases already granted, plus a mails increase now pending, the P.R.R.'s 1946 "deficit" will be transformed into a net profit of \$14,100,000 in 1947.

This gift to the railroad barons, taken out of the pockets of the people who ride trains, is justified in Washington as help to an industry whose profit outlook for the next year is dim. But the very figures of the ICC show that the profit outlook for 1947 was much better than 1946.

So next time you're on a train and someone says "those fat loaders down in Washington don't work for their pay," correct this erroneous statement. They work. Sometimes very hard. Not in the interests of the people of this country, but in the interests of Big Business.

Filipino Veterans Cheated By Congress

To the notorious Jim Crow record of the Big Brass in the American armed forces has been added another piece of vicious discrimination perpetrated by their equally reactionary colleagues in the halls of Congress.

Involved here are 400,000 Filipinos who served in the U. S. army in the Philippines. As veterans these soldiers are obviously entitled to the same treatment and the same benefits as all other soldiers in the U. S. Army. But not in the eyes of the lawmakers in Congress, who found a shabby pretext for depriving these men of their status as veterans.

On July 26, 1941, four months before Pearl Harbor, these Filipinos were inducted into the American army by Presidential decree. Throughout the war, and for months after V-J Day there was no question about their status.

But last year, on February 18, 1946, it was discovered that they were not veterans after all. Congress passed a special law—the First Rescission Act—stripping these men of all veterans' benefits on the grounds that the army into which they had been dragooned was not "in active service."

In this way 400,000 Filipino soldiers have been cheated of their mustering out pay and terminal leave pay; they have been denied the benefits of the GI bill of rights, the Six Months Death Gratuity Act and other acts.

Those Filipino soldiers who died or were maimed in battle received slightly better treatment. They were grudgingly accorded insurance and pensions for death or disability.

These facts came to light in an article by Vincent Villamin in the June 22 Washington Post.

The only action taken thus far in behalf of the Filipino soldiers is a recommendation by the War Department that Congress extend to these veterans the benefits of the Missing Persons Acts, thus enabling them to receive their back pay.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters 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.

An Example Of Nazi-Like Neutrality

Editor: A recent minority case, revolving around a 15-year-old Negro girl, really revealed the sordidness of San Diego officialdom.

The girl's mother had been committed to a mental institution and the child subsequently was pounced upon by the juvenile authorities, who committed her to the Crumby Detention Home. Typical and reminiscent of Nazi-like mentality, these unspeakable vultures decided upon the idea of having the girl sterilized. It was well known that the girl was born of a normal mother, despite the mother's recent mental illness.

The Socialist Workers Party, working with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had the case brought to the forefront, causing the officials to retreat, knowing what they were up against with regard to the NAACP. That issue has been dropped and the juvenile authorities now deny there was any talk on their part concerning sterilization.

David Page
San Diego, Calif.

Wishes Success For Our Work

Editor: Your paper, which is so enlightening, is in my opinion one of the best newspapers ever published in the interests of the working class in America. I hope you will always be successful in this great work.

Charles E. Johnson
Philadelphia, Pa.

Rotting Tenements Collapse in N. Y.

Editor: Twice in four days, near tragedy struck the tenants of two tenements only 8 blocks apart on the East Side in New York.

On June 23, the tenement at 636 Second Ave. collapsed. The three families on the upper floors were evacuated only a few minutes before the four-story building crumbled. Warning was given by a passing worker who happened to notice a brick cornice falling. Three days later, the front of the 3-story building at 481 Second Ave. began to fall.

In both cases, the City authorities were fully aware of the decrepit condition of the buildings and the danger to the tenants, but made no move to repair or improve the houses, nor provide substitute housing for them. The families who suddenly find themselves homeless say they had never received any notification from either the landlords or the city authorities as to the serious condition of the buildings.

Complaints were made that rotting callous in its attitude to-

The Transition

Ring the bells, wave the flags, Tax the people more. Help to make hysteria To build another war. Take the taxes off the rich. Place them on the poor. Clergymen inform us "We all live to endure."

International gangsters, National racketeers, Monopoly capitalism, Help black marketeers. More power for the chiselers In Free Enterprise: Radio, press and pulpit Help political lies.

Banks are full of money Many cannot use. Fascism is teaching: "Exterminate the Jews." Socialism teaches: "After capitalism's fall Produce for use, not profit—With security for all."

Jarvis Dusenberry
Rochester, N. Y.

ward these workers as well as those evicted from adjoining buildings. Some were offered temporary housing in "hotels like those on the Bowery"; others received "no help at all"; one family with 3 GI sons had no choice but to sleep in the damp basement of a park lavatory building nearby, one GI sleeping in a wheelbarrow, the other two on benches. No stove was available for cooking.

When asked whether the City would provide a more livable place, one GI retorted bitterly, "What do they care?"

A Reader
New York City

Feel Hard Times Approach In Montana

Editor: I am sending \$1 to renew my subscription to The Militant.

Things are very slow out in this country. The workers are beginning to feel the hard times coming on. But when our union gets going again, then we will be able to accomplish something once more.

J. B.
Plentywood, Mont.

They Act Together Against The Workers

Editor: Here's an item for California readers who still have any illusions that the Democratic-Republican State Legislature is not anti-labor.

The Los Angeles Times reported on June 11: "The Assembly today ordered the Welfare Department was out of committee over protests of pro-union labor advocates the bill banning jurisdictional strikes and another making union contracts enforceable by law . . ."

"The unions opposed the bills."

S.B. 1492 and S.B. 1493. They passed the Senate by unanimous vote.

To repeat an old American slogan: "Throw the bums out!" We need a labor party in California.

J. Blake
Los Angeles, Calif.

No Submission To War Or Slavery

Editor: As the despotic nature of the capitalist system becomes clearer and clearer to the working class, we see the Wall Street monster, in the realization that its end is near, determined to bring down the world with it.

Witness the imperialist Truman Doctrine, the Taft-Hartley Slavery Bill, the wild "red" witch hunts. We must arise to our times for in the next few years, the determination if we are to have Socialism or atomic suicide will be made. There is no place for the sunshine radical, the "reformer," the appeaser of the capitalist enemy. Never must we submit to an imperialist war or a system of slave labor regardless of what personal sacrifices may have to be made.

George R. Stryker
Bayport, N. Y.

Praises Good Work Of "Labor Challenge"

Editor: I had the privilege of attending a meeting of Trotskyists in Vancouver. Our paper, Labor Challenge, has given us a good start in getting organized in Canada.

The articles on international happenings in our press are vital to an understanding of world affairs. I think a suggestion in Comrade Cannon's articles that we use more of the methods of the old time agitators is a good one. The poison of Stalinism has clouded the perspective of socialism in so many minds. We fight hardest for what we believe in most firmly.

B. J.
British Columbia, Canada

Appreciates Articles On Negro Struggle

Editor: From reading The Militant's reports about the struggle for Negro equality I have come to understand how discrimination comes from exploiting capitalism.

I likewise understand how orthodox socialism enlightens the oppressed peoples of the world and uplifts them. Down with exploiting capitalism! Victory for the world proletarian revolution against capitalism! Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Neville Devanavayana
Ceylon

Socialist Workers Party Youngstown Local Goes On The Air In Call For Labor Party

YOUNGSTOWN, July 1—In a blistering attack on the capitalist sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, Harry Frankel, Secretary of the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, in a speech tonight over Station WPIC, called for the immediate formation of an independent labor party.

"How could a handful of plutocrats defeat 15,000,000 organized workers and their millions of friends in the population?" asked Frankel. "That is what workers are asking in anger and bitterness."

Unless this question is answered properly, continued the representative of the Socialist Workers Party, labor faces further defeats. But if the correct answer is found, "labor will be able to resume its forward march."

LEADERS TO BLAME "The truth is that the main share of the blame for the passage of the slave labor law falls on the shoulders of the present official leaders of the labor movement. The workers never expected anything different from the Democrats and Republicans. But the labor officialdom, by their cowardly and misleading policies, opened the barn door wide for the Wall Street horse thieves. They disarmed labor in the face of a furious Big Business offensive. By doing this, they made the passage of the Slave Labor Law a sure thing."

The Taft-Hartley Bill could have been defeated, said Frankel, had the trade union officials conceded to the demand of the rank and file for a shutdown of all industry. "The Socialist Workers Party, speaking over this station two weeks ago, called for a one-day general strike to halt the labor haters . . . But the 'leaders' of labor were afraid; they did nothing; and because of their fear, the workers must now suffer."

The union heads relied on the Democrats and Truman. "They staked everything on so-called friends of labor, who turned out to be labor's enemies."

Truman's veto, Comrade Frankel pointed out, was a mere vote-catching gesture that should fool no one in view of his consistent record of anti-union, strike-breaking acts.

"Now that the bosses have begun this political offensive against the labor movement, it is important for labor to start thinking about political matters," Frankel called for examination of the "policy of hanging to the coat-tails of the Democratic Party."

BOTH SERVE WALL STREET "The Socialist Workers Party believes that both the Democratic and the Republican Part-

ies are parties of Big Business. They have already dragged us into two terrible world wars, many devastating depressions, and are now laying the groundwork for fascism, a new depression and a Third World War."

The two-party system, he explained, diverts the attention of the workers from their real interests. By keeping the workers busy shifting from one party to the other, they block the workers "from striking out on their own."

"The Socialist Workers Party says that labor needs its own party. Why should we permit the capitalists to have two parties with which to fool us, while we do not have even one to fight back? If labor organized its own party, it could mobilize tens of millions of votes behind real labor measures and draw behind it the whole working and poor population of the country."

"What a great awakening a labor party would bring to the American people! The American workers, who organized in the shops and mills to beat the bosses could beat them in politics too. The labor party would carry the fight against Wall Street into the strongest citadel of capitalist power, the government in Washington, and would eventually replace it with a Workers' and Farmers' Government."

Rent Hi-jacking Bill Made Law By Truman's Signature

(Continued from Page 1)

boosting bill against the interests of some 15,000,000 tenants was the plea of the "lesser evil." He claimed it was either this bill or "nothing" after June 30. But by signing this bill he virtually closed the door on the possibility of forcing Congress to adopt a better one.

Following adoption of the bill by the Senate, Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, one of the few opponents of the measure, had urged Truman to veto the bill, answering in advance the argument of "this or nothing." He said:

"Mr. President, the rent control bill is no rent control bill. Rent control is dead, literally and factually. I sincerely hope the President will veto the bill . . . The whole bill is designed to scuttle rent control by indirect means . . . Let not the people be deceived by this so-called rent control bill. The landlords are not deceived. They are behaving just as if they had permission now to insert a 15% increase."

"WORSE THAN NOTHING"

"The old cry goes up here, 'If you do not do this you will get nothing.' Very well, Mr. President, I say then let us have nothing. I am tired of this business of being caught at the last moment with the statement that some law is better than no law and having it put up to us, 'Well, you will either take this or you will get nothing.' I would rather have nothing than something worse than nothing."

He added: "It is going to be a sordid business, and I hope that my party (Democratic) at least will not be a party to this farce." But Democrats overwhelmingly supported the bill. They concurred in a voice vote so that the position of individual Democratic Congressmen might not be recorded through a roll-call vote.

Throughout the months when this bill was in hearing and preparation, Truman voiced only occasional, for-the-record objections to it. He attempted to mobilize no effective public protest against it. He loosened rent control continuously through administrative decrees, thus whetting the landlords' appetites and notifying them in advance that he would place no real obstacles in their path.

LATE DATE

Only at the late date of June 30, when he signed the bill, did he declaim against the "real estate lobby," which put over the bill, as "clearly subversive" and guilty of "a ruthless disregard of public welfare," and he proposed an investigation of their activities.

But while the lobby was going full blast in Washington, Truman said nothing about them, let alone call for an investigation. Only when they completed their dirty work, did he accuse the lobby—while he signed the bill. His belated complaints constitute nothing but demagoguery, designed like his last-minute

veto of the Slave Labor Law to refurbish his badly-tarnished reputation for "liberalism."

Passage of the Rent Decontrol Bill puts it squarely up to the 15,000,000 tenants and their allies to protect themselves from landlord extortions and evictions by direct mass action. Only mass organization of tenants in militant resistance to the demands of rent-gougers can halt huge rent increases on top of the 50% rise in prices of the last 12 months.

MOBILIZE FOR ACTION

Labor, tenant and veterans groups must now unite behind a program of action in every neighborhood. They must mobilize for direct pressure on the landlords, demonstrations at real estate offices and before eviction courts. The unemployed organizations back in the thirties showed how evictions could be stopped by mass action against attempts to throw families on the streets.

Every local union should immediately establish rent action committees to mobilize the membership to defend any union brother or sister threatened with eviction for refusing to pay higher rent.

Where landlords attempt widespread rent increases in apartment buildings or tenement blocks, an effective method of bringing such landlords to terms has been the rent strike. The threat of complete loss of rents, plus mass action to block evictions, has worked in the past to stop landlord treachery.

Against the government's permission to landlords to raise rents, the workers, who pay most of the rents, must demand: "Freeze All Rents!" They can enforce their slogan only by their own organized action.

Youth Activities

AKRON. — Socialist Youth Club meets Fridays, 7 p.m. Followed by refreshments, dancing 8 South Howard St., 2nd floor

CHICAGO. — Youth meeting Fridays at 8 p.m. Discussion on pamphlet Socialism On Trial. Games and refreshments. 777 W. Adams, 2nd floor.

NEW YORK. — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3

Saturday Night House Parties: call GR 5-8149 for information.

For information about Queens Youth Group, write Mr. Kevin, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3.

PHILADELPHIA. — For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Excellent Response From Southern Strikers



"Here are 25 Militant subscriptions from the city of Winston-Salem, N. C.," writes P. C., a Militant booster who spent his one-week vacation visiting his family in the South. "I stopped by Winston-Salem to get a story for The Militant on the recent R. J. Reynolds Tobacco strike. After obtaining the story, I went into a working-class neighborhood to experiment with selling Socialist Workers Party literature in the deep South."

"The response was excellent, perhaps even better than from Northern workers. I sold 25 Militant subs and 81 pamphlets, including 47 copies of 'A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow.' The response would have been even better had it not been for the fact that most of the workers were broke as a result of the bitter five-week strike."

"In addition to selling this literature, I was invited to speak before the local post of the National Council of Negro Veterans. I used this opportunity to put forth some of the Socialist Workers Party program."

"My experiences," continues Comrade P. C., "convince me that our literature and our program will meet with acceptance in the South. All that is lacking is an energetic campaign to make our program known to the Southern workers."

Chicago's subscription campaign picks up in tempo and excitement as it nears the finish. Belle Rosen writes that "the race has really turned into a competitive one. Last week Dave C. who had 11 points to his credit turned in 9 subs to make a total of 20 and a possible contender to the two leaders, Hoot and Frank B., who were tied for first place with 26½ points each. This Sunday Dave turned in another 14 subs to put him first with 34 points to his credit. Today Frank F. turned in a total of 23 subs secured in the past week to put him in the lead with 35 points to his credit. The branch now has 288 subs and there is no

E. Brent explains how Detroit gets such a high percentage of renewal subs in its area. "Sunday afternoon I went to see a subscriber and he said he just received notice yesterday telling him that his sub had run out. Well, he renewed for one year. We don't even let our subscribers catch their breath before we contact them for renewals. There are only four more persons to be seen and then we are through with all the June expirations."

The Detroit comrades obtained 23 subs during the week, most of them renewal subs.

L. B., a Militant booster in Los Angeles, sent in a one-year subscription for a friend in San Francisco and a combination sub to The Militant and Fourth International for a friend in Roscoe, Cal.

During the week three more Militant boosters responded to our appeal for financial aid with whatever amount they could afford. This means real sacrifice for workers who are finding it increasingly difficult to meet their own living expenses.

B. J. of Canada sent in a contribution of \$12.50 and in addition renewed his subscription to The Militant and Fourth International.

J. B., New York City, mailed in \$2 and L. B. of Texas sent us a check for \$2.50.

URGENTLY NEEDED
The following back issues of 'New International' are needed for binding:

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1936-January, February, March, November
1937-January, June, October, November
1940-February

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Another Letter To A New Subscriber

By Theodore Kovalesky

Dear Ralph:

There were a great many things I didn't have time to say in my last letter. Here are a couple I want to cover now.



Last week we talked about how America has changed, how democracy and the Bill of Rights and all the rest of the things that once made America free and good have rotted away with the contagion of disease, dying capitalism. I wrote you of the necessity for us to fight the final battle for freedom and decency.

In every strike, in every demonstration you will find the Socialist Workers Party fighting tooth and nail for the interests of the working class. But these small gains for which we will fight so bitterly, are they what we really want? Do we wage battle for a few more mouthfuls of bread, for an extra pair of pants for the worker and another housedress for his wife?

No, Ralph. Every chance we get, we help the workers to the best of our ability. But our real fight is this: We strive to fill the veins of the workers with fiery red blood of determination, to fill their minds with a great dream of freedom and peace and the good life, to fill their hearts with comradeship for all the workers of the world. That is our fight, to help the workers to help themselves, to build a new world fit for tomorrow's sun to shine down upon.

Have you ever thought, Ralph, what this new world might be like? Let's start with you. What did you want to be when you were a child? Did you want to be a low-paid factory worker? Of course not. You wanted to be a doctor or an engineer. You wanted to be important to the world, to have a shiny automobile and leisure time to use it.

Well, under Socialism we won't all be doctors and engineers, but we will all be important. And none of us will be oppressed, underpaid workers. The factories many of us, perhaps most of us, will work in will be clean, light,

safe places where we'll join together in the great task of producing the things we'll all need. We'll work short hours under the best conditions under the guidance of foremen and managers that we ourselves will elect. The "tough," brow-beating bosses of yesterday and today will be gone. We'd never elect such people as our leaders, and besides there would no longer be that pressure from above that turns a good guy into a tyrant.

Doctors and engineers would be of the greatest importance to us, and we'd surely encourage any youngster to go into those fields if he, or she, showed the talent and the desire to do so; but no one would choose those professions merely to have a good life and leisure to enjoy it. Because the workers would have just as good a life.

I suppose under Socialism we could worry and suffer (we have learned those things well through the ages), but I can't think now what we'd worry and suffer about. It wouldn't be about getting enough food or clothing; it couldn't be about finding some place to live or paying off the finance company. It wouldn't be about wars or depressions. Those things will die with capitalism, and the people of Socialism will live in a golden age of plenty.

We will govern ourselves with people elected as we elect our CIO Council delegates. And these people will find that governing will consist mainly of planning how many pairs of shoes, how many automobiles, planes, suits and dresses, how much meat, wheat, and lumber the people will need for the coming period, how to produce it and distribute it.

Race-hatred will be a horrible memory of the past. All people will work side by side in the struggle against our traditional enemies—superstition, ignorance, want and disease.

Does that sound like an impossible dream, Ralph? Well, when enough workers like you and me have that dream, it will stop being a dream and become a reality.

Fraternalty,
Ted Kovalesky

Send Them Where They Belong

By Albert Parker

It seemed to me that the members of Congress would have to look far and wide before they could pull anything as vicious and low-down as the Taft-Hartley Act. But I was wrong. For the very next day after its passage, they staged a political move which is just as revolting and twice as cynical.

As is well known, the Republicans during the 1946 election campaign made free and fancy promises to enact anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation if they came to power. This was one "mandate" they scrupulously ignored during the first six months of the present session. In fact, they decided early last month—with no protest from the Democrats—to adjourn without even bringing these bills to an open hearing.

Yet the day after the passage of the Taft-Hartley law, they changed their minds and announced that an anti-poll tax bill would be "cramped" onto the schedule for consideration by the House this session.

Why? Because they were suddenly concerned about the poor Negro and white workers and sharecroppers who are barred from the ballot box by the poll tax? Not at all. The real reason, as an AP dispatch reported, is that the Republicans want "to get even with Southern Democrats who helped to kill the income tax reduction bill." As Republican Representative Gerald

W. Landis of Indiana put it:

"Since some of the Southerners oppose us on taxes, the idea is to put 'em on the spot. And if the Senate had not overridden the labor bill veto, we would have got out an anti-lynching bill."

In plain and simple words, it's corrupt political considerations, and not the interests of the Negro or white toilers, which explains the Republican Party's interest in anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills. They have an alliance with the Democrats who banned such bills when they controlled Congress; and when the Democrats don't go along, they use the anti-poll tax bill as pressure and as a bribe. That's all it means to them, and they aren't even ashamed to admit it publicly.

Of course they'll be singing a different song when they come around soliciting our votes in 1948. Then they will be dripping with honey and full of fervent speeches about how much they love us and how much they will do for us if we will only vote for them again.

The answer to such stomach-turning hypocrisy will be to tell both them and their Democratic friends to go to hell. But we'd better not wait until 1948 to do that; we'd better get busy building a labor party this year so that we not only can send the capitalist politicians where they belong but can at the same time replace them in Congress with our own representatives.

"Made In Europe"

By Joseph Hansen

If it's from Europe, does that make it bad? In the opinion of Rep. Max Schwabe (R., Mo.), it does. Appearing before the House Labor Sub-committee to testify against a proposal to lift the federal minimum wage law from 40 cents an hour to 60 cents, this dyed-in-the-wool reactionary declared: "For the government to determine what is a fair wage is not American—it is European."



To illustrate what he meant, this political representative of the capitalist class said that if a man went to a public auction and bought an article that was knocked down cheap, it was his right, and "if he hires a worker cheap, that's the American way of doing it."

Some other Congressmen, who are now eager to pass a bill palatable to the working class after clubbing them in the head with the Taft-Hartley Act, pressed Schwabe, asking him, "Does freedom mean the right to pay starvation wages?"

This champion of the wage-slavery system answered, "If you want to put it that way, yes."

Schwabe, of course, was only doing his best to defend the corporations who have been chalking up the highest profits in all history. And he used the most powerful argument in his arsenal, namely, that it's "American" to auction off workers at starvation wages.

Notes From The News

Drew Pearson charges that Representative Robert F. Jones of Ohio, recently recommended by Truman for the Federal Communications Commission, was once a member of the Black Legion.



According to Robert Hutchins, head of the University of Chicago, the U. S. now has enough atomic bombs in its stockpile to wreck the earth. Hutchins did not explain why the manufacture of the bombs still continues day and night.

Four Negro teachers, members of the teachers' section of the CIO United Public Workers, have been fired by Alabama authorities. The four had been prominent in the union's organizing drive and campaign to secure equal wages for Negro teachers.

The kind of bar room brawl that seldom gets

into the newspapers was revealed when Vincent J. Banker, a vice-president of the powerful Chase National Bank died following a fight with H. J. MacTavish, another vice-president of the same bank. Hostilities broke out in the bar at a stag dinner for 45 executives of the bank.

Joe Felmet of Asheville, N. C., a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made a test case of the Jim Crow laws of his state by sitting in "the Negro section" of a bus. The judge was so infuriated that a white citizen of North Carolina defied Jim Crow that he ordered six months on a road gang for the defendant. When it was pointed out that this was six times the permissible maximum sentence, the judge said: "I can't keep all these things in my little head" and reduced the sentence to the maximum—thirty days.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1947

THE MILITANT

Rank And File Sentiment Felt At NAACP Parley

By William Charles

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29—The 38th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adjourned today after five days of discussing many important problems facing the American Negro people. On the whole,

the convention took a progressive position on most of these problems—its stand roughly approximating the position taken by such organization as the CIO. But while adopting a progressive policy on most questions, the convention failed to work out a program of action or achieving the things it favored in its resolutions. And it failed to adopt a number of resolutions presented by rank and file delegates for the purpose of transforming the NAACP into a more effective, militant and democratic organization.

One of the issues most hotly debated by the 775 delegates from 44 states was the demand—raised by delegates from big industrial Midwest cities—that the National Board of Directors be elected on the convention floor and that it be deprived of its present power to veto programmatic and policy decisions of the convention by a two-thirds vote of the Board.

VISIBLY SHAKEN

This fight to democratize the NAACP so that it would better represent the views of the ranks was led on the floor by Henry W. McGee of Chicago. Secretary Walter White, Assistant Secretary Roy Wilkins and other spokesmen for the NAACP national office were visibly shaken by their most skilled legal mind, Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, who let loose a slanderous attack on the sincerity of the resolution's supporters. McGee was allowed only three minutes to answer.

Nevertheless sentiment for the resolution was so great that Marshall had to give way, agreeing to the establishment of a constitutional revision committee which would report to the 39th convention, which will be held in Kansas City, Missouri next year. Decision of this issue was therefore postponed, but it will undoubtedly receive strong support in 1948.

Another question in dispute was the attitude to political action. Many NAACP members have learned from experience that the struggle for Negro equality is a political question which requires a political solution, and some have come to understand the need for collaborating with the labor movement in the establishment of a Labor Party.

However, the NAACP leadership succeeded in putting through a resolution on "political action," which in effect bars the NAACP branches from real-estate engaging in such action. This resolution recognizes the need for full participation of all citizens in the "elective process," but reaffirms "the non-partisan status of the NAACP" and orders the branches not to endorse political parties or candidates. Members have the right to support any party of their choice.

The NAACP national office bureaucracy was defeated on one question close to their hearts, however. That was the proposal to raise the dues from \$1 to \$2 a year.

W. Burkhardt Turner of the Jamaica, Long Island branch

Philadelphia SWP Urges Unions To Run Labor Slates In Elections

PHILADELPHIA, July 1

In a letter to the leading union bodies in this area, the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party last week proposed that "the AFL Central Labor Union, the CIO Industrial Union Council, the Railroad Brotherhoods and representatives of legitimate independent unions unite in presenting a labor ticket and labor candidates in the municipal elections" to be held next fall.

The Philadelphia labor movement can in this way give a positive answer to the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, SWP Organizer Max Geldman declared in the letter.

"The anti-labor demonstration put on by Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress shows clearly that labor can expect only reactionary legislation from the National Association of Manufacturers-dominated boss

parties," it continued. "Only labor's own candidates, controlled and directed by the organized labor movement, can protect the rights of American workers and assure the continuous progress of the labor movement."

"Our Party plans to run candidates for Councilmen in the coming elections. We wish to state, however, that we are ready to withdraw our candidates in favor of candidates of a United Labor ticket, or where a central body or local union may present independent labor candidates against the monopoly-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties."

"Since time is short, we urge that you give the above proposals the immediate attention that the serious situation demands. The period for the obtaining of signatures to place labor candidates on the ballot is from July 21 to August 20."

CIO Shipbuilders Out On Strike



Members of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers picket Brooklyn's Bethlehem Steel shipyard, after the Company flatly turned down union demands for increased wages and other benefits. After terming the Taft-Hartley Act the "Tough-Heartless" bill, President John Green added: "If we must be the first to test it, let's do it."

—Federated Picture

U. S. Note To Indonesians Backs Dutch Colonial Rule

The U.S. State Department's intervention in the internal affairs of Indonesia on June 27 provides another graphic example of the reactionary character of the Truman Doctrine.

At the end of the war, the Indonesian people rebelled against any further continuation of the despotic Dutch rule that has enslaved their land for hundreds of years. They set up their own government.

The British and Dutch capitalists tried to smash this new republic. Supplied with bombers, tanks, artillery and ammunition from America they launched full scale war on the Indonesian fighters for freedom.

TOO POWERFUL

But the united resistance of the Indonesian people proved too powerful for these imperialist brigands. They could not drown the rebellion in blood in a short campaign as they had hoped. They resorted consequently to delaying tactics, hoping to gain time.

The Dutch utilized this time to send an army of some 100,000 troops to Java. Equipped with the latest death-dealing instruments made in America, the

Indonesian officials, representing the native Indonesian capitalists, accepted this ultimatum after delaying until June 23. But their capitulation so incensed the people that every political party was forced to condemn it.

Premier Sutan Sjahrir resigned and the Dutch ordered the attack to begin June 30.

It was at this point that the

State Department applied the Truman Doctrine. They sent a note to the Indonesian government promising "to discuss" financial aid, provided the Indonesian officials bow to the Dutch.

This note was clearly intended to put maximum pressure on the Indonesians, to disrupt resistance to the Dutch despots and place the Indonesian Republic in the most unfavorable light possible before American public opinion when the slaughter began. A further delay in carrying out the plans of the Dutch imperialists could not hurt these despots, since it would only give them more time to entrench their forces. And capitulation by the Indonesian officials, of course, would play completely into Dutch hands.

U.S. AIDS REACTION

The intervention had the effect desired by Washington. Sjahrir decided to take back his post, but this time with the proviso that he be fully empowered to capitulate to Dutch terms without even the formality of approval by the Indonesian government. Whether this authority will be granted remains to be seen.

Thus we have been given another object lesson in the use of American economic power to bolster reaction abroad and undermine the movement of the colonial peoples for freedom.

The Dutch reactionaries rejoiced. But the American workers, who sympathize with the Indonesian freedom movement, can only feel bitter resentment at this fresh blow to the valiant people struggling to establish a government of their own choice.

Uncover Plot To Establish French Military Dictatorship

A right wing plot to overthrow the French government and install a military dictatorship was uncovered this week as the government announced the arrest of a number of the conspirators.

Involved in the plot were prominent members of the reactionary military and police castes including generals, fascists, monarchists, capitalists and priests.

Plans had already been prepared for a march on Paris to seize government offices and communications centers and to liberate thousands of Vichyite political prisoners. The attack was scheduled to take place some time this month or in August.

FORGED DOCUMENT

The conspiracy was to be cloaked as a movement to prevent a "communist" seizure of power. Forged "communist" documents including "a call to arms" were captured along with other plans of the plot.

The widespread nature of the conspiracy was indicated by the fact that two divisions of supporters were to be mobilized from western France and were to be joined by an armored division moving on the capital from the French occupation zone of Germany and such other army units as could be won over.

The government hastily announced that General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the French People's Rally which is also committed to the establishment

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