

What Program For AFL-CIO Unity?

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AFL, CIO PROTEST ANTI-LABOR BILLS

British Workers Set Up Councils To Meet Crisis

By J. Kelly

LONDON, Feb. 17—Great Britain, the home of "Coal Capitalism," received a rude awakening when a fuel shortage led to a vast factory shutdown affecting millions of workers on Feb. 10. It is symptomatic of the death agony of capitalism in a country which was once described as the "workshop of the world" that a shortage of coal forced the government to take this drastic action.

The crisis had been forecast months earlier in Tory speeches and statements by reactionary opponents of the government. Not accidentally, it coincides with the decision to nationalize the nation's transport services which are the "lifelines" so far as coal distribution is concerned.

Out-spoken comments from such officials as Bob Edwards, organizer for the Chemical Workers Union, have demanded a public inquiry into what they claim to be capitalist sabotage in railroad hold-ups. The chairman of the Shop Stewards Committee of the giant Metro-Vickers works in Manchester employing 17,000 has bluntly accused the employers of trying to stir up hostility between the workers and the government.

ORGANIZING FIGHT

Meanwhile, all over the country, "vigilance committees," consisting of local trades councils and delegations from adjacent factories, are being set up to organize the localities in the fight against the employers during the emergency.

These Soviet TSMs of organization have become doubly necessary because it is clear that the bosses are endeavoring to take

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British Offer Postpones Indian Self-Government

By Joseph Hansen

Prime Minister Attlee's announcement Feb. 20 that Great Britain has the "definite intention" of turning governmental power in India over to "responsible Indian hands" not later than June, 1948, is not as generous as might appear on the surface.

The most obvious catch is the long postponement of the date. Does Attlee hope that in the next year and four months Britain can build up her armed forces to such an extent bombers can be loaded and the "definite intention" reconsidered?

Aside from this consideration—which might be put down as a maximum hope—Attlee's declaration fits in with a calculated imperialist policy of hanging onto India with every ounce of tenacity and duplicity.

Great Britain is done for as first-rate capitalist power. The sick lion can only stagger from one crisis to the next as the capitalists try to close their eyes to the writing on the wall.

India, the "crown jewel" of empire, is a rumbling volcano of unrest. The consequences of British despotism have goaded the hundreds of millions of people on this sub-continent beyond endurance. Poverty, famine, disease, and bitter hatred of British bayonets are pushing India's masses on to the road of a socialist overturn.

Unable to put down this movement with her own forces because of her weakened world position, Britain seeks a native agency to help do the job. This native agency is the Indian capitalist class, named by Attlee as "responsible Indian hands." The Indian capitalists, fearing socialist revolution quite as much as the British overlords, are willing to make a deal at the expense of the Indian masses.

But the British despots are trying to drive a hard bargain by pitting one section of native Indian reaction against the other. London nursed the Moslem League for years, building it up into a political force to counter against the powerful Congress Party. When the Congress Party has conceded to this pressure in the past, then the British lion

Biggest School Strike Begins In Buffalo

Hard-pressed Teachers Unite On Picket Lines

BUFFALO, N. Y., Feb. 24—Demanding decent living salaries and more funds to halt the deterioration of the public schools, the Buffalo Teachers Federation (Independent) today launched the greatest school strike in American history.

Eighty of 98 grade and high schools were shut tight as 2,400 teachers, including members of the AFL and CIO teachers unions walked out on schedule and set up picket lines or "observation posts" in the freezing weather.

WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT

Tens of thousands of pupils walked out with their teachers and gave wholehearted support to the teachers' demands. Even those schools where a few teachers had been persuaded to stay were almost empty of students.

All teachers unions are united in the fight. Members of AFL Teachers Local 377 and CIO Teachers Local 755 stood side by side at their "observation posts" carrying placards reading: "Buffalo Teachers—AFL—Federation—CIO—Want A Living Wage."

Both the Academic High School and Vocational High School Principals Associations have announced they will not report to schools tomorrow. This action is hailed as support for the teachers' walkout.

LAUGHED AT THREATS

Striking teachers laughed at threats of city officials that their strike was "a breach of contract" for which they could be fired. The shortage of teachers has become so acute because of the bad pay and conditions that qualified teachers are not available to replace the strikers.

The AFL Teachers declared in a statement that they would not be intimidated. Raymond J. Ast, president of the Buffalo Teachers Federation, said the union would stay out "two, three, four or more weeks" to gain its demands for higher pay.

Federation members, joined by AFL and CIO, carried banners "AFL—Federation—CIO Want Higher Salaries".

"We are engaged in a fight to determine whether a free public education is to live or die," said the union statement. "The battleground is Buffalo, but the frontiers reach to every corner of the United States. We are soberly aware of the tremendous responsibility we have assumed. The outcome of our struggle here may have permanent influence on the public schools of America."

"We cannot stand idly by and watch our public school system deteriorate for want of sufficient financial aid in the richest state in the union. We are in this fight to a finish."

Attlee declared the offer is "fraught with danger." This is true. The Moslem and Hindu leaders can unite, seeking better terms from the British overlords.

But the most deadly danger from Attlee's viewpoint is the possibility that the masses might begin moving and, under leadership of the Indian working class, end British rule and break the bonds of Indian capitalism, following the example of the masses in Czarist Russia under the revolutionary leadership of the Bolshevik party.

If India goes socialist, then the British Isles, utterly dependent on economic ties with India, would be forced to follow or suffer complete collapse. There is no doubt what course the British workers would choose. Joining their Indian class brothers in throwing off the yoke of capitalism, they would build a socialist economy linked with India, capable of producing unlimited plenty for the masses of both lands. That is a turn of events the British capitalists and their agents like Attlee as well as the Indian capitalists, landlords and feudal princes will do everything in their power to prevent.

Meanwhile, the OPA is ex-



Loading Up The Hopper

Congressmen Bait Politically-Weak Labor Spokesmen

AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray, testifying before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on Feb. 18, sharply assailed the 250-odd anti-labor bills now pending in Congress.

Green attacked the Taft-Ball-Smith revised version of last year's Case bill and Ball's proposal to outlaw the closed shop, ban industry-wide bargaining and dismember the Wagner Act.

Murray accused "various groups" of wanting to force labor back to the open shop days of 1890. He pointed out that 1946 corporation net profits at \$12 billion dollars will be the highest in history, while workers are "losing out" in their effort to hold their share of the national income. Murray accused the Senators of saying by their actions "that the strength of government must be thrown behind those employers who are today prepared to protect their present and future profit levels against any demands for wage increases."

LABOR'S WEAKNESS

Murray and Green thoroughly demonstrated the anti-labor character of the bills before Congress. But the hearings served only to underline labor's political weakness.

Although Green and Murray stand at the head of 15 million organized workers, they entered the hearings without an iota of organized political power to back up labor's case. The Committee, packed solid with Wall Street's political representatives, amused itself heckling and contemptuously cross-examining the witnesses.

The hearings were in fact a farce. The Taft Senate machine and the Dewey-dominated House machine, after respectfully hearing corporation lawyers, bankers, industrialists and high-paid Big Business publicity experts for two weeks, had previously announced they had made up their minds on the legislation Wall Street wants enacted.

Murray and Green stood in such a weak political position they could only "reason" with Wall Street's political hatchetmen and complain about the "injustice" of the bills now earmarked for passage.

BRUTE FORCE

But monopoly's professional politicians, busily sharpening a legislative knife to cut labor's throat, do not give a tinker's dam about what is "reasonable" or "just." They view the pro-

Portal-To-Portal Bills Knife Fair Labor Act

The "portal-to-portal" legislation given top priority by Wall Street's Congressional steamroller at the beginning of the 80th session came out of committee according to schedule. Both the Senate and House versions are designed to knock out the foundations of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

These far-reaching measures not only rob millions of workers of portal-to-portal back pay due them, but enable employers to violate the Fair Labor Standards Act with relative impunity on the plea they acted in "good faith."

A worker would be banned from filing a suit through his union, and the courts could not assess an employer for a lawyer's fees incurred by a worker in filing suit.

found struggle between Big Business and labor as a matter of brute power.

Since Wall Street enjoys a monopoly in the field of politics, Taft's committee does not have the slightest fear of being called to account in Congress for disregarding labor's views.

Neither the CIO nor the AFL, mighty as they are on the economic field, has a single representative inside Congress to fight for labor's interests.

Murray, Green and the other labor bureaucrats have themselves blocked the workers from organizing on the political field and putting labor's own spokesmen in office. They have even failed to organize militant mass demonstrations against the anti-labor drive.

Wall Street's anti-labor drive could be brought to a halt by a mass pressure drive on Congress from the outside combined with a drive to put a labor majority inside Congress.

What labor needs is its own political party, a labor party capable of giving effective battle to the entrenched political forces of Big Business. This is the most important lesson to be drawn from the appearance of Green and Murray before Taft's committee.

SPECULATORS, PROFITEERS FORCE PRICES SKYWARD

For the past five weeks prices of all commodities have been soaring steadily. With food prices heading the advance, the cost of living each week has been hitting a new all-time peak.

Claims of the capitalist press and monopoly profiters' last June that "free enterprise" would soon bring about "price adjustment" are exposed as lies and deception.

More recent propaganda about big declines in prices is also proved to be so much hogwash. This propaganda was released simultaneously with renewed CIO wage demands.

PRICES AT PEAK

Every commodity price index, private and government, stands at the highest point in history. For the week ending Feb. 15, the Bureau of Labor Statistics recorded wholesale commodity prices at 143.1% of the 1926 average. This is 1.6% higher than the record high of mid-January and 33.5% above a year ago.

Dun & Bradstreet's index, totalling prices of 31 standard food items per pound, on Feb. 20 hit the unprecedented high of \$6.50—up from the \$4.20 figure in Jan. 1946.

New York City shoppers last

week found butter prices 15 cents a pound higher than a month ago—between 80 and 84 cents a pound. Meat prices are skyrocketing out of reach. According to the Department of Agriculture, "wholesale beef and pork prices were substantially higher in comparable grades than the black market charges in OPA days. At the same time, the department said supplies of beef are better today than they have been in some time." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Feb. 20.)

MORE HIKES COMING

Two days later the United Press reported that "Agriculture Department economists saw danger signs today pointing to another sharp increase in retail food prices."

These terrific price hikes are not due to wage increases—that's obvious. Nor are they due to unusual weather conditions; they began weeks before the current severe weather. Commodity speculators and profiteering manufacturers are deliberately forcing up prices.

OPA Speeds Up Rent Boosts Before Its Final Breakdown

Real estate interests and slum landlords are rubbing their hands in greedy anticipation of the complete breakdown of OPA rent control enforcement within the next few weeks.

Hopes of the rent sharks were heightened last week when the House of Representatives on Feb. 18 voted to deny an OPA-requested deficiency appropriation of \$5,900,000. This sum is needed to continue the agency from March 1 to June 30, when the whole set-up is scheduled to end unless a new bill to extend rent control is passed.

FLOOD OF RENT BOOSTS
Congress has the power to kill OPA simply by shutting off its funds. This was the device used last year in dismembering the Fair Employment Practices Commission prior to its final dissolution.

Meanwhile, the OPA is ex-

hausting its last remaining funds helping landlords get individual rent increases under the new "hardship relief" provisions. These "liberalized" regulations of the Truman Administration have already opened the dikes to a flood of rent boosts.

It is no longer a question of will rents rise. Every influential group in the Senate and House has indicated approval of a general rent boost for landlords whose total profits have nearly doubled in the past five years.

Right now there is a bit of jockeying between Democrats and Republicans and between Truman and Congress as to who will take responsibility for the impending rent steal.

A powerful section of Congress—those who voted, for instance, to deny the OPA deficiency appropriation—is determined to scuttle even the pretense of rent control.

Truman wants rents increased

by back-door methods—"hardship relief" for landlords and regulated rent boosts. His position is most closely represented in the bill introduced by the "liberal" Democrats, Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York and James E. Murray of Montana.

BACK-DOOR METHODS

They argued last week before the rent hearings of the Senate Banking Subcommittee for their bill to raise rents five per cent every four months for 16 months—to a total of 20%. Then they would end rent ceilings altogether.

Every day brings closer the blow of huge rent increases for 60,000,000 tenants. Only militant mass action will halt the impending rent-gouge and a wave of evictions. The tenants battle-cry must be: Freeze All Rents!

The opening gun in the campaign was a public meeting held in Watts, where a new SWP branch is being formed. Several dozen workers heard Kisner discuss the important issues facing the workers today.

The Watts Citizens Welfare Committee, having heard of Kisner's position, has written him the following message:

"On behalf of the committee and as their attorney, I wish to congratulate you upon taking a firm stand against discrimination here in the 'City' of Watts. I am sure that if you make known your plans in detail, you can expect mass support from the Negro people. Very truly yours, Rayfield Lundy."

A Program For Labor Unity

By Art Preis

American organized labor is faced with the greatest threat in decades. Capitalist reaction is becoming more unbridled. The anti-labor drive in Congress grows more ominous each day.

The ranks of every union, regardless of affiliation, are aware that crucial danger confronts the whole labor movement. Pressure is mounting for a program of action to halt the menacing anti-labor drive.

The AFL Executive Council, through AFL President William Green, has declared that what the situation requires above all, and before all else, is "organic unity" between the AFL and CIO. It has invited the CIO leaders to establish a committee to meet with an AFL committee so that the two organizations might be "blended into one parent union."

In reply, CIO President Philip Murray has announced the appointment of a CIO committee to meet with the AFL; but he insists that the answer to the anti-labor drive is first of all joint action. He writes:

"We do not believe that words or cliches should prevent the organized labor movement from taking immediate and effective steps to protect our entire membership . . . We hope that through a demonstration of the ability of organized labor to act in a united manner in the interest of our membership we can provide the basis for a discussion of other means to achieve effective and enduring unity . . ."

APPROACH WITH CAUTION

It would be a wonderful thing if organized labor were united in one giant organization able to take concerted action against its enemies. A program of genuine struggle against the anti-labor drive would be all the more effective if carried out by a united labor movement.

But any proposal for organic unity put forward by the craft-minded AFL leaders must be approached with great caution. Their record of ceaseless warfare against the industrially-organized CIO; their recently intensified jurisdictional raids on the CIO; their opposition to the CIO wage demands; their consistent hostility to militant unionism — all justify the suspicion at least that the AFL proposal is motivated by special organizational interests rather than an earnest desire to fight unitedly against anti-labor laws.

But whether or not these proposals have been advanced as subterfuges for aims other than claimed by their proponents, it is necessary to examine them on their merits apart from the question of motives. And this leads us to the basic consideration.

The main question to be decided is: Will labor unity by itself — whatever its organizational form — suffice to beat back the all-out attack

New York's Governor Dewey Bars Housing Marchers



Republican Governor Dewey's reply to this delegation which marched on Albany, N. Y., to protest the housing shortage, was to utilize state troops to prevent their entering the state capital building.

Federated Pictures

of Big Business and its government?

A thoughtful examination of both the AFL and CIO proposals reveal that they lack one essential and decisive element. They embody no concrete program of action. They are purely organizational proposals.

NO ANSWER TO KEY QUESTION

They differ to the extent that they reflect a difference of organizational interests between the two rival union leaderships. But they are similar in one vital respect. Neither gives an answer to the key question: How will either a united organization or a joint committee proceed to fight — on what program and by what methods — against the labor-haters and their offensive?

Suppose the AFL proposal for organic unity were realized on the basis of the traditional methods and policies of the AFL craft-union bureaucracy? How will these methods of back-room deals, conciliation with labor's enemies, opposition to militancy, bureaucratic stifling of the ranks, en-

able labor to effectively fight the anti-labor drive? Such a unification might lead, perhaps, to a peaceful settlement of jurisdictional disputes. It is clear, however, that a unified body dominated by the methods and concepts of the craft-union moguls will never effectively combat the Congressional anti-labor drive.

An army marching unitedly in retreat, or in the wrong direction, will not achieve victory. Labor unity by itself will not halt the savage attack of united American plutocracy. Unity without an effective program of action, is a gun without ammunition.

MEANING OF WALL STREET'S DRIVE

Any serious proposal for defeating the anti-labor drive must proceed first of all from a clear, realistic understanding of the nature and meaning of the anti-labor offensive.

This is no incidental or accidental phenomenon. It isn't something that will "blow over" if labor just "sits tight." It will not be stemmed with hat-in-hand pleading or verbal protests, however loud, or by reasonable argument. The sweeping storm of capitalist reaction is generated by the fundamental aims of the American Big Business ruling class.

Wall Street is determined to cripple and ultimately destroy organized labor in America, to drive down living standards and safeguard ruling class profits, privileges and power. American imperialism wants a regimented and docile working class in order to carry out unhampered its preparations to destroy the Soviet Union and completely dominate the world.

Labor has demonstrated great power on the economic front in the struggle for higher wages. In spite of this, Big Business was able to quickly wipe out the wage gains of the workers. It is now moving forward to put permanent restraints

on the unions. No opposition by the union leaders has as yet placed any serious obstacle in the way of Wall Street's attack.

LACKS POLITICAL WEAPON

How does it happen that a tiny clique of billionaires can wield such power? Why is it that the leaders of 15 million organized workers, potentially the mightiest force in the country, are reduced to impotent verbal protest before the onslaught of Big Business?

The capitalist ruling class not only controls the country's economy, but enforces that control with its political power. It is this political power that capitalism is wielding so mercilessly and effectively today.

Before the political might of American capitalism, the American labor movement stands defenseless. It has no political weapon of its own. Politics and government are the monopoly of the tiny capitalist ruling class.

This political rule of the capitalists, maintained through their two-party system, enables them to bring the whole power of the state to bear on the labor movement. Their agents dominate Congress, introduce the laws, vote on them; their judges interpret these laws; their government executives enforce them.

Green and Murray come before hearings of the anti-labor Congress as petitioners. This situation would not be altered merely by organic unity. Separated or together, they represent no organized threat to capitalist political power. Not one genuine representative of labor stands in Congress to champion their demands.

BREAK WITH CAPITALIST PARTIES

Indeed, the union leaders are political captives of the capitalists, so long as they support the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Organized labor cannot halt the political power-machine of Wall Street when it is tied hand and foot to that machine.

What must American labor do to meet and defeat the political power of Big Business? It cannot counter-attack on the political field without its own political weapon — its own party.

A united labor movement can halt the capitalist anti-labor drive — provided it breaks with capitalist politics and paves the way for an independent labor party. That is the kind of unity the rank and file of the CIO and AFL must demand. Unity on that basis alone will correctly answer the burning problem of how to defeat the anti-labor drive.

UNION RANKS MUST INTERVENE

Up to now, the various proposals to bring the AFL and CIO closer together have stemmed from the top leaders. But labor-unity is above all the concern of the rank and file union members. It is imperative that any unity move from the needs of the workers and not the narrow organizational interests of the rival bureaucracies.

The union ranks must intervene to ensure that unity on a sound and progressive basis is established. They must not let the issue be confined to the top circles, to back-room conferences and deals of a few leaders. This issue must be discussed openly and thoroughly by the ranks in their local unions.

They must pass resolutions expressing their views and needs — resolutions to achieve unity based on a program of genuine independent labor political action. A unity built from the bottom by the union members, based on a granite foundation of program, will endure. Such a unity will become the greatest guarantee of effective struggle against Wall Street's anti-labor offensive.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

The employers front in the bit-similar measures. New harsh union-busting bills are in the hoppers of every state legislature.

A teachers strike is impending in Detroit. A strike vote has been approved in both AFL and CIO teachers' unions in New York City. The New York City AFL Teachers' Guild last week voted "full moral and financial support" to the Buffalo teachers who walked out as scheduled on Feb. 24.

First returns in local union elections of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union shows the incumbent machine of David Dubinsky outpolling the Stalinist opposition by sweeping majorities. Dubinsky's forces raised, as expected, a red-baiting hue-and-cry against the Stalinists. The latter complained about Dubinsky's well-known undemocratic methods. But talk of "union democracy" never sounds convincing from the lips of Stalinists.

Top councils of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists have sounded a call for retreat to their over-zealous local lieutenants who engineered a split of nine Connecticut brass locals from the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The ACTU's national paper, *The Labor Leader*, on Feb. 14 commands the red-baiting "secessionists" for their intentions but advises that the "secession" movement was a "tactical mistake."

"Little" Nathan Report on U. S. Steel Corporation, prepared for the CIO Steelworkers' wage negotiations, reveals that Big Steel subsidiaries can pay average wage increases of 21% — from 20 to 23% — without raising steel prices.

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!
 - A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
 - Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
 - Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
 - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
 - Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
 - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!
 - No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
 - No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. Build an independent labor party!
5. Tax the rich, not the poor!
 - Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
 - No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
8. For a 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!

Dewey Orders Troopers To Bar Delegation On Rent And Housing

By Eugene Shays

NEW YORK — The Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing (ECRH), an organization composed of New York tenants' leagues, trade unions, the American Labor Party and veterans' organizations sent a mass delegation to Albany on February 18, to demonstrate for the retention of rent controls and a housing program.

When the delegation wanted to enter the legislative chambers of the State Capitol, its way was barred by State Troopers acting on orders of Gov. Dewey and his Republican henchmen. This, in spite of an article in the State Constitution requiring that "the doors of each House shall be kept open, except when the public welfare requires secrecy."

Dewey's action was directed not merely against the demonstrators but against all the working people and veterans of New York state whose living standards would be gravely imperiled by a lifting of rent controls and who have had to put up with unspeakable housing conditions. It shows an utterly callous disregard for their welfare and their needs.

This occurrence again proves the reactionary character of the "democratically elected" capitalist legislature and, thereby, the

inadequacy and ineffectiveness of mere legislative action and "pressure."

The Stalinists, who dominate many of the groups affiliated to the ECRH, have consistently avoided putting teeth into the program of the Committee or of other tenants' organizations which they control. Theirs is a war of words, of telegrams, penny postcards and petitions, all addressed to capitalist politicians who are well aware of the people's needs but who are not afraid of words or of "pressure" groups.

STALINIST RECORD

As in other matters, so in rent and housing, the Stalinists are shielding the Democratic Party, whose record on both the state and local level is every bit as bad as that of the Republicans. Thus, the Board of Estimate of New York City, all Democrats, has allowed bond issues amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars to be appropriated for construction of airports, sports palaces and traffic improvements, including the 70 million dollar Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel.

But the terribly urgent needs for housing have received very scant attention, and plans such as the N. Y. Housing Authority's proposal to build unsubsidized housing have been contemptuously shelved.

The Stalinists have kept cautious silence on the criminal inactivity of the Democrats, and they are using the crimes of the Republicans to cover up their own crimes.

The program put forward by the ECRH and similar groups can be put into action in only one way: The threat of a city-wide rent strike must be hung over the heads of New York's greedy landlords and capitalist politicians, and the threat must be made good if the demands of the tenants are not met. The masses are ready and willing to support a militant program of action on rent and housing.

but rather one or another working class political tendency — social-reformism, revolution, Marxism, etc.

The ACTU is a unique formation. It represents a specifically religious labor policy, based on the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and zealously propagated in the general trade union movement. These doctrines are not an outgrowth of the development and experiences of the labor movement. They are not the expression of a working class tendency. They are the product of an organized, world-wide religious institution, centuries-old, and now closely linked by property interests with the capitalist system.

Thus, the ACTU, which is sponsored by the Catholic Church and guided by members of its hierarchy, is an organization that attempts to divide the Catholic workers into a special group apart from all other workers.

It introduces into the labor movement not the principle of unity among all workers, regardless of race, creed, religion, national origin or political affiliation, but the extremely dangerous and divisive principle of special religious groupings fighting for their special religious programs inside the labor movement.

If this principle became widespread in the labor movement, we would soon have complete chaos and disruption along religious, racial and national lines. Protestant and Jewish workers could set up factions based on their specific religious programs. White and Negro workers could split up into two warring camps around a "white" and "Negro"

policy. Irish, Italian, Swedish and every other nationality could be organized into factions, all contending for their special "national" programs.

What must non-religious or non-Christian workers think of a movement inside their unions which proclaims that it is "dedicated to the proposition that the teachings of Jesus Christ furnish the only sound basis of social reform"? (Policy statement of *The Wage Earner*, ACTU organ published in Detroit.)

Or what must they think of the advice in *The Labor Leader*, ACTU national organ, which in its Feb. 14 issue called for a struggle against "the Commies" and advised that "reform must begin within the union by the establishment of cells of Christian democracy"? Such "cells of Christian democracy" refer, of course, to exclusive circles of Catholic unionists, functioning as Catholics and propagating a Catholic program.

The ACTU doesn't limit itself to the dissemination of abstract church teachings. It is an organized power grouping inside the unions fighting for posts and control. It combines with and forms blocs with other groups whenever this will help it put over its program. It mercilessly wars on any group with which it differs, and seeks to drive them from office and out of the unions.

Its primary activities are, in reality, far removed from abstract religious tenets. Throughout the labor movement its two chief activities are: 1. fighting communism; 2. defending capitalism.

The ACTU is intervening throughout the CIO as the spearhead of the employer-inspired red-baiting drive against the

ACTU in combination with other red-baiters has seized control.

The ACTU is a menace to organized labor — including Catholic workers — because it violates the basic principles of labor unity and class solidarity. It sets up religious division. It supports the most reactionary elements in the labor movement. It brings into the labor movement the influence of a non-working class agency, over which even its followers have no democratic control, and which is devoted to the rule of capitalism.

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Both Imperialists And Stalinists Oppose United Socialist Europe

Europe must be unified, economically and politically, or it will decay further and eventually be destroyed, perhaps taking the rest of civilization along with it, in new imperialist wars. This fact has been recognized by the revolutionary movement since at least the first world war and is the basis for the struggle to achieve the Socialist United States of Europe. (See the resolution adopted by the Conference of the Fourth International last year, part of which is reprinted elsewhere on this page.)

The greatest obstacle to the unification of Europe along progressive lines is, of course, the capitalist system and its national states, barriers, hatreds, exploitation and oppression. But even the capitalists, who are responsible for keeping Europe divided and weakened, have known how to exploit the masses' instinctive desires for unification.

Most notable among these in the recent period was Hitler, whose propaganda for forcible union of Europe (under Nazi German leadership) made considerable headway before and during the first part of the recent war.

IMPERIALIST AIM

And today, although circumstances have altered considerably, certain imperialist circles are again putting forward "unification" proposals designed to take advantage of the undoubtedly strong sentiments for a reorganization of Europe to guarantee peace and maximum production.

The promoter of the most important of these movements is the British imperialist, Winston Churchill, who has organized the United Europe Committee, advocating the United States of Europe in order to "recreate the European family or as much of it as we can," within the frame-

"Europe's Economic Unification Is A Life-And-Death Question"

Resolution Adopted By Conference Of Fourth International, April 1946

Under the present conditions of complete economic disorganization and disintegration of Europe, of national oppression imposed on a number of viable nations by the victors of the second imperialist war, the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe acquires enormous propaganda value.

Our sections must demonstrate concretely that the economic unification of Europe is a life-and-death question for all countries composing it; that the accomplishment of this task is possible only if carried out by the exploited masses of the continent under the guidance of the revolutionary proletariat. The interests of imperialism, the mutual antagonisms of the European bourgeoisie, are opposed to the unification of European economy. They maintain and aggravate its Balkanization, the ruin of its productive forces, of its civilization and culture.

To the "peace" program of the imperialists our sections counterpose the program contained in the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe.

A Socialist Europe will be based on the economic unification of the continent, supressing all tariff walls, planning its economy, and at the same time presenting the best framework for the development and flourishing of its national civilizations and cultures. National borders in the new Socialist Europe will be determined democratically according to language, national culture and the freely expressed sympathies of the populations.

A Socialist Europe will grant complete independence to all the colonies, establishing friendly economic relations with them and leading them progressively, without the use of violence and by example and collaboration, toward a Socialist World Federation.

The USSR, freed of its directing bureaucratic caste, will join the Socialist European Federation, which will aid in solving its difficulties, and attain a level of prosperity and culture never before achieved. The slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe is the only realistic alternative to the plans of reaction which are leading the continent toward barbarism and chaos.

work of the United Nations.

Churchill naturally has no interest in a Socialist Europe; in fact, the purpose of his committee and his propaganda is to preserve European capitalism through the collaboration of the western European governments in a bloc under the leadership of Britain.

Such a bloc would not achieve

a real unification of Europe or solve the problems facing the European workers any more than Hitler's "new order." But it might for a time partly ease the position of Britain, France and other capitalist countries which were reduced to second-rate powers by the war; it could strengthen the position of these powers in bargaining with American imperialism; and it could serve as the basis for a European bloc with American imperialism in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

KREMLIN HOSTILE

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Kremlin reacts with the greatest hostility to such proposals as Churchill's. This was demonstrated last week in an article written for *Pravda* by an old-time Stalinist hack, Otto Kuusinen, who now holds the post of president of the Karelo-Finnish Republic.

The article contains a strong admonition to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and other states to beware of plans for a United States of Europe.

"Mr. Kuusinen specifically warns western Europe against an American plan for a reciprocal lowering of tariffs the world over . . . His advice to Europe is to retain its economic national independence in the face of the Spanish danger . . .

"Joining a United States of Europe, as proposed by Winston Churchill, would mean the loss of political sovereignty, the nations were told, and their subordination to the authority of a central government dominated by the United Kingdom and its empire." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 20.)

But despite their sharp differences on this question, Stalin and Churchill are united on a far more fundamental one: BOTH are opposed, equally opposed, to a genuine solution of the European problem — a Socialist United States of Europe. BOTH are fighting, each in his own way and according to his own resources, to prevent the establishment of socialism anywhere on the continent or in the world.

WHAT IS OFFERED

What does Stalin's puppet, Kuusinen, offer the people of Europe as an alternative to the Churchillian program? Not socialism, but capitalism in an alliance with the Kremlin:

"As an alternative they (the countries of western Europe) were asked to consider the treaties of friendship, mutual aid and postwar cooperation between the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia as 'models' of international agreements."

In other words, a continuation of capitalist anarchy and rivalry conducted under the heavy hand of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which is concerned only in protecting its own privileged position. Churchill offers the maintenance of the capitalist status quo under British domination; Stalin offers the maintenance of the capitalist status quo, with some reforms thrown in, under the Kremlin's domination.

The struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe — which alone can regenerate the Soviet Union as a workers' state — must therefore be directed against the Stalinist bureaucracy as well as against world capitalism.

Defenseless Unionists Brutally Shot Down By Trinidad Police

Effects Of British Coal Crisis



Londoners waiting in line for coal, during the current economic crisis. This is the gravest economic breakdown in the history of British capitalism. *Federated Pictures*

LONDON, Feb. 14 — Trinidad workers in the oil fields, waterfronts and public works have been engaged in recent months in a series of bitter struggles for decent wages, conditions and elementary freedom. The Governor of Trinidad, Sir Bede Clifford, has vainly denied and tried to conceal the labor struggles, but despite this and outright suppression of news, the facts have seeped through and the British Minister for the colonies has been forced to demand a report in London.

An account of a brutal attack upon unarmed and sleeping men and women oil workers has been published here by the Feb. 5 *Daily Mirror* from its correspondent, John Walters:

"The attack started at 1 p.m. on January 22 last, when (Police Commissioner) Muller's men armed with tear bombs and truncheons descended upon the hall belonging to Uriah Butler's oilworkers union.

WORKERS UNARMED

"Five hundred men and women who were sleeping in the hall had marched from the oilfields of southern Trinidad to the capital to protest against the State of Emergency proclaimed there by the Governor, Sir Bede Clifford, because of the strike.

"These Trinidad workers weren't armed, because their leader, Uriah Butler, like Gandhi, preaches non-violence. Just to

ensure that there should be no violence, the union general secretary, Lionel Cros, told me, 'I took even penknives from the men and hatpins from the women.'

"Police occupied the hall for two days. And when a few of the unarrested strikers returned they found the printing machine ruined, lavatory bowls and wash-basins smashed, desks upstairs forced open and labor books and pamphlets strewn over the blood-stained floor."

"Several men and women have identified the man with two guns as Muller (Police Commissioner). And Muller, it is stated, was running wildly about crying, 'Where's Butler? Have you got Butler?'

"Another witness stated: 'Some police were beating them with sticks. They pushed the prisoners towards vans a short way up the road . . . I saw the police push them with bayonets. There was an old woman trying to fix her clothes, a policeman was pushing her with a bayonet, too. The police were led by white men.'

HUNDREDS ARRESTED

547 members of Butler's union have been arrested and now face trial. Scores of workers' families have been evicted from their homes, which are owned by the oil companies. Others have been dismissed and victimized.

This recent butchery, which was likened to the Amritsar Massacre in India by a member of the Trinidad Legislature, recalls the brutal suppressions of the 1937 general strike, in which scores of workers were shot and wounded. Some knowledge of the conditions of the workers can be gained from the fact that several commissions of inquiry have all referred to highly unsatisfactory conditions of general poverty, low pay, widespread undernourishment, shocking overcrowding and prevalent disease, (mainly malaria and hookworm). (Tribune, Feb. 7.)

Trinidad's immense natural wealth in oil, asbestos, sugar, cocoa, etc., make it one of the treasured objects of foreign exploitation. In 1942 Trinidad's total exports worked out at about 26 pounds sterling per head, or as much as England itself with its modern vast industries. In 1936-37 the various oil firms made a profit of 1,540,000 pounds or about 23% on a capital of 6,770,000 pounds. In the same year the wages bill in Trinidad amounted to 473,000 pounds for a population of almost half a million workers.

Growing Danger Of Deal With Spanish Militarists

By Pedro

PARIS, Feb. 14 — In the new Spanish exile government of Rodolfo Llopis are to be found about the same parties and personalities as in the preceding one of Giral. But it would be quite wrong to conclude from this that nothing has changed.

On one vital point the Llopis government has cut through the questions which were the main cause of the crisis of the Giral government: the new government now tends toward accepting the idea of a "plebiscite" which would be held by a government acting in agreement with the army and the monarchists. The constitutional problem would be postponed until after this plebiscite.

In sum, Llopis heads an essentially provisional and transitional cabinet whose main role is that of facilitating within a given time the formation of a government within Spain led by a general,

The aim of all this, according to this typical figure of Spanish Social Democracy, is to avoid the installation within Spain of a regime other than the republic without having previously consulted the will of the Spaniards."

But it is clear to everyone that the new cabinet is actually designed to help the big-scale capitalist maneuver which wants to guarantee the creation of an apparatus capable of damming the mass upsurge and keeping it within the bounds of "law and order," as in Italy after the fall of Mussolini.

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JOINT ACTION

In a third resolution, directed to the Minister of Labor and National Service, the shop stewards demand action by the government "to enforce the maintenance of all employees on their respective payrolls" at full pay. It urges also that "should full employment in a particular industry or section of an industry be impossible, owing to fuel or material shortages, then a sliding scale of hours be devised by the Workers' Committee concerned to meet the particular situation" in dividing the work.

A similar movement in the Mitcham Factory, belt and sup-

Workers Councils Organized In Britain To Defend Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

and that employers, because no clear directives have been given them by the government, are in a position to dismiss their workers and pass responsibility for this on to the Labor Government.

In another resolution, addressed to the Minister of Fuel and Power, the shop stewards committee calls for creation of area committees composed of representatives from trade unions, shop steward committees, trades councils and local Labor Parties, which would in cooperation with the Regional Fuel Boards, "direct the allocation, distribution and conservation of fuel."

This resolution demands recognition by the government of these area committees as the responsible bodies in each district. It also proposes a number of steps to increase coal production, including the following: Workers' control in the pits and an immediate wage raise of 30% for the miners.

WORKERS RESENTFUL

While the workers have rallied solidly behind the government, there is a widespread criticism that its measures are completely inadequate. Its policy of dallying with the employers is deeply resented.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, has produced a fighting program for the crisis, demanding a national plan under workers' control. Arrangements are under way to wage a campaign popularizing it amongst the organized workers and there is little doubt but it will be sympathetically received.

But for the existence of Section 144 and the definite directive of the BPTUC to refrain from processions and picketing, the impressive demonstration of last July 24 would have been repeated and Calcutta would have thundered to the triumphant march of the working millions.

Half the students obeyed Sarat Bose's advice, but the meeting continued. Although the Trotskyists were denied the platform by the chairman, they took it anyhow and offered the students a program based on cooperation with the workers. After the meeting the student leaders approached the BPTUC and set up a Joint Council of Action, representing the students, the BPTUC and all political parties.

ROLE OF CONGRESS

Creation of this Council of Action led later to the decision to call the general strike for the removal of Section 144; the date was first fixed for Jan. 29 and later altered to Feb. 5. The Council of Action became inactive when the Congress moved from uninterested disapproval of its activities to outright opposition.

But the BPTUC, with the All-India TUC sessions to be held in a few weeks, realized that its existence was at stake and decided to go through with the strike despite the opposition of the Congress labor leaders inside the BPTUC.

The success of the general strike in the face of the strongest opposition came as a surprise to many. The workers' solidarity and ready response to a call to action on political grounds indicate a significant growth in their class-consciousness.

The Congress can look upon Feb. 5 only as a major defeat; even their strong hold on the petit bourgeoisie has been shaken to its foundations. Students and employees in action showed their willingness to defy its authority. The Congress can look upon Feb. 5 only as a major defeat; even their strong hold on the petit bourgeoisie has been shaken to its foundations. Students and employees in action showed their willingness to defy its authority.

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International Notes

The All-Burma Trade Union last week announced a victorious conclusion to the 25-day waterfront strike of 30,000 workers in Rangoon. Most of the union's demands, including wage increases and equal pay for women, were met by the government.

The people of the Philippines will vote on March 11 on a proposal to change the constitution to give American businessmen "equal rights" in exploiting resources and operating public utilities in the Philippines. "Equal rights" is actually a synonym for special privileges, which will guarantee supremacy for American business interests. President Manuel Roxas and his Liberal Party are supporting the constitutional amendment in return for Wall Street support of their administration.

The Dutch imperialists have imposed a blockade around Indonesia, threatening to seize any ships or products used by the Indonesian Republic for trade with the rest of the world.

The Soviet Union is charged with "buying" German atomic scientists for 6,000 rubles a month. Since this sum represents only \$500, it is no wonder that the U. S. government has been able to attract a greater number of the German scientists.

Strikes are spreading in Spain

despite vicious repressions. A recent example was the occupation of factories by striking workers in Manresa (Catalonia). The strikers refused to leave the plants despite many appeals until the employers had summoned strong forces of armed police to expel them forcibly.

Australia is experiencing the greatest strike wave of its history. Not only industrial workers are involved, but even sections of the middle class, including butchers who are protesting against high prices charged by the meat trust.

Von Papen, who helped to put Hitler in power and was exonerated by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg last year, has been found guilty by a German denazification court and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

The Soviet Union's military budget has been sharply reduced, according to Moscow. Over \$2 billion rubles in 1946, it is scheduled to fall to \$7 billion this year, or 18% of the total budget.

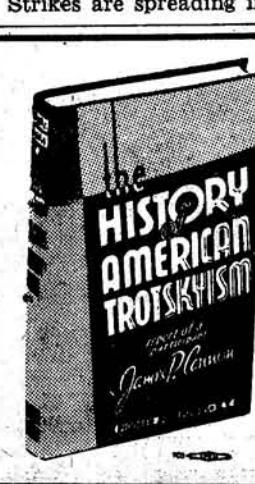
Maurice Thorez, Stalinist vice-premier of France, has come out in support of the government's economic program, which promises to freeze and even lower prices but refuses to grant the workers a general wage increase to compensate for past price rises.

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"The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery."

—Leon Trotsky

Who Was Right About The War?

At the beginning of the Second World War, the people of America and the entire world were promised "Four Freedoms" if victory was won. The workers were promised that their sacrifices at home and on the battlefield would make the world safe for democracy and end the threat of fascism.

The loudest salesmen of the war were the Stalinists and the liberals. The Stalinists claimed that it was not an imperialist war, because the Soviet Union was allied with the "democracies." They bundled up with Wall Street in the same political bed, became the most ardent advocates of the no-strike pledge, and broke strikes where workers tried to defend their hard-won union rights.

The liberals claimed that victory meant a free America, with democratic rights and civil liberties assured. Wall Street was in the war, they claimed, to break the backbone of world reaction.

The Socialist Workers Party which refused to be stamped by this hysteria stood completely alone. The SWP, keeping its eyes on reality, said that the war was an imperialist war just like the First World War, a war fought over profits, markets, colonies and plunder.

The Second World War could not uproot fascism, the SWP pointed out. Even in Europe, the war would only sow the seeds of worse barbarism; and at home the war would give tremendous impetus to the growth of reaction. World War II could accomplish nothing except pave the way for another and more terrible slaughter. Only the construction of a socialist society could guarantee an end to imperialist wars and fascism and bring enduring peace and plenty to the oppressed masses.

For promulgating these beliefs, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were railroaded to federal prison by the Roosevelt Administration. The Stalinist warmongers distinguished themselves by demanding even harsher persecution of these prisoners.

Who was right in estimating the war and its consequences? The Trotskyists who were imprisoned? Or the Stalinists and liberals who peddled Wall Street's war slogans?

The liberal New Dealers, it turned out, were among the first political victims after V-J Day. Not a single one of them remains in prominent office. Those in strictly administrative positions, such as Lilienthal, are victimized in rabid witch-hunts led by such reactionary figures as McKellar and Rankin.

The Stalinists are in no happier position. A red-baiting drive of proportions not seen since the days of Attorney General Palmer has selected them as its first target. Thus the Stalinists are being paid off with the toe of Wall Street's boot for their invaluable services in sugar-coating Wall Street's war aims.

But if there is a certain poetic justice in this turn of the political wheel, no satisfaction can be drawn from it. The red-baiting drive is only one part of the mushrooming growth of reaction in America today. It is the spearhead of an onslaught against the labor movement such as has not been seen in decades.

Anti-Labor Drive

Having piled up the greatest profits in all history, Wall Street has become accustomed to a new rate of accumulation and refuses to accept a come-down. Instead, the monopolists insist on savage slashes in the standard of living of the workers. And this means a head-on conflict every time a section of the working class attempts to keep up with the soaring cost of living.

Wall Street has cold-bloodedly calculated its anti-labor drive. The entire press, radio and pulpit are pounding against unionism as if the working class were a deadly enemy. In Congress, legislation is underway to tear the insides out of the Wagner Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. Wall Street demands the outlawing of the union shop and the hamstringing of the right to strike. So rabid is Wall Street's drive against labor that an objective observer might conclude Big Business is trying to convert its imperialist war into a civil war against labor.

This is not the only grim consequence of the Second World War. The seeds of fascism

are sending out deep-going roots in America. The brazen attempt of the Columbians to build a fascist movement and Talmadge's seizure of the Governor's office in Georgia show how fertile the soil has become for violent reaction.

The anti-labor drive is coupled with an alarming growth of racial prejudice. Anti-Semitism and Jim Crow were given a new lease on life by the war. The hand grenade has reappeared since V-J Day as a fire-bomb hurled at Negro homes. Horrible lynchings have broken out like syphilitic sores on the body of America. The spread of racial prejudice and the increasing violence of its forms is one of the ominous indications that fascism can develop faster in America than it did in either Italy or Germany. The Negro people in particular are being singled out as a national scapegoat, in the same way that German fascism singled out the Jewish people. Let the Negro people think over this consequence of the war when they recall how the Stalinists and liberals assured them that the battlefields of the Second World War were the battlefields of democracy versus reaction.

Rise Of Militarism

But this is only the beginning of the balance sheet. Ask any veteran if he recalls Wall Street's high-gear publicity about the stream-lined post-war world—amazing plastics and electronic gadgets for the kitchen, with two helicopters in every garage. The pay-off should be at least a decent home for every family. But today in the city of Los Angeles there are more homeless people than after the San Francisco earthquake or the Johnstown flood; and Los Angeles with its 162,000 displaced families (50,000 of them veterans) is typical of major cities in America.

The war brought prosperity only for the rich. For the poor there has been a steep decline in the standard of living and they face the threat of mass unemployment as the coming depression moves visibly closer.

Instead of mobilizing America's resources to meet such basic needs of the people as housing, Washington is mobilizing to meet the demands of Wall Street's war machine. The military budget last year was \$18,500,000,000 and this year's proposed budget is something like \$15,000,000,000.

One of the fruits of the war is a military caste in America, already so powerfully entrenched that its leading figure has been named Secretary of State, second highest officer in the land today.

Wall Street is relentlessly driving to Prussianize the youth of America and convert the United States into the greatest peacetime military camp the world has ever been burdened with.

The consequences of the Second World War are seen most clearly in the case of atomic energy. The atom, foreseen by scientists decades ago as a source of inexhaustible power, has been drafted by Wall Street's war machine. Developed for industrial use, atomic energy could eventually free all mankind from toll and drudgery; but in Wall Street's hands it means the pyramidal growth of atom bomb stockpiles and even more cataclysmic instruments of death.

Arsenal For Despots

Wall Street's foreign policy is the mirror image of its domestic policy. Everywhere it bolsters the most hated and reactionary regimes in order to stave off the impending doom of the capitalist system a little longer. In Japan, for instance, MacArthur is openly engaging in strikebreaking to save the Mikado from the wrath of the Japanese people.

The colonial peoples, who were enslaved by the Western imperialist powers, struck out on the road to independence and freedom with the close of the war. But Wall Street's policy was not to bring them the promised Four Freedoms. On the contrary, Wall Street opened up its arsenals for the beggared colonial despots and assisted them in every way to put down the hundreds of millions of people seeking democracy.

In Europe, Wall Street has replaced German imperialism as the most reactionary power on the continent. Wall Street entered Europe under the arch of rotten deals with the French collaborators. In Italy it tried to save the House of Savoy that put Mussolini in office and its latest act in Germany was a general amnesty for second-line Nazis.

Wall Street is driving for world domination. That is why it supports foul puppet regimes. That is why it seeks to retain and strengthen its military bases abroad. Washington is pushing to standardize arms throughout North and South America and Great Britain. Washington is taking islands over a vast area in the Pacific with little regard for the opinion of its allies in the UN. Washington has extended the frontiers of America in effect to Manchuria and Korea in the Far East and beyond the Rhine in Europe.

Wall Street is closing a global pincers on the Soviet Union, the power it views as a mortal foe.

Does it take a seer and prophet today to add up the balance sheet and say that the Second World War only paved the way for the growth of reaction and another slaughter?

Yet 18 Trotskyists were railroaded to prison; they were guilty of predicting too accurately the consequences of the Second World War!

Once more, let us repeat what we said at the outbreak of hostilities. Unless the workers end the capitalist system and build the planned economy of socialism, then fascism can come to power in America. Such evils as depressions, wars and fascism are inseparable from the capitalist system.

Today we can say that something new has been added — another slaughter, waged with atomic weapons can mean the extinction of civilization. The question is no longer whether socialism is better than capitalism, but whether the working class can put a Workers and Farmers Government in power in time to prevent capitalism from dragging humanity with it into the grave.

THE MILITANT



"Oh, goodness! Look at all those rats coming out of my tenement property! I'll have to raise the rents if they insist on keeping pets."

Watkins' BOOKSHELF

IMPACT OF U.S. ECONOMY ON WORLD TRADE

by Harold H. Hutcheson, Foreign Policy Reports, Dec., 1946, 25 cents.

This report contains valuable material for studying the main trends in American economy. The author proceeds from the correct premise that because of its overwhelming productive capacity, the U.S. is today the dominant factor in world economy. Consequently, the level of economic activity in the U.S. exerts a profound influence on the trade and industry of other nations at a decided disadvantage.

The post-war export boom has so far been financed largely by government credits, UNRRA gifts and lend-lease contributions. The last two props have already been taken away and new contemplated credits will by no means suffice to take up the slack.

At the present time, trade and industry in this country are thriving, but there are strong indications that serious lack of balance is developing . . . There is every indication that expenditures on producers' goods will eventually decline and that there will be surpluses of agricultural products," the author states. These drops in production will "in turn cause income and employment to fall."

Many capitalist economists are banking on an export drive to save the situation. But Hutcheson states that "it is U.S. capitalism and stagnation of American economy dragged down the rest of world capitalism and drove other nations on to the path of economic nationalism and war."

Hutcheson is pessimistic about the duration of the present post-war boom. The steep rise in American prices following the lifting of price controls will adversely affect all importing and borrowing nations, such as Bri-

tain and France. Able to buy less for the dollars they possess, these countries must either seek additional credits or face a slowdown of recovery. At the same time, American buyers abroad are exerting a further upward pressure on prices in the world market, which places less wealthy nations at a decided disadvantage.

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Although the writer himself hesitates to draw the conclusion, the facts and figures he cites and the course of his analysis

indicate that U.S. economy is headed towards another world crisis of colossal proportions.

—William F. Ward

AGING SUCCESSFULLY

by George Lawton, Columbia University Press, 266 pp., 1946, \$2.75.

In any society the individual who passes middle age encounters new problems, no less than the child who passes into maturity. But for the great majority of people under capitalism, the necessary individual adjustment is distorted by the problem of economic security.

Dr. Lawton's book, while recognizing this fact, sidesteps a fundamental analysis and answer to this paramount problem. He confines himself primarily to helpful hints on how to make the best use of advanced years, both mentally and physically. These are useful to the men and women with assured incomes.

But as the author points out, 59 per cent of the ten million men and women over sixty-five are today dependent on their children or on the paltry sums provided by present old-age pensions. He admits that employers have a "prejudice" against hiring older people. In fact, men and women over 50 in the working class are cast out as socially useless, because they can no longer fit into the system of exploitation for profit.

All of these jobless and dependent old people would no doubt benefit from Dr. Lawton's "philosophy for maturity"—if they were first of all provided with economic security.

—Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Butler Of Butler-Welch Grain

The other morning Senator Hugh Butler, Republican of Nebraska, read an article by Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, which struck him as far from model journalism. Pearson claimed that a special bit of legislation, (H.J.R. 57) vigorously but quietly being pushed by Senator Butler benefited a single alcohol plant in Omaha which happened to be operated by the Butler-Welch Grain Co. of the same city.

By odd coincidence Senator Butler was once a partner in this concern.

Such dirty journalism so aroused Senator Butler that he was fit to be tied by the time he got to his desk. And so when Senator Taylor, Democrat of Idaho, called Butler's attention to the article, on the off chance his colleague had not read it and might be interested, the Nebraska solon opened up. His indignation, in fact, appeared so great it could almost be described as "virtuous."

In the first place, raged the trait tribe of the people, "When I was elected to the Senate in November, 1940, I immediately resigned as of November 1st of that year from the Butler-Welch Grain Co."

In the second place, he continued, "I have not participated to the extent of one penny in the profits of the company."

In the third place, if he had been interested only in profits, "I would have been many times better off if I had retained my interest in the Butler-Welch Grain Co."

In the fourth place, "The reason I resigned was this: I had taken up the matter with the Department of Agriculture, and was advised that since the Butler-Welch Grain Co. was doing a storage business with the government I would be ineligible to

And in the tenth place if the Butler-Welch Grain Co. is squeezing more profits than appears on the surface out of a plant which cost the Government about \$8,000,000 to build, the company in return is paying the Government an average of "7.7 cents a gallon" for "the use of the plant."

This annihilating dissection of Pearson's article brought enthusiastic support from Butler's fellow Senators. Sheridan Downey, Democrat of California, thought the Omaha alcohol plant showed "very great pioneering possibilities for American agriculture in coming years in providing a large salvage from surplus agricultural products." And Downey congratulated Butler as "not only most courteous, but, I also thought, objective and patriotic in his attitude toward this fine institution."

Senator Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine, declaring it "unfortunate" that more than "20,000,000 bushels of potatoes are now being put out into the fields to rot," saw alcohol plants like the one in Omaha as the solution. He asked all the Senators to give their "earnest attention to how these tremendous surpluses, which have been stimulated incident to the war, are going to be handled without disrupting and destroying our economy."

In the seventh place, it is only temporary legislation. After April 30, 1948, "the Senate may have an opportunity to consider permanent legislation."

In the eighth place, "The reason I was late in arriving on the floor was that I was receiving some information by telephone from the plant at Omaha."

In the ninth place, the plant "produced more than 30,000,000 gallons of alcohol, at a profit to the operators of approximately one-half cent a gallon, which is not an enormous profit."

Having thus cut Pearson's article to ribbons, the Senate passed Butler's pet measure (H.J.R. 57) without further discussion, not even delaying to take a roll call vote.

Two bills were introduced in the Senate by the Workers Defense League on Feb. 26 in a move to halt the threatened deportations of Indonesians in this country to face possible imprisonment in Dutch concentration camps.

One measure, S.602, a duplicate of the Farrington bill which has been introduced in the House, provides that "the right to become a naturalized citizen . . . shall not be limited by race or national origin."

It also stipulates that the bar against natives of certain Pacific islands be repealed and a quota system established for them.

The second bill, S.603, demands that the attorney general cancel deportation orders against 10 Indonesian residents recently arrested and that they "be considered as having been lawfully admitted for permanent residence as of the date of their last entry."

Lilienthal Case Shows Witch Hunters At Work

The four-week controversy in the Senate over confirmation of David E. Lilienthal as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission shows how unbridled the worst red-baiters have become in Washington since the November elections.

When Truman appointed Lilienthal on Oct. 28, his choice was applauded by Democrats and Republicans alike, by the brass-hats, monopolists, and even by the usually hostile N. Y. News. The liberal Lilienthal made his reputation as head of the Tennessee Valley Authority under Roosevelt. He tangled in conflict with certain power interests and pork-barrel politicians like McKellar of Tennessee. But he got along well with the Aluminum Trust and concluded agreements satisfactory to the Morgan-controlled Commonwealth and Southern utilities setup.

Last year, with Under-Secretary of State Acheson, he helped draft the atomic control report under which the militarists and Wall Street maintain their monopolist grip upon atomic power and continue to stockpile atomic bombs.

Although Lilienthal has proved to be a trustworthy caretaker of the interests of the ruling capitalist class, in the hearings he was attacked by McKellar as a "Communist sympathizer." Bridges of New Hampshire declared his "extreme New Deal" belief in public ownership was "so strong as to tend toward Socialism." Finally Taft condemned Lilienthal as "too soft on issues connected with communism and Soviet Russia." To this witches' brew were added unofficial whispers that he was not only a "Red" but a Jew whose parents were foreign-born.

This coalition of ultra-reactionaries has ganged up against Lilienthal for various reasons. McKellar seeks revenge because he was frustrated in his lust for patronage. Bridges is a well-known spokesman for the power and oil lobbies, which realize what a tremendous threat atomic power is to their vested interests. These trusts want this invaluable asset in their own hands, not those of the government, or at least supervised by their direct tools.

Not For Us!
By Theodore Kovalesky

Jimmy, Pete Rossi, Gus Miller and I stood at the bar in Emil's place talking and drinking beer. As usual we had come to cash our paychecks and relax a little after the shift.

Outside the day was clear with only the smoke of the steel plant darkening the sky. Cars and trucks were hissing through the light scum of melted snow and fine dust on the turnpike. We looked out of the front window of Emil's place and talked.

Most of what we said I have forgotten. Most of it was of little importance ... how the day's work had been, a show Pete had seen, a laugh and a flurry of horseplay between Gus and Pete. We spoke of the things men speak of who work side by side each day. We knew each other and were comfortable together drinking our beer.

But one thing was said that I do remember. It started when Jimmy looked through the dirty window at the cars passing by.

"If we get that back pay, I'm sure gonna get me one of them," he told us.

"A Ford?" Pete snorted. "They still got blood on them, coming off old Henry's assembly line. Blood and sweat. I think they stink."

"A Ford's a reliable car," Gus said seriously. "Hell," Jimmy said, "All those assembly lines are bad."

Pete said, "Yeah, I know, but I worked for Ford once. Give me a Plymouth any day."

They talked about Chevys, about Oldsmobiles. They spoke reverently about the Buicks of past days. Gus and Pete talked about such things as rings and pistons and bearings. They contrasted one make against another, weighed the good points of this car and that one. They said things

"The Vitamin Craze"

By Grace Carlson

In a discussion of "diet in health and disease," Dr. Wallace Graham told the members of the American College of Surgeons last month of the dangers in the indiscriminate use of vitamin pills. Excess dosages of synthetic vitamins have harmed many patients, said Dr. Graham, and have even caused the death of some.

"But on the whole, I think the worst of the vitamin craze is over," Dr. Graham concluded. "The public is beginning to think more intelligently about these food supplements."

Very anxious to prolong and intensify "the vitamin craze," the big drug monopolies are getting out reams of propaganda about the supposed value of vitamin pills. The other day, I came across one such propaganda booklet put out by McKesson and Robbins. Written for drugstore clerks, the handsomely-illustrated booklet was called, "How To Sell BEXEL Vitamin B Complex."

We find that the average family spends only \$1.96 a year for dentifrices; \$1.59, for toothbrushes; \$1.69 for laxatives; \$1.42 for headache remedies. BUT, "the average consumer of vitamin concentrates buys 12 packages a year—for a total expenditure of \$10.90!"

It follows from this, of course, that drug clerks

should try to make more people into vitamin pill users. "SIMPLE SELLING STRATEGY" will do the job. The clerk must make a study of "THE PEOPLE WHO MOST NEED BEXEL." And, in order to save the clerk from too much arduous research, McKesson and Robbins supply a list. Here it is:

1. Overworked people
2. Extremely active people
3. Those who sweat more than normally
4. Nervous people
5. People who sleep poorly
6. Convalescents
7. Older persons
8. Pregnant or nursing mothers
9. People with poor appetites
10. Those who are underweight
11. Those with faulty elimination
12. Growing children
13. Office workers
14. People who diet
15. Heavy drinkers.

If drug clerks can be galvanized into selling vitamin pills to all of these people, McKesson and Robbins' already high profits will leap to astronomic heights! But we can hope that Dr. Graham is right and that "the worst of the vitamin craze is over." And we can help to end "the vitamin craze" by urging trade unions to fight for the kind of wage scale that will buy enough vitamin-rich foods—meat, milk, eggs, fresh fruits and vegetables.

Veterans' Problems

Make Wall Street Pay For Bonus

By Alvin Royce

Only one of the leading veterans organizations (the Veterans of Foreign Wars) has publicly come out in favor of a bonus for World War II veterans. In fact, recent events have revealed the self-styled liberals to be the most vociferous opponents of the bonus.

When a state bonus bill was passed in New York recently, Wall Street's mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times, registered disappointment. In a lead editorial it asked that the bonus be withdrawn and that the money go to state housing appropriations. This editorial pleased the National Planning Committee of the American Veterans Committee so much that its members made it a special point on their agenda.

Charles Bolte, national head of the AVC, wrote a special letter of commendation to the Times editorial staff. Bolte then went on to say, "The best that can be said for the bonus is that it allows the recipient a chance for a glorious bender." To the vast majority of the veterans, a bonus means bread and butter, some new clothes and maybe some badly needed pieces of furniture. Bolte, who served as an officer in

the British Army and has never worried about his next meal in his life, could of course use a bonus only to go on a glorious bender.

In spite of the cowardly stand of the official leaders of the veterans organizations, the bonus issue is far from dead. There are four bonus bills before Congress. Many states have already passed legislation granting a veterans bonus and very few smart politicians will say point-blank that they are opposed to a bonus for the veterans.

Those politicians who favor a bonus do so because they feel the pressure of the mass of veterans. To the average veteran, who is among those hit hardest by low wages and high prices, the bonus is not a handout but necessity. The approaching end of many of the allowances of the GI Bill of Rights is beginning to jar the explosive bonus issue. No organization that continues to oppose the bonus will enjoy any real support from the veterans for very long.

While veterans were tightening their belts and frantically hunting a place to live last year, the profits of the big corporations reached a new peak. Every ex-veteran must raise the cry in his union and veterans organization: "Make the war profiteers, America's Sixty Families, pay for a veterans bonus, now!"

Notes From The News

Col. James A. Kilian, commander of the notorious Litchfield guardhouse who was held responsible for brutal beating and mistreatment of American GIs, has just been recommended for a promotion in rank by the Army.

East Bay AFL groups have launched a campaign to oust Charles W. Real from office as California Federation of Labor president because he acted like a "strikebreaker" and a tool of the employers" during the recent department store strike that led to the general strike in Oakland.

Students at Williams College, Mass., are supporting the college paper's fight against a local barber guilty of Jim Crow treatment of Negro students.

The CIO International Fishermen and Allied Workers, Local 36, indicted on "anti-trust" charges by a Grand Jury in Los Angeles, is attacking the jury system because "day laborers, members of labor unions, and Negroes were systematically and intentionally discriminated against and were excluded from the panel from which the jurors were chosen."

Alfred Giles, Negro victim of police brutality in San Pedro who was falsely found guilty of assault and battery, has had his sentence reduced to one year's probation as a result of

pressure from the NAACP, AVC, SWP and other groups. The cop who attacked him has been removed from the police force.

Sub-committees of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation are still meeting to discuss unity. Joint resolutions will soon be submitted to members of both organizations for consideration and action.

Buffalo teachers aren't striking; the dignified term they use is "abstention from work."

The NAACP in Detroit is preparing to go before the U. S. Supreme Court in its fight against restrictive covenants barring Negroes from living in certain neighborhoods.

Columnist Drew Pearson recently got some bad publicity for his radio sponsor, Frank H. Lee, by sending John L. Lewis a Lee hat for guessing wrong on the length of the mine strike. Lewis sent it back because it had no union label. Lee is the nation's biggest non-union hat manufacturer.

Nathaniel J. L. Pieper, who used to work for the FBI, now is doing "public relations" work for the union-busting Waterfront Employers in California.

Supporters of the Georgia "white primary" are afraid that it may lead to a split in the Democratic Party in that state.

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White Terrorists Fire Bullets At Negro Home

Detroit Teachers Vote Strike



High school teacher in Detroit casting her ballot when the Detroit Federation of Teachers, AFL voted 4,108 to 1,717 for strike action "in the event everything else fails."

Federated Pictures

By Robert L. Birchman

CHICAGO, Feb. 22 — Anti-Negro terrorism recurred at the Airport Homes Housing project here when four shots were fired last Saturday at 2 a.m. into the second floor apartment of John Fort, one of two Negro veterans who reside with their families in the project. Previously violent attempts had been made to prevent them from moving into the project.

The bullets, fired through the front window by unknown persons, narrowly missed Fort's wife, Mille, and their six-weeks-old daughter. One bullet shattered a glass lamp that fell into the baby's crib, from which the infant had been lifted by its mother only a few moments before. Another bullet imbedded itself in the living room wall, just a few feet above Mrs. Fort's bed.

DEMAND INVESTIGATION

Mrs. Fort ran to a neighbor and called police. She later said that the 10-man police detail, assigned to the project following the threats against the two Negro families when they moved in, was nowhere in sight.

Captain Charles O'Regan of the Chicago Lawn police, in whose precinct the housing project is located, claimed: "The police were on duty at the project — but it is a big place — they may have been some distance from Mrs. Fort's place." But the police had been assigned specifically to protect the only two Negro families living in the project and should have been on the scene.



HOMER LEWIS

"This is another of numerous examples that prove that the reactionary labor-hating police cannot be depended upon to protect the Negro people. Only defense guards based on the unions and veterans organizations in cooperation with all anti-fascist forces could and would provide adequate and timely protection to threatened Negro families."

GM Fleetwood Workers Victimized By Company

DETROIT, Feb. 22 — General Motor's drive to victimize CIO United Auto Workers militants has been climaxed with the firing of 13 cushion builders and the imposing of two-week penalty layoffs on 122 other members of Fleetwood Fisher Body Local 15.

Fleetwood are recognized as part of a corporation drive to undermine the union.

Local 15 answered the company attack by calling a membership meeting yesterday — the best attended in the local's history. Despite opposition from a representative of UAW President Reuther, the Local 15 members voted by an overwhelming majority to instruct their Executive Board to take a secret strike vote.

Representatives of other GM locals in the area attended the meeting to get first-hand information on the Fleetwood situation. A widespread movement may soon be under way to halt GM's attacks on the union.

Mahoning Valley Vets Demand Low-Rent Homes

By Harry Braverman

YOUNGSTOWN, Feb. 19 — A demand for \$6,000,000 for veterans' low-rental housing projects was initiated here tonight by the Mahoning Valley Veterans Housing Committee at its regular meeting. The resolution passed by the meeting demands an allotment of state funds for veterans' housing, and names \$6,000,000 as the minimum amount required immediately in Mahoning County.

The Committee, which is a general housing body having on its representatives from veterans, labor and civic organizations, reacted enthusiastically when Marvin Weinstock, secretary of the Committee and representative from the CIO, presented the resolution for the officers. Many veterans expressed their willingness to spread the demand throughout the Valley by bringing it to organizations and veterans for their support. It was decided to bring the demand to city and county officials and ask their support, and next to take it to the State Legislature.

WHOLLY INADEQUATE
and press for its enactment.

The resolution points out that while there were over 900 applicants for the two veterans' projects now under way in the County, these projects can only supply homes for 200 of them. The \$6,000,000 is calculated as an immediate emergency demand to supply homes for the other 700.

The resolution was supported by the representative of the Socialist Workers Party, and SWP veterans will back it and work for it throughout the Valley.

Detroit East Side Delegates Plan Drive For State FEPC

DETROIT, Feb. 23 — Forty delegates, representing 13 Detroit East Side local committees for a Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission, met last week for a report on the campaign to win enactment of a state FEPC bill and to plan further action. The conference was held in the hall of CIO United Auto Workers Briggs Local 212.

Ernest Mazey, of Local 212, reported on the two separate conferences for FEPC held in Lansing, the state capital, by the CIO steel workers, was strongly opposed by the Stalinists and Reutherites, and the rival Stalinist and Reutherite factions in the UAW. He bluntly charged these factions with using the FEPC issue as a "political football."

Despite the fact that both groups have weak and ineffective programs for getting an FEPC bill passed, Mazey said, they refuse to unite the pro-FEPC forces for a vigorous, militant campaign.

BURIED BILL
As a result, the state legislature buried the FEPC bill in committee. But because of the nearly 200,000 signatures signed to a petition for the bill, it must be placed on the April state election ballot for a referendum vote.

Mazey proposed that the East Side conference delegates return to their local bodies and initiate a big campaign to get out the pro-FEPC vote on April 7. He also urged that the conference send representatives to the two rival FEPC committees and call on them to unite in the fight for FEPC.

Other delegates deplored the division created by the unprincipled factionalism of the Stalinists and Reutherites and offered numerous constructive proposals to build up the campaign in preparation for the April 7 balloting.

The conference elected a steering committee of five to coordinate the proposals and tasks outlined during the discussion and to call another meeting of all Detroit East Side local FEPC committees before the April 7 referendum.