

# THE MILITANT

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## Coal Miners Strike Against Slave Law

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# FIGHT WALL STREET'S SLAVE LAW BY BUILDING LABOR'S OWN PARTY

## Truman Gesture Is Bid For Votes

### Last-Minute Veto Designed To Hide Anti-Union Record

By Joseph Hansen

The top bureaucrats of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods are hailing Harry S. Truman as a friend of labor. His strongly-worded veto of the deadly Taft-Hartley bill was apparently sufficient in their opinion to make up for his whole previous anti-labor record.

Is the extravagant praise of the labor bureaucrats justified? Was Truman suddenly converted overnight from a bitter foe of the labor movement into its champion?

To find the correct answers, we must first of all take a look at the political stakes for which Truman was playing. In the 1946 elections, the Democrats suffered a severe defeat. Many who had previously supported the Democrats either voted against them or else stayed away from polls. They thus registered their bitterness and resentment over the rotten postwar world that stands in such stark contrast to the glowing propaganda Wall Street dished out during the war. In the 1948 election, the Democrats fear they will lose the White House too.

What worries Truman's political advisers most of all is the trend of the labor movement toward independent political action. Had Truman openly backed the Taft-Hartley bill or permitted it to become law without his signature, it would have enormously hampered the efforts of Democratic wheelhorses to halt this trend. Consequently Truman denounced the bill in terms most calculated to appeal to the labor movement.

Truman's veto was thus designed to provide the labor bureaucrats with a talking point to make it easier to sell him to the workers in the 1948 election. Truman's veto is a repeat performance of Roosevelt's infamous tactics with similar bills. In 1943, it will be recalled, when the coal miners demanded a boost in wages to keep up with sky-rocketing living costs, Roosevelt threatened to draft them and force them to work under military regulations.

Congress then rushed through the outrageous Smith-Connelly anti-labor act. But Roosevelt did not sign it. He vetoed it in order to appear as a friend of labor. Congress then promptly passed it over his veto.

As the July 3, 1943, *Militant* declared: "Roosevelt's opposition . . . was hypocritical and, perfunctory. He just went through the motions in order to deceive labor." This analysis was confirmed to the hilt by Roosevelt's subsequent use of this vicious law to hound and persecute strikers. Truman's opposition to the

Taft-Hartley bill was similarly hypocritical and perfunctory. He made no attempt to crush the bill in the egg. When it was reported out of committee he did not lift a finger to stop it. During the long months it was discussed in Congress he did not utter a word of protest. While the Taft-Hartley bill was gathering momentum, Truman made no attempt whatsoever to mobilize opposition. He even permitted the rumor to circulate freely that he had no real objections to the bill. He maintained his equivocal silence up to the last possible minute, thus covertly encouraging the most rabid, labor-hating political representatives of Wall Street in Congress.

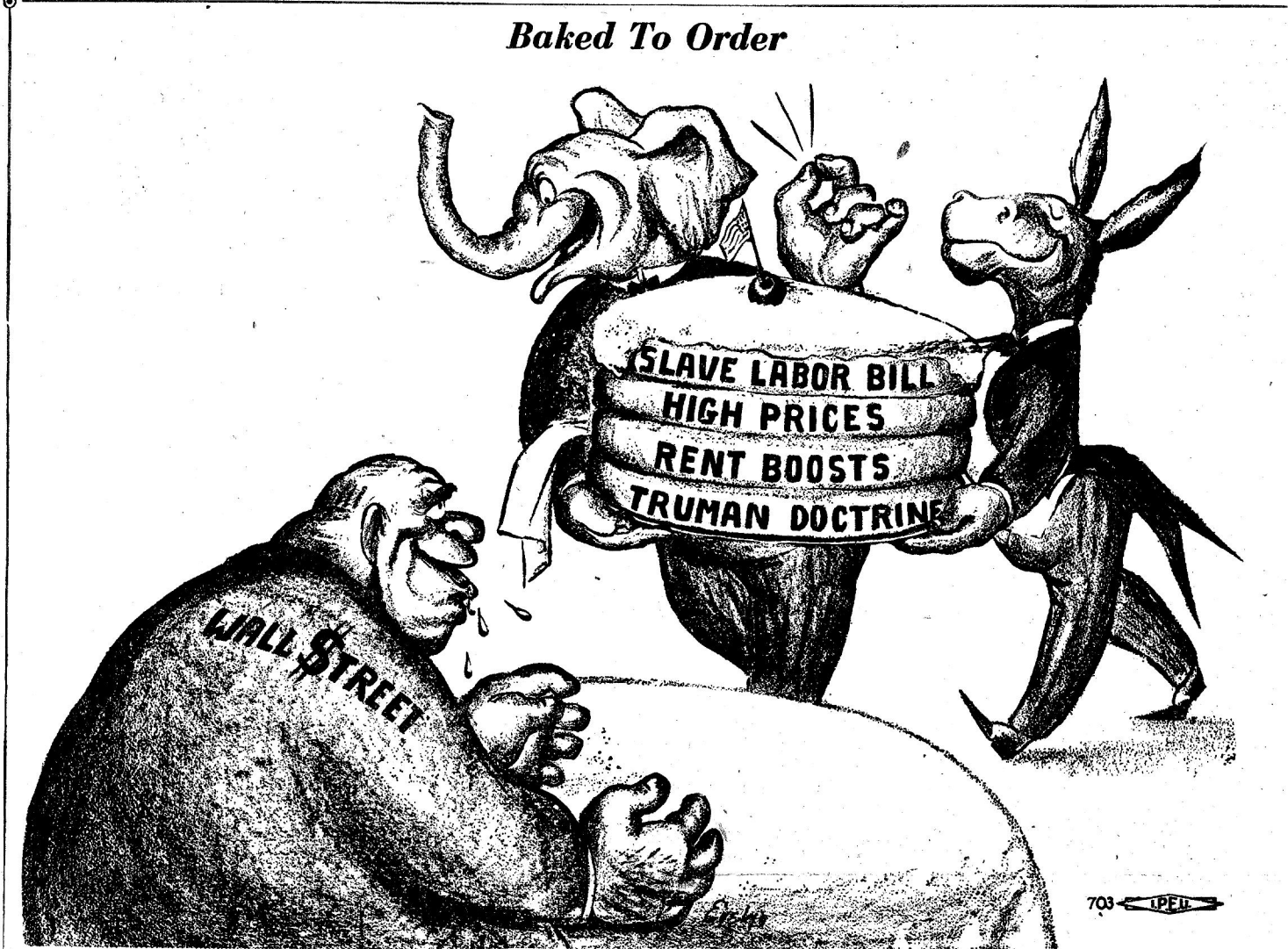
Truman's failure to mobilize the Democratic Party against the Taft-Hartley bill was consistent with his entire course in office. In December 1945, he tried to break the General Motors strike by ordering the union workers to get back on the job. In his "State of the Union" speech, January 3, 1946, he demanded a tough anti-labor law. When the railroad workers struck a year ago, Truman commandeered the railways and called a special joint session of Congress to demand the passage of a law empowering him to draft strikers and force them to work at the point of the bayonet.

During the subsequent maritime strike, he threatened to use the Navy to break it. When Congress passed the Case bill, Truman vetoed it but in the same breath again called for legislation to draft strikers.

Truman added to this consistent anti-labor record last winter when he mobilized all the forces of government to smash the strike of the coal miners. Who can forget the strikebreaking injunction and the \$3,500,000 fine levied on the miners?

Last January when Congress assembled, Truman again called for anti-labor legislation and proclaimed his readiness to back the Republican majority in Congress. He proved that he meant what he said by signing the notorious law to undermine the Fair Labor Standards Act and rob millions of working men of the portal-to-portal back pay due them.

In the light of this record, Truman cannot be considered a friend of labor by any stretch of the imagination.



## Congress Vote Shows Reactionary Character Of Democratic Party

While Truman's veto message was being read to the House June 20, a group of Democratic Representatives broke out a sack of peanuts and cracked them under the eyes of packed galleries as nonchalantly as monkeys in a zoo. When the reading ended, the faint applause of an individual or two was drowned in a roar of derisive boos. Then these political representatives of the capitalist class rubber-stamped the anti-labor law demanded by Wall Street.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Republicans would stand virtually to a man for Big Business and against labor. But what about the Democrats who have pretended since the beginning of the New Deal that they were interested in the welfare of the "common man"?

They voted 106 to 71 in the House for the Taft-Hartley slave-labor bill and 20 to 22 in the Senate. That decisive vote should remove the last lingering doubt any worker might entertain about the character of the Democratic Party. Do you recall the campaign promises of the Democrats last election? How

they were "friends" of labor? Do you remember how the labor bureaucrats, the Stalinists — all the fakers and traitors — claimed you had to vote for the Democrats to stem the tide of reaction?

They made those promises to fool gullible workers into voting for them. Once in office, the Democrats tossed their campaign propaganda in the ashcan. And when the most ruthless piece of anti-labor legislation in decades was ground to razor sharpness by the Republicans, a majority of Democrats — a big majority — joined them with shouts of approval. 126 Democrats helped swing the axe aimed at labor's neck.

Workers who understand how political parties serve class interests were not taken in by the election propaganda of the Democratic Party. They knew that both the Republican and Democratic machines are political instruments of Wall Street. They understand how the two-party merry-go-round is designed to entice the workers into taking another ride. And they called for labor to break from both the

capitalist parties and begin organizing an independent labor party.

The Democratic Party succeeded in fooling great numbers of workers with its "New Deal." During the depths of the depression, when the working class threatened to move in the direction of socialism, Roosevelt granted a few concessions and claimed credit for victories made by labor despite his efforts to knife their struggle.

In 1937 when the workers in Little Steel stood on picket lines facing the brutal steel barons, Roosevelt delivered his famous denunciation of labor: a plague on both your houses! That was how he really felt toward the "common man."

When he took the country into World War II despite his election promise "again and again" not to send American boys overseas to die on foreign battlefields, the pro-labor demagoguery of the New Deal was scrapped. The Democratic Party, with big majorities in both Houses of Congress, passed one reactionary law after another. They spearheaded the drive

against labor and laid the basis for the Taft-Hartley bill. It is sufficient to recall the Smith Gag Act, the dictatorial powers that were granted Roosevelt, the Smith-Connelly strikebreaking Act, and so on.

Under the Democratic Party the government seized plants, mines, railways and shipyards for no other purpose but to break strikes and assure the capitalists the highest profits in all history.

The Democratic Party has continued this reactionary course since the war. They wiped out the last remaining price controls and paved the way for the highest prices this country has ever seen. On top of the mountainous war profits, they gave billions in tax rebates to Big Business. They imposed high taxes on the low income brackets.

And what the Democrats failed to do would make a volume by itself. Ask any veteran what they accomplished in the way of providing housing. Ask any poor person in the South what they did about the poll tax system, Jim Crow, or lynch murder.

## Workers Have Lost Battle, But They Can Win The War

By The Editors

Millions of workers gritted their teeth in white-hot anger as the Democratic and Republican parties united this week to give the plutocracy its first major victory over the working masses since the end of the war.

A venal, prostituted Congress has struck the labor movement from ambush, killing reforms, strangling progress, seeking to condemn American labor to defenseless poverty.

With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Truman Doctrine is being applied directly at home as well as abroad. The Wall Street whip that lashes the worker in Tokyo and terrorizes the peasant in Greece is now cracking at the backs of American workingmen in New York and San Francisco. The deadly menace of the Taft-Hartley Act hangs over Detroit and other industrial centers as the atomic bomb hangs over Moscow and the whole world.

How stunning is this blow! Only yesterday there were laws on the statute books safeguarding the elementary democratic rights of the organized labor movement. Today the open shop is back. Injunctions are back. Forced arbitration is back. Litigation against unions is back. Manhunts against the militants are back. Overnight the clock of labor legislation has been pushed back twenty-five years. In Wall Street, there is jubilation.

How was Wall Street able to win this victory? Why were 15 million union men and women impotent to stay the hand of Congressional cut-throats? Because this giant of American labor was armed by its leaders with nothing but paper weapons—wads of postcards and telegrams to fling at Congress.

While the lackeys of Big Business were grinding out the anti-labor law, the cowardice and treachery of the top leadership of the union movement prevented the workers from taking unified militant action. Murray, Lewis and Green threw themselves at the mercy of the Democratic Party, staking everything on a Presidential vote — and the workers lost!

What shall be done now? Labor's anger is bound to flare into resistance. But it is not enough. Only if the labor movement is purged of illusions and cleansed of misleaders and liars can this harsh defeat become the starting point for a new struggle that will lead to victory.

An era is closed. It was the era of fighting on the picket lines but crawling at the polls. It was the era of keeping labor chained to the Democratic Party.

The crime of the labor leaders lay in blessing this political party which helped forge the chains for the unions. No shouts of "betrayal" can cover up this crime.

Truman paved the way for Taft. The Democrats marched down the bi-partisan road, with the Republicans, to defeat the veto. And all the while, Murray and Green strained might and main not to safeguard the unions — but to salvage Truman's reputation!

They provided cheap publicity for this friend of the railroad magnates, coal barons and meat kings; this benefactor of Franco, Peron, Chiang Kai-shek and the King of Greece; this political bedfellow of Rankin, and Bilbo.

Will these labor leaders learn? Not one whit more than did their kind in Germany who led the workers first into the camp of the German Roosevelts, next to the camp of the German Trumans and finally to Hitler's concentration camp.

Will the labor leaders support a militant policy to defy and defeat the slave-labor act? Already they are trying to persuade the workers not to place the unions in legal jeopardy, but to rely on the courts for its nullification — the same courts which are the servants of Wall Street; the same courts which upheld Truman in breaking the mine strike last year. They have always preferred the courtroom to the picket line.

Already they are talking about repeating their suicidal policy of electing "good" capitalist politicians—who can be relied upon only to stab labor in the back. In 1948 they will draw a curtain around 1947 and beat the drums once again for Truman and the Democratic Party. To follow them is to follow the Judas-goats to the slaughter pens.

The hour has struck for action—POLITICAL ACTION! Along with the fight to nullify the Taft-Hartley Act must go the struggle to drive out of Congress the two capitalist parties which enacted it.

This is the lesson of this grim hour: Fifteen million workers are as weak as one unless they are organized in their own class party based on a fighting program.

It is not too late for labor to enter as an independent force in the 1948 elections. Right now is the time for all unions, CIO, AFL and independent, to convene a Conference of Labor to nominate labor's own candidates for the Presidency and Congress. Such a Labor Conference, held in time, might have stopped the Taft-Hartley Bill. Now it must be held to curb the evil workings of this law and mobilize the forces to repeal it.

The labor movement has suffered a defeat—but it is far from smashed. The monarchs of the dollar will yet learn that it takes more than a law to crush the workers' organizations. They will learn that it was easier to pass this law than to enforce it. They will learn that a law like this, passed in Great Britain in 1927, became the prod for a reawakening and a rearming that eventually drove the British Liberal-Democrats and Tory-Republicans out of the government and brought the Labor Party to power. They will learn this because the workers will teach them.

Labor has lost a battle. But labor will win the war!

## Appeasement Policy Paved Way To Labor Defeat

By Art Preis

How does it happen that a few hundred political representatives of the tiny Wall Street gang have dared to pass legislation aimed to cripple the unions of 15,000,000 organized American workers? How does it happen that the mighty American labor movement, which a year and a half ago in massive strikes brought the most powerful corporations to terms, could not halt the brazen class legislation just passed by Congress? Certainly there has been no want of capacity or will among the workers for the most resolute and militant struggle. Their sentiments were clearly expressed in vast outpourings at local mass

meetings and parades, in the numerous resolutions for a 24-hour national protest strike, in the torrential tide of demand of hundreds of thousands of telegrams and letters to the White House and Congress. The union ranks were ready to back a real fight to the hilt. But they were thwarted at every turn by the craven and treacherous policies of the top union leaders.

The labor bureaucrats feared and sabotaged united, militant mass struggle. They followed the formula of appeasement, of pleading at back doors.

True enough, the union leaders voiced verbal protest against the Taft-Hartley bill. But they made no real effort to mobilize the millions of American work-

ers for decisive, effective, nationwide action. They turned deaf ears to the pleas of the rank and file for a nation-wide protest strike. They went so far as to oppose and sabotage the last-minute spontaneous efforts of local unionists to organize a caravan march on Washington.

The Murrays and Greens made blustering threats of what they are going to do in the next election to those Congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley bill. But this didn't cause a ripple in Congress. The Republican and Democratic agents of Wall Street knew in advance that the union leaders still support the capitalist two-party system. They are tied politically to the capitalist parties and politicians and oppose

real independent labor political action.

Thus, the union bureaucrats had no program of political action to mobilize the workers for a grand-scale political counter-attack. They offered the workers no political instrument of their own, a labor party, to fight the Taft-Hartley bill on the political arena and to drive all its sponsors and adherents out of Washington.

First, the union leaders tried to appease the Congressional labor-haters by accepting scaled-down wage settlements, such as Murray put over in steel. They made no-strike pacts like the AFL building trades moguls. They retreated all along the economic front. But this only whet-

ted the appetite of Big Business and its political agents.

As Congress became more brazen and arrogant in its preparations to shove through the union-busting bill, the union leaders tried to stem the offensive exclusively through their usual methods of pulling strips in Washington, button-holing individual Congressmen, sending letters and petitions that found their way into capital wastebaskets.

Finally, their efforts were confined to a last-minute dependence upon Truman for a veto and the hope of swinging seven votes in the Senate to uphold this veto. Now that Truman has made his grand-stand veto gesture, the union leaders — Green, Murray,

Dubinsky, Reuther, Whitney — all join the chorus of praise for Truman. They are preparing the lure to lead the labor flock back into the discredited Democratic fold in 1948.

William Green said labor would fight to abolish the Taft-Hartley bill, if it became law, if it took "50 or even 100 years." If the policies of the present union leaders are pursued, there will be no labor movement at all in far shorter time than that.

Once more the labor bureaucrats have demonstrated — and in the most crucial moment of all — that their methods of class collaboration and appeasement are a brake on the labor movement. They are banner-bearers only of defeats.



# Fast-Spreading Walkout Of Miners Demonstrates Workers' Determination To Fight Anti-Union Law

Less than 36 hours after the Senate put the final seal on the Slave Labor Bill, some 212,000 soft coal miners in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Ohio, West Virginia and Virginia, facing a major contract battle next month, defiantly answered Congress with swift-spreading strike action.

For the second time in two weeks the miners took the road of militant struggle to point the way to the whole labor movement on how to fight Wall Street's union-busting law. Their previous walkout of 17,000 members, June 6-12, was squelched by John L. Lewis and the top AFL United Mine Workers leaders.

As the Senate was acting, a stop-work meeting of 20,000 CIO shipyard workers in New York City, preparing for strike on June 26, cheered their president John Green as he stated: "We've always been ready for a fight, and if we have to, we'll be the first to test and fight the Taft-Hartley bill."

The miners' latest spontaneous action should come as a surprise to no one. It reflects not only their own traditional fighting spirit, but the sentiments of millions of union workers who have repeatedly shown during the past period their readiness for united militant mass action to beat back the Big Business-government offensive.

### SHOWN FROM THE START

How capable and willing the union ranks are for decisive action has been shown from the very start of the capitalist union-busting drive right after V-J Day. The winter of 1945-46 witnessed the most titanic strike struggles this country has ever known, when more than 4,000,000 hit the picket lines in vast industry-wide shutdowns.

As far back as January 1946, with the resolution adopted by the General Motors Conference of the CIO United Auto Workers, the rank and file unionists have clamored for united labor action of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods to beat back the mounting anti-labor onslaught.

This demand rose in such volume with the strikebreaking of Truman against the railroad workers, miners and seamen, that CIO President Philip Murray last December was forced to make an appeal to the AFL and railway unions for a joint action conference. Murray never attempted to arouse the ranks to press for such a conference. The AFL moguls rejected joint action behind a counter-proposal for "organic unity."

But in scores of leading communities from coast to coast, the local CIO, AFL and independent unions set up their own joint action bodies and worked to mobilize united resistance to anti-labor laws. It was the greatest upsurge of united labor action since the split of the CIO from the AFL.

### MORE INSISTENT

With the convening of the 80th Congress and the introduction of the NAM-sponsored anti-union legislation, the demand of the workers for decisive nation-wide action grew more insistent. The slogan of the 24-Hour National Protest Strike, first raised by The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party, was eagerly adopted by numerous union bodies.

Local CIO Councils and AFL Central Labor Unions in a score of major cities adopted appeals to the national labor leaders to call a 24-hour general protest strike. Eight CIO international bodies backed the demand. Local unions everywhere supported this appeal. Immediately after adoption of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the San Francisco CIO Council renewed the proposal for national strike action.

Wherever and whenever the top union leaders lifted the lid even the slightest on mass action, the response of the workers was overwhelming. In Iowa, 100,000

AFL and CIO members downed tools on April 22 in protest against state and federal anti-labor laws. On April 24 in Detroit, 500,000 workers walked out of the plants, and 275,000 marched to Cadillac Square to voice their opposition to the Taft-Hartley Bill. New York City's CIO workers demonstrated 125,000 strong at Madison Square Garden, where 50,000 AFL members had held a protest meeting the week before. Elsewhere hundreds of thousands gathered out in numerous parades, demonstrations and meetings.

The stage was set for climactic national action. In Los Angeles two weeks ago, the local AFL and CIO initiated a movement for a union caravan to Washington. This could have been the signal for a gigantic labor march to the capital. Everywhere the local unions were waiting for the go-ahead from the top AFL and CIO leaders.

But the latter hastily opposed and sabotaged the caravan. Only about 1,000 union militants arrived in Washington last week against the opposition of the CIO and AFL heads.

The AFL contingents that arrived in Washington were called together in the national headquarters of the AFL and told to cease their joint action with the "communist"-led CIO delegations. The order was given for them to return home immediately. In spite of this order, the AFL contingent joined the CIO workers in a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue.

The CIO top leaders also flatly opposed the caravan. Allen Haywood, CIO national organization director, telegraphed every CIO regional director that the caravan initiated in Los Angeles "has not received approval of CIO nor has national CIO authorized anyone to speak for it in behalf of caravan project."

"Neither has there been any consultation between national CIO and AFL officers."

"You are advised that CIO and national officers are doing everything possible to prevent Taft-Hartley Bill from becoming law. Under these circumstances the caravan in our judgment is unnecessary."

The enactment of the Slave Labor Bill on June 23 shows whether the CIO leaders did "everything possible" and whether the caravan was "unnecessary."

Had the desires and demands of the union ranks for real nation-wide mass struggle been respected by the top leadership, there would have been no Taft-Hartley Law on the books today.

## Union Heads Denounce Law But Offer No Real Program

The top leaders of the trade union movement, who had led the workers to defeat in the fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, issued militant denunciations of its passage and angry threats to fight for its repeal. But their denunciations rang flat and their threats sounded empty because they were not backed by even the hint of an effective program of action for undoing the harm already done.

William Green announced that the AFL will launch "an immediate campaign for the prompt repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act." He warned that "Labor will never become reconciled to this law." He predicted that the law "will prove such a boomerang that its sponsors and supporters will be

### Motorcade To Washington



One of the lead cars of the California AFL-CIO motorcade with a sign on the door reading: "1947 Minute Men of Labor" as it reached Amarillo, Texas en route to Washington to protest the Taft-Hartley bill. Federated Picture

## Taft-Hartley Provisions Inspired By Wall Street

Inspired by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law drastically revises the Wagner Act, tears the heart out of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, restricts

internal affairs with the government. This provision can be used by the Board to intervene in union affairs since the Board may be called upon to determine whether union officers were making excessive expenditures, whether the union was being run economically, whether expenditures such as donations to charity were proper.

6. PROHIBITS so-called "featherbedding," which is defined to include such items as standby pay, health and safety requirements, attempts to combat speedups, and efforts to spread the burden of unemployment.

7. ESTABLISHES a labor czar with enormous powers. Appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, he can rule whether a case shall come before the Board or go to the courts. He has final authority over the investigation and prosecution of all cases.

8. UNDERMINES the Board's present power to proceed against

citizen committees and vigilante groups organized by the employers.

9. PROVIDES for a 60-day cooling-off period after notice has been filed of intention to negotiate a new contract. If employees are provoked to take any sort of action in this period they can be summarily dismissed and lose their employe status. If an employer is guilty of an "unfair labor practice" in this period, he is subject only to a cease-and-desist order after lengthy investigation.

10. REQUIRES the board to list independent "unions" on the ballot in elections even though they have been found to be company-dominated and ordered to be dissolved.

11. BARS strikers under certain conditions from voting in a Board election. An employer could file for an election as soon as his employes go out on strike. In such an election the Board could rule them ineligible to vote and thus assure the defeat of their union as bargaining agent.

12. EMPOWERS the Board, in determining the bargaining agent, to disregard the "extent" to which employes have organized. This is designed to undermine industry-wide collective bargaining.

13. PROHIBITS recognition of any union with an officer who is a member of the Communist Party or similar organization or who believes in or teaches communist principles. All officers must file affidavits in accordance with this provision and section 35A of the Criminal Code is made applicable to such affidavits.

14. SETS UP a 6-months statute of limitations for unfair labor practices. This grants employers immunity unless charges are filed within 6 months for such violations as espionage, surveillance, organizing a company union and so on.

15. AUTHORIZES government injunctions to prohibit any strike for 80 days which is considered harmful to the "national welfare."

16. PROHIBITS union-controlled Health and Welfare Funds.

17. PERMITS employers to sue unions in court for anything the company considers "unfair practice" or in "violation" of contract.

18. PROHIBITS any dues or initiation fees the Board considers too high.

19. PROHIBITS the check off for union dues unless written permission is granted by each individual.

20. PROHIBITS strikes by government employes.

21. DENIES collective bargaining for foremen.

22. FORBIDS unions to make political contributions or expenditures.

23. DENIES union newspapers the right to express political opinions or even print the record of a candidate.

24. GRANTS employers "freedom of speech" to engage in all kinds of propaganda against unionism, provided they do not openly "threaten" or "coerce."

25. GIVES precedence to state laws that are more stringent than this law even though it is a federal enactment.

## How Trotskyists Fought Slave Labor Measure

The danger of the Taft-Hartley law was long ago foreseen by the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. A year ago, when Truman vetoed the Case bill and the House failed by a bare five votes to override, the June 22, 1946 issue of The Militant warned:

"Veto of the Case bill does not eliminate the danger of anti-union laws. At best, it provides only a very brief breathing spell to labor. Democratic and Republican congressmen alike, as well as Truman, are in agreement about imposing legislative restraints on the unions. They differ only on details and methods."

The Socialist Workers Party at that time called for an energetic campaign to stem Wall Street's drive for union-smashing legislation. The SWP called for a national labor conference of all unions "to prepare at once for united action to meet the intensified anti-labor campaign that is surely coming."

An editorial in that same issue of The Militant scored "union leaders like CIO President Philip Murray and David Dubinsky,

President of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers" for indicating "they want to cuddle up to Truman once more."

"HANDY PRETEXT" The editorial denounced them for utilizing Truman's veto of the Case bill as a "handy pretext to make another deal with the Democratic Administration which has been kicking labor in the face."

The Militant called for a real alternative to the two capitalist parties which are "both owned lock, stock and barrel by Big Business." That alternative, said The Militant, "is the building of an independent labor party."

Issue after issue, we continued to point to the growing danger of deadly anti-labor legislation. Issue after issue, we called for energetic struggle and the organization of labor's own party to put its own candidates in office.

As workers may now recall to their chagrin, however, the labor bureaucrats, including the Stalinists, continued to follow in Truman's wake and support the Democratic party in the 1946 elections.

In our first issue in 1947 when Congress convened, we again warned: "They are not interested in strengthening labor. On the contrary, they are cooking up laws to put labor in a strait-jacket."

The main headline in the January 11 issue declared: "CONGRESS RENEWS WAR ON LABOR." The feature story warned that "the machinery behind the scenes was working at top speed to . . . impose new restraints on organized labor in the interests of the employers" and "to increase the wealth and privilege of the financial and industrial monopolists."

Week by week The Militant followed the first vicious legislative proposals made by Taft, Hartley, Smith and the other labor-baiters.

"LABOR MUST FIGHT" To combat this drive, said a front page editorial in our February 1 issue, "LABOR MUST FIGHT!" "The union leaders are blind to the reality of the present situation," said the editorial. "They are trying to meet the anti-labor offensive with their old weapons, never effective even in the best of times . . . Wall Street and its Congress, however, are aiming at undisputed mastery of this country and the world. They brush aside the feeble remonstrances of the union bureaucrats."

The Militant pointed out that "the union ranks are eager to fight. They must fight, or face the certainty of brutal laws that will undermine and ultimately annihilate the only means of protection they have, the unions."

"The local CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods should get together in every community for joint action. At the same time they must demand militant, united struggle on a national scale through a National Conference of Labor. LABOR CAN win, if it stands united and fights."

When the House shoved through the Hartley bill in April and the danger of its final enactment mounted to a new high, The Militant called for a nationwide 24-hour protest stoppage. Such a "demonstration would warn Washington in no uncertain terms that American workers will not be slaves — that they are opposed to repressive legislation and will not stand for it if it is passed."

How correct The Militant was in its warnings and calls for action can now be judged by everyone in the light of events. We told the truth!

ST. PAUL Annual Strawberry Festival Friday Afternoon, July 4 Strawberry Shortcake Refreshments WHITE BEAR, MINN. Highway 61 to White Bear, then follow arrows to SWP Strawberry Festival For transportation call Garfield 1137 'Militant' Readers Invited

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

Briggs Manufacturing Company was forced to a last-minute capitulation to terms of the CIO United Automobile Workers members in seven plants, including militant Local 212, Detroit. On the eve of the strike, the company signed a contract granting retroactive wage raises and other demands of the union. Counter-demands aimed to wipe out previous contract gains were dumped.

The mine wage contract deadline ends next week, June 30, with soft coal operators stalling for time pending decision on the Taft-Hartley bill. This doesn't leave much time for negotiating deadlocked issues before government mine-control ends. Remember, operators have never accepted terms of the contract made between the government and the AFL United Mine Workers.

The new independent national telephone workers union, Communication Worker of America, voted by referendum 96,111 to 63,665 against affiliation with the CIO. Meanwhile CIO has set up its own Telephone Workers Organizing Committee with a claimed membership of 80,000.

Strike of 3,800 foremen in the Ford Motor Company River Rouge plant continued into its fifth week. Conditions in the plant are reported to be chaotic and disorganized as Ford production workers, members of the CIO auto workers, cooperate with the striking Foremen's Association of America to the extent of not breaking their necks to turn out production and making it hot for scab foremen.

Philip Murray has placed one of his right-hand men from the CIO Steelworkers, William Donovan, as head of the Cleveland CIO Council. The council was put under receivership at behest of red-baiters seeking to take control away from the Stalinists. Donovan's executive assis-

tant will be James Quinn, recently ousted by progressive steelworkers from his post as Youngstown area director for the Steelworkers.

South New Jersey Local 56 of the AFL Meat, Cannery and Farm Workers Union sent a delegation to Washington on behalf of 1,500 Japanese-Americans in its membership. The delegation urged passage of a bill to indemnify Japanese-Americans for their loss of property when brutally removed from their West Coast homes, businesses and farms during the war.

We applaud the words of Local 56 Vice-President Elmer Hewitt to the House Judiciary Committee. He charged that these American citizens of Japanese extraction were "wrongfully evicted," adding: "They are good union members and we wish we had more of them . . . As a matter of principle, our union believes that every person in America is entitled to equal treatment and consideration. We make no distinctions in our union membership."

After a continuous 26-year reign as president of the AFL Switchmen's Union, 63-year-old Thomas C. Cashen was defeated overwhelmingly at the Switchmen's convention last week by 42-year-old Arthur J. Glover. Cashen in a post-mortem speech warned of the danger in replacing him with a mere youth. "Youth must be served," he said, "but sometimes in serving youth you make the awfulest and most terrible mistakes. You think you're smart now, but just wait." What is the labor movement coming to when creaking labor bureaucrats can be ousted by callow striplings?

By the end of May, there were 4,159 strike notices filed this year with the NLRB. The number has grown month by month, rising to the highest on record in May.

Our Program:

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

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Germany 1947

# What The People Are Thinking About

By Ernest Germain

We must say this at the outset: the majority of the working population in Germany doesn't think any more — or rather, not yet. They are stunned by the shock, dizzy as after a knock-out. The nerve strain and the whole series of pressures have been too staggering: the Gestapo, the war, victories, fourteen hours a day in the factory, the deaths, death of their sons, houses crumbling under the bombardments, panic, flight to the country, the refugees coming from the East, the babies still-born in railway coaches, the military collapse, arrival of the "conquerors," the ruins, the hunger, the horror of the winter...

### The Sixth In A Series Of Articles

Who would dare be so bold as to cast aspersions on the mass of workers because they still remain "unaware" and because their thoughts center around potatoes and coal?

But this dull and passive mass takes on a much more variegated aspect when we look at it closer. Tens and hundreds of thousands of workers and intellectuals, sincere and ardent anti-fascists, had victoriously fought off the wearing down of Nazi dictatorship; now they have been broken by two years of the occupation.

An immense disillusionment has crushed them. Thousands of fanatical Communists whose "faith" could not be broken by the protection the Kremlin gave the generals of the "Free Germany" committee and who even directed, unprotestingly, the looting and plundering of the first days of the occupation, completely lost their bearings as a result of the logical development of Stalinist policy. "What is there of communism in the systematic exploitation of the country by the conquerors?" You can hear such remarks every day from the most convinced Stalinist militants. Thousands of Socialist Democrats have undergone a similar disillusionment regarding the policy of their party and of the British and French occupation authorities.

**VIOLENT RESISTANCE**  
The great obstacle for those who want to think and to learn — and despite everything, they are many! — is the feeling of their own powerlessness. Immediately after the surrender, many advanced workers wanted to get things moving; but every one of their efforts, even their attempts to achieve the most modest kind of reorganization, ran up against the most violent resistance on the part of the occupying powers.

Most typical and most heart-breaking example is that of the Borzig factories in Berlin. Immediately after the Russians entered, the workers in this factory, one of the most advanced sections of the Berlin proletariat,

by a Swiss socialist in Berlin: "What we need to raise us back on our feet is a world party..."

Despite its general passivity, the German working class is today the only class in the country which contains within it all areas of political thinking and fruitful reflection: these are the strongest assurances for the future! The German capitalist class, raising itself slowly by the conquerors' coattails, is at a level of abjection and cynicism unsuspected abroad. It keeps many plants closed which, because of the high level at which production is rationalized, are "profitable" only if they operate at their full capacity, which is of course excluded in the present situation.

Its "ideological leaders" for the most part prostrated themselves at the feet of the Nazis; to save their social privileges, the capitalists gave up whatever independence of spirit remained to them. Today they have only changed masters. The professors who yesterday took their lessons from Goebbels, now take them from Clay or Sokolovskii.

They hope to maintain the social position of a semi-colonial bourgeoisie — their present status — and they pin all their hopes on the possibility of a third world war, out of which they expect to gain important advantages in exchange for the services they mean to give imperialism against the USSR. The only thing in the way of "thought" that arises from this stinking morass is the morbid and foul vapor of collective masochism, whose high-priests are of course the "theoreticians" of the Church and of mysticism.

The peasants — as is always the case in such conditions — retire within themselves and let the storm pass over their heads. Even though manpower, agricultural machinery, horses, livestock and fertilizer are lacking, the peasantry manages to profit from the terrible scarcity of foodstuffs in the cities by exchanging their products for things of real value — pianos, gold rings, textiles, furniture, etc.

The result is a constant displacement of wealth, with all the reserves and savings of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie being drained off toward the peasantry. This explains the paradoxical fact that not even the first steps are taken toward rebuilding the destroyed cities. In Frankfurt you are forbidden to repair your own damaged house — whereas, in contrast, construction proceeds at full speed in the countryside, where there was no destruction!

### RUINED LAYERS

The layer of functionaries and clerks, so important in prewar Germany, has been ruined by the second inflation even more than by the first — disoriented, desperate, "seeing no goal in life any longer," as the Manchester Guardian says. Then there are the hundreds of thousands of young people without a trade, the ex-soldiers who didn't have time to learn anything but how to handle a machine-gun, the ex-officers, the former fascist functionaries.

These are the layers that constitute the potential forces of possible underground Nazi movements — we say "potential" because up to now they have remained in inactivity. It is among these layers also that you find that expression of "nihilism" which so disturbs the liberal bourgeois journalists visiting Germany.

They are right to be disturbed. For if the advanced workers once more find the road of independent class action, world capitalism will have lost one and for all the chance of winning over these layers of the German petty-bourgeois youth.

But they will be the Nazis of tomorrow, more brutal, more harsh, more barbaric, unless the organized proletariat succeeds in taking into its own hands the destiny of the country. (Next Week: The German Working Class Movement.)

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# Liberals Are Busy Peddling Disguised Truman Doctrine

By M. Stein

The Truman Doctrine was a bitter pill for the American liberals to swallow. It was too brutally frank in its war aims. Its reactionary objectives were all too naked.

Truman publicly placed American dollars, military personnel and weapons of war at the disposal of the Greek and Turkish military-police dictatorships, thus bolstering them up against the masses in their struggle for freedom and bread.

How could the liberals, without completely exposing themselves as the camp-followers of imperialist reaction, rally to the support of such a policy? The pretext has been supplied them by Secretary of State Marshall in his now famous speech at Harvard.

By this speech — which all the liberals carefully isolate from the entire course of Washington's policy as well as from other no less authoritative speeches delivered in concert by Truman, Acheson, Dulles at other commencement exercises — Marshall has provided a formula quite palatable to the liberal tub thumpers. They now claim with a straight face that the days of the Truman Doctrine are ended; and we can now forget all about it.

At least this is what Max Lerner, the leading editorial writer for the daily PM would like the people to believe. On June 17 he declares the Truman Doctrine to be forever buried and hails what he calls the "Marshall Doctrine." Max Lerner assures us that "there can be no doubt of the difference between them, both in their substance and their philosophy and in their accompanying emotional overtones."

### HAILED WITH JOY

Lerner goes on to practically lay claim to the authorship of this wonderful "Marshall Doctrine." He says that "it is the approach we of PM have been stressing since the end of the war."

Henry Wallace himself is almost as enthusiastic as Lerner. He acclaims the "Marshall program" as a "great advance" over the Truman Doctrine, and adds that Marshall's program "looks toward an over-all program which is what I have been advocating all along." (N. Y. Times, June 23.)

Nor is this all. The Stalinists, who frantically hang on to Wallace's coattails, remain anxiously poised for another flip-flop the minute they get the signal from Stalin. Will Marshall's speech provide the occasion for a new flip-flop? Joseph Starobin, the Stalinist foreign expert writes in the Daily Worker of June 18: "The idea of an all-European re-



TRUMAN

construction is good and urgent, of course. The American Left has never been isolationist, the American Communists certainly stand for a foreign policy that would assist a productive, stable, anti-fascist Europe. That's surely in our peoples' interests." Starobin's chief complaint is that "the invitation to the Soviet Union was very casual, very offhand."

### STRADDLES POSITION

In other words, Starobin is not yet sure that another deal between Washington and the Kremlin is in process of consummation; and he must therefore be cautious, critical but not too critical, straddling a position from which he can either denounce or praise, depending on what the Kremlin decides to do.

Is there really a basic difference between Marshall's speech at Harvard and the Truman Doctrine? Is there a difference "in substance," in "philosophy," and even in "emotional overtones," as Max Lerner would want us to believe? Are there any differences at all between Marshall and Truman? If there are, what is the nature of these differences?

These questions can be answered correctly only if we turn our back on the make-believe world of the liberal and Stalinist charlatans and try to see the world picture as it really is, examining the driving force behind U.S. foreign policy.

The United States emerged from World War II with an immensely expanded productive machine and with colossal wealth accumulated in the hands of the monopolists out of the lush war profits. Its competitors, Germany and Japan, lie in ruins. England has been weakened and reduced to a condition of impotence. Free of any serious economic competition on a world scale, U.S. capitalism is eager to establish its domination once and for all over the world market. This drive for world domination is reinforced by the anxiety to take advantage of the world market before the economic crash drags American economy once again down to the levels of the Thirties.

### GLUTTED MARKET

Today, two years after the war, the home market is becoming rapidly glutted. Wall Street must turn more and more to the world market to maintain its system and its profits. But the world market remains in reality out of

reach of the American monopolists. It is out of reach for both economic and political reasons.

Economically, the world is prepared to absorb everything U.S. economy can produce, but the impoverished and ruined countries cannot pay for it. The bulk of the world's gold is already concentrated here, buried underground at Fort Knox. The countries of the world suffer from runaway inflation to one extent or another. They have neither the gold nor the dollars with which to pay for American products. Nor does U.S. tariff policy permit them to send enough of their own commodities to America.

Politically, the countries of the world which could serve as markets, do not possess the necessary stability for American investments. They are plunged into civil war or are on the brink of civil war.

The driving force of American foreign policy, therefore, is to stabilize capitalist regimes and to organize the world market for American exploitation. This is a big order. This is the gist of the Truman Doctrine.

Therefore to say that the Truman Doctrine is "dead" is to say that American imperialism has renounced its goal of world domination. Anyone who says so, is deliberately lying. The New York Times, authoritative mouthpiece of American imperialism, stated editorially on June 20 that the views expressed by Marshall constituted nothing more than a "redefinition of the Truman policy." This is correct.

Why has this "redefinition" become necessary?

### SUPPORTS REACTION

Washington has not at all renounced its policy of supporting arch-reactionary regimes as in Greece and Turkey. The Truman Doctrine had its beginning with precisely such a support. But the Truman Doctrine cannot achieve its continuation elsewhere in Europe by the same methods for the simple reason that there are no such regimes in existence as yet in Western Europe.

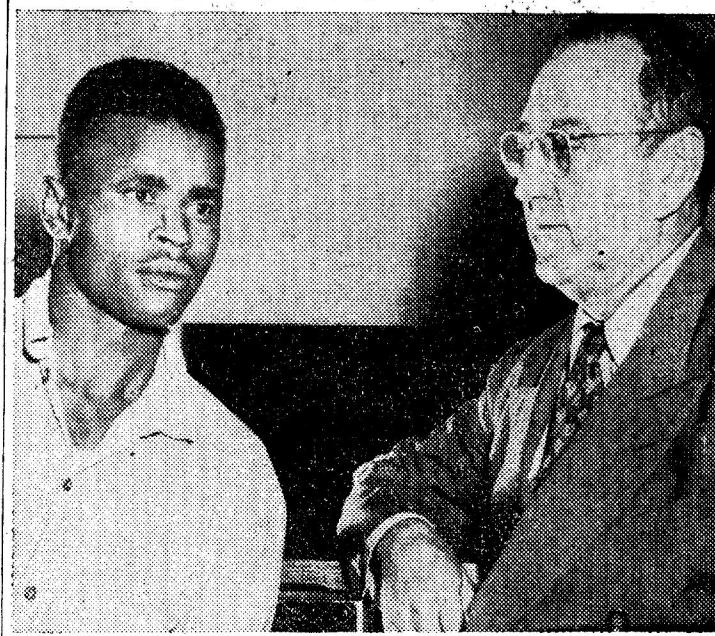
Such regimes cannot be created artificially, nor foisted overnight by naked force upon the peoples, say, of France and Italy. Here it is necessary to proceed much more cautiously and move by stages to prepare the ground for the subsequent consolidation of police and military dictatorships that will act as the willing and obedient puppets of American imperialism.

Here it is necessary to disguise the real aims as much as possible. Hence the new formulas advanced by Marshall of "aid to Europe," of organizing the "United States of Europe," and so forth and so on.

This hypocrisy is as much an integral part of imperialist policy as the use of the mailed fist.

(Subsequent articles in "The Militant" will analyze in greater detail the new forms, or more accurately the new disguises, which the Truman Doctrine has assumed; the reasons underlying this "change" and what this means to the masses abroad and at home.—Ed.)

## Escaped Lynch Mob



Seized from a Jackson, N. C. jail by an armed lynch mob, Godwin Bush (left) broke away and escaped his captors. He is shown above with Warden Hugh Wilson of the state prison where he was taken after surrendering to FBI authorities. Seven of his would-be lynchers are now free on bail.

Federated Pictures

## French Socialist Youth Fight Dissolution Order

PARIS, June 13 — The National Bureau of the Socialist Youth last week issued a statement categorically rejecting the Socialist Party National Committee decision to dissolve the recently elected National Bureau of the youth organization.

The Socialist Youth convention held at Montrouge last Easter had adopted a series of resolutions which, although not particularly revolutionary, were considerably to the left of the policy followed by the SP and its Ministers in the government. The SP leaders forbade the publication of these resolutions and the youth leadership began by giving in.

But the development of the situation in France left no room for such a retreat. At the SP demonstration to commemorate the Paris Commune last month, young socialists publicly booed the members of the government.

The SP leadership, including most of its "left-wingers," decided on June 4 to dissolve the youth's National Bureau, which is the traditional bureaucratic way of proceeding to expulsions.

Listed a long series of attacks, slanders and organization measures by the SP leadership against the youth, the National Bureau's statement traces the struggle to an attempt to prohibit the youth from exercising a revolutionary policy. At bottom, the SP National Committee "leads the offensive against the Socialist Youth who unconditionally support the workers' struggles, who fight for immediate peace with Viet Nam, who demand a massive reduction in military credits, who oppose the bourgeois governmental coalition and the anti-labor policy of the Ramadier government."

The Bureau also rejected with well-deserved contempt the proposition made by Guy Mollet, "left" Socialist leader, to permit the Bureau members to remain if they would sign a "declaration of fidelity."

The National Bureau statement ended by calling on the members of the Socialist Youth to organize, protest and fight inside the party against the bureaucratic measures of the SP leaders; to refuse to recognize or support any other body than the present National Bureau; and to maintain the Socialist Youth in spite of the reformists and traitors to the working class.

## American Veterans Committee Shows Marked Shift To Right

MILWAUKEE, June 22 — The second convention of the American Veterans Committee, which ended here today, was marked by a decided shift to the right. The right wing Independent Progressive caucus elected its candidates for national chairman and vice-chairman: Chat Paterson and Richard Bolling, respectively. The right wing also swept the election for members-at-large on the National Planning Committee. While the results of the balloting on platform provisions are not yet known, it is generally conceded that the bonus was defeated and several anti-labor planks written into the platform.

Although labor is the natural ally of the veterans, the convention had before it — and probably adopted — a plank calling upon labor to "increase productivity." This term is used by the NAM as a substitute for "speedup." Several rank and file unionists who protested this veiled support of the speedup were answered by CIO economist Robert Nathan. Meyer Bernstein, national CIO veterans chairman, who took the floor frequently on other issues, failed to oppose this plank.

A fierce fight developed over the issue of the bonus. The right wing opposed it outright, and the Stalinists, in their desire for "unity," merely asked for an "impartial study of the question" to be followed by a referendum of the membership. There was widespread rank and file support for the bonus. It was defeated by only a narrow margin in the platform committee. When the issue reached the convention floor, both Nathan and Bernstein spoke in opposition to the bonus.

Although the leadership declared that housing remained

## Trotskyist Rally Commemorates Paris Commune

PARIS, June 10 — The Trotskyist demonstration commemorating the 76th anniversary of the Paris Commune was a colorful and militant affair, in marked contrast to the ceremonies by the government officials and reformist leaders.

The Trotskyist contingent marching to Pere Lachaise cemetery, where the heroic Communards are buried, followed on the heels of the Socialist Party parade, which was led by Premier Ramadier and cabinet ministers. These dignitaries arrived in limousines driven by chauffeurs and were greeted by catcalls and cries of "Resign!" from militant members of their own party.

Heading the parade was a group of 100 Indo-Chinese carrying the banners of the embattled Viet Nam Republic. Then came the Parisian sections of the Trotskyist party and youth organization, carrying red banners, and members of their Central Committee, carrying wreaths of red flowers for the graves.

The marchers carried banners and chanted slogans. Among these were: Enough talk, more bread! Withdraw the troops from Indo-China! Ramadier, resign! We will avenge the Communards! General strike!

Ramadier's police tried to provoke the parade by refusing to enter unless the banners and placards were furled, but the marchers refused and made the police yield.

Standing on the famous Wall of the Federals against which countless last-ditch defenders of the Commune had been executed, Yvan Craipeau, Trotskyist general secretary, briefly addressed a throng of about 3,000. His revolutionary message was cheered by most of the Socialist Party members who heard it and the empty words of the cabinet ministers of their party.

## International Notes

The first issue of New Spark, 8 page bi-weekly paper of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyists) has arrived here. Published in Bombay, it replaces the Calcutta paper, Spark, which was ordered suspended by the authorities last year.

The first issue, dated April 26, includes a number of informative and well written articles on developments in the class struggle in India. Among these are a report on the Congress Party leadership's attempt to break the BEST strike in Bombay; Civil Liberties Under Congress Raj by Indra Sen; Whither the Congress Socialist Party? by K. Tilak; a report on the textile strike in Madras; an editorial presenting the paper's platform; International Notes by M. Usman; and an article on the Indonesian struggle by Sitangshu Das.

La Verite, the French Trotskyist paper, prints an interesting item indicating the ferment in the French Stalinist party. During the recent Renault strike, a CP membership meeting of 3,000 in the 11th Arrondissement in Paris discussed the strike issues in a heated atmosphere. A motion at the end of the meeting "in support of the Renault strike and the 10 francs an hour demand" was lost by 1,300 to 1,700 for a motion "expressing confidence in the Central Committee and in Maurice Thorez."

The Zurich conference of 19 European "socialist" parties was marked by: 1. Consideration of splits in various parties (Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, etc.). 2. Conflicts reflecting the division of Europe into Western and Eastern blocs. 3. Refusal to admit the German Social Democratic party as a full participant because of the opposition of parties in the Eastern bloc. 4. Failure to agree on any form of re-

constituting the Second International, due mainly to the opposition of the British Labor Party.

A commission was set up to maintain relations with the German party. A motion by the French and Belgian parties to reconstitute the International was referred to a commission for "examination." The Italian party headed by Nenni was recognized, while that of Saragat was excluded from the conference.

500 men of the Ceylon Army Service Corps refused to be used to break up the strike of 35,000 civil service employees, port workers and general laborers in Colombo. The soldiers also complained of bad treatment by British officers. The strike committee of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation appealed to all labor organizations to hold a one-day general strike of protest against police action and military measures against the strikers who are holding solid and rejecting all government appeals to return to work. Light tanks were used on one occasion to prevent port workers from joining civil service employees.

Sharply condemning the leaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions for failing to come to the help of the Spanish workers fighting against Franco, Lucha de Clases, organ of the Spanish Trotskyists, says: "Enough of this attitude of being beaten before we start! If the WFTU, which for the moment confines itself to snivelling statements, does not know how to do its duty, then to force it to do so, the workers in all countries must at once set up workers' committees for the boycott of Franco Spain. Workers' committees within the framework of the WFTU, or alongside it, if the WFTU leaders continue to confine their 'help' to the Spanish workers to tearful declamations!"



# THE MILITANT

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"War is a gigantic commercial enterprise, especially for the war industry. The 'Sixty Families' are therefore first-line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. Workers' control of war industries is the first step in the struggle against the 'manufacturers' of war."

Leon Trotsky

## Labor Rewarded

How does the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law square with the propaganda put out by Wall Street during World War II about fighting to make the world safe for democracy?

The Atlantic Charter, it may be recalled, was hailed as the greatest document in the history of mankind since the Magna Charta of 1215 A.D. Among the objectives listed in this statement of war aims was "improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security."

Wall Street proceeded to export "improved labor standards." They dumped fire bombs on the great cities of Europe and Asia. They reduced mighty capitals to heaps of rubble. They wiped out factories and bridges, blew up ships and ports, wrecked railways, sowed fields and orchards with mines. In view of the appalling, universal destruction, Wall Street's promises about improving conditions sounded like hollow mockery.

Nevertheless some workers were undoubtedly taken in by the smooth-tongued propaganda with colored illustrations about the streamlined world of postwar comforts labor would enjoy in America after the slaughter was brought to a successful conclusion. American labor, at least, would be safe from fascism! American labor would enjoy democracy!

But even this hope has now proved to be a delusion. Wall Street is paying off. It has lifted the Taft-Hartley Law like a cat-o'-nine-tails, preparing to bring down all its vicious provisions on labor's bare back.

America, which boasted of its democracy, freedom, and labor standards, now has a reactionary anti-labor law on its books that will hearten and inspire every fascist and every reactionary regime in the world.

The Taft-Hartley Law is a long step toward totalitarianism in America. It is the domestic reflection of the war-mongering Truman Doctrine. It is designed to regiment labor at home, break down the living standards, reduce the unions to impotence, and smash the organized resistance of the working class in preparation for World War III.

The Taft-Hartley Law is the reward Wall Street is handing the working class for its part in World War II. Labor shackled by the Taft-Hartley Law is what the capitalists really meant by all that propaganda about "improving" labor standards after they had harvested the profits from the blood-soaked battlefields.

## Dangerous Illusion

No illusion is more false and pernicious than the belief that the capitalist courts are designed to render impartial justice. This illusion is especially dangerous today when union leaders are urging the workers to depend exclusively on appeals to the courts to nullify the Slave Labor Law.

The very day the Senate over-ruled Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Supreme Court once again showed what class interests it represents in interpreting the constitutionality of the laws. It upheld the Lea Act of 1946, a law passed by Wall Street's Congress with no other intent than to aid the big radio corporations in their fight against the AFL Musicians Union. This decision reversed the ruling of a federal judge last year in Chicago.

But recall what James C. Petrillo, the Musicians Union president, said at the time of the lower court's ruling—"Thank God for the Federal Courts, where they preach and practice democracy!"

Today, Petrillo must eat these words, just as John L. Lewis has been forced to eat the misleading and deluding words he wrote last December when he called off the mine strike in deference to Supreme Court action on Federal Judge Goldsborough's injunction and \$3,500,000 fine verdict.

Lewis then said: "The Supreme Court is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens." Within three months, in response to the hue and cry of the coal operators, Wall Street tycoons and Truman administration, the Supreme Court struck the harshest judicial blow in decades against the miners and the American labor movement.

No, the courts are not the protectors of American liberties but of capitalist privilege. They are institutions of capitalist rule, just as all the other agencies of Wall Street's government. Their job is to enforce and interpret laws passed by capitalist legislators in the interests of a predatory ruling minority. The Supreme Court is a hand-picked, irremovable body of nine sharp-shooting corporation lawyers.

For labor to depend on such carefully-selected judicial agents of the moneyed class to overthrow the Slave Labor Law put through by this same class, is to step tied and blind-folded into the flood waters. It is suicide.

That is not to say that labor should not attempt a fight through the courts. The workers must fight on every front in the struggle against the Slave Labor Law.

But the decisive weapon will be labor's united mass action on the economic and political front. Destroy the economic and political monopoly of Wall Street—that is the way to destroy the Taft-Hartley Law.

## Damning Admission

In his speech at Princeton University June 17, Truman once again pressed his plan to force American youth to undergo indoctrination and training at the hands of the Prussian-minded brass hats.

Once again he tried to justify this militaristic project. He spoke about how it would "contribute materially to the health and character of our young men." This was his principal contention when he first advanced the plan. There was no better way, he maintained, to build up muscles and straighten out a youth's mind than to hand him over to the brass hats for a year.

At that time he insisted his plan had nothing to do with military blueprints or preparations for a Third World War. In fact when he set up a handpicked committee of warmongers to "study" the plan and bring in "recommendations" he emphasized that he wanted the word "military" left out of the proposed "Universal Military Training."

But in his Princeton speech, Truman admitted that "The justification for universal training is its military necessity." He argued that it was the "most effective method of maintaining the military strength we need." It would be an alternative, he said, to "the maintenance of a large standing armed force."

Thus Truman himself has finally admitted that the real purpose of the so-called "Universal Military Training" plan is to prepare a vast reservoir of manpower for the Armed Forces. It is not a glorified Boy Scout set-up, but part and parcel of Wall Street's preparations to plunge America into another world-wide slaughter.

Truman maintained that "these men will be training in order not to win a war but in order to prevent one." This is hogwash. Armament races and the building of huge military machines have never prevented wars. They have always led up to wars.

Truman's talk at Princeton is another grim reminder that the Second World War did not bring enduring peace but only laid the basis for a still worse conflict. If Wall Street is permitted to continue its rule, then World War III is inevitable.

## Join The SWP!

The Socialist Workers Party was the first to warn the workers of the danger that the Taft-Hartley bill might actually be passed. It pointed out the seriousness of this threat when others thought it would never be made law.

It was the Socialist Workers Party which proposed an effective campaign to defeat it. This included the call for a 24-hour nationwide protest strike, the convening of a United Conference of Labor and organization of an independent Labor Party.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party clearly reflected the will of the rank and file workers for action powerful enough to stop passage of the bill. But the high-paid top trade union bureaucrats feared a militant show of labor's strength. They depended solely on such horse-and-buggy methods as letter-writing and button-holing Wall Street's Congressmen.

Now the bill has been passed. But the struggle of the American workers has not been ended by the vote of Wall Street's representatives in Congress. In fact the struggle of the American workers has only begun. However, the question of finding an effective means of struggle is now more important than ever. Every blow must count to change the losing battle into a winning battle.

This is where every worker determined to defend labor's gains can make his weight felt. If he joins like-minded workers in backing the correct program of action, then the rotten composition of Congress can be changed and the vicious Taft-Hartley law wiped off the statute books.

The only organization with an effective program is the Socialist Workers Party. This party is made up of the workers who first saw the threat of anti-labor legislation and first tried to arouse labor to the danger. Their experience will now prove invaluable in the fight to put labor in Congress and repeal the Taft-Hartley law.

If you really want to fight the Taft-Hartley law; if you really want to defend your standard of living; if you really want to arouse the working people of this country to action; then join the Socialist Workers Party!

Make your influence felt in labor's councils by pushing the only program that can succeed in throwing back Wall Street's anti-labor drive. Fill out the coupon on Page 2 and mail it in.



"The next war will put us in the Morgan class!"

# BOOKSHELF

## THE FIRST FREEDOM

by Morris L. Ernst, MacMillan, 1946, 316 pp., \$3.

"Ten states have not a single city with competing daily papers. Twenty-two states are without Sunday newspaper competition. Fourteen companies owning eighteen papers control about one quarter of our total daily circulation. Three hundred and seventy chain newspapers own about one fifth of all our circulation. More than a quarter of our daily circulation is absentee owned. We have a thousand less owners than a few decades ago. Thirty-two hundred weeklies—the backbone of local democracy—have disappeared. One company dominates more than 3,000 weeklies. There are only 117 cities left, in our entire nation, where competing dailies still exist."

"One third of all regular radio stations are interlocked with newspapers. The bottleneck gets narrower. Four networks before the war had 95 per cent of all night-time broadcasting power. One hundred and forty-four advertisers account for 97 per cent of all the network income. A dozen advertising agents create the radio programs which bring to the networks one half of their income. Independent radio stations are the step-children of the mike. In more than 100 areas the only newspaper left owns the only radio station. What price competition?"

"The weekly attendance at movies amounts to more than 100 million people. But five companies control the 2,800 key theaters of the nation. These five companies—called the Big Five—pick up more than three quarters of all the nickels and dimes paid by the American movie audience for its screen entertainment. All other producers of films enter the market place by grace of these companies. We

have allowed five giants to destroy our market place of free competition for movies. Moreover, two companies produce about 90 per cent of all our raw film stock."

These words are from Morris L. Ernst's foreword to his *The First Freedom*, a study of monopoly in the press, radio and movies. In the second section of the book, which constitutes its heart, Ernst documents, elaborates upon and amplifies these statements. He does not attempt to analyze how the monopolists have used their power; he is content to show the extent of that power.

Indeed, he avoids the use of names throughout his discussion, preferring impersonal statistics, since, he says, he is concerned with concentration of power as such and not with individuals—as if monopoly were an abstraction without a flesh-and-blood content.

However, if Ernst does not show us who owns the media of communication and how they use these media to deceive the people for the benefit of their class, he does prove that "thirty or forty men . . . own the main access to America's mind."

In his opening section Ernst presents the viewpoint from which he looks at the data and in his concluding chapter he presents the conclusions he has come to as to what should be done. He sees ideas as competing in the market-place of thought. A nation goes shopping for ideas as a house-wife does for vegetables. The more ideas there are available, the better buy can the nation get.

This is why Ernst deplors monopoly of the media of communication but does not analyze the ideas advanced through them: the ideas themselves may be good but the monopolistic re-

strictions may withhold some which are even better. He therefore proposes a legislative program of reform to re-establish "free enterprise" in the press, radio and movies.

What Ernst does not see is that behind opposing ideas are opposing material interests. To ask "Is this a good idea?" is meaningless; one must ask, "For whom is this a good idea—for the workers or the bosses?" Similarly, one cannot simply be for "freedom of communication"; the question arises: "Freedom of communication for whom?"

Ernst would enlarge the freedom of the smaller capitalist newspaper, radio and movie owners by restricting the freedom of the larger ones. But this is a utopian program. Monopoly of the means of communication is merely one phase of finance capital's general monopoly, a monopoly which, as Marx long ago showed and as its growth to its present heights despite all the talk of the bourgeois democrats from the time of Andrew Jackson down demonstrates, is inherent in capitalism.

The utopian nature of Ernst's proposals is illustrated by his dedication of his book to "the members of the Congress of the United States on whom we must rely to restore free enterprise in movies, radio and press," although he himself admits that "at present and for years past our government, by action and inaction, granted untold advantages to the giants of the press."

Genuine freedom of communication for the vast majority of the population can only be attained by the expropriation of the capitalists of the communication industries as well as of other industries and the operation of press, movies and radio by workers' organizations.

Paul Schapiro

## Congressmen At Work

### "You Can Crack A Filibuster"

The capitalist press went clear back to 1908 to compare previous filibusters with the one staged by Morse, Taylor and Pepper against the Taft-Hartley bill. They claimed that it was the third longest filibuster in Senate history. They thus placed the spotlight on the two marathon speeches of Taylor and Morse and covered up what was far more significant—the speed and ease with which the Republican - Democratic coalition smashed this filibuster.

There was a far longer filibuster as recently as last year. A filibuster that lasted an entire three weeks in contrast to the present one that ended after only 28½ hours of the 30 hours 51 minutes session.

The three weeks filibuster began January 17, 1946, when Chavez (D., New Mexico) succeeded in getting a motion passed in the Senate to consider a Fair Employment Practices Bill that had been pending since May 24, 1945. The Southern Bourbon Democrats at once began their filibuster to kill the measure although a majority of the Senate had declared themselves in favor of it.

How was it possible for this filibuster to last for three long weeks? Here is the answer: The majority deliberately assisted the Senators engaged in the filibuster.

Each day the majority recessed the Senate at an early hour. This permitted the orators to go home without losing their right to the



floor, get a good night's rest and resume speaking the next day.

Chavez himself, although presumably leading the fight for an FEPC, declared, "I think those who are against the bill . . . should be given an opportunity to get a little rest now and then."

That was a measure favored by labor. How different was the attitude of the majority toward the filibuster against the Taft-Hartley bill!

This filibuster was not designed to kill the measure. It was designed only to gain time and perhaps gain favorable publicity for a few Senators especially afraid of the labor vote.

It began on Friday afternoon, June 20, when the Taft machine, backed by the Bourbon Democrats, demanded an immediate vote to over-ride the Presidential veto.

By ten o'clock that evening Kenneth Wherry, the Republican whip, announced the Senate would be kept in continuous session until the filibuster was broken. Thus it boiled down to a

physical contest between the majority and those fighting for more time.

The majority brought in blankets and went to sleep. Whenever a roll call was made they were routed out of their cots. If a roll call had shown no quorum present, then an adjournment would have been forced with the Senator then speaking retaining his right to the floor the next day.

Every parliamentary effort was made to wear down the filibusterers. Brewster of Maine even tried to make a point that Morse was leaning on a stock of books on his desk and therefore was not holding the floor.

The filibusterers were finally exhausted by this grueling contest and forced to give it up. They had succeeded only in postponing the vote until Monday. Wherry triumphantly remarked: "This demonstrates you can crack a filibuster whenever a majority is determined to do it."

NOW ON SALE Bound Volumes "THE MILITANT" for 1946 Price . . . \$4.50 Order from: THE MILITANT 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

## Flint Auto Local Prints Labor Party Pamphlet

Flint Chevrolet Local 659 of the CIO United Automobile Workers has just published a first-rate pamphlet, *Fight Reaction — Build A Labor Party*, which raises and answers one of the most important questions facing the working people of the United States.

This call to arms is not solely the result of study of the situation facing the labor movement, but is founded on the experience of the Labor Party Committee of Local 659. This committee has already conducted an independent campaign in Flint, Michigan. It was successful in defeating a move of the bosses to shift even more of the tax burden onto the workers and small home owners. It has also run labor candidates for the Flint Board of Education with gratifying results.

Living up to the glorious tradition it established in the sit-down strikes of 1937, this local has now taken the lead in calling the unions to undertake independent political action:

"What is needed is ACTION. The union movement must prepare. We must prepare for the biggest organizing drive we have ever engaged in. The drive must be to organize politically. With determination we can start a crusade which will capture the imagination and heart of every union man. Once it starts, it will spread through the land like a prairie fire!"

The pamphlet takes as its point of departure the tremendous strength shown by organized labor in the strike wave of 1946. Then it shows labor helpless in the face of the anti-labor drive spearheaded by Congress. How to account for the demonstrated strength of labor on the picket lines and its terrible weakness before the politicians? The answer of the pamphlet is that both the Republican and Democratic parties are owned lock, stock and barrel by Wall Street. "Liberal" Democrats are mere window dressing to fool labor and get its votes.

To make its points, the pamphlet quotes pertinent facts from Ferdinand Lundberg's *America's Sixty Families* as well as giving the facts on how labor-endorsed politicians voted against labor.

Also scored are the liberals like Wallace, Pepper, Ickes and Mrs. Roosevelt, who try to keep the labor movement chained to the Democratic Party and who, when labor shows signs of building a genuine labor party based on the unions, try to convert it into a liberal "third" party.

The Negro people will find a champion in the coming labor party, just as they have found it in the CIO, says this pamphlet.

Attractively printed, with cartoon illustrations, this pamphlet will be read eagerly by trade union militants. Individual copies as well as the prices for bundles can be obtained by writing to: Educational Committee, Chevrolet Local 659, 1208 Glenwood Ave., Flint 3, Michigan.

For union members who "aren't interested in politics" the back cover of the pamphlet gives the best answer: "To say you want nothing to do with 'politics' is to say you are not concerned if you and your family be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or enlightened, protected or destroyed."

## Notorious Nazis Hold Key Posts Under Allies

American imperialist propagandists have assiduously propagated myths about the nature of fascism. These are designed to prop up the lie of the "war against fascism" and to conceal the fact that fascism is a product of capitalism, its most brutal form of rule.

Two reports of an official character have recently been issued which provide added factual refutation of these myths. Both were made public on June 14.

One is a study by the International Committee for the Study of European Questions, with Lord Vansittart heading the British members and Edouard Herriot, former French Premier, leading the list of French members. Their report recites detailed evidence of the continued collaboration of the Anglo-American powers with elements of the former Nazi and Fascist regimes in Germany and Italy.

This document lists names of influential former Nazis now occupying key posts in both the United States and British zones in Germany. They are members or representatives of the German capitalist class with whom the American and British capitalist rulers have a close affinity.

"In spite of official denials," the document charges, "Nationalist elements are still holding key positions in very many of the official departments dealing with the economic situation." It cites as "only a few examples among many others" in the United States zone:

Hans Muller, notorious Nazi leader, in charge of the central office in the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture; Dyonis Schmidt, Nazi Party official, in charge of the establishment office; Herr Schaefer, former Ministerial Councillor under Hitler, in charge of the price control office; Hans Fischer, legal advisor of the Nazi Labor Front, in charge of leather control; Helmut Bauer, Nazi Party functionary, in charge of the department of mineral oils.

In the British zone the same state of affairs exists "on a wide scale in the coal and metallurgical administration of the Ruhr," says the report.

A revealing letter from a concentration camp survivor is contained in the report. It charges that the judge who issued the orders for his arrest and those of 87 of his comrades, "has now, with, apparently, the approval of the American military authorities, become head of the Department of Justice of our state of Wuerttemberg-Baden."

Under Allied rule, the report warns, fascist movements "supported by considerable means and by steadily growing influences" are "openly starting to rise again." In Italy, the fascist sentiments are receiving Catholic hierarchical support. On last April 28, anniversary of Mussolini's death, "high masses were celebrated in memory of Mussolini in many important towns."

The other report, mentioned above, is the findings of a U.S. Military Government investigation of the two largest private banks in Germany — the Dresdner Bank and the Deutsche Bank. According to a Berlin dispatch in the June 15 N. Y. Times, "these institutions had been active partners of the Nazis in the political and economic domination of Europe."

These banks "controlled the financial structure of German industries" and there was "a closely knit affiliation between the banks and the leaders of German heavy industry . . . They (American investigators) revealed the close relationship of leading Nazi personalities, particularly Heinrich Himmler, to the two banks."

The Nazi Party, the report shows, was the political servant of the German finance capitalists.



# 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.

## Truck Drivers Enjoy Article On "Mad Dog"

JPC's article, "The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement," met with a very good reception from truck drivers and brewery workers here, who have good reason to hate Daniel Tobin. We ordered 150 copies of this issue and every one was placed where it would do some good.

One brewery worker who has a regular sub called up to give us the names of ten friends to whom we should send the paper with the "Mad Dog" article.

Another old Teamster's Local 544 man — anti-Tobin to the core — came into the headquarters to get a dozen extra copies of that issue to hand out to some truck driver friends. He said that what he liked most of it was to make trouble for Tobin!

Grace Carlson  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Ceylon Student Wants To Correspond With "Militant" Readers

I am a young girl from Ceylon highly influenced by the Fourth International. I am still attending college and shall be taking to the actual struggle of the workers as soon as I complete my studies.

Your Militant is very useful and I am making the best use of your articles by reading them over and over again.

I would like to exchange ideas about revolutionary politics with American comrades and I trust that you would insert this letter in your columns.

Mabel Perera  
Ceylon

Editorial Note: We will be glad to forward Comrade Mabel Perera's address to any reader of The Militant wishing to write her.

## Calls For Halt On Rent Gouging

Rents will soon become a burning question with landlords allowed so many loopholes in the new rent bill. Some landlords will make small changes in apartments and none in others and then boost all the rents far above the 15% allowed.

If the OPA, or whoever takes over from them, really wants to serve the public, let them send their men around to look at every apartment and rooming house, make a list of the rooms, decide the rent by day, week or month and then paste the list in the hall of each house with the prices clearly marked. Tenants would then know just what is right to pay and it would put an end to wrangling and dickering between tenant and landlord.

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

**AKRON**—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

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

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

**CHICAGO**—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone 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.

**LOS ANGELES**—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

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

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

**LYNN, Mass.**, 44 Central Square,

This is a simple and direct way to put an end to gouging. Honest landlords will not object to this and the other kind need to be controlled.

Unless something like this is done by the government to protect the people, the latter through their organizations and societies and unions will have to take over the problem and settle it for themselves.

In the case of meat, bread, milk and rents, in fact all the necessities for very existence, the people are being more and more imposed upon. A halt must be made somewhere.

One of the People  
Boston, Mass.

## Debate Over Defense Of Lynch Victims Has Reader "Groggy"

William M. Staton's letter to The Militant it seems disagrees with a Militant editorial disagreement with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's advice to Negroes to take it on the nose when prosecuted.

I am groggy and leaning on the ropes after reading and re-reading Mr. Staton and Mr. Bohannon. "Where are we at?" as they say in the American Senate.

One could quibble all day over the definition of "lawless," "futile," "tactful," etc., of Messrs. Staton and Bohannon. "What is it," of Remy de Gourmont might clear the air. Action is action; words are words. Thanks be both are unpredictable, or life would be more boring than it is.

Mr. Bohannon says: "Slavery was not ended by tact." Excuse it, please, but is slavery ended? Isn't the condition of the Negro worse now than under slavery?

Joseph McNamee  
New York, N. Y.

## Asks For Source Of Lenin Quotation

In a novel I read recently, Return of the Traveller, by Rex Warner, one of the characters illustrates his viewpoint by quoting the following passage, which he asserts is by Lenin:

"Man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given to him to live but so long, he must live as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose, so long that, dying, he can say: 'All my life and all my strength were given to the finest cause in the world—the liberation of mankind.'"

I don't recall ever having read this anywhere in Lenin's works, although it certainly represents his philosophy. I was wondering if any of your readers recognize it and can give me the source.

G. R.  
New York, N. Y.

## Author Appreciates JPC's Review Of "Moon Gaffney"

My dear J. P. C.: I am sorry to admit that I don't know who you are, but at least my ignorance will help lend sincerity and objectivity to my thanks for your serious treatment of my book. It would have been easy for you—apparently a good deal farther left than I myself am—to have subtly misquoted to serve your own particular purpose and to have made the book appear to be anti-Catholic instead of merely anti-clerical. But you didn't and I am not only grateful but I admire and respect you for it.

It should be news to no one but the hierarchy that there is now a left and right wing to the Church. Once we can establish this clearly in the public view we will have a house-cleaning in the Church and something more than lip-service paid to the papal encyclicals on labor.

Sincerely,  
Harry Sylvester

## Considers Publishing Speeches Of Debs

During the past two years, I have been doing research work in connection with the writing of a book on the life of Eugene Victor Debs. In connection with this research work one thing stood out prominently above everything else. This was the fact that copies of Gene's writings and speeches were so rare.

Many people in writing to me expressed the hope that some of this material could be put in print. If sufficient people were interested in obtaining such literature, it could be made available at very low cost. I would be anxious to hear from any of your readers who would be interested in purchasing these pamphlets if they were made available.

If sufficient people express interest, I am willing to undertake publication of the most famous writings and speeches of Eugene Debs, in pamphlet form, on a non-profit basis and publish them at a rate of one new pamphlet per month. These pamphlets would cost between five and twenty-five cents, depending upon the number of pages and the number of subscribers.

Incidentally, I am still doing research on the life of Mr. Debs, and I would appreciate hearing from any of your readers who might have letters or other material available that would throw light on Mr. Debs' life.

Joseph W. Riley  
35 North 34th St.  
Philadelphia, 4, Pa.

# Antoinette Konikow 1869 - 1946

By Evelyn Atwood

Antoinette Konikow, one of the pioneer builders of American revolutionary socialism, died a year ago on July 2, at the age of 77. Her courage, self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the working class still serve to guide and inspire the young men and women who have joined the Trotskyist movement and follow on the road she helped to blaze.

One of the most striking features about Antoinette was her young and vigorous spirit up to the day of her death. Her revolutionary optimism flowed from the kind of life she chose—a life of purpose, struggle and achievement. At an early age she cut through the fetters that, under capitalism, bind women to narrow, petty and ignoble lives. Antoinette saw far beyond her home, her children, her medical profession. She saw a world of suffering humanity and decided at an early age that the most important task is to build a new world free from fear, poverty and human degradation. She was 19 when she became a socialist and devoted the greater part of her energies to that struggle.



## INSPIRED WOMEN

Antoinette had a deep understanding of the special problems of women under the capitalist system. She seized every opportunity to bring them her revolutionary message. "Poverty, disease, corruption, war, unemployment are due to economic causes," she wrote, "to the division of humanity into two classes: the boss class and the working class. Women, like men, belong to both classes, the possessing class and the dispossessed." And to the mothers she would say: "You will have to struggle and fight for Socialism, you together with the workers, men and women, black and white, old and young—in this country and others—for their cause is yours and only through the victory of the workers will mothers solve their problems."

She was one of the living links with the founders of Marxism. During her six decades of service to the working class, she lived through periods of great joy and other periods that were harsh and filled with bitter disappointments.

Frederick Engels head d the revolutionary socialist movement when she became a socialist in 1888. She saw the rise of the Second International and its betrayal and decline. She participated in the founding of the pioneer Communist movement in this country and the founding of the Fourth International. She knew Lenin, founder of the first workers' state. When Stalin killed the Third International, she was among the pioneers who broke with Stalinism and went forward to help build the Trotskyist movement. She fought side by side with Trotsky in the great

aid to destitute anti-fascists abroad. There were many who fell by the wayside, tired and broken by the long years of struggles, but not Antoinette. She marched forward, steadfast and confident of the ultimate victory of world socialism. She was not dismayed by the might of the capitalist ruling class. She had seen how in Czarist Russia, her birthplace, the workers and peasants had conquered power in the great October Revolution. Living in this country for 53 years, she watched the infant American labor movement grow over the years into a mighty giant of organized power. She knew that "Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism." She had true Bolshevik understanding, faith and stamina.

Antoinette never forgot that she was living in the epoch of wars and revolutions and that out of its convulsions would be born the great epoch of socialism. And she was content to build, even while knowing that she might not live to see the final victory. "I probably will not see the time when you will win," she said. "When you do, please come and lay the red flag on my grave."

And this the emancipated workers will do with the deepest gratitude and love.

For years Antoinette was active in defending labor's rights and civil liberties. As Chairman of the American Committee for European Workers Relief she pushed forward the work of providing food and other material

aid to destitute anti-fascists abroad.

There were many who fell by the wayside, tired and broken by the long years of struggles, but not Antoinette. She marched forward, steadfast and confident of the ultimate victory of world socialism. She was not dismayed by the might of the capitalist ruling class. She had seen how in Czarist Russia, her birthplace, the workers and peasants had conquered power in the great October Revolution. Living in this country for 53 years, she watched the infant American labor movement grow over the years into a mighty giant of organized power. She knew that "Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism." She had true Bolshevik understanding, faith and stamina.

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## FE Merger Proposal Causes Heated Dispute In UAW-CIO

The proposal to merge the CIO Farm Equipment Workers with the CIO United Auto Workers has become the subject of a heated fight between the Reuther caucus and the Addes-Thomas caucus in the UAW. At stake is possible control of the next convention of the UAW, which will be held in November of this year.

The proposal, as submitted to a referendum of the locals by the UAW International Executive Board at its Chicago meeting early this month, would give the FE full voting rights at the UAW convention. Since the FE is Stalinist-dominated, most of its 400 to 500 votes would be cast for the Addes-Thomas group, virtually assuring domination of the convention by this group.

PLAN DENOUNCED This accounts for President Walter Reuther's action in summoning a special meeting of the International Executive Board last week, where he denounced the proposed merger plan as a flagrant violation of the UAW constitution.

Reuther declared that he had no opposition to a merger as such, but he called for the defeat of the Addes-Thomas merger plan because "it seriously undermines the basic industrial

union structure" of the UAW. One of the chief objections of the Reutherites to the merger plan was that it would set up a "union within a union" by establishing a special UAW division composed of FE locals and UAW agricultural equipment locals with a special charter and membership cards.

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- TOLEDO**—De Luxe Hat Shop, 403 Indiana Ave. B & G Shoe Repair, 456 Indiana Ave., Hirtshen's Beauty Shop, 2026 Canton, Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St. Clair.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—Terrace Confectionery, 1947 Jacobs Road.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

\$100 Contribution Sent To Help "The Militant"



The response to our appeal for help to keep The Militant on the firing line has been most gratifying. Last week contributions reached a new high when Jim and Sally of Cleveland sent \$100. Our warmest thanks to these devoted boosters of The Militant.

In addition to these friends who donated so generously, the following boosters of The Militant have joined the growing list of those willing to dig down into their pockets for a contribution to help put out the only paper in America that militantly defends the historic interests of the working class:

C. W. Bronx, N. Y. \$4  
E. C. New York, N. Y. \$3  
J. C. Chicago, Ill. \$2

The Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party has obtained a large number of Militant subscriptions among shop workers. Charles Carlson, literature agent for the branch, explains: "The comrades in the shops find it fairly easy to sell subscriptions to the workers. With an increasing number of workers in the shops reading The Militant, naturally the word is spreading around to those workers, who have not yet been approached, that The Militant is a genuine working man's newspaper. So, when the workers who have not already subscribed are approached their first remark is 'That's the working man's newspaper! Sure I'll subscribe to it.'"

In addition to signing up shop workers, Comrade Carlson says that "The Buffalo branch is trying to hold one mobilization a month in which all comrades participate in getting new and renewal subscriptions to The Militant. During our recent mobilization, there were many persons not home, but from the people who were home we received warm response. We obtained 12 of the enclosed subs; the other 27 were sold in the various shops where the comrades are working."

In spite of being rained out last Sunday, the Chicago SWP branch secured 11 subs, as reported by Sara Preston, literature agent, they "still have one more mobilization to go during which we hope to make our goal of 300 subscriptions. At present we have 212 subs. Comrade H. has tied Comrade Frank for first place with 26½ points. Right now it's still anybody's race. The South Side team is leading with 87½ points and their closest competitor is the North Side with 47½ points. There isn't much doubt as to which team will come out in first place. But as to who will 'BE THE CHAMP AND GO TO CAMP'—no one knows as yet."

Rain has interfered with Cleveland's campaign too, but Almeda Kingsley states: "Our campaign picked up some speed this week even though it rained as usual. Four of the comrades went out and got these 13 subs. Sally C. leads with 21 points to her credit. It keeps everyone else hopping to keep up with her."

The Akron comrades added 11 more subs to their campaign total. "Our campaign," writes Milton Genein, organizer, "promises to speed up as it goes into the home stretch. Comrade Andrews is still in the lead with Betty, a member of the Youth Club, in second place."

San Francisco came through with 31 subscriptions to The Militant this week. E. Lambeth explains: "They are part of our drive to obtain 100 new subs and that mark has almost been reached—with two more weeks to go. Nice, isn't it? We've divided our comrades into two teams, North-of-Market and South-of-Market. The losing team is to plan some sort of entertainment for the winning team. No matter how it works out, we're all pleased with the results of the drive so far."

Pittsburgh, according to a letter from Justine Lang, is "planning a Militant sub drive for 50 new and renewal subs in four to 6 weeks. However, with this abominable hot weather it sure is a tough grind, especially here in Pittsburgh. Not only is it hot and stuffy, but it's dirty."

We're willing to bet that Pittsburgh will come through with flying colors.

Beverly Wise of Oakland mailed 7 subs, saying, "I am most happy to send them on. Six came from shopmates of two of the comrades."

Pauline Lodge, literature agent of Westside branch, Los Angeles, reports that "two subs were gotten from friends who attended our branch educational. This was the first in a series of our educational on war, unemployment, depression, etc."

**PHILADELPHIA**  
Benefit Performance  
Sergei Eisenstein's  
"Thunder Over Mexico"  
Dancing Refreshments  
Sat., June 28, 9 p.m.  
1303 W. Girard Ave.  
Proceeds to American  
Committee for European  
Workers Relief

## How Capitalists Treat Any Law They Don't Like

Capitalists believe in "sanctity of law" for the workers. But their attitude toward laws they think are not in their own interests is shown by the confidential bulletin sent out by Chicago real estate leaders to landlords.

In a "market letter of the Chicago Real Estate Board," landlords are advised that "the government is relying almost wholly on tenant enforcement of rent control." Therefore, landlords are told: "The only possibility for relief now seems to lie in the direction of deliberate disregard for the regulations."

If Congress can be made to keep down appropriations for OPA's successor, the letter adds, "tenants in possession will enforce ceilings. But new tenancy arrangements will be made in increasing numbers at illegal rates."

Included in this instruction to landlords to disregard and violate the rent control law, is this caution: "Warning! The value of this letter lies in its being confidential advice."

**URGENTLY NEEDED**  
The following back issues of 'New International' are needed for binding:  
1934-July  
1935-January, March, May  
1938-January, February, March, November  
1939-January, June, October, November  
1940-February  
If you have one or more copies of any issue listed above, will you please send them to:  
**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**  
116 University Pl.,  
New York 3, N. Y.

## Fine Fishing In Pleasant Lake At Mid-West Vacation Camp

"Why don't you say more about the lighter side of life at Mid-West Camp and School," one enthusiastic vacationer admonishes the Camp Manager. "Call attention to the fine fishing in the well-stocked lake. There are a lot of people who'll enjoy nothing more than going out in the early morning or evening and returning with a mess of sunfish and perch or, if they have a bit of luck, even a pickerel or bass."

"Say something about the excellent boating and swimming, including those moonlight swimming parties on the raft on hot summer nights. Remind the athletically inclined that there are plenty of sports activities from hectic soft-ball games to shuffle-board tournaments and table-tennis contests. There are miles of woodland trails in the countryside that invite hiking."

"After all, working people who sweat at their jobs the year round want plenty of relaxation and recreation on their two-weeks with pay."

The suggestion is well-taken.

**NEW YORK Central Branch Invites You To A Barn Dance!**  
Square Dancing, Folk Songs, Accordion Music, Surprise Skit  
Sat., June 28, 9 a.m.  
103 West 23 St.

**Mail This Blank For Your Reservation At Mid-West Vacation Camp And School**  
Season June 29 to Sept. 2 Adults \$25 week, Children \$15  
**OSCAR COOVER, Manager**  
116 University Place  
Reserve accommodations for below from.....to.....  
Family  Couple  Single   
(check one)  
List all who will attend:  
Name.....  
(Mr., Mrs., Miss)  
List of Children and Age.....  
Name of Applicant.....  
(Please sign)  
Address.....  
City & Zone..... State.....



# Letter To A New Subscriber

By Theodore Kovalesky

Dear Ralph:

I was glad when they told me you had just taken out a subscription to *The Militant*. It's always a fine thing to get our paper to somebody who's never seen it before, to get its message to "ever wider sections of the working class." But with you it's even more than that.

For years you've been growing more and more to need *The Militant* and its ideas. You've been looking for it and wanting it, although you probably didn't exactly know it yourself.

All your life I think you've considered yourself a "good American." And to you being a "good American" didn't mean being a race-hater or a chauvinist. You remembered some of the things they taught you as a kid in school, and you figured that being a "good American" meant believing in "fair play." You believed fervently in democracy, in freedom of speech, in the rule of the majority, and in the rights of all minorities.

But then, Ralph, you began to see, or perhaps, to feel that all was not right, that something has happened to the America you had thought and dreamed of. I don't suppose you had it fixed firmly enough in your mind to put it into exactly these words, but here's the idea: America today is suffering from a deadly disease. There was a time when a man could speak out and tell what he considered the truth, and those who disagreed with him would defend his right to speak. There was a time when idealistic young men like you took up muskets and fought through the bitter winters to free their land from British subjugation. And there was another time when other young men offered up their lives at Gettysburg and Bull Run for the cause of freedom for all people, black and white. (And a man called John Brown hanging on a Virginia gallows for the cause of freedom, that was Americanism, you thought.) But good fruit grows rotten with time, living

things grow old and die, and the America that once stood for freedom, liberty, justice, and democracy, that too has grown old, too old for life, and it has died.

I once read of a woman who kept the dead body of her husband in the house. She wouldn't admit he was dead. And that's what Wall Street is doing now. The ideals of 1776 have died, but Wall Street pretends they still live. But the terrible truth is that Wall Street rules supreme, and that rule is the iron fist in the velvet glove.

You feel these things, Ralph. You feel them instinctively, and you strive, you stumble about in the darkness looking for the good way, the way of truth and freedom.

You have respected the laws and hated violence. But now you see that the laws have become violence. You have hated injustice, but you are learning that the laws are injustice itself. You have begun to see that the "American way of life" as preached in the capitalist press and in Congress is anything but the quiet, honest, free "Americanism" that you have always believed in.

You felt deep anger at Hitler's persecution of the Jews. And your sympathy for the impoverished, oppressed Negroes of the United States, and your hatred for the lynchers is very similar to that anger inspired by Hitler.

You have been bewildered, Ralph, you have been lost and looking for the way. "Nobody ever showed me something I could fight for and live for," you once said. Well, Ralph, congratulations! Whether or not you know it today, you have found something worthy of your young life and courage. Read your *Militant* carefully. Measure your life and ideals against the ideas you find in each issue.

And then, when you have grown familiar with what we stand for, we'll be waiting to welcome you with a warm handclasp into the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party as a comrade in the fight for Socialism and freedom for all the world.

Fraternally,  
Ted Kovalesky

## Like Building On Quicksand

By George Breitman

Is Truman a friend of labor because he vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill? That is what most of the labor bureaucrats are saying now, even though they had to sing another tune last year when he broke the rail and mine strikes.

The truth is, as Joseph Hansen's article on Page 1 makes clear, that Truman had to veto the bill or give up all hope of a victory in the 1948 elections for the Democratic Party, most of whose representatives in Congress voted for the bill. Truman's course was determined by political expediency and not by friendship for labor.

To keep the support of the labor bureaucrats, Truman had to make a gesture against the bill. To make his gesture seem sincere, he had to repeat some of the workers' objections to the bill. But along with them, he listed a number of his own objections. Look at just a few of these reasons he gave for his veto, and ask yourself if they have anything in common with the interests of the working people:

1. The bill is "unworkable." Its attempts to prevent nation-wide strikes would be "ineffective" and "result almost inevitably in failure." (Meaning that Truman wants legislation that would "work" and undermine labor's right to strike.)

2. The bill would "substantially increase strikes." It would "discourage" the union leaders from including no-strike provisions in bargaining agreements. By weakening the "disciplinary authority" of the labor leaders, it would "expose employers to numerous hazards by which they could be annoyed and hampered."

(Meaning that Truman wants legislation which will weaken the militancy of the unions by enabling the labor bureaucrats to voluntarily give up the right to strike and to "discipline" rank and file workers who want to fight for better conditions.)

The bill would invite the unions "to gain their ends through direct political action. I think it would be exceedingly dangerous to our country to develop a class basis for political action." (Meaning that Truman wants to discourage the workers from organizing a political party to defend their interests the way the Republican and Democratic Parties defend the interests of the capitalists.)

In short, Truman agrees with the main anti-labor objectives of the Taft-Hartley bill but he thinks there is another and better and safer way to achieve them. How does that make him a friend of labor?

"That is beside the point," the labor bureaucrats will answer. "No matter what reasons motivated the Truman veto, the fact is that he came out in opposition to this viciously anti-labor bill, and helped to almost defeat it. That is enough to demonstrate that he is a friend of labor."

But if Truman is a friend of labor because he vetoed this viciously anti-labor bill, what about Taft and the other Republican leaders who refused to vote for the viciously anti-labor draft-strikers bill that Truman demanded when he smashed the railroad strike last year? Did that make Taft and Co. friends of labor too? The labor bureaucrats who are going around hailing Truman should be made to answer that question in public.

## "The American Meddlers' Association"

By Grace Carlson

"The American Meddlers' Association" is the name coined by Dr. Michael Shadid, the fighting head of the Cooperative Health Federation to describe the powerful, bureaucratic American Medical Association. The founder of the Community Health Center at Elk City, Oklahoma — the first cooperative hospital in the United States — Dr. Shadid knows from bitter personal experience how much "meddling" the reactionary AMA officials will do in order to undermine cooperative health programs.

In his fascinating autobiography, *A Doctor For the People*, Dr. Shadid writes this blistering description of AMA politics:

"The American Medical Association is a strong political machine that might well be the envy of machine politicians everywhere. Like so many political parties, it originated as a forward-looking association that fought for much-needed improvements, only to degenerate into a bureaucracy upholding the status quo. It established a code of ethics that was originally drawn up for the protection of the public against unscrupulous doctors but which is now twisted so as to serve for the protection of unscrupulous physicians against the public."

"The AMA is not interested primarily in giving better medical care to the entire American population but rather in maintaining the present conditions under which those already over-

privileged retain benefits not available to the great majority."

That private medicine has failed to bring the benefits of modern science to the majority of the American workers is glaringly apparent to all but the vested interests of the AMA. This is the richest country in the world but preventable sicknesses and preventable deaths take their toll in the millions! Upon the heads of the AMA bureaucrats, and the system of private medicine and private enterprise for which they speak, rests the terrible responsibility for these wasted lives.

Just to list a few of the tragic statistics:

1. Twenty-three million persons have some chronic disease or physical impairment—one out of five.

2. Five million young men were rejected for war service because of inadequate physical or mental health—40% of all young men from 18 to 35—the prime of life.

3. One out of every 22 persons in the United States spends time in a hospital for the mentally-ill.

4. Twelve thousand mothers die every year in childbirth; over 100,000 babies die annually before the end of their first year.

5. Every year, 14,000 children die of whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever; 35,000 from influenza and pneumonia; 19,000 from diarrhea and dysentery; 4,000 from cardiac conditions; 4,000 from tuberculosis.

(This is the second in a series of articles on *Health for the Workers*.)

## Notes From The News

Twenty-two Allis-Chalmers workers have been given five month and three month prison sentences in Milwaukee. The charges were mass picketing in violation of a court injunction during the 10 month strike settled early this year. The union is appealing the cases.

A sheriff and four co-defendants who beat a Negro woman, mother of eight children, with a rubber hose and kicked her teeth loose has been acquitted by a lily-white jury in Montgomery, Alabama. The jury was out less than an hour.

Charles E. Saltzman, vice-president of the N. Y. Stock Exchange, has been nominated by

President Truman for the post of Assistant Secretary of State.

The Gallup poll reveals that 71% of the population favors raising the legal minimum wage from the present 40c an hour to 65c an hour.

A city sales tax has been defeated in San Francisco. AFL and CIO officials led the opposition to the bill. Robert Chester, Socialist Workers Party organizer, denounced the proposed tax at a public hearing.

Mine operators are attacking a proposal before the Senate Public Lands Committee to extend the Federal Mine Safety Code for another year.

# THE MILITANT

## Michigan CIO Delegates Call For A New Party

By Sol Dollinger

DETROIT, June 21 — The ninth annual convention of the Michigan State CIO concluded a three day session this week. The highlight of the convention, attended by 900 delegates representing 800,000 CIO members, was the adoption of a resolution recommending that the national CIO establish a new political party.

A sharply contested clique fight for top offices dominated most of the working business of the conclave. This was epitomized by the acceptance speech of the incumbent financial secretary, Barney Hopkins, who declared that he was sorry to disappoint some of the delegates but he intended to keep on drawing his wages.

Both the Addes-Thomas and Reuther groups attempted to straddle the issue of immediately establishing a Labor Party in the state of Michigan. They accomplished this by shutting off debate on this all-important question after only one delegate had spoken in favor of independent political action.

### FEARED DEBATE

This in spite of the fact that a score of locals had submitted strongly-worded resolutions calling for immediate establishment of a Labor Party. It was plain that the top leaders of both caucuses feared the results of an open debate on the floor.

The Briggs, Budd, Fleetwood and Chevrolet delegates, among others, took the lead in the fight by sponsoring a resolution which called on the State CIO to convoke a conference within sixty days after the convention for the purpose of building a Labor Party. All delegates received copies of this resolution in the form of leaflets. The Budd and Chevrolet local union papers scored heavily in advocating independent political action by the workers. The Chevrolet delegation also distributed a colorful pamphlet on the same subject.

The attitude of President Gus Scholle and the Reutherites was expressed on the first day of the convention. John Anderson, president of the Fleetwood local pointed out: "From the remarks I have heard on the convention floor, we are badly in need of political action. Labor is being attacked in the halls of Congress and in the state legislatures. The CIO is asking the membership for money to finance political action."

"I have looked through your report (officers' report on the past year's activity) and it appears to me that you have failed to carry out the instructions of a resolution passed at the 1946 convention calling for independent political action on the part of labor."

Scholle answered to the effect that he had ignored the man-

date of the previous convention because it violated "National CIO policy."

### REVERSED DECISION

In the meanwhile the Resolutions Committee, under pressure of the pro-Labor Party groups, met and adopted their resolution by a vote of six to one. Later the same day, they reversed their decision at the request of Scholle and his lieutenants.

The resolution finally adopted resolved "that this Ninth Annual Convention of the Michigan State CIO Council recognizing that the National CIO policy prevents taking any concrete action on this question, strongly recommends that this policy be changed to make possible the immediate attainment of our objects — the formation of a new political party of all liberal, non-totalitarian, American groups."

Actual debate of the resolution was thwarted by the clique fight between Scholle and an Addes-Thomas supporter, who threw the convention into an uproar for thirty minutes. When order was restored, Scholle recognized one of his supporters who called the previous question, depriving about 20 pro-Labor Party men from getting the floor.

Not a single delegate spoke against the need for a Labor Party. Overwhelming sentiment for independent political action came from militants in both caucuses. But while most delegates advocated building a Labor Party, they were not prepared to lead the fight for it in their respective groups. They still didn't recognize the necessity to struggle for this proposal in the same manner in which they fought against the no-strike pledge, the official policy of the CIO during the war.

On only one issue did the delegates succeed in breaking across caucus lines. With little effort they rejected an attempt to hold conventions every two years, instead of annually.

### CLIQUE FIGHT

The convention was marked by the failure of the two big caucuses to campaign for big issues. The Addes-Thomas group contributed confusion by their attempt to create an amalgam between Scholle and Republican Governor Sigler. The Reutherite stock-in-trade attack was red-baiting their opponents, although it was apparent that Stalinist influence was a negligible factor at the convention.

The clique fight prevented any real discussion. Hundreds of delegates left the convention asking themselves what could they report to their local membership. As a Chevrolet delegate wrote in his notes: "Monday big fight, Tuesday big fight, Wednesday we voted."

Scholle and his slate were returned to office. Other than the Labor Party resolution it was a convention "full of sound and fury signifying nothing."

## Georgia Officials Give Klansmen Whitewash Job

Democratic Party officials in Georgia have just given the Ku Klux Klan in that State a whitewashing. Original charges against the hooded order included four counts: (1) violation of constitutional rights; (2) interference with free movement of citizens; (3) espousing bigotry and race hatred; (4) violating the charter of the Klan by profits on sale of robes, hoods, etc.

The first three charges, which involved criminal penalties, were dropped by Attorney General Eugene Cook. That left only the financial manipulations charge to serve as the basis for revoking the Klan's charter.

This was what the Klan wanted. And it is free to apply for a new charter any time it wants to.

### READ

Fourth International

## End Of CIO Shipping Tie-Up



A nationwide CIO shipping stoppage ended when union demands were met by shipowners after a four day tie-up. Scanning the agreement are (left to right) President Joseph Curran of the CIO National Maritime Union, President Frank Taylor of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Assistant Secretary of Labor John W. Gibson and President Samuel J. Hogan of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. Standing are U. S. conciliators William Margolis, Fred Livingston and President Joseph Selly of the American Communications Association. Federated Pictures

## NMU Gains Contract Concessions Through Union-Wide Job Action

After tying up ships under union contract for three days in an action that has aroused much speculation in union circles, members of the CIO National Maritime Union voted to accept a new agreement calling for a 5% wage increase and a few minor concessions.

Although the shipowners yelled "strike" and the union retorted "lockout," it was neither a strike nor a lockout. It was not a strike because the men continued working aboard ship although they refused to sign articles for a new voyage. It was not a lockout as the men were kept on the payroll and not discharged.

In commenting on the action, an editorial in the *NMU Pilot* explained: "When June 16th came and we had no contract we stayed aboard the ships, carried on our work and merely refused to sign on and sail until we had a contract. That was a new technique. (Their emphasis.)"

### NOT NEW

While the technique proved effective in this case, it could

scarcely be called "new." It has been used in various forms among seamen for many years. The action can be defined as organized job action on a union-wide scale. In the early days of seafaring unionism it was called, "Working the Oracle." While job action is not new among seamen, the scope of the action which covered all dry cargo vessels under NMU contract is comparatively rare.

### TIMID LEADERS

The seamen were infected with the timidity of their leaders. No serious preparation for strike was made. The same editorial from the *NMU Pilot*, quoted above, declares: "At no time did we strike. Officially we were in no position to strike as we had not completed our strike vote." With the contract terminating on June 15, the strike vote was to be completed only on June 22.

As both sides sought to avoid an extended tieup, the dispute was quickly settled on the basis of the first real offer made by the shipowners. Following the pattern established in the 1946 wage movement, the other unions have submitted demands based on the NMU settlement.

## Tax Wall Street To Save The Five-Cent Fare

By George Clarke

Banking and real estate interests will pour a fortune into propaganda to kill the five-cent fare if O'Dwyer permits the issue to go to a referendum vote next November.

They will claim that New York transportation is not self-sustaining. That no improvements can be made on the basis of a five-cent fare. That New Yorkers get a longer ride for a nickel than do the people of other cities. That—and this argument will be quicker but more threatening—New York will be unable to pay the banker's ransom of debt charges.

### SAME AS WAGE CUT

There is little likelihood that these specious arguments will influence many votes. The millions of New York workers know one thing: an increase in fare is the same as a wage cut. This wage cut comes on top of the price increases. And after the rent bill is passed, it will be indirect wage cut Number Three.

Who are the wage-cutters? The bankers. The real estate operators. And William O'Dwyer. Who paved the way for the wage-cutters? First and foremost, the CIO and AFL leaders who supported O'Dwyer for Mayor in 1945 as "a friend of labor."

Second, the Stalinists who were also in O'Dwyer's column in the mayoralty election. Third, all these leaders who cheered O'Dwyer to the rafters when he posed as an opponent of the higher fare last February. And

finally, the same bunch who permitted O'Dwyer to pose as labor's champion in the rallies against the slave labor bill.

### THE QUESTION

Nevertheless labor must enter the battle with the strongest weapons. The question will persist: how will the deficit on the subways be defrayed? how will the debt to the bankers be paid?

Last February the American Labor Party, Stalinist and labor leaders swallowed the bait offered by O'Dwyer hook-line-and-sinker. Part of the reason was blindness and part unwillingness to break with the Democratic Party. O'Dwyer's answer to the need for additional funds was Dewey. Drag a chunk of the half-billion nest egg the State Government was sitting on, he

said. The bankers rubbed their hands.

O'Dwyer passed the buck to Dewey and the Republican legislature under Dewey passed it right back. Then they began to needle O'Dwyer again: What about the deficit? What about the debt service? O'Dwyer reversed his position, despite the danger, as he privately admitted, of ruining his political career.

Since a subsidy is blocked in Albany, the door is left wide open for a fare increase or additional sales taxes as urged by Dewey. The problem becomes more acute since the budget does not permit wage increases for the transportation workers.

The bankers and their stooges in City Hall are thus given the opportunity to play off the needs of the transportation workers against the interests of the rest of the workers in the city. By failing to answer this problem, the major forces defending the five-cent fare leave the whole movement vulnerable to constant attack.

### A PUBLIC SERVICE

City transportation is a public service which has helped to make New York the biggest commercial and manufacturing city in the world, swelling the profits of business and commercial interests. The operating expenses for the subways and bus lines should therefore be borne first of all by the real estate interests (which means, of course, the banks and insurance companies). The subways enhance the value of big property. Let the Big

property interests cover the deficits.

The tax on real estate must be increased to the statutory limit!

The second source of deficit is the debt owed on transportation to the banks. Service on this debt for the current year reaches the fabulous sum of \$57,000,000. This money was literally stolen from the city by swindling transactions. The city paid for the building of the subways and then paid all over again by repurchasing them. The banks cashed in from these financial manipulations by buying up the bond issues floated by the city. Their take each year becomes larger as interest on the original principal grows bigger.

### REMOVE MILLSTONE

This millstone of debt must be removed from the necks of the people of New York and placed on Wall Street where it properly belongs. Speculation on transactions of shares of stock goes on to the tune of almost \$17 billion each year in the stock market. Taxation on this trading by the Federal and State governments takes only approximately \$50 million of this sum. The city must get its share from this parasitic trading in the national wealth. By means of stiff enough taxes, the city can get a yield large enough to pay off its debt to the banks. This is the way to cancel out a swindle.

Dewey gave the city the right to levy new sales taxes. Let them be levied where they belong. Pay the debt on the subways by putting a sales tax on Wall Street!