

# THE MILITANT

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401

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## First Grim Signs Of Coming Depression

By John G. Wright

—See Page 5—

# SENATE SPEEDS UNION-BUSTING BILL

## Militarists Draft Secret Blueprint For A New War

By William F. Warde

The militarists and "merchants of death" are pursuing their deadly work on a larger scale than ever in Washington these days.

They are preparing the blueprints for World War III before the peace treaties of World War II have been drafted.

Startling revelations have been published in the April 30 Wall Street Journal and May 2 N. Y. Times regarding Wall Street's conspiracy to drag the American people into a new world slaughter. U. S. military agencies and Big Business representatives have just completed a master plan for gearing the whole of American industry into the war machine and are already carrying out the first steps in this vast "emergency" industrial mobilization program.

This program not only arms the President with far-reaching dictatorial powers and outlines what specific actions industry must take with the Army and Navy, as soon as a "state of emergency" is proclaimed. It also includes drastic provisions for regimentation and control of the workers by the government, draft boards, and the bosses.

**PLAN HAS FOUR PARTS**  
There are four major divisions in this industrial mobilization plan for World War III:

1. **Industrial Controls.** This section specifies how the government, armed forces, and Big Business will collaborate in case of war. It gives directives on the construction and location of plants for war industry. It sets up a system for allocating materials and man-power on the basis of priority permits which enabled the corporations to amass such great power and profits in the last war. This part of the plan contains the provisions for shackling the workers to the war-machine.

2. **Stockpiling.** The government has tabbed 2 billion dol-

lars for purchasing and storing strategic raw materials, metals, minerals and fibers essential for war-production.

3. **Coordination and Standardization.** The plan provides for coordinating equipment purchases by the Army and Navy and standardizing weapons and supplies for the two branches of the military forces. Joint buying of food and lumber has already been practiced and this system will soon be extended to textiles, clothing, footwear and oil products.

4. **Checkup on Foreign Economic Operations.** The government's import and export policies are to be carefully scrutinized and supervised to ensure that supplies useful for war go to friendly nations and are kept from potential enemy powers, that is, those associated with the Soviet Union.

### THE WAR PLANNERS

This master manual for World War III has been drawn up and is being carried out by the Army-Navy Munitions Board. This little-known agency, which has been exceedingly active since the war-drive has been stepped up, is headed by Richard R. Deupree, who divides his time between that post and his presidency of the soap monopoly, Procter and Gamble Co. Other Board members are Undersecretary of War Kenneth C. Royall and Assistant Secretary of the Navy John Kenney.

Deupree is chief liaison man between the top military staff and the directors of Big Business who are working closely together on this industrial mobilization scheme. He presented the highlights of the A.N.M.B. war plan before an unreported session of 2,500 members of the U. S. (Continued on Page 4)

## Telephone Strikers Stand Firm Despite AT&T's Split Tactics

By Alan Kohlman

MAY 6—The overwhelming majority of the National Federation of Telephone Workers stood firm in the fifth week of their strike, despite defections of non-affiliated unions in New York and two NFTW locals in Chicago.

In New York this morning, local operators wept openly as they walked through picket lines on orders of their unions which had voted to accept a \$4 week company offer. Bitterness against this breaking of the strike front was further expressed by two executive committee members of the New York maintenance men who denounced the return and brought a \$1,000 collection to the NFTW unions on strike.

George Myerscough, chairman of the New York central strike committee, commented as follows on the defections: "This is not the work of the rank and file of those four unions, and also is not the work of all the leaders."

In Washington, the 49 man NFTW policy committee ordered all NFTW unions to stand firm. Reports from various sections of the country indicate that the dent in the strike front has only further incensed the bulk of the strikers and renewed their determination not to buckle.

AT&T has cunningly engaged in splitting tactics by making different offers ranging from \$1-3 to \$2-4 in various sections of the country. The government mediators who sold the New York locals the \$4 settlement demonstrated how government agencies function to break the strike front and whittle down the unions' demands.

The long-lines sections of the NFTW agreed to accept a government offer of \$5.14 per week, but AT&T, obviously encouraged by its chiseling successes in New

York and Chicago, rejected the offer.

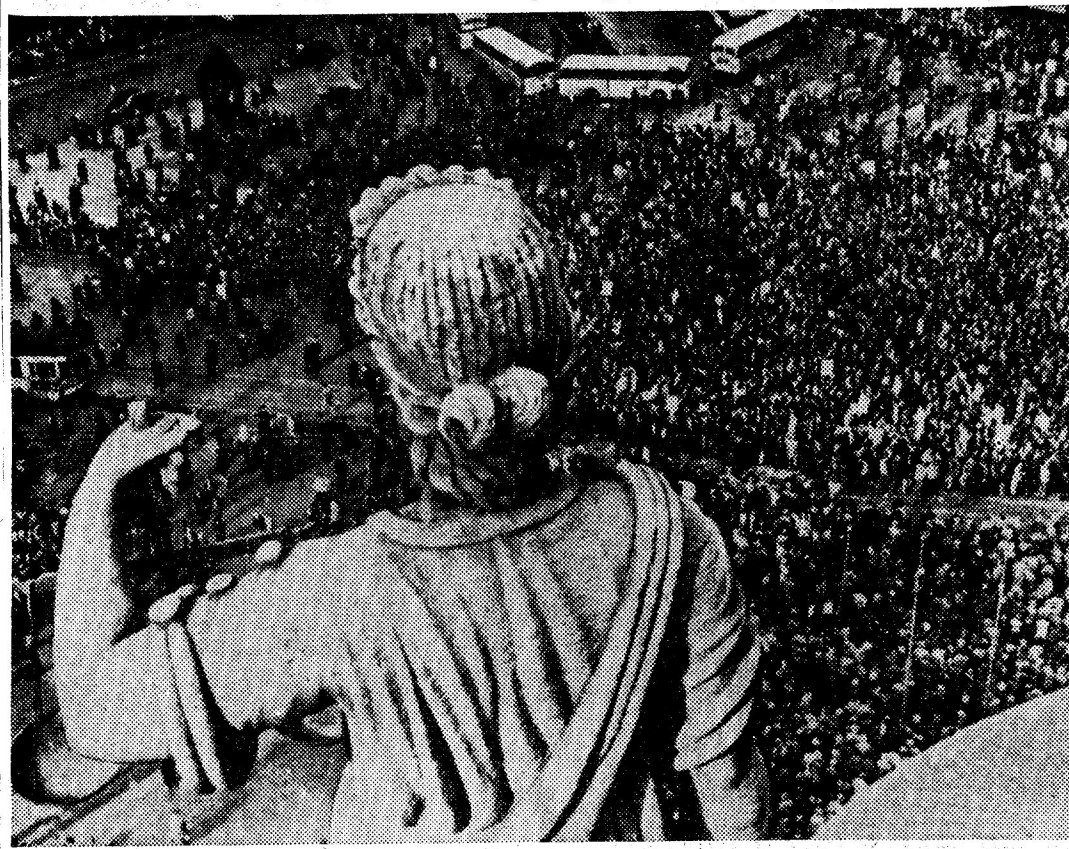
In Chicago, the acceptance by two NFTW affiliates of \$4 a week brought heavy fire from the NFTW leadership and the statement by President Joseph Beirne that he would recommend expulsion of their presidents when the NFTW convention opens in June. Beirne added that this crossing of the picket lines "does not dent the solidarity of the NFTW."

In New Jersey, the 11,000 members of the Traffic Telephone Workers who have stood in the front ranks of the fight against both company and state strike-breaking, renewed their pledge to stay out until they won a \$6 raise.

The 30-day stand of the phone workers against the mighty AT&T trust has inspired the entire labor movement. The defections of these few locals after a month of hard fighting only emphasizes how stubbornly the bulk of the workers have resisted the efforts of AT&T, backed up by government assistance, to cripple the phone unions.

Up to now the NFTW policy committee has insisted on a \$6 wage increase and has refused to be bludgeoned by the company or pressured by government "mediators" to accept lower offers. It has reinforced the original NFTW strategy of centralized strike direction and review of all settlements, and urged the phone workers to maintain nationwide solidarity until their demands are met.

## Detroit's Gigantic Rally Against Labor-Haters



More than 275,000 of the half million Detroit workers who downed tools on April 24, mobilized in Cadillac Square to denounce the Taft-Hartley slave labor bills and the efforts of Congress to crush organized labor. General Motors later fired 14 men and suspended 23 for participating in this rally. Federated Pictures

## AFL-CIO Unity Discussed At Washington Conference

The joint committees of the AFL and CIO ended their two-day conference on unification in Washington May 2 with a statement that their ten members agree unanimously on the need for

organic unity and will hold other meetings in the near future to consider this and "other mutual problems." At these first sessions, however, each organization rejected the other's proposals for unification.

The CIO plan had four provisions:

1. The creation of joint emergency legislative committees to coordinate the fight of the two organizations against anti-labor bills.
2. An agreement against jurisdictional raids and disputes, effective at once.
3. Acceptance of "the following democratic trade union principles as the basis for further discussion of organic unity: (a) any new organizational structure shall give full and complete recognition to the principle of industrial organization; (b) the autonomous rights of the existing international unions shall be fully respected within a framework of the principles of the new national organization; (c) the new organization shall provide for the creation of effective labor political action machinery for advancing the legislative objectives of organized labor, between elections and at election time."
4. Meetings between committees of AFL and CIO unions in the same field to explore possibilities of joint action in carrying out the above program in their own fields.

The AFL committee would not accept these proposals, presenting instead the following propositions:

1. The CIO unions, "as they

are now organized with their full membership," should affiliate to the AFL in the same way that the United Mine Workers did last year.

2. That such affiliation should take place before the October convention of the AFL, with the CIO unions having full rights to participate at the convention.

3. That in the meantime the joint committees of the two organizations should collaborate in adjusting details and making "recommendations on all matters of recurring importance."

In a statement issued at the end of the two day session last week, it was indicated that the joint committees would meet again before the October convention of the AFL.

"In the meantime," William Green announced on behalf of the joint committees, "we shall continue our efforts to prevent the enactment of highly objectionable anti-labor legislation now being considered in Congress. But there was no indication that such efforts would be jointly planned or conducted."

Discussion also took place around the issue of the World Federation of Trade Unions, with which the CIO is affiliated. Green denounced the WFTU as "Communist-dominated," which Murray denied. According to some reports, the question of the Communist Party's influence in the CIO was not raised at these meetings, despite previous rumors that the AFL leaders would demand elimination of all "reds" as a condition for unification.

(See page 2 for another article on the subject.)

## Republicans And Democrats Put Knife At Labor's Throat

### One-Day Strike Urged By UAW Foundry Council

"A national labor holiday of all members of the labor movement — CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents — in protest against anti-labor legislation and as a demonstration of labor's solidarity, unity and fighting determination to defeat reaction," was recommended by the Foundry Council of the CIO United Auto Workers at a conference in Cleveland, April 26-28.

This proposal was the climax of a resolution adopted by the conference against the Hartley and Taft bills in Congress.

"The anti-labor character of this legislation can be seen in the fact that the Hartley Bill was written by William Ingles, lobbyist for the Allis-Chalmers Co., the J. I. Case Co., and the Inland Steel Co., and Theodore Iserman, attorney for the Chrysler Corporation; while the Taft Bill was written by Gerard Reilly, former anti-labor member of the National Labor Relations Board," the resolution pointed out.

Besides calling for a national labor holiday in protest against the anti-labor bills, the delegates to the Foundry Council also recommended that the UAW International Executive Board "give full support to the current negotiations between the CIO and AFL for the unity of all organized labor to defeat reaction's drive to smash unions and destroy our democratic rights."

MAY 6—Passage by the Senate of the most savage anti-labor legislation in decades became imminent when a coalition of Republican and Democratic Senators on April 30 voted 59 to 35 to put through an omnibus measure rather than break it up into separate bills, some of which could not get by a presidential veto.

The vote was a triumph for Robert A. Taft, boss of the Republican steam-roller in the Senate and prospective candidate for the presidency in 1948.

Taft immediately pressed for inclusion of four provisions removed in Committee. These would grant employers the privilege of using court injunctions to break strikes classified as "jurisdictional," would end industry-wide bargaining and prohibit "coercion" of workers to join unions. They would also ban union welfare funds created from royalties out of profits such as has been won by the coal miners and musicians.

To line up the Republican minority, Taft indicated his readiness to make minor concessions on terminology and possibly give up the provision to outlaw industry-wide bargaining.

On May 2 the Senate voted 60 to 28 to include the so-called "coercion" amendment. This vote is an ominous indication of the strength of the Taft bipartisan machine. The Ohio reactionary needs to line up only four more votes to override a presidential veto — if Truman should exercise the veto.

Taft appears confident that he can succeed in pushing his legislation past a veto. The oppo-



SENATOR TAFT

sition in Congress to the omnibus anti-labor bill scarcely deserves the name. First of all, they agree in principle with the Taft bloc. As political representatives of Wall Street, they are solidly opposed to labor's interests. Most of them have flatly stated that they wish to pass laws against the unions. Some of them are afraid to go as fast and as far as Taft demands. They would prefer a slower pace. Some of them, fearful of what will happen at the polls, are closely watching what labor is doing to oppose passage of the legislation. If the unions put up a strong enough battle, this fear will increase.

But they are likewise fearful of the heavy pressure exerted by the powerful bi-partisan combination. Besides the virtually solid anti-labor Republican line-up, some of the most influential Democrats are swinging with the gloves off. These include Walter F. George of Georgia and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

### LABOR IN DANGER

The labor bureaucrats now count on Truman vetoing the bill. But Truman has as yet given no indication that he intends to do so. He may let the measure become law without his signature. Even if he does veto, the House will certainly override him, and in the Senate the balance hangs by a hair.

Never has the labor movement been in such danger of losing all its hard-won gains at one legislative stroke. Only the most energetic action can save the situation. The 24-hour nationwide protest strike urged by the UAW Foundry Council and the Flint CIO would put great pressure on Truman to veto the bill and help convince Congressmen now wavering that they had better retreat.

Meanwhile union militants should ask themselves why American labor permits the intolerable Wall Street monopoly of Congress to continue. Isn't it time labor seriously set out to put a majority of its own representatives in office and to organize a Labor Party to beat back the union-busters?

## Ask CIO To Call 24-Hour Strike To Protest Anti-Labor Bills

Text of the resolution adopted by the Greater Flint Industrial Council of the CIO, Michigan, April 26:

WHEREAS: The organized labor movement faces the greatest threat to its existence since its inception by the passage of vicious, anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS: The House of Representatives has passed the savage omnibus Hartley bill by a three-to-one vote, confronting the labor movement with the absolute necessity to fight NOW for its very existence, and

WHEREAS: The passage of anti-labor bills in state and national legislatures threatens to engulf the labor movement in a flood of legislative restrictions, and

WHEREAS: Labor must act immediately and with militant action to forestall the anti-labor drive, and

WHEREAS: Labor has organized counter demonstrations in Detroit, Iowa, Chicago, Pennsylvania and New Jersey to protest the NAM and Chamber of Commerce plot to wreck our unions.

### THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED;

That the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council organize a joint committee of the AFL, CIO and independent unions in Flint for the purpose of demonstrating our opposition to this ruthless campaign against the unions, and

### BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That the Council request the National CIO to immediately call a 24-hour General Strike throughout the United States, and

### BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED:

Copies of this resolution be sent to the press, radio, all CIO locals in Flint, the State CIO and National CIO.

## 34,000 Auto Workers Strike In France

(Special To The Militant)

PARIS, France, Apr. 29 — More than 30,000 workers of the nationalized Renault auto plants struck today for a wage boost of 10 francs an hour (equivalent to about 4 cents on the black market).

The strike movement began April 25. It was bitterly opposed by the Stalinist leadership of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). But as it spread despite their strikebreaking efforts, the Stalinist officials decided to issue a "cease work" order.

The Stalinists then sent a CGT negotiating committee to bargain with the management in which the Stalinists likewise hold posts. This committee bypassed the workers' demand for a 10 franc increase, substituting

a 3 franc demand. The management, however, rejected even this demand, referring it to the Minister of Labor, Ambroise Croizat, who is also a Stalinist.

When the Stalinist CGT leaders, Eugene Henaff and Albert Costes tried to present this as a "victory," the vast majority of workers scornfully refused to go back to work, while those who went inside the plants staged a sit-down strike.

Around the plant gates, the strikers hold continuous discussions that are virtually mass meetings. Main targets of the speakers are the Stalinist CGT leadership and the policy of the Communist and Socialist parties in the coalition government, particularly the wage freeze and the phony price controls that have operated to the disadvantage of the workers.

The general tenor of sentiment is as follows: "We have waited long enough for our leaders to act. Now we are taking things into our own hands. Two years ago we had arms and could have strengthened out everything. Our leaders, especially the Communists (Stalinists), persuaded us to lay down our arms and told us we would get everything 'peacefully.' Today we are worse off than ever. They tell us to go back to work, because otherwise we will starve. But we are starving anyway. We're not going back until we get that 10 franc raise."

The Stalinists launched a campaign of violent abuse against the young militants who started the strike movement. Their paper L'Humanite called them "reactionary anarchists" and "Fascist Trotskyists." The strike itself, they said, was a "provocation" to bring de Gaulle to power.

The strike leaders, however, have remained firm. On their proposal, the workers by secret ballot elected strike committees in all departments. In the noon mass meetings at the plant gates all shades of opinion were invited to take the microphone. Only the CGT leadership rejected this invitation, issuing instead leaflets calling for a "back to work" movement.

PARIS, Apr. 30. — With the Renault strike 100% effective, the Stalinist leadership of the CGT has executed another of its lightning turns, deciding to "adopt" the strike as well as the demand for 10 francs increase in wages. L'Humanite front-paged the story today and re-

vealed that Stalinist Minister Croizat intends to place the wage demand before the Cabinet. The General Strike Committee of the Renault workers, however, refused to hand over leadership. They ordered the strike made general in the entire giant enterprise and called for the organization of picket lines "to prevent all provocations for sabotage."

When the Stalinist CGT bureaucrats announced this morning that the management had agreed last night to place the demands before the government (since it is a nationalized plant), the strikers greeted them with cat-calls and boos and voted full confidence in the Strike Committee elected from the ranks.

As picket lines were organized (Continued on Page 4)

# Notebook Of An Agitator

## The Lynching Of "Monsieur Verdoux"

About a year ago I made a firm resolution to boycott all movies unless the picture has a horse for the hero. And I have stuck to it much better than to some other firm resolutions I have made. My heart was in this one; Hollywood double-crossed me once too often. I am no student or critic of cinematic art, but I know what I don't like—and that is the unappetizing and indigestible compound of tripe and treacle which the movie moguls and bankers dish up to the defenseless, amusement-hungry people in the name of art. And I like still less to come out of a theater, after a three-hour bout with a double-feature, with that leaden, sticky feeling of having been played for sucker once more.

Dominated by this mood, I was fully prepared to remain indifferent even to the announcement of a new movie by Chaplin until I noticed the hatchet job most of the critics of the big press were doing on the picture. With almost one voice they denounced Chaplin for introducing social criticism—and deadly serious social criticism at that—into a medium which has become almost universally dedicated to the prettification and falsification of life, and maintained that he wasn't even funny any more. The vicious over-zealousness with which Chaplin and his new film were being attacked, with the obvious design to "kill" the picture before the mass of the people had yet had an opportunity to see it and judge for themselves, aroused suspicions that there might be some ulterior purpose behind the lynching campaign; that the movie critics might be giving a false report of the picture, as most Hollywood pictures give a false report of life.

Word of mouth testimony from some friends who had crossed the critics' picket line to examine the picture for themselves gave support to my suspicions, with the result that after more than six months' total abstinence, this reformed movie addict fell off the wagon and went to see *Monsieur Verdoux*. And I thanked my lucky stars for one of the most enjoyable and satisfactory Saturday afternoons I have had in many a day. The critics are definitely misleading the public in their reviews of this picture.

In *Monsieur Verdoux* the supreme master of the screen discards the familiar role of the little tramp with the baggy pants and flopping shoes to play the part of a suavely mannered, impeccably dressed sophisticate. *Monsieur Verdoux* had been a bank clerk for twenty-five years or so, and was ruthlessly dismissed from his position when the depression came. He had to make a living somehow, so he went into business for himself—the business of marrying women for their money and then disposing of them. He does it all to

support his family to which he is deeply and tenderly attached. It is this theme of the picture, this merciless satire on business in general, and the business of war in particular, that has roused up so much antagonism from those who do not want the truth to be told to the people. Depreciation of war and its mass killing is deemed to be out of season by the powers that be. The bland insistence of *Monsieur Verdoux* that he is only doing on a small scale what others do on a big scale and are acclaimed as heroes for, has set the subservient critics after him like bloodhounds on the trail.

And the justification he gives for his crimes—that he has a dependent family—that is too much like the plea offered in self-defense by all social criminals in our decadent society to be accepted as a joke. It is the truth that hurts.

I personally know a man who betrayed his socialist principles and entered the service of the war-propaganda machine, and then excused his action on the ground that he had a wife and child to support. I don't doubt that he shrugged his shoulders, perhaps a bit regretfully, when the bomb fell on Hiroshima and destroyed a whole city-full of families who also had a right to live and to be supported. That is what *Monsieur Verdoux* did when the police inspector read him the list of a dozen or so women whom he had done away with in the line of business. "After all, one must make a living." Killing is a recognized business in the world as it is organized today.

From the beginning of the picture up to its supremely tragic denouement, this macabre thesis is sustained. How then could comedy be introduced without disintegrating the whole structure into farce? The answer is Chaplin. The comedy in this picture is unsurpassed even in the movies of the Chaplin of old. But the comedy never runs away with the picture. The somber theme dominates the comedy from beginning to end.

The best comedy parts are those which depict the numerous and always unsuccessful attempts of *Monsieur Verdoux* to liquidate one of his numerous wives, a dizzy dame with a raucous, rowdy laugh and a lot of money she had won in a lottery. She simply couldn't be liquidated. Luck was with her every time. The unexpected always happened. This part is played by Martha Raye, and she is terrific. The scene where Chaplin tries to poison her, and the wine glasses get accidentally switched around, and he thinks he has poisoned himself instead, is funny beyond imagining.

Another scene, where *Monsieur Verdoux* in the course of business has finally arranged a wedding with another moneyed widow, after long and arduous preparation, is a masterpiece of comic frustration. It was to be a fashionable wedding. A host of guests were assembled. The preacher had arrived. The bride-

# The Crucial Issues At Stake In AFL-CIO Unity Proposals

By George Breitman

A united labor movement would have a potentially greater striking power than the AFL and CIO have separately. It would make it easier to attract and unionize millions of hitherto unorganized workers—as in the South; it would tend to eliminate conflicts among the workers and thus strengthen them in their struggles against the employers; it could serve to consolidate their political power in resisting the fierce attacks being directed against organized labor in the national and state capitals.

That is why every American worker instinctively agrees with the joint AFL-CIO committee in Washington last week, that unification of these two great

organizations would be desirable. (See Page 1 for report on Washington Conference.)

But as the discussions in Washington showed, mere agreement on the need for organic unity does not solve the problems facing American labor. In fact, unity proposals can be used to cloak dangerous moves against the interests of the organized workers.

The greatest of these dangers was illustrated at the Washington conference when the AFL representatives refused to accept the CIO proposition that in any new organizational structure the united organization must recognize the principle of industrial unionism and agree to respect the autonomous rights of existing international unions.

Refusal to make such a pledge means that the AFL leaders re-

main what they have been—enemies of industrial unionism. Without such a pledge and safeguards to back it up, the AFL Executive Council—which would dominate any unified organization based on the present relationship of forces between the CIO and AFL—would be in a position to try to cut the industrial unions to pieces for the benefit of the powerful craft union bureaucrats.

It must never be forgotten that the present AFL leadership consists essentially of the same die-hard craft unionists who expelled the unions that launched the industrial organization drive through the CIO a little over 10 years ago. That the workers had to break away from the AFL Council's domination in order to be able to organize the great mass industries. That they had to fight not only the big corporations but also the AFL bureaucrats before they could build their unions in auto, steel, rubber, electrical and other basic industries.

No trust whatever can be placed in these AFL bureaucrats, who are still motivated by hostility to the inherently more democratic and militant form of industrial unionism. Unless the proper safeguards are installed in advance, there is every danger that, following a unification on the basis of last week's AFL proposals, they would unleash merciless jurisdictional warfare against the industrial unions. What else does their rejection of the CIO proposal mean?

### WHY NO JOINT ACTION

Unity to strengthen the labor movement is necessary and desirable. But far better to have no unity at all for the time being than to imperil the very existence of the progressive form of labor organization, the industrial unions! The CIO leaders were 100% correct in insisting on guarantees for the preservation of the industrial unions before agreeing to a merger.

The AFL leaders have claimed that they want unity in order to be able to beat down the anti-labor offensive. But they have consistently turned down the CIO's offer, which was repeated at last week's conference, for joint action against the anti-labor bills. Why? Doesn't this—like the AFL rejection of guar-

antees for preservation of industrial unionism—throw suspicion on the real motives behind the AFL leader's proposal?

What the AFL leaders are primarily concerned about in the anti-labor drive is its menace to their privileged positions, and not the welfare of the rank and file. They hope to dodge this menace not by mobilizing the workers for struggle but by making appeasement concessions to the employers and capitalist politicians. They are fiercely opposed to any form of militant action. It is no secret, for example, that they not only strongly disapproved of the CIO strike struggles last year but that they actually held those strikes to be "responsible" for the present rash of anti-labor bills.

### AFL LEADERS' PLAN

To put over their program of conciliation with the employers, they are seeking the kind of unification which will place the entire labor movement under the domination of a coalition of conservative AFL and CIO leaders. Under this arrangement, strikes would be discouraged, militancy would be limited and red-baiting would be intensified. In other words, the AFL leaders hope to do voluntarily what the capitalist politicians are seeking to achieve by legislative means. This hope is buttressed by the fact that many top CIO leaders have become increasingly conservative and bureaucratic in recent years.

If the CIO leaders will not go along with this plan, the AFL bureaucrats can then charge them with responsibility for the continued division of the labor movement, and use this situation as a pretext for launching a new wave of jurisdictional attacks against the CIO unions.

That is why the members of both CIO and AFL unions must back up the demands of the CIO leaders for safeguards on in-

dustrial unionism and remain on guard against assaults upon the autonomy of existing international unions and upon the democratic rights of the rank and file.

A crucial question affecting the whole future of the labor movement was posed point-blank in the course of the unity discussions. That is the question of labor political action.

### LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

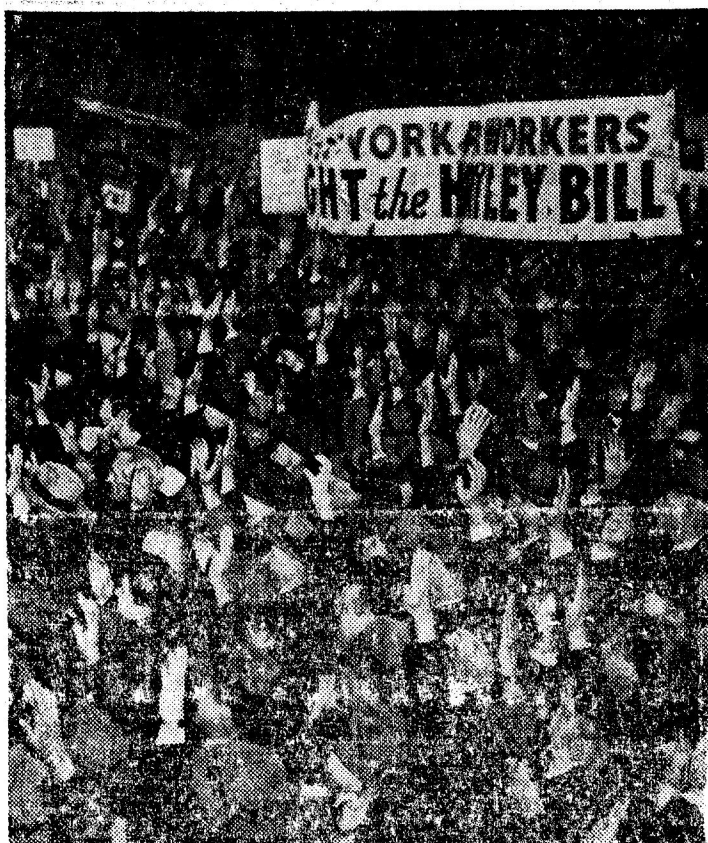
At the Washington conference the CIO leaders asked for provision of political action machinery in the unified organization. This was flatly rejected by the AFL negotiators. The CIO representatives at least recognized the fact that labor's rights and standards are being cut down through political attacks by its enemies and that they can be protected only by labor political action.

But what Murray and the other CIO leaders want is a continuation of the present CIO-PAC policy, which has led only to one political disaster after another, and the election of the most rabidly anti-labor Congress in U. S. history.

As against the CIO's PAC policy and the AFL's "reward your friends" policy, the militants should press for the adoption of a political action program which can arm the unions for effective struggle. This requires a definitive break with both capitalist parties and the launching of an independent labor party dedicated to electing its own candidates on a labor program.

Although independent labor political action cannot be put forward as an indispensable condition for AFL-CIO unity, it does open up the only road out of the existing blind alley for labor. It is all the more important to keep this in mind because many workers are under the illusion that unification of the trade union movement in and of itself will suffice to halt the drive of reaction.

## New York Rally To Defend Labor



In a protest rally against the enactment of the Hartley-Taft slave labor bills, 35,000 New York workers in Madison Square Park raise hands in support of a speaker condemning the legislation. A resolution sent to CIO President Murray and AFL President Green hailed efforts "to unite all organizations in the struggle against reaction and special privilege." Federated Pictures

## Militant Picket Line Greet Fascist Smith In Philadelphia

By John Haas

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—With less than 24 hours to prepare, an emergency picket line of 200 met fascist Gerald L. K. Smith when he sneaked into this city for the first time on May Day to spill his race-hate and anti-labor venom in a meeting at Town Hall. Although the Smith meeting drew only 300, mostly middle-aged and old people, the local police department, upon his request, provided him with extensive protection. The traffic detail and detective bureau vied with the picket line in numbers.

Participating in the demonstration were the Socialist Workers Party, Workers Party and token forces from trade unions notably electrical workers from Westinghouse and RCA and SKF steelworkers. Herbert Meyer, secretary of the CIO Industrial Union Council, was also present. In the absence of official clearance, members of the American Veterans Committee, American Youth for Democracy, and the Hashomer Hatzair joined the demonstration on their own. The Communist (Stalinist) Party sabotaged the demonstration by a boycott.

As the large line marched up and down in front of Town Hall,

**NEWARK**  
American Committee for European Workers Relief  
Presents  
Maxim Gorki's Movie  
"THE LOWER DEPTHS"  
with  
Louis Jouvet and Jean Gabin  
Sun., May 25 8:30 p.m.  
Mosque Theatre  
Lodge Room

**URGENTLY NEEDED**  
The following back issues of 'New International' are needed for binding:  
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## Angered By Deal In Chicago Phone Strike

CHICAGO, May 5—Members of the Commercial Telephone Workers Union voted last Saturday to accept the \$4 settlement offered by the Illinois Bell Telephone Company. The Federation of Telephone Clerks the next day also voted for the settlement.

This was the result of extreme pressure from the leadership. A strong minority opposed the undercutting of the NFTW demands because it would weaken the national struggle, and foster inter-union hostility and hinder efforts to form one solid national telephone union.

Anne Benscoter, president of the Illinois Telephone Traffic Union and member of the national negotiating committee, flew here from Washington upon hearing that her executive board had made the same settlement. The members denounced the executive board, stood solidly behind Anne Benscoter and by a 3 to 1 vote rejected the independent settlement. In addition, the ITTU fired their attorney, Edwin R. Hackett, who is president of the CTWU, for his sell-out.

Thus 5 out of 7 unions in Chicago are still out on strike while the majority of the members of the other two unions have refused to cross picket lines.

Ethel Peterson of the CTWU was invited to speak at a mass meeting of the American Union of Telephone Workers to express the opinion of those in the CTWU who opposed the settlement. She stated that "telephone workers must continue their solidarity and fight to the end to make our would-be slave-masters bow down and recognize our human rights to decide our own fate."

"There are many in my union," she noted, "that deplore the action taken in making an independent settlement which plays into the hands of the company, and aids the AT&T in its tactics of divide and conquer, divide and rule."

**AKRON SOCIAL**  
Dancing, Games  
Entertainment  
Sat., May 24  
8 So. Howard St.  
Auspices:  
American Committee for European Workers Relief

**NEW YORK**  
Invitation To  
**Cafe Internationale**  
Sat., May 17, 9 p.m.  
**IRVING PLAZA**  
15 Irving Place  
(Near 14th Street)  
Auspices:  
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# Is The Communist Party A Workers' Organization?

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the sixth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

Stalinism, like every other force obstructing the emancipation struggle of the workers, thrives on confusion and assiduously disseminates it in the labor movement. The Stalinists also profit not a little by the confusion in the heads of some of their bitterest and most conscientious opponents. Their misunderstanding of the question arises in part from an emotional approach to the question. Hatred is permitted to obscure reason, and no good ever came from that.

Nothing is better calculated to lead the opponents of Stalinism in the United States astray than the simple description of this monstrosity as the agency of a foreign power, and in turn, the designation of this foreign power as an exploiting class, imperialistic to boot, which dominates more than one-sixth of the earth and is reaching out for the rest of it.

This conception, which would put the Communist Party in the same category as the unlamented German-American Bund, clashes with reality at every step and leads to tactics in the struggle against Stalinism which are futile and self-defeating every time. It bars a tactical approach to the masses of workers under the control and influence of the Communist Party, and thus inadvertently aids the Stalinist bureaucrats in consolidating and retaining this control and influence.

Such a theory would be absolutely fatal in western Europe where the Stalinists dominate virtually the whole working class movement. And it certainly is of no help even in the United States. Stalinism is relatively weak here, and for numerous and weighty reasons can scarcely be expected ever to play the dominating role it plays in Europe. Nevertheless, it is a serious obstacle to the development of a genuinely revolutionary movement, and consequently to the mobilization of the masses for resolute action in the class struggle which would lead objectively to the socialist goal. For that reason we should fight it. But in order to achieve success we must fight Stalinism with a correct understanding of its nature and role.

## Workers Must Fight Stalinism

If the Communist Party were merely a "Fifth Column" and terrorist gang operating in America as the agency of a foreign "imperialist" government, then the problem would be considerably simpler and easier for the working class movement. And it would be no problem at all to the government at Washington, which is indeed imperialist and has the means to cope with foreign agents and spies. This was shown in the case of the German-American Bund. Fritz Kuhn's sorry "Bund" — equipped with "storm troopers" and all — was easily isolated and could gain no serious influence in the American trade unions. The FBI and other governmental agencies had no difficulty in liquidating this fantastic Hitlerite agency when they got ready to do so. And it never once occurred to any working class tendency, faction or party to come to the defense of the "Bund."

The same prescription does not work, however, and will not work in the case of American Stalinism. Fascism and Stalinism, although much similar in their methods and practices, have entirely different social foundations on their home grounds where they wield state power, and this applies to their foreign extensions too. The rather wide-spread conception that the Communist Party is a formation similar to Hitler's "Fifth Column" and can be treated accordingly, is profoundly false. The Stalinists make the labor movement the main base of their operations, and it is there that they must be fought, and fought, moreover, with working class means.

The analogy which can best aid our thinking on this question is provided by the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks and the early Comintern in the struggle against the Social Democrats. The German Social Democracy betrayed the proletariat in the First World War; and following that, after they came into control of the government, they employed the police and the army to slaughter tens of thousands of workers in suppressing the proletarian revolution. Besides that the noble Social Democrats were accountable for a substantial number of "unofficial" murders of revolutionary leaders, such as the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Despite these crimes, the Social Democrats retained a strong organization and influence in the labor movement, as do the present-day Stalinists — despite their crimes. A strong tendency arose among the revolutionary workers to regard the Social Democratic party as no longer a workers' organization, and to reject any kind of a tactical approach to its members. This characterization proved to be one-sided, too simple, and therefore false and harmful to the further development of the workers' revolutionary movement. This attitude had to be radically changed before the young Communist Party of Germany could make any real headway in the struggle against the Social Democratic traitors.

## Differ In Degree, Not Principle

By their program and their policies the Social Democratic parties then, as now, were petty-bourgeois and not proletarian parties. But by their tradition and composition, by the fact that they made their main base of operation the working class movement, and by the fact that the workers considered them to be workers' organizations — they had to be designated as such: more precisely, as an organized tendency within the labor movement which the revolutionary party had to combat by tactical means as well as by frontal principled struggle. The Leninist policy of the united front followed inexorably from this basic

analysis. This opened the path of the revolutionary party to the Social Democratic workers.

There are many differences between Social Democracy and Stalinism, especially in the domain of methods, but in our view they are differences of degree and not of principle. The Social Democrats substituted the program of class collaboration and reform for the program of class struggle and the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists do the same thing, on a far greater scale. The Social Democrats lied and slandered, murdered and betrayed. The Stalinists do the same thing, also on a far greater scale. Both confuse, disorient and demoralize the advanced workers and disrupt their struggle against capitalism. And they are able to do so precisely because they work inside the labor movement and demoralize it from within.

Traditional Social Democracy doesn't amount to much in the United States. Its place and its essential function is taken over by the official trade union bureaucracy. This bureaucracy also represents a tendency, although an alien tendency, within the labor movement, which also serves a foreign power — the government of the capitalists — and it is more firmly rooted, more influential, more powerful, and therefore a more formidable enemy, at the present time at least, than the Stalinists.

Our method of fighting this formidable bureaucracy in the American labor movement is and must be the method worked out by the Russian Bolsheviks to combat the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, and later taught by them to the young Communist Parties of the early Comintern. We oppose the reactionary bureaucrats in principle, and the main burden of our irreconcilable struggle against them must be devoted to denunciation and exposure of their perfidious role. Subordinate to that, but inseparably connected, goes the tactical approach to the vast masses of workers under their influence and domination.

## Leninist Tactic Of United Front

This is the Leninist tactic of the united front. We demand of the bureaucrats that they break their alliance with the capitalist political parties and follow an independent class policy on the political field. We give critical support to the bureaucrats in all cases where they find themselves obliged to lead the struggles of the workers for the improvement of their conditions or the defense for their rights. We defend the unions and the individual labor leaders against any attack or infringement from the side of the government. The workers learn more from experience than from propaganda. It is only by participating in the struggles of the workers along these lines that we will win them over to an aggressive class-struggle policy and eventually to a socialist consciousness.

On the ground that the Communist Party is not a working class organization and not a tendency in the labor movement, a contention is advanced that we can have a different attitude toward the Communist Party, or to those trade unions or other workers' organizations under its control, when they find themselves in clashes with the capitalist class or its governmental agencies. To think so requires an absurd, subjectively-motivated denial of reality. Such a mistake can only lead its proponents, if they follow out the logic of their analysis, into the bourgeois camp. Unfortunately, that is precisely what has happened to the great majority of American anti-Stalinists.

Stalinism is a new phenomenon of the last quarter of a century, and is unique in many ways. But this does not change the essential fact that it is a tendency in the labor movement. It is rooted in the trade unions and wields influence over a section of the progressive workers. That is precisely the reason that it is such a great problem and such a great obstacle to the emancipation struggle of the workers. In our opinion, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle against Stalinism without proceeding from this premise. Stalinism is an internal problem of the labor movement which, like every other internal problem, only the workers can solve.

The gist of the matter, let us repeat, consists in the fact that the mis-named Communist Party makes its main field of activity the trade union movement; wields a certain influence there; and by a combination of demagoguery, machination, bureaucratic repression and gangster violence — aided no little by the stupidities of its opponents — has gained the controlled position in numerous unions and represents an influential force in others. And these unions, just like the unions under the control of the anti-Stalinist conservatives, by the logic of the class struggle frequently come into conflict with the employers and even with the government and find themselves involved in strikes.

## Class Analysis Determines Tactic

Shall these strikes be supported on the general principle of class solidarity, or should support be withheld because of the circumstance that the official leaders are Stalinists? And should these leaders, in case they are arrested in the course of strike activities, be defended — also on the general principle of class solidarity against the class enemy? And should the legal rights of the Communist Party be defended against the red-baiters?

Those who say no, end the debate so far as we are concerned. By that fact they take their place in the camp of the class enemy. Those who say yes, thereby recognize implicitly the falsity of the contention that Stalinism is not a tendency in the labor movement, to be contended with as such. There is no getting around this question. It must be squarely faced and answered.

This question arose very acutely in last year's strikes of the Stalinized "UE" against Westinghouse and General Electric. And again in the long drawn-out strike of the auto workers at Allis Chalmers, which was indubitably dominated by a Stalinist leadership. And again in the recent strike of the National Maritime Union, which had been completely under Stalinist domination for years, and was still partly so. And it is sharply posed right now by the movement to pass legislation outlawing the Communist Party.

A clear understanding and recognition of the class nature of the Communist Party as a workers' organization — as a tendency in the labor movement — determines the tactical approach of the revolutionary workers to the problem. Stalinism cannot be disposed of by reliance on police measures of the bourgeois state — the very idea is ludicrous — nor by anathema and excommunication from the labor movement, when the power to enforce it is lacking. Nothing will do but an uncompromising principled fight, combined with a tactical approach which will enable the revolutionary party to win the workers away from its perfidious influence. From the revolutionary point of view, that is the heart of the problem of fighting Stalinism in a way that will lead to its elimination from the working class movement, not in fancy but in fact.

(Next week: The Prospects of American Stalinism.)

# Oust Stalinist Ministers In France As Ramadier Bids For Truman Aid

By Joseph Hansen

Paul Ramadier, "Socialist" Premier of France, has booted the five Communist (Stalinist) Ministers out of the coalition government without even waiting for approval from the National Council of the Socialist Party. Regardless of the attitude taken by the SP Council, this important political action by the Premier marks a new stage in the unfolding of the class struggle in France.

When Ramadier asked his fellow party member, Vincent Auriol, President of France, to transfer three Ministerial posts provisionally on May 4, he launched a policy the French "Socialists" have not dared to follow since the close of the war. Up to now they have refused to assume the damaging responsibility of conducting the government for the French capitalists unless the Stalinists likewise participated. What is the source of this sudden courage on the part of these "Socialist" Ministers and Deputies?

The source is Washington. When Truman announced his new "doctrine," every foul reactionary in the world took it as a go ahead signal. In France, de Gaulle, the candidate for a new dictatorial Bonaparte, came out of retirement. He had visions of unlimited funds flowing into his coffers from Wall Street as well as military supplies and government loans from Washington.

In the light of the Truman "doctrine," the French "Socialists" likewise feel stronger. Support from Washington, they calculate, will more than make up for any losses entailed by a rightward shift. They are, consequently, competing with de Gaulle to

serve as agents of Washington. The Communist (Stalinist) Ministers were ousted because they refused to give the government a vote of confidence for its wage-freezing policy. This vote appears illogical, since up to May 4 they were architects of this policy and among its most ardent advocates.

They found themselves compelled to vote against the policy they have been supporting up to now because of the rising militancy of the French workers. They obviously consider the strike in the key Renault auto works as a danger signal. The workers are beginning to break away from Stalinist leadership and to lift up a new, militant leadership from the ranks. The workers want decisive action to solve the acute problems that have plagued them since the end of the war.

The French Stalinists fear this growing domestic opposition which can undermine them in short order. But they would continue their past course of open betrayal of the workers despite this fear if they were so ordered by the Kremlin. Therefore, it is clear they have been given an OK from Moscow to make a shift.

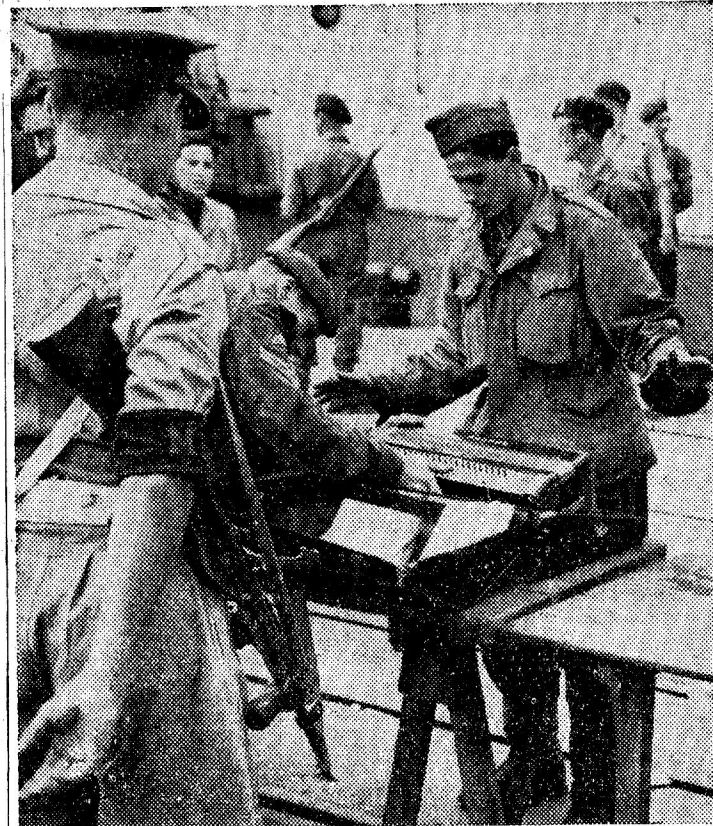
The French Stalinist leaders have found it increasingly embarrassing to officially participate in a government engaged in putting down colonial rebellions. The popularity of the Indo-Chinese cause among French workers, for instance, caused the Stalinists great uneasiness, since their Ministers voted for arms to shoot down the Indo-Chinese. Until after the Moscow Conference, however, the French Stalinists continued to pursue their embarrassing dual policy of having their Ministers vote for the policy of suppressing the Indo-Chinese while the Stalinist deputies tried to maintain the party's popularity by abstaining.

With the failure of the Moscow Conference, Stalin decided to permit the French Stalinists to make a turn. As an opposition party out of the government, their hands are freer to oppose the pressure of Washington in France. Naturally, this opposition is aimed solely to serve the foreign interests of the Kremlin.

At the same time, the French Stalinists undoubtedly hope to polish up their damaged reputations, recoup their political losses, picking up what the "Socialists" lose, and with a gain in membership increase their bargaining power. In this game, the Kremlin considers the French working class nothing but a pawn.

How long the French Stalinists will remain out of the government remains to be seen. They cannot be trusted for one moment.

## British Troops Search Refugee



Removed from a refugee ship that tried to land in Haifa harbor, this Jewish immigrant is guarded by one British soldier as another searches his accoutrements for possible weapons. The execution of four members of the underground has set off another wave of violence. Federated Pictures

# British Terror In Palestine Recalls Scenes Under Hitler

By H. Vallin

Once more the bridges and viaducts in Palestine are being blown up. Bombs are exploding in the British officers' clubs. In retaliation the English army of occupation decrees martial law; curfew is imposed. And in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem are repeated the scenes which the workers of Europe remember so well from the days of Hitlerite occupation: passers-by lined up against a wall to be searched for "weapons," military police detachments raiding homes, man hunts to capture members and leaders of the terrorist organizations, "Irgun Zvai Leumi" and "Stern" which are challenging the power and prestige of imperialist occupation.

If goes without saying that all class conscious workers must condemn without reservation the repressions which the British are directing for the moment against the Jewish population of Palestine and which will set the stage for beating down all the more savagely the Arab population at the first signs of revolt. When the apologists of imperialism allege that it is the terrorists who are "attacking" while imperialism is only "defending itself," each class conscious worker must reply:

"But why do the British troops remain in the country? Let England immediately withdraw its army from Palestine, and there will be no more reason for it to 'defend itself' against the Palestinian population!"

## ANALYZE ITS AIMS

But in condemning the British repressions, the conscious worker ought not automatically to embrace the cause of the Jewish terrorists. He should, rather, carefully analyze the aims and the social origins of this movement.

The terrorists and their spokesmen abroad, the so-called "Jewish Committee for National Liberation," pretend to fight for an independent Palestine and to drive British imperialism from the country. They employ the vocabulary of the European resistance movements under the Nazi occupation.

But their true, reactionary and anti-labor character appears more clearly when one examines the declarations of the leaders to the effect that they are not in favor of free elections — until "the Hebrew people who are in foreign lands will have had the opportunity to re-enter their fatherland." These strange "liberators" and "democrats" in reality wish to impose on Palestine the dictatorship of a minority of the population (at present the Jews constitute only 25% of the Palestinian population) and to deprive the Arab population of its political sovereignty, just as British imperialism does.

The reactionary character of the terrorist movement stands out even more clearly in the recent attacks launched by its members on the locals of the extreme left Zionist workers party,

whatever in promoting the establishment of Jewish supremacy in Palestine. Quite the contrary.

Immediately after the war it was busy wooing the Arab feudalists, who were being courted at the same time by the American imperialists. In order not to lose the good will of the Arab feudal chiefs, the English government was ready to completely stop Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Such were the conditions under which the protest movement by world Zionism was unleashed. It is easy to see that this movement does not at all wish to drive from Palestine British imperialism, which is regarded as an indispensable ally against an eventual Arab revolt. This movement pursues the sole aim of EXERTING PRESSURE on the British government for concessions on immigration.

In order to demonstrate their "good will" towards imperialism, the Zionist leaders have suddenly abandoned the terrorists, whom they had clandestinely supported in past years. This explains the desperate fury to which the terrorists have been driven.

(This is the first in a series of articles on the Palestine Question by a Belgian Trotskyist. The second will appear next week.)

## FEAR ARAB REVOLT

Thanks to a constant inflow of foreign capital, the Jews have constructed in Palestine a closed economy within the Arab economy. This economy affords them a standard of living far higher than that of the Arab population, even though it falls below English or American living standards. But the Jewish population constitutes a tiny island surrounded by an Arab world in ferment. It is in mortal fear of the perspective of an Arab revolt which threatens to drown in blood the Zionist dream of a Jewish State.

It is this fear which drives the Jewish population of Palestine to demand an unlimited Jewish immigration because each new Jewish immigrant is one more soldier and imperceptibly tends to change the relationship of forces between Arabs and Jews to the advantage of the latter. It is likewise with an eye to the future military showdown between the Arabs and Jews, considered inevitable by the Zionists, that they have created a powerful army, the Hagana, in which practically every adult Jew in the country is enrolled.

The Hagana was armed during the war, in great measure with the aid of British imperialism, in case Rommel attacked Palestine and as a safeguard against an Arab uprising. It was the Hagana that first used terrorists for bold military raids behind the German-Italian lines during the war, as strikebreakers against the Arabs, etc.

In return for services rendered to imperialism, the Zionist leaders hoped to obtain at the end of the war rewards in the form of unlimited freedom of immigration, or in any case large scale immigration into Palestine. However, these hopes were cruelly dashed.

## UTILIZES ANTAGONISMS

British imperialism knows well how to UTILIZE for its own benefit antagonisms between the Jews and Arabs, and how to EXPLOIT FOR ITS OWN PROFIT the Zionist movement against Arab liberation movements. But it has no interest

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"The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind." Leon Trotsky

## Rising Fear Of War

Two recent polls indicate how apprehensive the American people are over Wall Street's drive toward another war. George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, reported April 28 that more than seven out of 10 voters are convinced World War III will break within 25 years. Five out of 10 believe it will come within 10 years.

The poll showed a decided shift in public opinion since March 1945. At that time only 38% thought another war would occur within 25 years, while 45% thought it impossible and 17% had no opinion. By March 1946 the percentages were 69% yes, 19% no and 12% had no opinion. Today the percentages are 73% yes, 18% no and 9% no opinion.

The other poll, reported by the May 2 PM, is even more significant, since it indicates the general awareness among the people of who is responsible for the course toward war. More than 15,000 people from all over the United States responded to a debate on America's Town Meeting of the Air—"Does Our New Foreign Policy Lead to Peace or War?" Max Lerner of PM and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho held that it does. Opposing them were Alf Landon, former Republican candidate for President, and James Burnham, professor at New York University and renegade from the Marxist movement.

Out of the 15,000 replies, 75% were convinced that the Truman Doctrine is leading toward war!

These two polls give an excellent indication of the widespread fear of war and opposition to the Truman Doctrine. They confirm the timeliness of the proposal made by the Socialist Workers Party that the war-making powers be taken away from Congress and the decision on plunging into war or remaining at peace be vested in the people. This proposal is summed up in the slogan, "Let The People Decide For Themselves The Question of Peace or War!"

This demand should be vigorously pushed by every one who opposes imperialist war. If the war-making powers are left with Wall Street's political representatives in the White House and Congress, they will disregard public opposition and take America into World War III just as they disregarded public opposition and took America into World War I and World War II.

## They Are All Guilty

The United States has just indicted 24 executives of the huge I. G. Farbenindustrie for "fomenting and waging aggressive war, for mass murder and plunder, and for generous financial assistance" to enable Hitler to come to power. These top German industrialists are surely guilty of the crimes enumerated. They are no less guilty than Hitler, Goebbels and Goering who served as their hired agents. The German workers would long since have hanged these industrial pirates and their Nazi accomplices, had they not been prevented by the American Military Occupation.

The German Farbenindustrie was only one link in a chain of international cartels which were fomenting war and aided the rise of Hitler and Mussolini to power. The Militant has continuously exposed the crimes of the American co-conspirators with the I. G. Farbenindustrie against the American people and the peoples of the world. Dow Chemical, Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Aluminum Company of America specifically mentioned in the indictment are only some of the American firms that worked as partners of the accused German industrialists. If the facts were fully uncovered, every member of America's Sixty Richest Families would share in the guilt.

Does the indictment include these American industrial gangsters as co-defendants? Not at all. It explicitly states that the American industrialists entered into cartel arrangements with their Nazi bloodbrothers which directly led to "mass murder and spoliation." But it resorts to trickery by claiming that these innocent American lambs were hoodwinked into making these agreements. The indictment, of course, fails to mention the enormous sums the monopolists received for their part of the deals, as it remains silent

about the financial assistance they gave to Hitler and his storm troopers.

This crude and clumsy attempt to shield and whitewash the American industrial brigands should be exposed. The American labor movement should call upon the government also to indict the officials of all the corporations in this country which entered into cartels with I. G. Farbenindustrie and other German concerns and are equally guilty of the crimes attributed to their German partners.

Let all the capitalist conspirators be haled before an American tribunal and made to pay for their crimes. Let the people of this country learn the whole truth about these high-placed murderers for profit.

## Vote--For Whom?

At the huge demonstration against anti-labor legislation in Detroit's Cadillac Square on April 24, UAW vice-president Richard T. Leonard said:

"Had the multitude that I am facing today gathered in such numbers at the voting booths last Nov. 5 there would be no necessity for today's rally."

This statement was partly true and partly false.

It is true that by political action last year the American workers could have changed the situation in Congress today. Instead of being on the defensive against Big Business and its political agents, the labor movement could now have been in position at Washington not only to defend but to advance its own interests, living standards and rights.

But not merely by going to the voting booths in great numbers. Not by doing what Leonard and the other union bureaucrats advised them to do last November—to support Democrats against Republicans. The proof of this is in the vote on the Hartley bill in the House of Representatives where a majority of the Democrats, just like a majority of the Republicans, voted to cripple the labor movement.

Only by sending scores of labor's own representatives to Congress last November could the workers have been able to impede the present anti-labor legislative drive. For that it was necessary to create a labor party, which Leonard and the other top union officials stubbornly opposed and fought against.

The need for political action—independent political action against the capitalist parties and politicians—is the most pressing problem before American labor. The union militants will have to take the lead in promoting this labor party movement. Only under irresistible pressure from the ranks will the bureaucrats be compelled to break labor's captivity to the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties.

## Centralia Whitewash

After the Centralia mine disaster claimed the lives of 111 coal miners, Governor Green of Illinois appointed a hand-picked committee to investigate the causes of the tragedy. This Republican politician had turned a deaf ear to the plea sent by these miners a year before "to please save our lives" by enforcing the state mine safety laws.

Green's committee prohibited testimony that the Illinois Department of Mines had shaken down mine operators for campaign contributions to the Republican Party in return for the privilege of disregarding safety regulations. This was so raw that four Democratic members on the committee walked out. The five remaining Republican wheelhorses have now brought in their report.

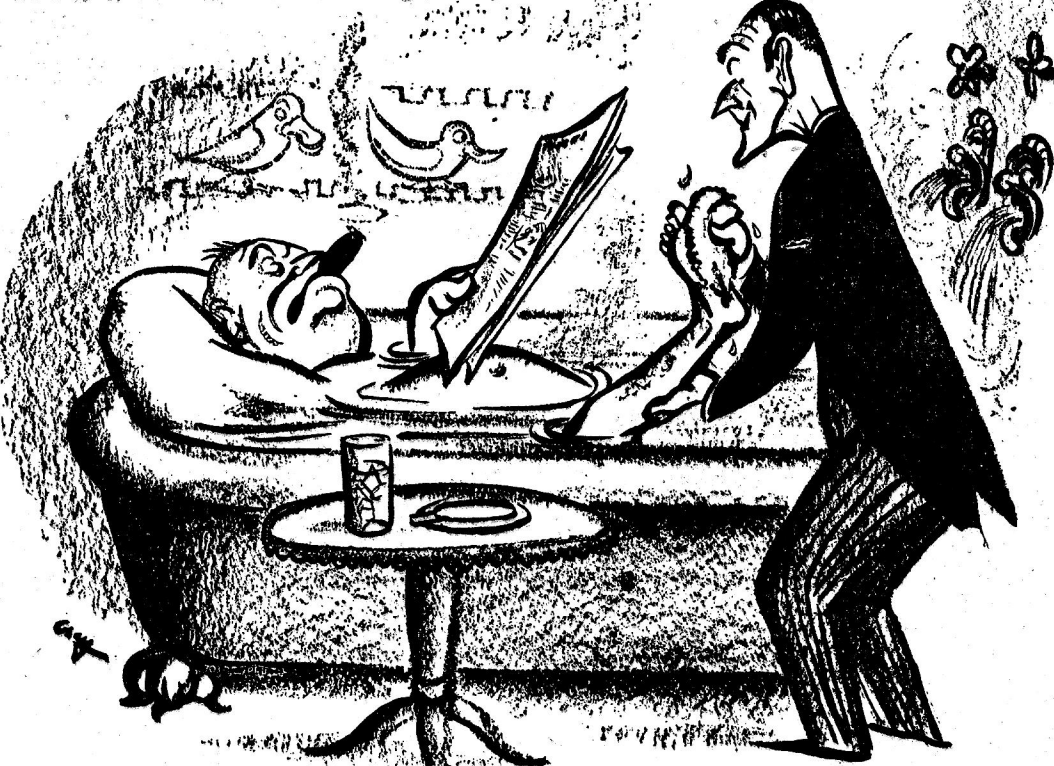
This report whitewashes all those in high places whose criminal negligence contributed to the murders. It piously mentions the equal "responsibility" of the coal operators and the State Department of Mines. But the only person referred to by name is Driscoll O. Scanlan, the local mine inspector. It happens that Scanlan, who has been singled out to "take the rap," is the one official in whom Centralia miners placed any confidence. He is the only inspector who displayed any sympathy for the men of Local 52 in their year-long fight to ward off the anticipated explosion.

The report keeps silent about Robert M. Medill who resigned as Mine Inspection chief after the disaster. Under Governor Green's orders, Medill sided with the operators against the miners and converted the mine inspecting force into a bunch of "boodley boys." Medill blasted Scanlan for his warnings about the dangers at Centralia, saying "those damned hunkies at the Centralia mine wouldn't know the conditions at the mine if you didn't bring it to their attention in your reports."

Nor does this corrupt committee hold any one in the management responsible. Yet the dead men tried to get the mining certificates of the superintendent and other officials revoked because they refused to observe the safety laws.

In like fashion the Federal authorities, including Interior Secretary J. A. Krug, have been given a clean bill of health. The contract Krug signed with the UMW specified: "The Coal Mines Administrator is the exclusive agency charged with enforcement of this (safety) code and the correction of violations thereof." Nevertheless, the Federal government, which "seized" the mines to break the strike, took no steps to enforce the Federal Mine Safety Code at Centralia or elsewhere.

The Centralia tragedy shocked the American people. 400,000 soft coal miners stopped work for a week to protest the murder of their comrades. Despite these outcries, a shameless and contemptible whitewash of these crimes has been staged by the Illinois politicians. The widows and orphans of the dead men, the miners and the entire American working class will not be silent until an honest inquiry throws full light on these massacres for profit and the guilty are brought to justice.



"To make good, Montgomery, you've got to start at the bottom and work your way up."

## Workers BOOKSHELF

**THE PURPLE TESTAMENT**, edited by Don M. Wolfe, Doubleday & Co., 1946, 361 pp., \$2.50.

This book was written by 53 disabled veterans of World War II when they were taking a course in English composition at a university where they were training to become counselors to other disabled veterans. It does not pretend to be a finely contrived literary work; it is more than that; it is an honest record of important moments in the lives of young Americans before, during and after the war, and what they thought about them.

Most of the chapters in the book are very short—two or three pages on an average. It therefore gives a wide coverage to a diversity of experiences. The following are a few which stood out for one reader.

The 16-year old lad who left his unhappy home at the beginning of the depression and wandered around lonely and unloved until he joined the Army; the reluctance of a rookie to get out of his cot on a cold morning; the sensation of a paratrooper-trainee on the occasion of his first jump.

The resentment of a soldier who was almost court-martialed because he approached a colonel on a train and politely asked him if he would have a drink; the embarrassment of a young sailor who was caught in the unparadiseable, un-American act of using the private toilet of the captain of his ship; an eyewitness report on "Justice—Litchfield Style."

The scenes, sounds and taste of battle in all parts of the world, on land and on sea, in foxholes, and in the air; the sensations recorded by different kinds of men when they were finally hit; the agony of a soldier whose buddies in a Flying Fort were lost on the day he was left behind in a hospital for some minor illness.

D-Day in Normandy and the account of it by the only soldier in his outfit who survived the assault-landing; a report of the capture of Viru harbor on New Georgia, recorded in the official communique in only 37 words; the "tragedy at Palermo," when through an error American ships shot down American planes and American gunners then slaughtered American airmen descending in parachutes.

This short account only touches the highlights; there are many more. The book deserves a very wide distribution for that reason; and also because all profits on the book are to be divided among the 53 authors.

—H. L. BENTLEY

War I.

The author, Elliot Paul, lived on a lower middle-class Paris street for twenty years. Unlike many foreign correspondents, he spoke French, made close friends with his neighbors, and knew their lives intimately. He tells his story from the point of view of these friends of his on the street—a clerk, a government worker, a laborer, a politician.

There was a terrible decline in their living standards in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1936 a tremendous wave of strikes shook the country. A "Popular Front" government was formed by the Socialist Party and Communist Party, in alliance with liberal capitalist politicians.

The disillusionment was swift and terrible. The Socialist and Communist parties kept on capitulating to the capitalist government. The profit system with its unemployment and misery remained. The people on Elliot Paul's street clenched their fists in their bitter anger, but could do nothing about it. Their leadership—the Socialist and Communist parties—had betrayed them.

After the collapse of the Popular Front government nothing remained but hopelessness. When the Germans marched in, they found opposing them a completely demoralized people who had no faith in their treacherous leadership, or in the corrupt, inefficient government. That is the true history of events leading to the German occupation of 1940. This book provides an understanding of these events despite a certain sentimentality and lack of political analysis on the part of the author.

—JULES KRAMER

**THE LAST TIME I SAW PARIS**, by Elliot Paul, Bantam Books, 1946, 416 pp., 25 cents.

This book destroys a myth about pre-war France. It was supposed to be a gay, happy, carefree country, given up to wine, women, and song. Even the song about this book perpetuates this myth—"The last time I saw Paris, her heart was young and gay; I heard the laughter of her heart in every street cafe." The song actually distorts the book, which is a tragic and heart-rending account of the miseries and disappointments suffered by the French people after World

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—JULES KRAMER

# 34,000 Auto Workers Out On Strike In France

(Continued from Page 1)

ized and strike activities coordinated, sympathy movements began developing in other auto and metal plants in the Paris area, including Citroen, Berliet and Ford. Renault delegations met with workers of those plants in an effort to generalize the strike throughout the industry.

## Militarists Prepare Secret Blueprint For A New War

(Continued from Page 1) Chamber of Commerce meeting in their annual convention at Washington last week. Dupree informed these businessmen that his Board intends to rely upon the aid and advice of 75 industrial committees set up on the pattern of the War Production Boards of the last war.

The first of these advisory Committees from the rubber industry met with the Board in Washington this month. 31 representatives of the business end of the rubber trade from importing to manufacturing were called in to discuss questions involved in the procurement and production of this key war commodity.

Up to now the Army-Navy Munitions Board has been operating under strictest secrecy. It has had to lift a small corner of the curtain concealing its plans because of the expansion and intensification of its activities. Officials seek to justify the suppression of information which affects the lives and liberties of every American on the pretext of military security.

But there are other reasons for their "hush-hush" policy. Under this war mobilization plan the President is given un-

precedented dictatorial powers which he can invoke not after the outbreak of war but before, when "a cloud, such as Munich was in 1938, develops." He is also to be handed a large fund to swing the plan into action without delay. The Chief Executive is also empowered to decree controls over labor.

This is the most sinister aspect of the plan—and one about which the fewest details have been permitted to leak out. It is obvious, nevertheless, that all the vicious wartime regulations which robbed the workers of their rights—wage-freezing, job-freezing, discriminatory classification by draft boards, and possibly labor conscription—are embraced in this program. The Wall Street Journal bluntly declares: "If you're an employe, expect to be told where you'll work and what you'll do if the national safety is jeopardized."

That is why no representatives of the unions have been asked to participate in the preliminary conferences at Washington and why the workers are being kept in total ignorance of the regimentation being plotted for them by the militarists and monopolists.

wage freezing and other heavy sacrifices by the workers faces failure.

Led by General Maurice Thorez, the Communist (Stalinist) Ministers left the meeting in a huff. Ce Soir, the Stalinist evening daily, reported in headlines that "The Communist Ministers Quit the Cabinet Meeting Where They Defended Against the Majority the Wage Demands."

A different story is told by Le Monde, generally held to have inside sources of information in the government. According to this conservative paper, Thorez expressed astonishment in the Cabinet meeting that the strike could reach such proportions despite the efforts of the Stalinist-controlled CGT to curb it.

Thorez castigated the "Socialist" morning daily, Le Populaire, for supporting the strike while the "Socialist" Ministers opposed it and expressed further astonishment that the entire press gave such prominence to the strike and the "CGT minority" leading it.

His accusation that the whole affair smelted of the DGER, the government secret intelligence service, indicates how the Stalinists hope to smear the strike leadership.

He concluded his harangue with the "threat" that in case a movement to the left of the Stalinists does succeed in arousing mass action, the Stalinist leaders do not intend to be left out in the cold, but would take charge of it themselves. This accord with L'Humanite's abrupt switch from opposition to support of the strike. The Stalinists wish to head the strike only to stab it in the back at the opportune moment.

## May Day Celebrations Throughout The World

By George Lavan

Millions of workers throughout the world observed their international working class holiday on May Day. In every city of Germany demonstrations were held. All the coal miners in the Ruhr Valley—300,000 of them—downed tools and went to working class rallies. Thousands marched through the rain in Berlin.

The workers of Paris—hundreds of thousands strong—paraded through the streets. U.S. Ambassador Jeffrey Caffrey and "atom-bomb Russia now" William C. Bullitt watched the gigantic demonstration from a balcony.

While the Ruhr miners were protesting the hunger, cold and oppression they suffer, the Stalinists in France used the May Day parade to deal a blow against the German workers. Instead of reaching out the hand of solidarity, Stalinist contingents carried banners demanding: "More coal from the Ruhr for France."

In Italy gigantic demonstrations were held in all the cities. In the rural districts the peasants paraded for a better world. An attack on one peasant demonstration led to a general strike which rocked the government.

The attack occurred at Piana Dei Greci in Sicily. A band of 400 peasants marching through a narrow mountain pass to join the demonstration in a nearby town were ambushed by monarchists and fascists. Women and children singing the Internationale and carrying armfuls of flowers were mowed down by machine-gun fire. Ten peasants were killed and 33 wounded. The whole Italian working class rose in anger at these murders. A nation-wide two-hour strike was held May 3, to force the apprehension of the murderers and the rich landowners who back them.

In Trieste British and American troops aided by the local police used tear gas and fire hoses to break up a parade of 5,000 which had been forbidden. Half a million workers in Vienna turned out for the working class holiday. Another half-million demonstrated in Budapest. Great demonstrations were also held in Warsaw while the usual mockery of this holiday was staged in Moscow under Stalin's eyes and by his satraps in all the other centers of the Soviet Union.

Although demonstrations had been banned by the reactionary Greek government, work stoppages took place. In Franco Spain police patrols were increased to prevent any stoppages of work.

Parades took place in all the major cities of Palestine. In Japan 400,000 workers demonstrated in front of the Imperial Palace against the Government. In Shanghai workers were out in the rain with banners reading: "Down with the corrupt officials" and "Down with Privileged Capital."

Fifty thousand workers marched through the downtown section of Mexico City in one of the largest demonstrations ever seen there.

In Oslo, Norway this was the first May Day celebrated as a legal holiday. A demonstration of 25,000 workers took place. Forty thousand paraded in Denmark. In Sweden 65,000 participated in the traditional workers' holiday.

Police broke up a meeting in Montreal, Canada called by a committee of CIO and AFL trade unionists.

Although most of the great demonstrations in the world capitals were held under the official leadership of the Stalinists and reformists, the aspirations of the masses and their willingness to fight for a workers' world could not be stifled.

## Greek Workers Honor Martyrs On May Day

May Day was celebrated in Athens not only as the international workers' holiday, but also as the third anniversary of the execution of 200 political hostages, among them several leading militants of the Greek Trotskyist movement and of the Archimarkist movement. This episode remains among the bloodiest of all witnessed under the particularly hard occupation of Greece by the Italian and German imperialist troops. The Nazi terror in Greece reached its heights in April-May 1944.

During this period the concentration camps, and particularly that of Chaidari near Athens, were filled with tens of thousands of men arrested by the German and Greek Gestapo in the course of nightly expeditions to the workers' quarters and the villages. Most of these men were later deported to Germany. At Chaidari, however, a sufficient number of political hostages were left from whom the Nazis chose those they shot in reprisal for acts of resistance among the Greeks.

On the eve of May Day, 1944, Greek partisans killed a German general at Malaco, near Sparta. To avenge him and to counter at the same time the intensified resistance which then took place throughout the country, the Nazis decided upon a spectacular execution of 200 political hostages in full daylight and in the very center of Athens. They picked them at Chaidari.

The execution took place in the workers' district of Kaisariani in the presence of thousands of men and women who, upon hearing the news, invaded the neighboring hills and the balconies of houses. In answer to this crime, the working population of Athens unleashed a general strike that same day. Late into the night excited crowds marched through the streets of the city and demonstrated, despite the mobilization of the police and of the army of occupation.

Among those shot on that First of May, the proletariat of Greece has honored every year thereafter the following names:

Comrades Christos Soulas, N. Pantazis, H. Mitsis, M. Giannakouras, B. Tsamtsas, G. Kovanis and G. Krocos, all members and leaders of the Greek movement of the Fourth International.

Comrades Andronis, Katsichristos, Perachia and Papadimitropoulos, of the Archimarkist organization.

## The End Of The Comintern

By James P. Cannon

With

Manifesto Of The Fourth International On The Dissolution Of The Comintern

36 pages 10 cents

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Telephone Striker Writes from Chicago

As a participant in the telephone workers strike in Chicago, I made some observations while on the picket lines and at the strikers' mass meetings.

At the end of the third week of our strike, the morale of the pickets is still high and they are determined to stick to the end.

These workers, quite inexperienced in the class struggle, are learning some important lessons in the course of the strike.

When scabs threw water on the heads of the pickets in front of one telephone exchange, the general comment was: "If we did anything like that, the cops would arrest us immediately."

Very few telephone subscribers have crossed picket lines in order to pay their telephone bills at the various business offices.

First-hand experience is convincing these workers that behind the AT&T's attempts to smash the independent telephone unions is Wall Street's scheme to break all unions and atomize the labor movement.

There is no doubt that telephone unionists will come out of this struggle wiser and stronger.

Some one has been sending me *The Militant* and I want to say I might have been influenced by it, if it wasn't for the ghostly unfairness you present.

In every issue you advocate higher wages, decent living conditions which I, as a fair-minded American grant is the right of every human being.

It seems that what's fair for one group isn't fair for another. If the worker is entitled to a raise, why isn't he fair-minded enough to grant the landlord the same right to liberty and justice?

Do you want to prevent thousands of small landlords like us from having even a raise that might partially cover the ever-increasing operating costs?

## Landlords' Costs Have Increased

Landlords' costs have increased, his rents have dwindled to half his 1942 rents, and yet labor fights the 15% raise.

We are one of the million of small landlords with our life-savings in property that isn't paying its way.

Let us have freedom from rent controls; let the law of supply and demand operate, let us be free to set up housing for these thousands of homeless veterans.

If labor is ruthless with landlords, how can they expect fairness and justice from capital?

M.E.C. writes about the "larger and larger role" which the "Communists" are playing.

Refusing to vote against the military credits in the French Cabinet for the punitive expedition against the embattled Indo-Chinese masses?

Would you please allow me to use your columns to make a request of our American comrades?

I am very interested in learning more about the everyday life of the workers of the South, and would be very pleased to receive letters from comrades living in this region.

I am preparing a thesis on the life of the Southern States as portrayed in American novels, and so would be especially grateful if any readers with a knowledge of the literature of the South could help me.

It is obvious that even if every dollar of national income had been spent on the goods produced (which, of course, is far from being the case), there would still have remained a surplus piling up at an annual rate of 40 billion odd dollars.

Such huge inventories might conceivably have been maintained for a prolonged period of time without disastrously affecting the economy.

Conservative Wall Street statisticians estimate that inflated prices have already sliced as much as 8 billion dollars from the purchasing power of the masses.

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## An Answer to M.E.C.

I think you people who edit and publish *The Militant* deserve a hearty pat on the back for being so darn indulgent.

That long piece of organized confusion, muddled thinking, and downright prevarication, which passed for a letter by M.E.C. calls for immediate and sharp correction and refutation.

First of all, it's good to see, at least, that he's a reader and a subscriber to the paper.

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# Postwar Prosperity Begins To Fade Away As First Grim Signs Of Depression Appear

By John G. Wright

Business weeklies are now talking more directly about the depression. *Business Week*, April 26, sees it as already here. *United States News*, May 2, features an article entitled, "First Sign of Setback," and talks of 4 million unemployed by 1948, a 20% slash in production, falling profits and a sharply reduced farmers' income.

The stock market remains in the doldrums, with half of its shares below last year's lows and the other half hovering slightly above. Why all this pessimism?

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## Retail Prices Hit All-Time High

Despite all the ballyhoo about Big Business voluntarily lowering prices following President Truman's admission that a depression is advancing on American economy, prices have shot still higher.

They now hover at all-time highs according to figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the 30 days between February 15 and March 15 retail prices for living essentials, food, clothing and shelter jumped another 2%.

This makes the official cost of living 58 1/2% higher than in August, 1939, and 20% higher than a year ago.

day it can be stated that by thus monstrously aggravating the existing disproportion between production and consumption, the profit-mad monopolists succeeded within the brief space of six months in blotting out most of the factors giving rise to the postwar prosperity.

It will hardly take more than a few months to liquidate the rest.

In the meantime, however, the way has already been paved for the next stage of the downward swing, to wit: spreading stagnation, accompanied by curtailed production, temporary leveling off in this or that branch of industry at lower levels, followed by more and more precipitate declines.

There will, therefore, be no reversal in the decline of retail sales, but, on the contrary, notwithstanding some sporadic spurts, this trend will become more marked in the next period.

"OVER-PRODUCTION" This means that all the channels of distribution, which with a few exceptions are already filled, will become clogged to the bursting point.

The pressure on inventories, and therefore on production, is mounting at a rate that no one could have predicted.

One sector, the textiles, especially the soft-woolens group and women's and children's clothing, has already cracked under the strain.

In this respect, the current development parallels the 1920 crisis, after World War I, which likewise began with the collapse of the textile industry.

Six months ago, this industry had huge back-logs of orders.

Scarcities were so acute that it was confidently predicted they could not be filled in six years. Today, many textile plants have already slashed production, shifted over to different lines, or operate on a part-time basis.

A few are closing down. The same condition is engulfing the clothing industry. From all indications, the next in order are shoe factories, whose output has been steadily declining.

In general, the soft goods sector is now in the first stage of "over-production." Part-time employment and unemployment in this field have already set in.

Here, too, there is little likelihood of a reversal of trend.

Production of durable consumer goods still continues close to all-time highs. But signs of saturation, most obvious in the case of radio sets, electric irons, vacuum cleaners and automobile tires, testify that declining production and growing unemployment loom for this sector as well.

The back-log of wartime savings as a possible cushion for the depression is no longer even mentioned by the most optimistic capitalist economists.

Millions of families (about one-fourth of the total) have no savings whatever; millions of others (close to one-third of the total) dispose of sums less than \$500; still other millions are already saddled with debts, incurred through credit and installment buying (which is at an all-time high).

The sole hope of averting economic disaster rests on the expansion of the construction industry, the building of plants, homes, and capital installations in general. This supplied the basis for the boom in the Twenties. But this hope is none too radiant.

BLEAK PROSPECT The 1946 rate of construction offers a rather bleak prospect. In the May issue of *Fortune* magazine, the editors sadly acknowledge: "The actual volume of building, i.e., when present high prices are discounted, is far below that of the Twenties, and not much above 1941.

The share of construction in total output is now only about half what it was in the Twenties. Moreover the industry is stagnant. "National menace" — that is how the *Fortune* editors characterize the condition of this industry.

Construction in the first quarter of this year sank below the 1946 average; the construction awards for the current quarter have dropped even lower; many corporations have either scaled down or cancelled altogether previously contemplated capital construction.

This makes the entire economic picture for the rest of 1947 even bleaker.

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1 — Speaking at a May Day meeting sponsored by the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Vincent R. Dunne, the party's candidate for Mayor, commended the telephone strikers tonight "for carrying out the true spirit of May Day by fighting for their rights."

An audience of Minneapolis workers which filled the SWP hall applauded the speaker again and again as he attacked Democratic Mayor Humphrey's role in the telephone strike.

Dunne pointed out that one of the basic planks in the SWP election platform calls for "an end to government strikebreaking."

Dunne condemned the "sham fight" which is going on in the campaign over the issue of "a closed vs. an open city."

"I stand for a real open city," Dunne said, "and by that I mean a city which does not discriminate against Negro, Jewish or foreign-born citizens in any way."

Grace Carlson, Campaign Manager, reported that 10,000 copies of a special election folder are being distributed at factories and plants and in working class neighborhoods of the city.

An appeal for funds to aid the DUNNE-FOR-MAYOR campaign met with a generous response. Seventy-two dollars was contributed on the spot, some of this coming from workers who had made previous contributions to the SWP election fund.

The final radio speech in the Minneapolis SWP election campaign will be given over Station WMIN, Friday, May 9 at 8 p.m. At that time, V. R. Dunne will speak on "Why Minneapolis Workers Should Vote Socialist on May 12."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### "Be The Champ And Go To Camp"

"BE THE CHAMP AND GO TO CAMP!" This is Chicago's slogan for a 7-week campaign launched April 27. The goal is 300 subscriptions to *The Militant*.

Miriam Roberts, Campaign Manager, announces that "the prize will be a week's vacation at the Midwest Summer Camp for the one who gets the most subs. We are divided into four teams: Southside, North Side, West Side, and Northwest Side.

So, besides having individual competition, we are also having group competition. At present we have 34 subs toward our goal. H. Smith is leading with 11 subs."

Philadelphia launched a 5-week campaign on April 15. "This batch of 12 subs," writes Pauline Ryder, "is the beginning product, in part, of our work in a new neighborhood. In addition to the subscriptions, 35 single copies of *The Militant* were sold. Many of the people to whom we sold single copies will be re-visited for subs."

F. Lester, Militant Agent for San Francisco, reports: "We plan to start our sub drive the week of May 11 and will incorporate our call-back work. The main emphasis is to be on new subs. The campaign will run for 6 weeks and we are setting ourselves the goal of 100 subs." We can expect exciting reports from San Francisco.

"Yesterday," writes Rena Breshi for the Boston Branch, "we went out on our sub campaign and obtained 12 subs, including a few requests to return next Sunday. The people we meet are quite friendly. They invite us into their homes to chat and discuss with them. The comrades look forward to going out Sundays with more and more enthusiasm."

Milwaukee's campaign is right on schedule, according to Fred Martin. "With the enclosed 17 subs," he says, "I figure that our total so far is 91 toward our quota of 100 subs. We have until the end of this week, May 3, to reach our goal. This last batch of subs has some good prospects in it—three railroad workers, three former subscribers to the Milwaukee Leader (local Socialist Party paper), and a union official."

Dorothy Lessing reports on Newark's campaign: "We ended our sub renewal campaign last Sunday with a luncheon and open house at headquarters, Team No. 5 won, and an individual prize was given to the member of this team who piled up the most points. We visited about 300 subscribers and got 65 subs during the campaign."

Paul Shell, Literature Agent for St. Paul, rushed in 8 subs, stating: "We wanted to get these subs in for April. And, according to our records, these 8 subs should make our quota." Your records are correct, Comrade Shell. St. Paul has scored 100% for April.

Our boosters are getting an increasing number of workers in their shops to become regular readers of *The Militant*. The following report from Buffalo is only one of many: "Every one of these 23 subs," says Charles Carlson, Literature Agent, "were sold in the various plants the comrades are working in. This is most gratifying because we know that *The Militant* is reaching the working people direct in the shops."

Comrade Howard of Chicago is carrying on a one-man campaign to get subs in his shop. Twenty-two of his friends on the job signed application blanks in the past two weeks to get *The Militant* regularly.

The Los Angeles comrades really enjoyed themselves selling individual copies of *The Militant* telling about the telephone strike. "During the past week, 67 *Militants* were sold by Comrades Janice and Frances to the telephone strikers' mass meeting," says Literature Agent Harry Thompson. "14 *Militants* and 89 copies of the pamphlet *Build A Labor Party Now* were sold by Myra and Frances at a Teamsters' Union closed membership meeting. 29 *Militants* were sold at a CIO Protest Demonstration Against Anti-Labor Drive by Comrades Frances, Dorothy, Ethel, Ruth, Janice and Pauline. 2,500 May Day meeting leaflets were also distributed."

## Buy 'The Militant' Here:

- AKRON** News Exchange, 51 S. Main, SWP, 8 So. Howard St.
- BOSTON** Sam's Corner, Central Ave., Lynn. Uptown News Co., 224 Huntington Ave., Boston.
- BUFFALO** N. W. corner, Main & Chippewa. Delaware Ave. & Chippewa S.E. Cor.
- CAMPBELL, O.** Edelmann's Newsstand, Wilson Ave. near Sheet and Tube Employment Office.
- CHICAGO** Cashinsky's Book Store, 2150 W. Division. Socialist Workers Bookshop, 777 W. Adams.
- CLEVELAND** G & M Newsstand, 9th and Superior.
- DETROIT** Family Theatre Newsstand, opposite the SWP office. "Militant" Bookshop, 6108 Linwood Ave.
- LOS ANGELES** 3124 W. Pico Blvd. Room 2, near Olive St.
- MINNEAPOLIS** Labor Book Store, 10 S. 4 St. Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.
- MILWAUKEE** N.W. corner, Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.
- NEW YORK** Socialist Workers Party, 423 Springfield Ave. S. W. Corner, Broad & Market. Broad & Academy St.
- NEW BRITAIN, CONN.** 1260 Cut-Rate, 422 Main St. Rossi's Store, Stanley & Church St.
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- Bronx:** NW 174th St. & Boston Road Tremont Ave. & Southern Blvd.
- PHILADELPHIA** N.W. corner 13th St. & Market Labor Forum, 1303 West Girard. Broad and Arch. Penn Station, 15th and Market N. E. Corner, Broad & Race. 1343 Girard Ave. S. E. Corner, 15th & Filbert, 11th and Market Sts. 11th and Walnut St.
- PITTSBURGH** P. & A. Newsstand, 220 Federal St. M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave. Stand S. side 12th & Carson. Good Luck Shoe Repair, 1922 Centre Ave.
- PORTLAND, ORE.** 134 S.W. Washington, 3d floor Rich's Stand, cor. S.W. Washington and 1st Ave. Bishop's Drug Store 507 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.
- SAN FRANCISCO** Joe's Smoke Shop, 1788 Geary; Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter Street; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission Street; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St., San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 W. Grant.
- SAN PEDRO** Williams Book Store, 284 W. 6th St. Militant Pub. Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- SEATTLE** Eckert's corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store 507 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.
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- AKRON**—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.
- BAYONNE**—62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.
- BOSTON**—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
- Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.
- CHICAGO**—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted) Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND**—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT**—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.
- FLINT**—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 8, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES**—Militant Publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644. Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.
- SAN PEDRO**, Militant Publishing Assn., — 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- LYNN, Mass.**, 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE**—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Tel. Main 7781 Library, bookstore.
- Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.
- NEW HAVEN**—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.
- NEWARK**—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
- Friday night forum, 8:30.
- N.Y. YORK-CITY HQ.**, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.
- HARLEM:** 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.
- Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
- BRONX:** 1034 Prospect Ave. 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
- Discussion on the SWP Program every Wed. 8 p.m.
- BROOKLYN:** 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
- CHELSEA:** 2-130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.
- AKLAND, Cal.**—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple.
- 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.
- PHILADELPHIA** — 1308-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.
- FTSBURGH**—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. 7 to 9:30 p.m. Sat. and Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. 3 p.m. Tel. Corbett 6060.
- SAN DIEGO**—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.
- SEATTLE**—1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat. Tel. SE-0453 Library, bookstore.
- Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.
- ST. LOUIS** — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.
- ST. PAUL**—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.
- TACOMA, Wash.** — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
- TOLEDO**—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone MAIN 8919.
- YOUNGSTOWN** — 35 1/2 South Ave., Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

## First Public Meeting Successful In Lynn

By S. Gordon

LYNN, Mass., May 3—The Lynn branch of the Socialist Workers Party held its first public meeting tonight by celebrating May Day in the true tradition of the Trotskyist movement.

The audience was enthused by George Clarke's presentation of "The Future of the American Worker." A lively question period around the issue of the Labor Party showed the trend of thought among young working men and women.

Several excellent contacts were made at this meeting, showing how responsive the workers are to the SWP program.

## Detroit Gives Banquet To Celebrate May Day

DETROIT, May 4 — The largest banquet ever held by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party was given here today to celebrate May Day.

After an excellent turkey dinner, inspiring addresses were given on the significance of May Day and the need for a revolutionary socialist party.

Many of the guests took subscriptions to *The Militant* and contributed generously to aid European workers fighting for a better world.

Others evidenced interest in joining the SWP. A movie feature showed conditions in America during the last depression, and emphasized the need for a strong workers'

### Career Of A Clerk

By Theodore Kovalesky

"Oh, why did Eve have to give Adam that apple?" wailed the big guy.

"Why?" I asked cautiously.



"Trouble and worry and work! Seems like I been working as far back as I can remember. I'd like to just lay in the sand in Palm Beach or somewhere, just lay there and lay there..."

"But if you were rich," I grinned, "think of all the worries you'd have then."

"I suppose they got worried," he mused.

"Look," I told him, "They hire guys to worry for them."

"Yeah," he said, and then as the thought caught on, he added, "You know, a lot of times, the less they pay them the more they worry."

I had forgotten all about Harry Judson. It's funny how a chance remark will bring up memories, isn't it? Because when the big guy mentioned the little people who worry their heads off for a little check each week I remembered Jud just as clearly as though he were standing right there.

Judson was a worried, irritable little man who stood just over five feet. He was thin and small, but on his narrow shoulders rested all the responsibility for a million dollar corporation. He was a key man.

An executive? No, Jud was a schedule clerk, making about \$30 a week in those days. That wasn't too bad. Fairly skilled labor didn't pay much more, and common labor was a few dollars less.

When I knew Jud, he had been with the company a little over ten years and wore a pin on his lapel that his employers had gratefully presented him in honor of a decade of faithful service. He also took large white pills at meal time, likewise a result of his ten years of faithful service.

When I got to the plant each morning Jud was there. When I left in the afternoon he was still there. Some time between one day and the next I guess he went home for a while to sleep, but I'm not sure.

But to get back to the subject of trouble and worry... that was Jud's job. If the machines needed stock, Jud scurried around the factory

pleading with the department foremen and bullying the younger clerks until he got it. If there was a mistake on the inventory (which Jud and a few others used to take one Sunday a month without any extra pay), he rushed around until he found it.

I remember once his boss, a large man named Al, who had a gift of gab and very little else, laid his hand on Jud's shoulder and said, "Look, old man, I've got to have a complete report of operations for the last three months for this department. It's got to be in the front office tomorrow afternoon."

"Jeez, Al," Jud protested, "I got to line up the machines and get out next week's man-hour schedule."

"I know, Jud," Al answered sadly, "but I got to have it."

Judson really knocked himself out that day. He'd been telling us about a smoker he was planning to go to that night, but he stayed in the plant until after eleven, and then it was too late to go. Besides he was too tired.

The next day he worked like a little maniac and took an extra white pill at lunch time. But at three o'clock the report was on Al's desk. Al picked it up and said, "Thanks, Jud. Say, you'd better get rolling on that man-hour schedule. You're way behind. And check up on the 4722 stock. I think you got it all balled up."

One year he wanted a certain week in July for his vacation in the worst way, but Al told him, "Jeez, Jud, we just can't let you go that week. You've got an important job."

But another time when his wife was expecting a baby and he asked for a raise, Al said, "I know how it is, old man, and I'd like to be able to help you out, but the company just can't pay any more for that job. They could run this place, you know," he smiled ironically, "without you and me."

Judson never quit, and somehow he never got bitter. I guess he was too busy. I'll always remember him at his desk chewing his pencils, grabbing at his hair, and sweating; or running from one department to another with a bunch of papers in his hand.

He's dead now. He died at the age of 35 after an operation for ulcers. But the company didn't forget him. They sent a beautiful wreath to the funeral.

### The Negro Struggle

## Two Sides Of The Same Coin

By William E. Bohannon

Hundreds of millions to prop up the reactionary and dictatorial Greek monarchy — but not one cent to enable the Negro republic of Haiti to free itself from the Wall Street bankers and build necessary public improvements.



Here are opposite sides of the same coin, the brassy coin of American imperialism.

Truman declares that his policy is one of support of "free peoples." As applied to Greece this is a lie, because he is bolstering up a dictatorial regime that suppresses the people. As applied to Haiti it is also a lie, because his refusal to grant a loan of 20 million dollars asked by that government is intended to keep the Haitians in subjection.

In 1920-22 the U.S. sent the Marines to Haiti for bloody reprisals against those seeking independence. At that time a loan of 40 million was negotiated through the National City Bank, one of the two largest Wall Street banks. Here we get a vivid glimpse of American imperialism in action. Only 23 millions of this loan ever reached Haiti. In the 25 years since then, Haiti has repaid 38 millions — that is 15 millions interest has been fed to the Wall Street sharks. But she still "owes" 6 1/2 millions.

Moreover, the terms of this loan brought the customs duty of the Negro Republic, as well as all financial outlays of its government, under American control.

This is how Washington and Wall Street have preserved a stranglehold on Haiti. This is a clear proof of imperialism, of the interlocking of the government with finance capital, of the export of capital at high interest levels and exploitation in the colonies.

It is by such methods that American imperialism has built its own colonial empire which it now seeks to extend on a world scale. Its re-

actionary policy in the colonies is further demonstrated by other developments in Haiti. When 5 million dollars was allotted for the building of roads and bridges, the big American firm of J. G. White and Co. was brought in; high salaries were paid out to American engineers and technicians. Haitian engineers and technicians received much lower salaries, while the Haitian laborers were paid — 30 cents per day! That is how super-profits have been come from the colonies.

Further, under the "good neighbor" Roosevelt there occurred a still worse example of imperialist plundering of Haiti. In order to furnish the U.S. war machine with much-needed rubber, there was formed the Haiti-American Society for the Development of Agriculture (SHADA). Instead of developing agriculture the SHADA drove 30,000 farmers off the land plowed under sugar, bananas and coffee, disrupted the agricultural economy — and began to produce rubber for tanks and bombing planes. Now that the war is over, and the experiment in rubber not so successful, this shady deal disappears into the shadows, leaving starvation and homelessness for the farmers in its wake.

Now the Haitian government has requested a loan of 20 million, to pay off the National City blood-shark and utilize the balance for sorely-needed agricultural and industrial improvements. Truman says, No. Wall Street does not permit this colony to escape from its clutches or to take even the slightest step toward improvement of the Negro-Haitian conditions.

Keep its existing colonial empire in subjection by refusing loans — hand out millions to back up reactionary regimes in Europe and extend American imperialism throughout the globe: this is the real and fully reactionary meaning of the Truman Doctrine. And that is why Negroes in the United States, like Negroes in Haiti and other parts of the world, are justified in opposing it.

## Notes From The News

William Nickel, who confessed to embezzling \$900,000 from the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, stated: "I am a man of quiet habits who loves peace. We'd been having strikes around the plant — all for money. I, too, wanted more money, but I didn't want to join the strikers. Strikes are the ruination of this country."

The cost of running the U.S. Congress has risen more than 100%. Appropriations for the fiscal year starting July will be \$52,000,000 with the possibility they will go even higher. Prewar cost was \$22,000,000.

District 3, N. Y. upstate council of the CIO-United Electrical Workers called upon Philip Murray for a one-day national protest stoppage against the anti-labor drive.

James E. Harris, Negro union official in Washington, D. C., was found beaten to death in his home. Harris was business agent for AFL Cafeteria Workers Local 471 and was engaged in leading a strike.

The United Labor Unions of Fulton County New York, a joint organization of AFL, CIO and Independent unions, went on record for a one-day national stoppage to protest the Hartley and Taft anti-labor bills.

The AFL radio campaign against anti-labor legislation started this week with the 15 minute broadcast, "Pursuit of Happiness." Fredric March and other stars have donated their services.

Iowa has become the thirteenth state to ban the closed shop.

The United States Steel Corporation announced this week that profits for the first three months of 1947 were almost four times as high for the same period last year.

Powerful forces in the Senate have introduced

a bill to allow unlimited financial contributions in presidential campaigns, as long as these contributions are not made by trade unions or corporations. Individual capitalists, however, could become "angels" of candidates. Contributions for Senatorial campaigns would be permitted to rise 400%.

CIO Textile Workers Local 202 of Covington, Virginia has called upon all Virginia labor to join in a two-week general strike to protest against federal and state anti-labor legislation.

The Supreme Court this week upheld the action of the FBI in searching an arrested man's home without a search warrant. The decision was five to four. The dissenting justices denounced the new ruling as "resurrecting the odious general warrant or writ of assistance, presumably outlawed forever from our society by the Fourth Amendment."

State Senator Jack B. Tenney, California's local Martin Dies, has introduced eight "thought control" bills aimed at the school system.

Andrew J. May, former Congressman involved in the Garsson war fraud trial, has threatened to spill the beans if the Government tries too deeply in his financial affairs. May's lawyer said checks "were turned over to the Democratic National Committee. If the government pursues them further I'll have Andrew J. May disclose the entire transaction and it involves high party figures even members of Congress."

Dancing instructors employed by Arthur Murray have joined the CIO United Office and Professional Workers Union. Main demands are not only wages but protection from arbitrary punishment and dismissals.

The Steelworkers Union has suspended Local 1407 at Glassport, Pennsylvania for an unauthorized strike against the Copperweld Steel Company.

# THE MILITANT

## General Motors Fires 14 In Reprisal For Rally

DETROIT, May 3 — Lashing out in savage reprisal against the shutdown of its plants for the Cadillac Square demonstration on April 24, General Motors Corporation fired 14 top officers of Fleetwood Local 15, Cadillac Local 22, and Transmission Local 735.

Penalty layoffs of 30 to 60 days were given in addition to committeemen and members of these three locals as well as of Chevrolet Gear & Axle Local 235 and Chevrolet Drop Forge Local 262. Such was the answer of this billion-dollar corporation to the militant demonstration of power by the Detroit auto workers.

These corporation reprisals were no surprise to the union. Prior to the demonstration, the managements of all GM plants called in the bargaining committees and warned that disciplinary measures would follow if the plants were shut down at 2 o'clock. The UAW International Executive Board instructed the local union GM officers to go ahead with the shutdown and said that they would take full responsibility. Nevertheless, when the firings and layoffs came through, these top officers began ducking.

It has now come out that Reuther and his supporters on the Executive Board were opposed to the 2 o'clock shutdown; that it was mainly the Thomas-Addes Executive Board members who voted to back the Cadillac Square demonstration and the 2 o'clock shutdown of the plants. So far Reuther and his supporters have pursued a hands-off policy on these firings, nonchalantly advising the discharged officers and members to take it through the formal procedure. This means depending on the merces of the umpire.

Addes who wants to take factional advantage of his rivals points to this do-nothing policy of Reuther. But he himself is proposing no different action than taking the case through the formal grievance procedure.

General Motors Corporation has dared to take this drastic move against the union here in Detroit only because of the cowardly policy of retreat on the part of the whole top leadership, including both the Reuther and Thomas-Addes Executive Board members. Repeatedly the Corporation has fired workers and given disciplinary layoffs to dozens of others with impunity. Repeatedly union-busting actions have met with no union resistance.

A wave of indignation is sweeping the city because of the criminal neglect of the situation displayed by the top union officers. This was climaxed yesterday when the officers of Briggs Local 212 published copies of a letter they had sent Reuther, denouncing the corporation's provocation and the International Executive Board's failure to act vigorously.

The Briggs letter ended by demanding "the immediate calling of a special meeting of all local officers in the Detroit area no later than Monday of next week so that joint direct action can be organized to defeat the plans of the Corporation to seriously weaken the UAW in these plants."



### Meeting Protests Arrests In India

The following resolution was unanimously passed at the May Day meeting of the Socialist Workers Party held at Beethoven Hall, New York: We, 350 New York workers, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby vigorously protest the arrest of Antony Pillai, President of the Madras Labor Union and member of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress; Colvin R. De Silva; Muttiah; Manickam and other leaders and members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India in Madras, India and demand their immediate release along with the release of all unionists arrested in connection with the strike of 14,500 workers in the Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mills.

Be it resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Embassy of the Indian Government in Washington, D. C., to Jawaharlal Nehru, head of the Interim Government of India, to the Congress Party Premier of Madras and to the press.

## Oakland Labor Organizes To Win In City Election

By R. Chester

OAKLAND, Calif., Apr. 30 — A smashing victory in the April 15 primary elections by the state of the Oakland Voters League has opened a new phase in the long drawn-out battle between the unions and employers here. For the first time in decades the incumbent administration, under the control of the Warren-Knowland machine, faces defeat in the elections of May 13.

Jubilant has been evident in the shops and union halls since the day the returns came in. Workers and union officials have termed it a "labor victory" since the backbone of the Voters League is the Joint Labor Committee to Combat Anti-Labor Legislation. This committee is supported by the majority of the Oakland labor movement, AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods.

Each candidate of the Voters League topped his opponent in the heavy voting, which brought out 40% of the registered voters. In spite of this the Oakland Tribune, owned by Knowland, attributed the machine's setback to "apathy."

The present administration incurred the hatred of workers when it sanctioned police protection for an attempt by professional strikebreakers to smash the Kahns and Hastings department store strike. This incident touched off the general strike of last December. Both the unions and employers see this strike, which still continues, as a show-down test. Because of this there has been unusual solidarity in

campaign in labor's defense can the candidates solidify the ranks of the workers behind them."

**LABOR PARTY NEEDED**  
The SWP also poses the need for the labor movement to build a permanent political instrument for struggle against the capitalist candidates.

"Full activity of all unions and union members is necessary to assure victory. The Oakland Voters League must be built into the political arm of the Oakland labor movement. It must be built from the bottom up — through the precincts and locals — into an election apparatus which will become the basis of a new political party.

"The new political party must come out in clear opposition to the boss-dominated Republican and Democratic parties. The new party, based on the unions and responsible to the working people, must be built up into a permanent organization which can elect labor men to city governments, state legislatures and to Congress. It must become the champion of all labor.

"Let's finish the job! Elect the candidates of the Oakland Voters League! Build the independent Labor Party!"

## Akron CIO Rally Protests Against Anti-Labor Bills

AKRON, Apr. 28 — 2,500 workers attended the CIO-sponsored rally here tonight to protest the anti-labor legislation proposed by Republican and Democratic legislators in Washington and Columbus.

The principal speeches, delivered by CIO Vice-President Alan Haywood, CIO Ohio State Secretary-Treasurer Lavelle and United Steelworkers National Legislative Representative Lamb, described the vicious anti-labor attack taking place on the legislative field. All the speakers talked about "a long, hard fight" and urged the workers to "get ready." However, not one of them indicated what the workers should actually do.

Many hundreds of workers came from evening shifts that they had shut down. The audience greeted all suggestions for fighting in defense of labor with applause and would have raised the roof if any of the speakers had proposed to answer the union-busters by calling a 24-hour national protest strike and taking immediate steps to organize a Labor Party.

RED-BAITING DRIVE  
In desperation Knowland is conducting a campaign of violent red-baiting. His Tribune carries stories and editorials highlighting the point that the candidates have the support of "left-wingers." They cynically warn the voters to beware of putting themselves under the control of "special interests," namely the labor movement.

Meanwhile the unions are throwing themselves into a vigorous campaign to assure the victory of the Voters League slate. Unions are donating full time workers and funds. Precinct workers are being recruited from the ranks. The campaign will end with a huge torchlight parade in which each union will have its float. The parade will wind throughout the city and end in a mass meeting. Under discussion is a proposal from the Alameda CIO Council for a one day work stoppage on election day to protest the national anti-labor drive.

The Bay Area Local of the Socialist Workers Party has endorsed the Voters League slate and is throwing its full support behind its election. At the same time, however, it has raised a number of serious criticisms of the Voters League candidates and their program.

It is necessary, for example, to sharply question the candidates when they speak of "impartiality" in labor-business relations, says the SWP in a statement endorsing the slate: "It is not possible to be 'impartial' in the Kahns and Hastings strike; it is only possible to be for or against the justified demands of the unions. Only by a vigorous

## The Fight Against Jim Crow At New Jersey Convention

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., May 6 — One of the most vital issues involved in Constitutional Revision is the matter of the democratic rights of the Negro and all other minority peoples. The Socialist Workers Party insists that the New Jersey Constitution must be revised to include a provision:

**SWP CANDIDATES**  
for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention from Essex County  
**William E. Bohannon**  
**George Breitman**  
**Alan Kohlman**

The best-formulated laws and Constitution will not end discrimination so long as the government remains in the hands of the Republican and Democratic agents of Big Business; that is, in the hands of those responsible for Jim Crow. Consequently the fight for Constitutional provisions against discrimination must not be viewed as an end in itself, but as an auxiliary of the broader fight of the united labor and Negro movement to put an end to Jim Crow, and to build an independent Labor Party.

Discrimination in hotels, restaurants, movies, seashores and other public places are everyday occurrences. But you will have to look far and wide to find where the state government does anything about it.

Even the educational system, despite existing laws barring discrimination, is shot through with Jim Crow against both pupils and teachers. Twenty-two NAACP branches have conducted a survey which reveals either segregated schools or lack of Negro teachers in 57 different cities and towns.

The coming Constitutional Convention affords a new arena for the struggle against Jim Crow. What is most important to understand in this connection is that putting words on paper will not solve the matter. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the federal Constitution did not end Jim Crow in the nation. Similarly, the existing state anti-discrimination act and the public school act have not ended Jim Crow in New Jersey.

Flagrant discrimination exists in New Jersey. The existing state FEPC law is weak and full of loopholes; no real attempt is made to enforce it. Thousands of Negroes still face job discrimination in the shops; worse yet, are the starvation wages and brutal living conditions imposed on migratory workers in the

If anyone still has doubts on this question, he has only to go back no further than September, 1946 when the NAACP asked pointed questions of Governor Driscoll and other candidates; Driscoll and all the other Republican and Democratic candidates gave written answers and promises to end Jim Crow in all spheres. But the Driscoll regime like its predecessors has done nothing. And a bi-partisan Republican and Democratic Constitutional Convention cannot be expected to do any more.

That is why the Negro people as well as the entire trade union movement should support the SWP candidates for election to the Convention on June 3.

(This is the sixth in a series on the issues facing the New Jersey Constitutional Convention.)