

Wall Street Rushes Aid To Ramadier's Cabinet

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VOL. XI — No. 20

Fighting Policy Adopted By CIO Packing Union

By Ted Selander

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

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

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

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

This resolution came to the floor only a few hours after Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, tried to blame the workers for the reactionary Congress now in Washington and warned they better get busy and provide the funds for another "all-out fight to elect friends of labor in 1948." Despite his youth, he declared he would die "like a man," which was in contrast to the barbarous judges howling for his blood. After hearing of their decision, he invited his jailers to lead him to the execution and asked his lawyer to make no more appeals on his behalf. Evidently he had concluded that a second trip to the chair would be an act of mercy compared to the agony of living under the "four freedoms" which were so lavishly promised the Negro youth who gave their lives in the last imperialistic

(Continued on Page 2)

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

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

The text of their protest follows:

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

"For these reasons, we urge the immediate release of the arrested trade union leaders and

members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India and further ask that you transmit this request at once to your government."

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

"We, the undersigned, have consistently supported the fight of the Indian people for freedom from all imperialist oppression.

"We have no less consistently defended the rights of workers in all countries to organize and strike to better their conditions.

"We believe that no country can be free if unrestricted exercise of these elementary democratic rights is denied to labor organizations, or if their leaders are persecuted for their political beliefs.

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Notebook Of An Agitator

The Mad Dog Of The Labor Movement

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

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

A SKILLED OPERATOR

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

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

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

USUAL PRACTICE

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

The penalty of three other appellants was modified "in view of their expressions of repentance." Their sentence was commuted to one year of suspension with "probation for a period of two additional years." Whether these three suspended members who "repented" will be permitted to work and make a living at their trade during the suspension was not stated. Probably not.

MINNEAPOLIS RECORD

Tobin's criminal activities in Minneapolis have been rather widely advertised. It is known that he tried to break the great strikes in 1934. He didn't succeed then and could not prevent a strong union being built up without him and in spite of him. He then tried to get rid of the honest, fighting leaders of the union in 1941 by placing the union in "receivership." When the rank and file revolted against that, he called the federal cops through his friend President Roosevelt, and simply had the leaders thrown into prison. At the same time, a horde of Tobin's gangsters, armed with blackjack and baseball bats, were turned loose on the trucking districts, with the open connivance of the city police, to force the truck drivers to wear the button of Tobin's "reorganized" local. The State Labor Board, under Governor Stassen, denied the workers the right of an election to register their preference. In return for that favor, the labor-hating Governor, author of the notorious Minnesota "Slave Labor Law," was introduced as the guest of honor and highly praised by Tobin at the subsequent international convention of the IBT.

Having tasted blood in Minneapolis, Tobin has been running wild ever since in his violent campaign against any sign of independence or militancy in the ranks of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. At the present time approximately 40% of the local unions are under "receivership" with appointed officers and no autonomous rights. This simple fact in itself is the most devastating testimony of the extent of the rank and file discontent and revolt against the tyranny and treachery of this mean-spirited, vicious old man and the whole gang of well-heeled labor scabs and common crooks who make up his unsavory machine.

WHAT'S ON THE AGENDA

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

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

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

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

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

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

Daniel J. Tobin employs yet another murderous weapon in his war against the rank and file of the IBT. He reinforces his brutal dictatorship over the local unions of the Teamsters International by the device of first expelling dissident workers and then taking their bread and butter away from them by "taking them off the job." In the April number of *The International Teamster*, Tobin boasts about breaking up an opposition to the gangster-ridden union machine in St. Louis which culminated in a strike. "The International Un-

ion sent in a number of men," he says significantly, meaning a mob of strong-arm men whose assignment was to waylay the strikers and beat them up — and every business agent and office of our local unions in this city of St. Louis pledged his full, and undivided help." It is known to Tobin that one of these local "business agents," in fact the boss of the whole Tobin set-up in St. Louis, a gangster and a criminal record.

According to Tobin's account, the leading rank and file militiamen in the strike — truck drivers, not gangsters — also had the bad habit of "continuously finding fault with the union officers." Consequently, "the general president ordered that charges be preferred against them." And of course, "several of them were expelled from the union."

Next came the deal with the bosses. Says Tobin: "The employers were notified that those men were no longer members of the union and that our union shop agreement must be observed. The employers complied with the agreement, and those individuals were laid off by the employers." By this combination of anti-labor measures the strike was broken. The workers were beaten and forced into line. It was a "famous victory," and Tobin gloated over it. "In a few days," he writes, "the men 'begged to be allowed to go back to work.' Maybe the poor devils had families to support. And maybe the families were hungry. The proudest men have been known to submit under such circumstances.

But proud men who beg through clenched teeth are dangerous animals to provoke. There are many of them in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the present time, and their number is steadily growing.

One of these days they are going to count noses and come to the conclusion that they are strong enough, if they all act together, to put a stop to the humiliations and defeats imposed upon them by brutal violence and treacherous collusion with the bosses. That will be a bad day for the Mad Dog of the Labor Movement. The dogcatchers will catch up with him.

THE MILITANT

UPWA Call For A New Party Represents Big Step Forward

By George Breitman

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

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

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

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

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

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DIFFERENT MEANINGS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Such illusions must be fought and exposed and rooted out, no matter who spreads them — union bureaucrats or Stalinists or capitalist liberals. A good place to have done it was the UPWA convention where the sentiment of the delegates was clearly for labor party action. The UPWA resolution — and the movement for independent labor political action — would have been strengthened by precision on this point.

But even with these shortcomings, that resolution is the most hopeful sign on the political horizon in a monthful of Sundays. It should serve to inspire similar action by militants in other unions and to set the ball rolling on a nation-wide scale. Properly utilized, it can be a starting point for labor's next big stride forward to a better world.

Fighting Program Adopted By CIO Packing Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

pendent party pledged to the cause and needs of labor.

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

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

The Canadian delegates stated that they had learned more than 10 years ago that they could not place any trust in their two major parties, the

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

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

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By this combination of anti-labor measures the strike was broken. The workers were beaten and forced into line. It was a "famous victory," and Tobin gloated over it. "In a few days," he writes, "the men 'begged to be allowed to go back to work.' Maybe the poor devils had families to support. And maybe the families were hungry. The proudest men have been known to submit under such circumstances.

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One of these days they are going to count noses and come to the conclusion that they are strong enough, if they all act together, to put a stop to the humiliations and defeats imposed upon them by brutal violence and treacherous collusion with the bosses. That will be a bad day for the Mad Dog of the Labor Movement. The dogcatchers will catch up with him.

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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; 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!

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The Prospects Of American Stalinism

By James P. Cannon

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

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

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

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

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

How American Situation Differs

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

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

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

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

Decline Of Stalinist Influence

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

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

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

Led To Desertions And Splits

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Next week: *The Revolutionary Fight Against Stalinism.*

The Nature Of Stalinism

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Joseph Hansen

In Europe, the spotlight remained on France last week. A rank and file strike in two departments of the great Renault auto works had grown with lightning speed, bringing out more than 30,000 workers organized in the CGT (General Federation of Labor). A general strike committee elected by the ranks had sent delegations to other plants calling for similar action and had received a warm response. The main demand of the Renault strikers was an increase of 10 francs an hour in basic wages and a sliding scale to protect this increase from further price rises.

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

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

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

On May 7, he appeared before

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

The Arab bourgeoisie tremendously enriched itself during the war, especially in Egypt, but also in Palestine and elsewhere. This bourgeoisie is perfectly willing to exploit imperialist difficulties in order to obtain a larger share in the division of the super-profits between the imperialists and the native capitalists. It doesn't for one moment, however, consider mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants in a decisive struggle against imperialism. It is too terrified by the development of the workers' movement to dare issue an appeal to the workers. It is too closely connected with the great landowners to want to set the agrarian revolution in motion.

RACE FOR OIL

On the other hand American imperialism entered the scene during the war by securing oil concessions in the realm of King Ibn Saud. The American oil corporations have continued their penetration. Their political agents have not failed to reassure the Arab nobles confidentially that the noisy propaganda of the American press in favor of Jewish immigration into Palestine which pursued, moreover, the aim of stirring up trouble for the British competitor. The president of the United States sent a secret letter to King Ibn Saud, assuring him that American imperialism and the president would effectively block Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Let us also note that the Soviet bureaucracy too has attempted to penetrate more deeply into this part of the world, during the war by securing oil concessions in the realm of King Ibn Saud. The American oil corporations have not failed to reassure the Arab nobles confidentially that the noisy propaganda of the American press in favor of Jewish immigration into Palestine which pursued, moreover, the aim of stirring up trouble for the British competitor. The president of the United States sent a secret letter to King Ibn Saud, assuring him that American imperialism and the president would effectively block Jewish immigration into Palestine.

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

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

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

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

Evicted Into The Rain



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

The Arab League Vs. Arab Masses In Middle East

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

By H. Vallin

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

The political life of the Arab population of Palestine has been confined for a long time exclusively to the great semi-feudal landowning families.

The different political "parties" which existed before the war were nothing but clans, each backed by a certain number of these "noble" families. Any idea of fighting for the political sovereignty of the masses was foreign to them. Their opposition to Zionism immigration and colonization was inspired by fear lest the industrialization of the country bring with it the proletarianization of the Arab masses and the sharpening of social struggles.

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

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

RAPID PROGRESS

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

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

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

During the French elections last November, the Stalinist paper, *Seine-et-Oise Marseillaise*, slanderously attacked the PCI and its candidates, including General Secretary Yvon Crapaud. The latter took the matter to court as a libel case, which failed miserably.

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

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

too intimately involved in German life.

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

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

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

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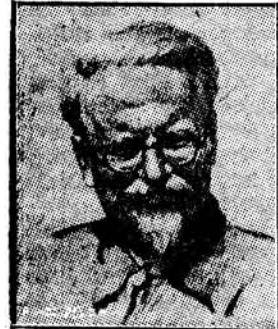
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Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



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

Leon Trotsky

A Vote For War

By a vote of 287 to 107, the House of Representatives on May 9 rubber-stamped Truman's demand for authorization to intervene with U.S. funds, military missions and weapons in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. The majority consisted of 160 Democrats and 127 Republicans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Act Now!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Blow At Civil Rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Look At China

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What are these claims worth? Look at China.

THE MILITANT



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

Workers BOOKSHELF

MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES

By Leon Trotsky, Workers Party Publications, 44 pp., 1947, 35 cents.

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

In this exposition, Trotsky underscores the essence of the revolutionary message which Marx was the first to bring to the world working class.

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

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

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

In a slashing attack upon the liberal and reformist agents of imperialism, Trotsky demonstrates that the time is past for "partial reforms and patchwork."

To save society from further wars and depressions, it is necessary to "separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners and to organize society in accordance with a rational plan." That plan can be realized only after the working class has conquered power.

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

—Larissa Reed

Diplomatic War Goes On As Moscow Conference Fails

By Jean Paul Martin

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

The "Big Four" have decided

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

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

THE TIME FACTOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Soviet Co-ops Become Capitalist Enterprises

By John G. Wright

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is clear that the Nov. 9, 1946 decree sets the stage for a new phase in the consolidation and expansion of neo

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Why We Ballot As Trotskyists

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

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

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

George Clarke
New York City

Criticizes Editorial On British Murders

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

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

In this endeavor they naturally meet vigorous resistance from the latter's British competitor.

On the contrary, they employ their reactionary terrorist means toward the reactionary objective of a Jewish state, ruling as an agency of U. S. capitalism over an Arab country.

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

David Carpenter
New York

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

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

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

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

Stalinist Goons Attack "Militant" Distributor

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

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

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

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

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

A Reader
Chicago, Ill.

Dump Surplus Spuds While Prices Soar

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

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

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

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

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

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

UFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone MADISON 3-960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

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

CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

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

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

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

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

Friday, 8 p.m.—Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

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

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

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

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Discussion on the SWP Program every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Faust.

Discussions on current topics. For information, write P. O. Box 1079.

TACOMA, Wash.—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Faust.

Discussions on current topics. For information, write P. O. Box 1079.

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

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

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

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

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The Unknown Child

By Theodore Kovalesky

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

The Negro Struggle
Against The Anti-Labor Bills

By William E. Bohannon

Wall Street's anti-labor drive to cripple and destroy the unions seriously affects the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro people. The labor movement is the natural ally of the Negro people.

Both face the same enemy: the titans of Big Business who seek to drive down living standards by all types of brutal methods. Wall Street seeks to destroy the democratic rights of labor, even as it seeks to perpetuate its Jim-Crow "divide and rule" tactics against the Negro people.

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

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



Beating A Rent Gouger

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile the tenants proceeded in a num-

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

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

6. Repayment of \$238.50 to five tenants who had decorated their own apartments. 7. Recognition of the tenants association.

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

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

Notes From The News

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



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

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

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

The Stalinists are embarrassed by the new

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947

Building Workers Feel Impact Of Depression

The Big Steal

Percentage Increase in Spendable Income (Family of Four)

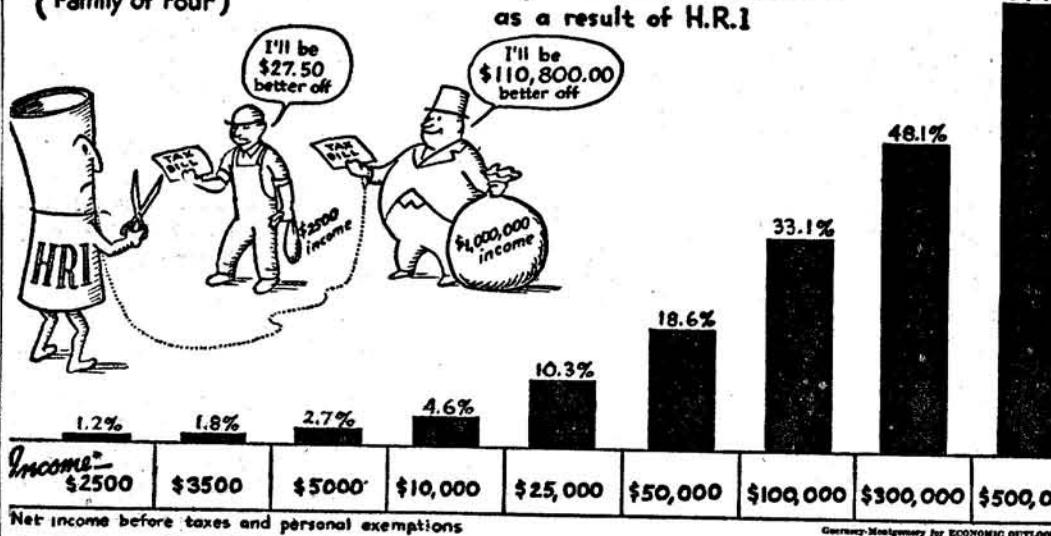


Chart from the April issue of CIO Economic Outlook giving the real facts on the Republican-sponsored tax bill. Copyright: Macmillan for CIO Economic Outlook, 1947. Federated Pictures

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GM Rehires 15 Men But UAW Suffers Bad Blow

DETROIT, May 11 — The 15 local union officers and committeemen fired by General Motors for supporting the April 24 Cadillac Square demonstration have been reinstated as a result of negotiations between GM and the UAW. The agreement with the company was reached late Thursday after a meeting held Friday with the victimized GM workers, to imply that if it was rejected, the disciplined men would be on their own. They even refused to refer the settlement to a meeting of local presidents and had pledged all-out support to the victimized GM workers, including strike action if necessary.

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

WHAT IT MEANS

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

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

A key question discussed at the 45th annual Pennsylvania State AFL Convention, which ended its sessions May 3, was formation of an independent Labor Party. A resolution favoring immediate organization of a Labor Party was submitted by the Reading Lodge No. 652 of the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America. The Thomas-Addes forces have attempted to make political capital of the situation by charging that the failure of certain Reuther-led GM plants to shut down and join the Cadillac Square rally was responsible for the victimizations. It is true that such sabotage gave the corporation an excellent opening which it did not fail to take advantage of. But this is only part of the story.

This blow to the UAW cannot be properly understood merely in light of the demonstration and developments since then. The very fact that the GM plants continued to operate in the face of the discharge of three union presidents and 12 other leading officers before Monday if a proper settlement could not be achieved. This promise was violated as Reuther moved to settle the issue as quickly and quietly as possible, regardless of the cost to the union and without giving the local union leaders involved an opportunity to even express themselves on the question.

ONLY PART OF STORY

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The resolution called attention to the "deadly menace of the big business government offensive against the unions." It pointed out that the "proposed anti-labor bills being pushed by Truman and Congress have as their ultimate aim the very destruction of the labor movement." While the organized labor movement has displayed "tremendous power on the economic arena of struggle" on the political field it stands "as a puny midge."

The resolution declared that "millions of workers, shocked by the political developments of recent weeks, are awakening to the need for genuine independent labor political action through a party of their own, a Labor Party," and ended with a call for the state AFL to "institute action to unite the union ranks of AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods to enter the political arena through an Independent Labor Party."

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

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

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

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

The Cadillac Square demon-

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

The time has come when the workers must intervene in the situation or see their union disintegrate before their eyes. A halt must be called to the un-

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