

## What Happened to The Building Boom?

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# THE MILITANT

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## Paris Conference On Marshall Plan Promotes War Aims

### Push For Western Bloc Breaks Up Secret Parley

By Joseph Hansen

The break-up of the Paris conference of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and the Soviet Union July 3 marked another step in the formation of the Western Bloc and the alignment of camps for World War III.

In the reactionary tradition of imperialist diplomacy, the parley was held behind closed doors. The official hand-outs to the press gave little indication of the real issues at stake and revealed nothing of the off-the-record haggling where these power politicians made their genuine bids and offers.

In addition to this secrecy, the subject under discussion—the Marshall Plan—has likewise been kept wrapped in enigmatic vagueness. The capitalist newspapers assure their readers that the Marshall Plan is a most generous philanthropic offer to spend tens of billions of dollars to revive European economy and save the famine-stricken victims of the war from further horrors.

**CAREFULLY CONCEALED**

But the specific details of this plan have been carefully kept out of sight like the explosive part of a booby trap. Thus what Bevin, Bidault and Molotov really discussed cannot easily be determined.

Enough information is available, however, to characterize the Marshall Plan. It is reactionary to the core. Just as the loans to the Greek monarchy and Turkish dictatorship implemented the Truman Doctrine in the militarily strategic area of the Dardanelles, so the Marshall Plan implements that same doctrine in Europe as a whole.

Its first aim is to mobilize American forces against the trend of the European masses toward socialism. One of the general objectives of the Truman Doctrine was to "contain communism." The Marshall Plan is designed to advance this general



MOLOTOV

## Trotskyists in Bolivia Face Herzog Terror

The Herzog government is trying to stamp out Trotskyism in Bolivia, according to news just received by *The Militant*. *Lucha Obrera* (Workers' Struggle), organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), has been suppressed. Police have broken into the homes of leading members of the party. A number of Trotskyists have been thrown in jail.

Nelson Capelino, a leader of the POR at Oruro, was clubbed by the police and his house wrecked.

Miguel Alanda Pantoja, another leading Trotskyist, was singled out for attack. He is famed among the miners for his exposure of the demagogic of Mendizabal, a government Minister, at the Colquij Miners' Congress.

The persecution of the Trotskyists is part of a systematic campaign of terror against the Bolivian masses. The Trotskyists only have been marked as the most militant and class-conscious political leaders of the Bolivian working class.

The Trotskyists were not caught unaware. The Herzog regime, which took office last January, set out on a most ominous course within the first few weeks. On January 28 some 150 miners were massacred at Potosi when a demonstration was staged to protest the arrest of various labor figures.

Three days later the Central Committee of the POR declared that the Potosi officials and the Ministry of the Interior were seeking "to create a favorable atmosphere for initiating systematic repression of the POR."

Since then, the government campaign against the masses has continued. Leaders of the field laborers have been beaten savagely by the police and deported to remote areas.

The terror waged by the Herzog regime is an indication of the alarm of the big tin interests over the swift spread of Trotskyism since the rebellion last July that overthrew the Villarreal government. The Trotskyist program has gained great popularity especially among the men who slave in the tin mines. They have included such items as the sliding scale of wages in their union de-

### No Hope Offered Ruined Europe In Kremlin Line

By John G. Wright

The Kremlin sent Molotov with an entourage of 89 specialists to participate in the Paris meeting. The reasons for this step were not disclosed publicly but they are nevertheless apparent.

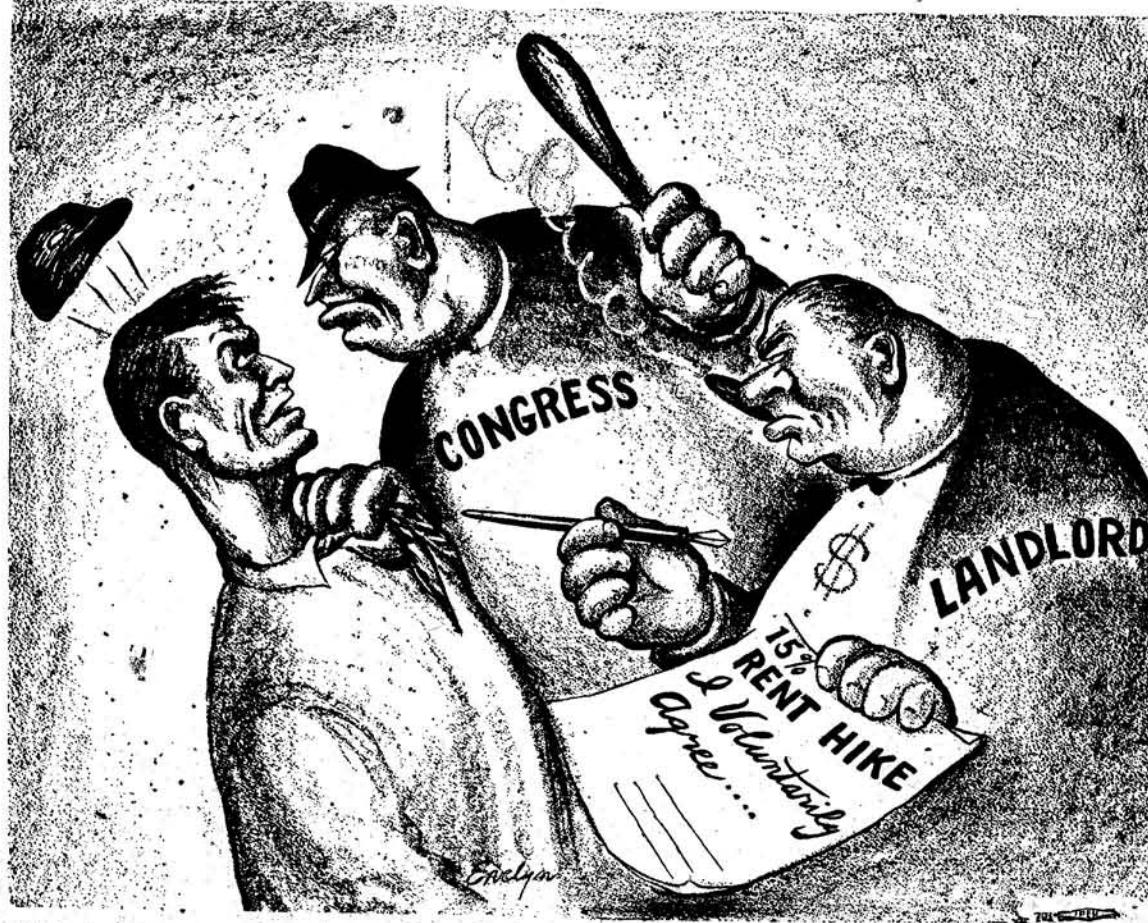
Stalin is anxious and ready to strike another bargain with Washington. He seeks with might and main to keep the avenue of agreement open. By participating in the Paris meeting, he once again reiterated his willingness to work hand in glove with the American plutocrats, provided they pay a satisfactory price for his services.

Wall Street, for its part no longer places the same premium as in the past on the Kremlin's services. Moscow has to offer only two items of first-rate interest to the power-drunk American overlords: (1) continued aid in putting down the European revolution and (2) opening up the Soviet Union to American goods can continue to be

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## MINE VICTORY SPURS FIGHT ON SLAVE LAW

"This Is Protection—See!"



## Mass Resistance Grows Against 15% Rent Gouge

As greedy landlords pressed their organized drive to intimidate tenants into signing "voluntary" leases for 15% rent boosts, mass resistance of tenants, largely spontaneous, began to erect a road block in the path of the rent-gougers.

In any case, at the present juncture Wall Street is far more interested in building up counter-revolutionary forces under its own immediate control.

As for opening up the USSR to American imperialism, Wall Street is banking here more and more not on voluntary agreement but on what it can extort through the unrestricted exercise of its overwhelming preponderance, up to and including the resort to military force. This was underscored by Molotov's departure empty-handed from the Paris conference.

Falling a deal, it was obviously the Kremlin's intention to discredit the conference to which its own presence had lent added weight. In this respect too, the Kremlin found itself completely at a disadvantage.

The grounds on which Molotov rejected the Marshall Plan are not a whit less reactionary than the proposals submitted by the "planners" of Wall Street.

**SEIGEING OFFICE**

As many as 5,000 tenants a day were besieging the Chicago office

of Rent Control last week, complaining of landlord threats to initiate eviction proceedings if they did not sign up for the "voluntary" 15% rent-steal. The Chicago Real Estate Board threatened "arbitrary" rent increases after March 1 if tenants did not accept the 15% boost now.

Detroit tenants, mainly CIO auto workers, face the threat of 4,000 evictions weekly. In New York City, with 2,000,000 of the country's 15,000,000 residential tenants, rent officials predicted "that municipal courts here soon would be flooded with eviction cases." (N. Y. Times, July 2.)

250,000 New York City residents in apartment-hotels and rooming houses were confronted with threat of mass eviction or the immediate payment of rent increases ranging from 15 to 150%, the average demand being 48%.

Faced with a mighty clamor from these tenants as well as hundreds of thousands of others, the New York City Council was forced this week to pass a local ordinance freezing rents for permanent residents in federally-decontrolled hotels and rooming houses. The measure, however, sets up a commission empowered to raise individual rents where "equity" requires it.

### THE BIG GOUGE

The big gouge, where the 15% racket fails to work, will be the area rent decontrol commissions.

These are empowered to approve complete rent decontrol, general rent boosts or "hardship" increases in their areas. These commissions are named by the reactionary state governors, generally tied in with realty interests. It is expected that these boards will be packed with friends of the landlords.

The AFL and CIO are urging their affiliates to demand a majority of labor and tenant representatives on these boards.

### DEMANDING PROTECTION

In most areas, tenant groups and labor organizations are demanding state and local laws to protect tenants. These include rent-freeze laws without loopholes, moratoriums on evictions and heavy penalties on landlords who try to coerce tenants into paying higher rents in violation of existing laws.

The New York CIO and American Labor Party are demanding a local rent-freeze ordinance. The Philadelphia CIO has demanded that the city administration declare a six-month moratorium on all evictions.

One of the major developments in the fight against rent-gouging and mass evictions is the decision of the recent convention of the Na-

### Unions Bar No-Strike Pacts, NLRB Procedure

By Art Preis

America's soft coal miners have again set an example of militant struggle for all labor and have chalked up their greatest wage victory in the face of the new Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Refusing to be intimidated by this infamous law, the miners showed their readiness to close down the pits by their preliminary 10-day strike prior to July 1. A full-scale walkout was averted on July 8 only when the leading coal magnates capitulated to the full wage demands of the AFL United Mine Workers.

This victory will hearten and encourage organized labor generally and will inspire the workers everywhere to stiffer resistance to the anti-union law.

Of special significance is the contract clause wrested from the operators to protect the UMW from employers' damage suits for alleged violation of contracts, particularly in case of strikes. This clause, designed to sidestep certain restrictions of the Taft-Hartley Act, provides that the contract is operative only "during such time as such persons (employees) are able and willing to work."

### SET A PATTERN

Similarly, the Executive Board of the CIO United Steelworkers, headed by Philip Murray, has barred all future no-strike contracts because the union "will not commit itself to no-strike obligations enforceable by harassing law suits."

The Steelworkers board also announced that it "has determined not to use the facilities of the new labor board." The USWA body stated it would be "deluding" its own members if it holds any hope that use of the facilities of the new labor board would provide any protection for workers seeking to organize unions and exercise their rights to engage in collective bargaining."

The CIO United Electrical Workers urged a boycott of the NLRB because "nothing but injury can result to the interests of the membership of any union that takes a seat in this crooked game, where the rules are rigged and the dice are loaded against them."

All other CIO unions are expected

(Continued on Page 2)

## Clean The Rascals Out

An Editorial

"We are going to organize politically to defeat every member of Congress who voted for this law (Taft-Hartley Act)," said AFL President William Green. The CIO will "work unceasingly in the political field," said CIO President Philip Murray, "to ensure the political repudiation of those reactionaries who are responsible for the Taft-Hartley Bill."

Every American worker and unionist will say "Amen!" to these sentiments.

But how is this crucial task to be done? The union leaders answer with the same falacious and treacherous program they have traditionally espoused: Put some more Democrats and Republicans in office to replace the discredited reactionaries of the two Wall-Street parties.

We have seen this policy in practice over the decades. We have observed its results from one election to the next.

After the Republican debacle in the early thirties, the union leaders turned to the Democrats and their promises of a "New Deal." This "New Deal" wound up in a few years with imperialist war, the wartime crippling of labor's rights, high prices, staggering taxes, government strike-breaking and the threat of a new depression and war.

Only a year ago the union leaders were calling the Democratic-controlled 79th Congress the "most reactionary in decades." Murray complained that Congress, under Democratic domination, had not passed "a single piece of progressive legislation in nine years."

Yet he and the other union tops called for the election of "friends of labor" who in seven months were voting for the Slave Labor Law.

What will the workers gain if they kick out last year's capitalistic "friends of labor" and vote for a new gang of Democrats and Republicans? We don't need to guess. Look at the record of Congress over the years. Look at the Taft-Hartley Act passed by a majority of BOTH capitalist parties.

There's only one way to clean the Wall Street rascals out of government and that's by replacing them with men and women labor can really trust—tried and tested union people. But for that we need a labor party, based on the unions and fighting for a working-class program all the way through.

When Murray now says "I am not thinking in terms of a third party," and Green repeats the empty formula "Reward your friends and punish your enemies," they are only advocating a continuation of Wall Street's political monopoly exercised through its two-party system.

This system must be smashed. The way to begin is by convening a National United Labor Conference to launch the labor party before 1948. Start right in in your own home town by building local labor parties and running a local labor slate in the next election.

Break down the top union leaders' inertia and resistance. Proclaim from every union floor and meeting the slogans of the hour: A Labor Slate in '48! Put Labor in the White House! No one in Congress not controlled by Labor!

# CP Invents 'Plot' To Swing NMU Votes

Hardly a week goes by that the Stalinist *Daily Worker* doesn't explode some gigantic "conspiracy" against the Communist Party by "right and left opportunists, Trotskyists, Socialists, Social Democrats, etc."

In three consecutive issues, July 7, 8 and 9, the *Daily Worker* uncovers a diabolical plot by expelled members of the CP in the CIO's National Maritime Union to rig the election of Stalinist control.

Employing the classic tabloid technique, the very first sentence of the most recent chiller-diller is calculated to send shivers tingling up and down the spine of every gullible Stalinist. The *Daily Worker* today reveals the story of a "conspiracy," screams labor editor George Morris, "by a group of turncoats expelled from the Communist Party to turn the CIO National Maritime Union (NMU) into a base for attacks upon the Party...."

A special free distribution of the issues containing the series was made to NMU members. Stalinists hawking shouted the scare headlines. But a careful reading of the series failed to disclose what all the shouting was about.

#### DOCUMENTS ON SALE

The "secret documents" quoted by Morris have been circulated openly and publicly to all who were interested. In fact, one of the "documents" was on sale at the NMU bookstand. They had been in existence for many months. There was nothing "secret" or "conspiratorial" about them. Why then this fiction of "plots" and "conspiracies"?

It happens that there is in progress at the moment in the NMU a special election for vice-president to fill the vacancy created by the

removal of Joseph Stack. Stack, chief Stalinist spokesman in the union, was ousted by the membership on charges brought by President Joseph Curran of being a liar and slanderer. The stake in this election is control of the National Office of the NMU.

The Curran group is running Charles Keith to fill the vacancy. There are six national officers who function between meetings of the National Council as the executive body of the union. The present division is three for the Curran group and two for the Stalinists. The election of Keith would give the Curran group a four to two majority. His defeat would deadlock the National Office at three and three with the final decision left to the National Council which the Stalinists control.

#### TYPICAL BUILDUP

With control of the union at stake, the election campaign is bitterly contested. The Stalinist candidate, Chester Young, is a questionable character with an obscure record in the union. He first came into prominence as chairman of the trial committee which tried to whitewash Stack but was overruled by the membership. He is now being re-

To prove their "loyalty" they have gone out of their way to attack the Trotskyists, exaggerating and embellishing the anti-Trotskyist slander of the official Stalinist frame-up machine. This hasn't brought them the immunity they hoped to achieve. On the contrary, they have been made the object of the frame-up method perfected by the Stalinist hatchetmen.

The recent "expose" in the *Daily Worker* is only a foretaste of what the Stalinists have in store for the "loyal" opposition in the NMU. They will learn through bitter experience that those who keep one foot in the Stalinist camp cannot carry on an effective struggle to rid the labor movement of this cancerous growth.

#### Mine Agreement



#### Coal Co. Penalized \$1000 for 111 Dead

Because of the failure of profit-greedy coal operators to take care of the most elementary safety precautions, 111 miners died last March in the Illinois Central coal mine explosion.

The evidence of the coal company's "willful negligence" was so overwhelming that rather than have this evidence aired in the court-room, the company pleaded **no contest**.

In addition by this device the coal owners threw themselves upon "the mercy of the court."

The court was obviously inclined in this case to season its justice with mercy. It sentenced these murderers for profit to pay a fine of \$1,000, or some 9 odd dollars per each dead miner. What could be more "merciful"?

But is this justice? Of course, it is. It is class justice, the only kind of justice the judges know and dispense under the rule of Wall Street.

President John L. Lewis of the AFL United Mine Workers, Vice-President John O'Leary and U.S. Labor Conciliator James Dewey leave union headquarters after agreement had been reached with northern coal operators and representatives of the steel companies "captive mines." The pact was immediately ratified by the union policy committee.

Federated Picture

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WHITEWASH TRUMAN, OPPOSE NEW PARTY

The growing Labor Party sentiment, which is one of the by-products of the Taft-Hartley Act, has frightened not only the capitalist party politicians but also that section of the labor bureaucracy which is trying to keep the workers tied to the Democratic Party. Among the most vociferous opponents of a new party based on the labor movement are the Social Democrats, whose paper, *The New Leader*, generally reflects the thinking of such top labor lieutenants of capitalism as Reuther and Dubinsky.

The leading editorial in the June 28 issue of the *New Leader* (five days after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act) is devoted to an attack not on the Slave Labor Act, such as some naive workers might expect from a self-styled labor paper, but on "the present frantic agitation for a new party."

At a moment when every serious union member is deeply concerned about the sinister threat which the new bi-partisan anti-labor law presents to the workers, the editors of *The New Leader* found it timely to declare: "This whole movement (for a new party) is a sinister threat to the progressive forces of this country."

#### DISGUSTING WHITEWASH

Then follows one of the most dis-

"Upon this stage now enter the

Communists...." (The Stalinists, of course, are the real villains of this strictly fictional drama.)

What would happen if a new party is in the field in 1948? It would introduce confusion and re-crimination within the progressive political ranks," wails the editorial. "Republican victory would be the inevitable result. The men who fashioned the Taft-Hartley bill would be in charge for four years. It would be a defeat for labor. This, of course, is just what the Communists want.... The responsible leaders of the AFL and CIO can prevent it now if they assert themselves with sufficient energy."

#### DOESN'T COUNT

In short, Saint Harry and his ward-heeler must be re-elected in 1948 at all costs! When a majority of Republicans vote for the Taft-Hartley Act, that's bad; but when a majority of Democrats does the same thing, that doesn't count, because they are only trying to push things forward. Bear in mind that while the Republicans want to push the workers backward, Truman wants to push them forward — forward into the Army as he demanded

forward into bankruptcy through court injunctions and fines, as he showed during last year's mine strike.

And if any workers get the notion they should form their own party to fight the twin political servants of Wall Street, why they are nothing but dirty communist so-and-so's on whom Green and Murray should crack down "with sufficient energy."

The above political scaberry sounds particularly crude and naive, coming so soon after the Democrats helped the Republicans to enact the Slave Labor Law. Yet precisely this line is what the labor misleaders are preparing to tell the workers just a year from now.

Meanwhile the Stalinists, whom the Social Democrats are trying to discredit in this way, are being built up in the eyes of militant workers as favoring a new party when actually they have been sabotaging the labor party movement all along.

#### SPREAD ILLUSION

Occasionally, it is true, the Stalinists lip-service to the need for a new party. But in practice they are steadfastly opposed to breaking with the capitalist parties. They not only voted for Truman in 1944 (like the Social Democrats) but also supported most of the Democratic candidates just last year, including many who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act (again like the Social Democrats). And even today they keep spreading the illusion that the Democratic Party can be reformed.

This was shown most recently when the *New York Post*, which is strongly influenced by the Social Democrats, followed it in denouncing any third party movement as a communist plot to create chaos by enabling the Republicans to win the 1948 elections.

The Post was "answered" by the Stalinist hack, Max Gordon, in the July 7 *Daily Worker*. It wasn't an easy assignment because the Stalinists for several years have been teaching their members and supporters that they had to vote for the Democrats or else the Republicans would win. But Gordon does the best he can under the circumstances:

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## It Worked



Impersonating Barbara Hutton, Woolworth heiress, and a couple of her ladies, members of Local 65, CIO Wholesale & Warehouse Workers, "picked" their union's picketline with signs reading: "My Counts Only Get \$100,000 A Year, I Can't Afford A Raise For These Workers." The demonstration took place after the company had refused to offer any wage boosts and demanded abolition of the closed shop. Right

Federated Picture

## Miners Victory Spurs Fight Against Slave Law

(Continued from Page 1) to a similar stand.

#### STEP FORWARD

The new policy with respect to no-strike pacts and dependence on government labor boards is a welcome step forward, although it was forced on the top union leaders solely by fear of the effects of the new law rather than by their understanding of the harm of such policies in themselves. No-strike pacts have usually been incorporated into contracts by conservative union leaders in collusion with employers to "discipline" militant workers and local unions that went on so-called "wild-cat" strikes.

Each new move to side-step or defuse various sections of the Taft-Hartley Act is useful and necessary. No stone must be left unturned in combatting the application of any and every feature of the Act.

But there must be no illusion in the workers' minds about the effectiveness of the steps so far taken by the union leaders. Neither the "willing and able" clause of the miners' contract, nor the rejection of no-strike pacts and the boycott of the NLRB, will serve to nullify the main provisions of the Slave Labor Law.

Under this law, the government has all the legal powers necessary to intervene against any strike under the pretext of "national interest" and to smash the strike with injunctions and criminal penalties.

Under this law, the employers are free to attack and undermine unions through open-shop methods, with the backing of the government.

Right now, the political sponsors of the bill and the employers are putting on a propaganda campaign in an effort to lull labor into a false sense of security regarding the new law. They are pointing to the miners' contract and the fact that no penalties have been imposed against the mine strikers as proof that "this is no slave labor law."

Some union leaders are contributing to this deception by encouraging the belief that the latest moves to side-step some features of the law and plans for court contests will suffice to protect the workers. This is nourishing a very dangerous illusion.

This law is loaded with dynamics that the employers and their government are prepared to explode in labor's face when they think it most opportune and effective.

This law calls not for "amendment but for repeal," as John L. Lewis stated after signing the mine contract. It is a Damocles Sword suspended over the head of labor — a sword that will descend with deadly effect whenever Wall Street determines to cut the thread of caution that now still holds it in mid-air.

There is no way to effectively

"The only way to change things in the Democratic Party is through the actual building of a third party. The mere threat of a third party is not enough. A threat does not get on the ballot. The machinery needs to be set up and the movement organized to make it go, if the great mass of independent progressives are to make their influence felt in Democratic ranks....

"I do not say the actual organization of a third party will necessarily force the Democrats to put a progressive slate in the field.... I do say it is the only thing that can make it happen."

"Active organization by progressive Democrats inside their party in time for the 1948 national convention, of course, is a necessary part of the process."

"The above political scaberry sounds particularly crude and naive, coming so soon after the Democrats helped the Republicans to enact the Slave Labor Law. Yet precisely this line is what the labor misleaders are preparing to tell the workers just a year from now."

Meanwhile the Stalinists, whom the Social Democrats are trying to discredit in this way, are being built up in the eyes of militant workers as favoring a new party when actually they have been sabotaging the labor party movement all along.

This is another way of saying: If the American workers succeed in building a Labor Party capable of defeating and destroying the power of the capitalist parties, it will not be with the help of the Stalinists any more than with the help of the Social Democrats.

Chairman Esther Turner made an appeal for financial aid to support party activities, and the audience responded generously. A spirited discussion period followed. The dominant keynote here was confidence in the forward march of American labor, particularly as expressed by a pioneer Ford unionist. The meeting concluded with refreshments and an opportunity to get better acquainted.

#### Pass This Copy Of THE MILITANT To Your Neighbor

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

Almost every union publication in the country, local and national, has openly defied the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act that prohibit political free speech to union-financed papers. Numerous union organs have published the voting records of all Congressmen on the Slave Labor Bill and called for defeat of those who supported it. Most of the labor press, however, put the heat on the Republicans, but failed to report the biggest political fact of all: That nearly 60% of the Democrats in Congress also voted against Truman's veto.

The most frequently used phrase in union papers characterizing the Taft-Hartley Act is "the first big step down the road to Fascism."

It is strange to read in the July 1 United Mine Workers Journal a bitter attack on the Republicans in Congress and "20 renegade Democrats" in the Senate. It is doubly strange to read praise of Truman—the man who led the government anti-labor drive in 1946 and initiated the strike-breaking injunction against the miners last November. John L. Lewis correctly scored the anti-labor role of the Democrats seven years ago; but his advice then was for the workers to support the openly reactionary Republicans Party. Now the actions of the Republican-controlled Congress have made support of the Republicans a risky business for union leaders. So Lewis is butting up the Democratic administration once more. For all his aggressiveness on the economic field, Lewis is just as bankrupt as the other union leaders on the political field.

Since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act there's a growing amount of favorable comment in local union papers about the need for a labor party. For instance, the Voice of Local 212, organ of the CIO United Auto Workers, Briggs local in Detroit, states editorially:

"A National Confederation of Labor convened in Washington within the next few weeks of representatives from every labor organi-

zation in existence, solely for the purpose of discussing joint action to defeat the attempts of the NAM, could conceivably result in political action on the scale that all unions have dreamed of. It might be the way toward a THIRD PARTY with labor as the base and extend open arms to the farmers and the small business men to join with the workers of the country to take the National Association of Manufacturers out of Washington, D. C.!"

The *Seafarers Log*, organ of the AFL Seafarers International Union, says editorially in its June 27 issue:

"Not only have strikes followed the passage of the bill, with a threat of more to come, but labor is looking piercingly at both political parties, and responsible labor leaders are talking seriously of a 'New Party,' controlled by labor and supporting only tried and true friends of the labor movement.... The men who produce the wealth of this country have too long been forced to exist on crumbs. Politicians have conspired to steal away the freedom of the working man, but there is a wind rising—a wind that threatens to blow the traitors out of office and out of public life."

The sentiments of the workers in the great Northwest about the Slave Labor Law were expressed by John M. Christensen, president of the Northwest Council of AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers, a union with a very militant record. Christensen said:

"The new law is unjust and contrary to the American tradition of democracy. We do not intend to let this law deprive us of strong organization or take away any of the conditions we have won. In my opinion, we should ignore the undemocratic restrictions and proceed as usual. We must maintain our union and our standards at all costs."

CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran has appealed to all waterfront unions to attend a special joint maritime conference in New York on July 14, with but one point on the agenda: "Program to Defeat the Taft-Hartley Act."

#### Our Program:

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

#### Join the Socialist Workers Party!

Germany 1947

## First Steps On The Workers Road To Action

By Ernest Germain

For two years Germany has been a huge laboratory in which a Marxist could follow step by step the molecular processes leading the proletariat from complete prostration to the revolution. We are still a long way from such transformation of quantity into quality, and the process has hardly reached its first rounded expression. But so far as we have been able to follow it, it is a brilliant confirmation, and under the most exceptional conditions, of Marxist theory on the origin and the internal logic of development of the working class movement.

At the very moment of the military collapse, groups of advanced workers went into action. Dresden was in the hands of a workers' committee; a committee of workers and deserters freed Aix-la-Chapelle from the Nazis before the arrival of the Allied troops. In the chaos which followed immediately upon the arrival of these troops, the factories were almost everywhere taken over by the workers, who drove out the personnel of the Nazi administration.

These occurrences were isolated one from another, without common organizational ties, and without being the expression of a genuine movement of the masses. Most of the committees were immediately dissolved by the "conquerors;" only in the Russian zone were the factory committees generally maintained, only to be bureaucratized one after another—a development which, however, is far from having reached its end.

After this there followed a long period of complete passivity, which was an expression of the total disorientation of the masses; they were waiting to see the "conquerors" take action. Political parties and trade unions were laboriously reconstituted as the economy revived ever so slightly. And then the necessity of "wasting all one's time to hunting or food absorbed what remained of the masses' energy to struggle.

**AROUSED TO ACTION**

Up to the end of 1946, the provocations had to be enormous before they unleashed any sort of wide-scale resistance. This was the case, for example, in Hamburg, 80% of which had been destroyed. In that city 25,000 people went into the streets when the British wanted to evict thousands of families in order to provide lodgings for the families of soldiers.

It was also the case in Nuremberg where demonstration of 10,000 workers was rapidly organized as a reaction against a bombing attack on the denazification center. The reinstatement of plant directors and technicians who were known to the workers as notorious Nazis provoked brief strikes in all four zones.

For the rest, the resistance of the masses was passive and took the form of "whisper propaganda" ("flüsterpropaganda"), which was swiftly spread throughout the country by the thousands of men and women perpetually on the move in search of supplementary food supplies in the countryside.

This "flüsterpropaganda" was directed against the black market, against the speculators, against the innumerable administrative injustices in the allotment of dwellings, travel permits, etc.

It was not often directed against the occupation as such. People keep

### The Eighth In A Series Of Articles

their mouths shut on this subject, which does not mean that their opinions aren't clearly formed—for from it frequently the political parties were violently denounced.

#### FORMS OF PROTEST

As part of this "flüsterpropaganda" we can also include the wide circulation of popular ballads and songs, in which the disillusionment of the masses finds a striking means of expression. A prayer which spread rapidly throughout Germany runs as follows: "Dear God, please give us quickly the Fifth Reich, for the Fourth is too much like the Third."

And the Swiss weekly newspaper *Die Weltwoche* cites the following paraphrase of the Nazi, "Horst Wessel" song:

"Prices are high and the zones shut tight,  
Our calories sink down and down.

We Germans are hungry day and night,  
The rest go hungry in spirit alone."

As the small groups of trade unionists grew in strength and came to understand the necessity for expressing the discontent of their fellow workers, there developed the first organized form of resistance of the masses to the hunger, the cold, the inflation, the misery and the imperialist oppression.

It generally took the form of petitions; but this elementary form, which showed the impression the masses still had of the all-powerfulness of the military apparatus, was very often filled with a highly advanced content.

There were huge numbers of these petitions, hundreds and thousands, beginning in the autumn of 1946. Most frequently their objective was the demand for workers' control over the distribution of food stuffs, hiring and firing in the factories, etc. Another of the most frequent demands was for an increase in the food ration.

The text of these petitions, written by thousands of obscure workers representing the very best in the German proletariat, often reaches an emotional level characteristic of the first writings of the workers in the last century. Here is an example, the opening sentences of a petition addressed by the workers of the Munich-Gladbach in the Rhineland to the British Prime Minister:

"We till the land and we are wasting away. We weave the wool and are clothed in tatters. We dig the coal and are dying of cold. Pale and thin, our children roam the streets of our destroyed cities..."

It was in the course of thousands of these elementary actions that the advanced workers regathered their strength, became aware of their numbers, exchanged ideas, and were increasingly faced with the necessity of moving on to broader actions. Significant strike movements broke out as early as September and October, 1946.

The workers in Hamburg, disregarding the trade union big shots, were the first to advance the slogan "No work without bread." In Kiel, Berlin and other places strikes broke out against the dismantling of factories.

The first action on a broader scale was launched in October: the Ruhr miners organized a protest demonstration against the food administration and refused, as a group, to work additional hours.

The cold wave in December temporarily paralyzed this growing will to resistance of the masses. But in vain did the British authorities try to corrupt the miners by granting them supplementary rations of tobacco and alcohol (sic!). The miners demanded increased rations for their wives and children. They wanted no favors over their fellow workers.

#### DESPERATE STRENGTH

The second cold wave and the unprecedented—distributed—rations had fallen as low as 900 calories a day by the end of February!—now gave the masses the strength of desperation, thanks to the patient preparatory work of the trade union vanguard.

The workers went into the streets by the thousands, in Kehl, Duisburg, Dusseldorf, Essen, Wupperthal, Remscheid, Bochum—throughout the entire Ruhr region. Altogether 750,000 workers and housewives took part in the demonstrations of that decisive week in March.

As we know, the movement culminated in the general strike of the Ruhr miners, perfectly organized and a clear proof that a vanguard exists in Germany which has lost none of the high organizational ability of the old German working class movement.

But we must have no illusions: we are still at the beginning, only at the very beginning. The relationship of forces remains heavily weighted against the masses. In the Eastern zone the GPU still often manages to crush the resistance, which most frequently takes shape in the factory committees, by simply deporting the oppositionists. Physical exhaustion renders the masses of the Western zone momentarily incapable of any prolonged effort.

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Here is how Anthony Eden put it in a speech before the British Parliament on June 19: "The importance to a creditor nation, and especially a creditor nation on the scale of the United States, of restoring the prosperity of Europe hardly needs any argument... If the United States is to continue as a great exporting nation, then clearly it is of the first importance to her to try to build up European prosperity."

In describing the danger of "chaos" in Europe unless dollars are rushed across the Atlantic, Sir Arthur Salter added in this same discussion by Parliament that "a great economic depression" "looms in America if that dollar gap is not bridged and bridged quickly."

What the Marshall Plan will do then, is to build up purchasing power in Europe to keep up the present high rate of exports from the U.S. and thereby stave off the inevitable depression a little longer.

The third aim of the Marshall Plan is to prepare for World War III. As the London Observer editorial admits, "A reconstruction race between Russia plus eastern Europe on the one hand, and western Europe backed by America on the other, must almost inevitably turn into an armament race."

The Marshall Plan therefore sets up a Western Bloc of capitalist powers. This coalition will apply an economic blockade on the Soviet Union and the countries under Kremlin domination. It will subordinate the particular interests of the participating countries to the general aim of eventual attack on the Soviet Union. It will unite the capitalist classes of Europe in an alliance against the degenerated workers' state and against the European socialist revolution.

By mid-October President Truman will summon an extraordinary session of Congress and request that it approve peacetime lend-lease to Europe, totaling five billion dollars a year for the next four years. Congress, realizing the need for preventing chaos and communism, will approve the Marshall Plan by a wide margin."

No genuine unification of Europe is contemplated. As the London Observer admits, even a currency and customs union, could not be achieved within "10 years." Meanwhile, what is actually contemplated is an "intermediate period of adjustment by preferences and special tariffs." These "preferences" and

the "special tariffs" would be wholly under Wall Street's control. A "central development agency" will be required, explains the London Observer, "to elaborate and carry out the programs, insuring proper use of the credits provided." The judges as to "proper use" would be Wall Street's diplomatic, military, and business representatives.

#### HASTE IMPERATIVE

How does Wall Street expect to put this reactionary scheme over on the American people? They plan to push it through. The London Observer declares that "haste is of the essence. First, because of the extreme physical urgency of Europe's dollar needs." And second, because "1948 is Presidential election year in the United States" and "no favor MARSHALL PLAN MEANING... a decision can be expected from America during that year... This leaves us with only about 3 months."

The tactic is for the powers participating in the Western Bloc to draw up a plan on their needs by September. Sir Arthur Salter thinks this can be done "relatively" easily.

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"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

## UN By-Passed Again

When the Truman Doctrine was announced March 12, a storm arose over the way the White House had by-passed the United Nations. The Truman doctrine obviously was a long step toward another war since it publicly avowed the intention of Washington to intervene on a world scale in the internal affairs of other nations.

People who had fallen for the propaganda about the United Nations being the hope of the world were greatly disturbed. Hadn't the UN been set up as the instrument that would achieve enduring peace? How then could the White House take it upon itself to deliver what might be a death blow to this great hope?

Truman hastened to proclaim that no by-pass was intended. In the future his Administration would faithfully work through United Nations channels.

The *Militant* held that Truman's by-passing the UN again confirmed the Trotskyist analysis of that body as nothing but a fraud, an instrument designed by the imperialists only to delude the masses and divert them from following the road to socialism. We called attention once more to our prognosis that the fate of the UN would be as dismal as that of the League of Nations.

On June 5—not even three months after Truman had by-passed the UN with his infamous doctrine—the Truman administration once again by-passed the United Nations. On that day Secretary of State Marshall announced his "Plan" for a Western Bloc. He announced it not before the UN but before the graduating class of Harvard University.

Representatives of France and England did not meet in the UN to consider the plan; they met in secret outside the UN, although the Marshall proposal will vitally affect all the nations in Europe. A representative of the Kremlin joined in the secret consultation, thus showing how little Moscow expects from the UN despite its efforts to sell this institution to the masses as a good thing.

When the secret parley broke up, it was clear to everyone that the lines had drawn sharper in preparation for World War III, yet not a single member of the United Nations lifted a finger in protest or made the slightest move to place this grave matter on the UN agenda.

This latest deliberate by-passing of the UN by the powers that set it up has aroused virtually no protest whatever. The entire public seems to have accepted the fact that the UN is utterly incapable of halting the drive toward World War III. It's not even worth wasting breath on. Is any more evidence needed to show that it's time to bury this corpse?

## Prices Coming Down?

Any headline in the capitalist press about prices coming down exercises a magnetic attraction on us. Maybe it's the relief from reading headlines about price boosts on meat, price boosts on groceries, price boosts on clothing, not to mention the 15% rent boost that the landlord is now trying to extort.

The latest item about prices dropping was flashed over Associated Press wires July 9. That headline "Food Price Decline Predicted" really looked good to us. We could stand a decline in prices.

But the lift, we must sadly report, didn't last long. In the first place, the decline won't occur before harvest time. That's not very encouraging. A lot of things can happen between now and harvest.

That wasn't all. The prophet didn't mean harvest this year, he was speaking about harvest next year—1948, some time before snow flies.

How high will prices go between now and Thanksgiving after next? "He made no specific forecast," said the dispatch. Maybe before that 15% drop comes into effect, prices will have shot so high that a piddling little dip like 15% won't make much difference. It'll be a clear-cut case of too little and too late.

But what guarantee is there that we'll really get even this promised 15%? Who is the prophet? How reliable is he? The name is Clarence Francis and he's Chairman of the Board of General Foods Corporation. Considering how the capitalist press played up his prediction and recalling how the food trust has been raking in the biggest profits in all history, we got to wondering, can you really trust this forecaster?

Somehow our memory clicked. All at once we remembered a prediction Senator Wherry of Nebraska made June 12, 1946, to wit: "Mr. Bowles has said that if price controls were eliminated, the price of meat would go up 50%. Mr. Bowles is trying to scare us. My prediction is that without price control meat will cost less than today."

And the National Association of Manufacturers ran advertisements that same month, predicting that if controls were lifted, "Supply will quickly catch up with demand. Prices will be fair and reasonable to all."

That's how some leading union officers were talking before the law was passed. Now they don't have the decency even to report or refer to the fact that

nearly 60% of the Democrats in Congress voted against sustaining the veto. They center all their fire on the Republicans and pull an iron curtain over the reactionary Democratic majority.

They are ready to forget and forgive, because, after all, the Democrats did leave a note of apology by way of Truman's last-minute and unsustained veto. That's enough for these union leaders to still find a possibility in the Democratic Party for doing the "decent thing."

What will be the result of continuing a policy of returning either Democrats or Republicans to Congress? It will mean further entrenchment of Big Business political rule, the emboldening of reaction, more drastic anti-labor laws, the progressive undermining and final destruction of the labor movement.

Across the political skies in letters of fire, the Taft-Hartley Act has written this warning to labor: "Act now to build your own political weapon, your own party!"

The union bureaucrats have demonstrated that they do not intend to heed this warning. But the union ranks dare not ignore it. Their freedom and security, the welfare of their families are at stake. And hundreds of thousands of workers have already signified by resolution their understanding of the crucial need for a labor party now.



"Should I Unload My Oil Shares and Invest In Flying Saucers?"

## An Alarming Health Report

One of the proud boasts of apologists of the capitalist system is the improvement in sanitation since medieval days. Sewage in the cities of that time ran down open gutters and the water supply was a source of filth-borne diseases that periodically decimated the population.

But even in America, it appears that we are much closer to the medieval level than is generally known. According to a survey made public July 5 by the Sanitary Engineering Division of the United States Public Health Service a total of 108,000,000 Americans lack an adequate water supply.

The figures are shocking. "More than 6,000,000 persons in towns and cities need new sewerage systems; over 79,000,000 need improved systems and only about 6,500,000 are served by adequate systems at present." This indicates how dangerously inadequate sanitation facilities are at present, but it still does not give the complete picture. Besides the cities "over 33,000,000 rural people have unsatisfactory sewerage disposal systems and only 6,000,000 are reasonably well provided for in this respect."

In rural areas "more than 27,000,000 need new or improved water supplies." But even a city as large as Philadelphia has "highly polluted" sources of water supply. In fact, more than 2,000,000 persons, living in communities of over 200 population, have no community water supply systems and 79,000,000 have systems needing improvements."

The Health Service estimates that \$7,834,581,000 would be sufficient to remove this threat to the health of the people.

But can the capitalist politicians in Congress be expected to devote such a sum of money to this useful purpose? Not while they are preparing to plunge the country into a Third World War. How can the Treasury afford to pay out almost eight billion dollars for water works and sanitation facilities when the bill for war preparations for this year alone amounts to some \$11,500,000,000?

And if you first spent the money needed to safeguard the health of the people, then what would you have left to build up an efficient slaughter machine?

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END AS A MAN  
by Calder Willingham  
Vanguard Press  
1947, 350 pp., \$2.75

THE END IS NOT YET  
by Fritz Von Unruh  
Storm Publishers  
1947, 540 pp., \$3.00

These two novels, quite different in most respects, have a significant feature in common. Both authors, one a German and the other an American, examine some of their fellowmen shaped into inhuman monsters by the capitalist system in its decline and death agony. Unruh shows the behavior of the finished product in the notorious Nazis, while Willingham demonstrates how military academies are laboratories in which human raw material is processed into the same inhuman type in this country.

Unruh, son of a family of Prussian soldiers, served in the First World War. Liberal minded and poetical, he entered the organized resistance against the Nazis until he was forced to flee Germany when Hitler came to power. Through the intervention of Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, he found refuge in the United States.

Unruh's book is vague and mystical in the main. His vagueness recedes, however, when he gives rein to his imaginative portrayal

of the private lives of the Nazi leaders. Facts and fancy are interwoven to magnify all their evils like huge, menacing shadows, overpowering in their effect. One unforgettable scene, for example, shows a young Jewish girl tossed into a cage with an ape while Hitler and his satellites watch the proceedings as though at a show. There are other scenes equally bestial.

Unruh makes no attempt to analyze the roots of this evil. Transfixed with horror himself, he pleads for men to hang on to what remains of sanity and human attributes in a chaotic world, but does not explain how or by what means.

Willingham, a young and promising new American author, is more concrete. He directs his satirical fire against the American brass hats and their schools where the moral fibre of young men is systematically undermined until it is destroyed. In Willingham's book we find that the normal daily activities of the Nazi beasts, including torture, robbery, double-crossing, perversion, dope-taking, etc., become normal activities of "clean-cut" elite American youth. These smartly drilled young men are impeccably dressed from the tip of their heads down to spotless white gloves. But inside, they are rotted to the core.

His book is powerful in its impact because he shows that men are not "good" or "bad" for moral reasons or by accident. De-humanization requires just as deliberate and systematic training as does the civilizing process. In these Brass Hat academies, the youngster is guaranteed to "End As A Man."

Willingham's book performs a service not only in exposing the diseased insides of the military academy and its inhabitants, but in demolishing the lie that Nazi bestiality is something strange and peculiar only to German's and other "foreigners." The American men in his book are indistinguishable, so far as their manhood goes, from the "foreign totalitarian" monsters.

The difference lies in the tempo of social and political degeneration of the countries involved. In Europe the Nazis were able to exercise their fiendishness upon millions of working men and women, when German capitalism took the fascist road to save its crumbling rule. American capitalism, wealthier and more powerful, has not yet taken that road. Thus Willingham deals with his brute-men within the confines of the Academy.

But they are products also of the capitalist ruling class, conditioned to serve them in similar fashion if and when the time becomes ripe. In both instances, these proponents of the "Master Race" are designed to serve the master class.

—Evelyn Atwood

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The difference lies in the tempo of social and political degeneration of the countries involved. In Europe the Nazis were able to exercise their fiendishness upon millions of working men and women, when German capitalism took the fascist road to save its crumbling rule. American capitalism, wealthier and more powerful, has not yet taken that road. Thus Willingham deals with his brute-men within the confines of the Academy.

But they are products also of the capitalist ruling class, conditioned to serve them in similar fashion if and when the time becomes ripe. In both instances, these proponents of the "Master Race" are designed to serve the master class.

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# 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.

## Laura Gray Recovering From Serious Illness

Editor:

I have noticed, as I am sure other readers have, that your front page cartoons are not being drawn by Laura Gray any longer. What has happened—is she on a long vacation, or what? On the whole, I would like to compliment you on your cartoons. They always have a real punch. And Laura Gray is one of the best in the field.

L. N.

New York City

**Editorial Note:** Laura Gray has been ill and has undergone a number of serious operations in recent weeks. Her friends will be glad to know that she is now convalescing and is expected to be able to resume her cartoon work sometime this year.

## Shocked Amazement Over Vallin Article

Editor:

I read your article, "British Terror in Palestine Recalls Scenes Under Hitler" by H. Vallin, with shocked amazement. Previously I felt that your journalistic integrity was above reproach, but after reading this article I am not so sure—but let me give you some samples:

"The Jews constitute 25% of the Palestine population and wish to impose on Palestine a dictatorship to deprive the Arab of his political sovereignty." What sort of a Socialist is Mr. Vallin who speaks of political sovereignty of the Arabs when he knows that they live in feudal misery and have no voice of their own politically, economically, or otherwise?

Another sample: Mr. Vallin refers to the Hagana as being used as "a strikebreaking organization" against the Arabs, etc. I would like to see some documentary evidence of this, because it so happens that the Hagana has always championed the cause of labor and even paid lip service to Socialism, and even though they may be nothing more than a "bourgeois outfit," they are still a long, long way from being strikebreakers.

Mr. Vallin says, "Each new immigrant is one more soldier and imperceptibly tends to change the relationship of forces between Arabs and Jews to the advantage of the latter."

Mr. Vallin neglects to mention that many of these people now coming into Palestine are women and children and could not possibly be a military asset for Zionism. The crucial and only important issue at stake in Palestine today is how many lives can be saved from the jaws of death for the Displaced Persons (Displaced Palestinians)—"It's Palestine or we perish."

All I can say to Mr. Vallin is—Sir, you have a nauseating disregard for facts—and to you, gentlemen, let me say this, in the name of your high ideals and in the memory of the old man himself, please do not exploit the miseries of a persecuted people for political advantage. Take care and re-check your facts. The ideals of your organization are at stake—nay, the ideals of Socialism itself; for how

can we build something fine and decent in the future if we lay the foundation on a sandlot of lies?

Jerry Spiegelman,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## Vallin Reply Explains Situation in Palestine

Editor:

Mr. Spiegelman ought to begin by not garbling quotations. The "extracts" of the article in question which he uses, contain two substitutions of the words "the Jews" and "the Hagana" for the word "terrorists," although we were very careful to draw a distinction between the Jews and the Hagana on the one hand and the terrorists on the other.

Doesn't Mr. Spiegelman believe that the terrorists and their spokesmen abroad" wish to deprive the Arab masses of their political sovereignty just as the British imperialists do? Let him acquaint himself with the declaration issued by the general secretary of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, Mr. Samuel Merlin, at a press conference held in the Hotel Lutetia in Paris, on Dec. 23, 1946. That was only one declaration out of a thousand and like it! Mr. Merlin set the following aims for his organization and for the Jewish "resistance" movement in Palestine:

1. To establish a provisional Hebrew government in Palestine.
2. To provide all the Jews in the world with the opportunity to enter Palestine.
3. To hold general elections only

AFTER all these Jews have had the opportunity to enter Palestine. What does this mean if not the imposition upon the Arabs of an exclusively Jewish government for a whole period?

It is quite true that thousands upon thousands of the Arabs still live under semi-feudal conditions—but that is the case also for millions of colonial slaves. But this fact never deterred the Marxists from demanding for all these peoples—including actual slaves such as thousands in Abyssinia—the right of self-determination from imperialism.

In fact, Marxists hold that the struggle against feudal and other vestiges in the colonial countries, proceeds above all through the struggle for independence, self-determination, and the political sovereignty of these respective countries.

This is why Marxists demand for the Arab masses the right to determine IN A SOVEREIGN MANNER without interference either from the UN or from British imperialism or from world Zionism—the fate of their country, including the question of Jewish immigration. Any other policy is anti-democratic which seeks to impose upon the Arab masses any preliminary restrictions on their right to independence (for example, a "bi-national" state, the right for unrestricted immigration, etc.).

If Mr. Spiegelman would take the trouble to read the series of four articles which The Militant devoted to the Palestinian question (May 10 through May 31, 1947), he will see that we do not at all reject "the principle" of Jewish immigration into Palestine. All we say is that

# Lives, Land, Food Destroyed As Profiteers Block Flood Control

By Evelyn Atwood

Rampaging floods in the Mississippi and Missouri River basins, the most destructive in 100 years, have swept through some 3,000,000 acres of fertile land, killed 26 people, driven almost 40,000 from their homes, wrecked the livelihood of thousands of farmers and destroyed mountains of food in a

starving world. Falls on a hill-top and harnessing it

falls the way down to the sea.

Thomas Stokes in the July 8 *World Telegram* points out that a program submitted three years ago to build TVAs in these flood-endangered areas through a Missouri Valley Authority (MVA), was promptly buried by Congress. Such a comprehensive plan would mean not only flood control, but make possible power development, improved irrigation, soil conservation and navigation.

But "selfish private interests," Stokes declares, above all the utility interests, are ruthlessly obstructing the building of the MVA. The erection of such a system of storage dams means that cheap electric power can be produced, and power monopolists prefer to destroy lives and natural resources to yield any portion of their exorbitant profits.

Everyone knows that today floods can be controlled. There are no floods in the Tennessee River basin where the TVA, with its system of storage dams and integrated control, starting with the rain that

is

In fact, the power trust is becoming more aggressive in its determination to remove even the present mild restraints upon its destructive policy. The Federal Power Com-

mission is empowered to supervise land use and water power development and "to make the best possible use of water resources for navigation, flood control, irrigation, municipal water supply, recreation and other public benefits." Even the limited manner in which this federal agency carries out its functions, gags the greedy utilities magnates.

Today they are trying to railroad two new bills through Congress, sponsored by Republican Representative William Miller. (See *Congressmen At Work*, Page 4 of this issue.) Passage of these bills, Stokes states, would "well-nigh destroy the regulatory authority of the long-established FPC" and "practically nullify any effective control over stream development for conservation purposes."

Funds to provide even the present inadequate protective measures have been slashed by Wall Street's government. Flood control appropriations for Missouri Basin were cut from \$35,400,000 to \$20,000,000. Funds to help farmers fertilize the soil, reclaim desert land, reforest the land, develop drainage systems, plow by contours and in other ways keep the rains from washing away the top soil and help mitigate the destructive effects of floods, were slashed from the \$300,000,000 originally promised for this year to \$165,000,000.

**GREATEST LOSS**

The importance of this auxiliary aid was revealed by Soil Conservation Musser, who reported that it was "amazing how well land treated with modern conservation methods held up" in the Missouri Valley basin even under the heavy rains and floods. He estimated that untreated land accounted for 75% of the agricultural loss.

There are some 200 major river basins in the United States, of which the main divisions are the St. Lawrence, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Columbia, Tennessee and Sacramento. The Tennessee River has been conquered by the TVA project. But the Missouri, Ohio and Mississippi are handled mostly by dams and levees. It has been repeatedly proven—and at appalling losses—that floods cannot be controlled by piling the river banks higher and higher in the form of levees.

As a result of the present emergency, the governors of ten Missouri basin states met to decide what to do. Unanimously they supported the Army's obsolete program, known in its new form as the Pick-Sloan Plan, which merely proposes piling up more levees along the main course of the Mississippi with 105 reservoirs or dams throughout the basin!

And Congress, which recently appropriated \$12,000,000 for flood control emergency, less than half of it to be used in the Missouri and Upper Mississippi basins, restricted its use to build only levees or rebuild those washed away by the general strike.

Now the Stalinists have entered a third phase, beginning with the coal miners strike. They continue the policy of not calling for strikes, but they now think it is time to utilize the strike movement to force their re-entry into the government with a reinforced position on the basis of partial satisfaction of the masses' demands.

They are doing this, in part, because of the diplomatic situation created by the Marshall Plan; and in part because they can hope to return to the government only as a result of the social agitation and not as a result of the stoppage of the strike movement.

In short, the Stalinists, while now appearing "favorable" to the strike, are trying to use them as a means of parliamentary blackmail. In this sense, they are degrading the movement by "Politicizing" it in a typically Stalinist fashion around the slogan: "For a government of democratic unity."

"An enthusiastic group of young people attended our first fund raising affair of the year and contributed generously to the appeal for funds by the Boston representative of the ACEWR, Mrs. Augusta Trainor.

"The social, originally planned as a swimming party, was forced indoors by inclement weather. Nevertheless, refreshments, sandwiches, dancing, etc., gave everyone an opportunity to enjoy himself immensely."

The need for aid to workers overseas continues undiminished. The ACEWR this week asked for continued support in the form of contributions of money and clothing. Make all checks and money orders payable to ACEWR, and send to 130 West 23rd St., New York 11, N. Y.

**URGENTLY NEEDED**

The following back issues of "New International" are needed for binding:

1934—July

1935—January, March, May

1938—January, February,

March, November

1939—January, June, October,

November

1940—February

If you have one or more copies of any issue listed above, will you please send them to:

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

116 University Pl.

New York 3, N. Y.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Chalk Up 344 Subs In Chicago Campaign



The champ in Chicago's subscription campaign is Comrade Dave with 64 subs to his credit. He will enjoy a well-earned prize—a week at Mid-West Vacation Camp. Final campaign scores are:

Winner:	Dave C.	64	subs
Runners-up:	Frank F.	51	"
	Frank B.	31	"
	Hoot	30	"
Teams:	West side	107 1/2	"
	South Side	104	"
	Northwest	87	"
	North	59 1/2	"

The Chicago comrades obtained 344—44 over the goal. This is a big job well done.

Other boosters are doing their bit by getting their friends to read *The Militant* regularly. For instance, Mrs. A. C. of Bismarck, N. D., sent in 6-month subs for three of her friends.

Another Militant booster, J. W. C. of Keweenaw, Ill., sent in one-year subs for two friends. M. G. of New York, N. Y., sent in one-year sub which she obtained while on train coming to Mid-West Vacation Camp. The subscriber is a man about 50 years of age, a member of the CIO United Auto Workers, who has been working at his plant for 18 years.

Total subs for June were 844, the highest number of subs obtained in any month since September, 1946. The subscriptions received are listed by branch.

Chicago	158
Detroit	145
New York Local	94
Buffalo	71
Los Angeles Local	69
San Francisco	65
Cleveland	41
New Haven	23
Akron	22
Boston	20
Philadelphia	16
Pittsburgh	12
Minneapolis	12
St. Paul	12
Milwaukee	11
Oakland	10
Newark	8
Toledo	7
Calumet	6
New Britain	5
Reading	4
Flint	4
Youngstown	3
Allentown	1
Rochester	1
Lynn	0
Portland	0
St. Louis	0
San Diego	0
Seattle	0
General	23
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>844</b>

## Vacationers Enjoy First Week At Mid-West Camp, Michigan

By William F. Warde

LITTLE PLEASANT LAKE, MICH., July 3—I am writing this brief report of the first days at Mid-West Camp and School on the wide veranda overlooking the blue waters of the lake. It's a warm, breezy afternoon with a mild breeze stirring the trees.

Before I can see five campers stretched out on the raft, spending a lazy hour acquiring a coat of sun tan. Beyond them are a couple of energetic oarsmen exploring the lake in one of the camp boats. Closer to shore I can hear four of the youngest generation splashing about and shouting unheeded commands to each other.

Nearby there is a knot of trade unionists from Chicago and Detroit engaged in animated discussion of policy in one of the CIO unions. They are energetically plying each other with arguments and counter-arguments but are evidently far from reaching an area of agreement.

Thanks to the initiative of a couple of pioneering spirits, a large level plot of ground more suitable for a field was discovered in the vicinity. In a voluntary mobilization yesterday, a large number of campers set to work clearing the land and now it's ready for a full season's sport.

We're expecting an overflow crowd for the Fourth of July weekend and will certainly be filled to capacity the following week, because there are so many vacation shutdowns in the plants near here. Reservations are still open for the following weeks, and we urge everyone who is planning to come, to let Oscar Coover, the Camp Manager, know about it as soon as possible. Use the coupon below and full instructions for getting to Mid-West Camp will be mailed to you.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Allentown-Bethlehem Chapter of ACEWR

Is Postponing Its

Two-Day Picnic

Scheduled for July 26-27 to:

**Labor-Day Weekend,**

August 30-31

Mail This Blank For Your Reservation at

Mid-West Vacation Camp And School

Season June 29 to Sept. 2

Adults \$25 week, Children \$15

OSCAR COOVER, Manager

Grass Lake, Mich.

Reserve accommodations for below from

Family  Couple  Single

List all who will attend: \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

(check one)

## Steve's Week End

By Theodore Kovalesky

It had been a blistering, murderous week. At first the days were bright and clear with the sun burning down out of the sky like the gas flames that shot out of the tapping hole at cast time. Then as the days passed, the weather grew muggy, and the sun burned down through a pale yellow haze.

Up on the furnaces it seemed as though we had stopped breathing: there was no longer any air to breathe. There was only the heat, the constant, nagging, overbearing, monotonous torment of the heat that boiled the life and energy out of us.

Old Steve, the keeper, trudged his way around the furnace floor, pushing wheelbarrows of coal dust to pack the "monkeys," packing clay into the tapping hole, wedging broken brick into the skimmer. Like all the old keepers around the blast furnaces, Steve moved slowly and methodically; but this last week, he moved even more slowly than usual, and with less deliberation . . . for the 25 years of furnace work are growing heavy on his shoulders.

As the week wore on, Steve kept remarking, "Three more days," "Two more days." And each day, as he punched out his time card his hand trembled a little more. Each day he plodded a little more slowly, a little more heavily toward the gate at the end of the shift.

As we walked out of the gate on the last day, Jimmy remarked to me, "That old man's sure gonna enjoy this off-day!"

"He's been mentioning it for the last three days," I said.

Well, that's what you'd think, wouldn't you? Here was a little break for Steve. For two whole days, there would be no iron to run, no bursts of flame and sparks at the gates of the furnace, no filth and sweat and dry sandwiches, no wheelbarrows to struggle with, no shovels, hammers, bars, and best of all no heat. For two days there would be rest and relaxation.

Only it didn't turn out that way. It couldn't

## Speeches Are a Dime a Dozen

By William E. Bohannan

At the mass meeting which closed the NAACP's 38th annual convention in Washington, only 10,000 people showed up to hear President Truman speak over a world-wide radio hook-up, although an attendance of 100,000 had freely been predicted by NAACP officials.

The attendance at this meeting was overshadowed by a previous meeting held by the March On Washington Movement in June, 1941, at the very same spot, the Lincoln Memorial. At that time A. Philip Randolph addressed a much bigger audience when he read Executive Order 8802 establishing the machinery of the FEPC, which was slowly strangled to death by Congress in 1945.

Many Negroes stayed away from the meeting addressed by Truman because they expected nothing but a lip-service speech, and that was what it was.

Truman said in part: "We must make the federal government a friendly, vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans. And again I mean all Americans."

But the Negro people haven't forgotten that for decades they have been trying to get the federal government—when the administration was controlled by the Democrats and when it was controlled by the Republicans—to pass anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws to secure some of those "rights and equalities." The federal government has shown its capacity for passing slave labor laws like the Taft-Hartley Act, but it has not been either friendly or vigilant about protecting the rights of the masses. And again, I mean all administrations, both Democratic and Republican.

## Horse-and-Buggy Medicine

By Grace Carlson

Last month the American Medical Association held its centennial session in Atlantic City. Several high-priced doctors, who had arrived at the AMA meeting in luxurious Cadillacs, rose to pay tribute to the "horse-and-buggy doctor" of 100 years ago. In fact, the "horse-and-buggy doctor" was used as something of a symbol of the system of private medicine, to which the AMA is so devoted.

That the doctors of pioneer days, who travelled through the lonely wilderness by horse and buggy or on horseback, performed valiant services for their patients is a shining historical fact. But the "horse-and-buggy doctor" practiced at a time when all of a doctor's equipment could be packed into his medical bag, and one man could know all there was to learn about scientific medicine. How different today!

In the laboratory, American medicine rushes ahead at blitzkrieg speed in its onslaught against disease, but in social relations, it still moves at a "horse-and-buggy" pace. Although the crying need is for group practice—specialization and organization into clinics—99% of all medical care in this country is given by individual practitioners.

It is chiefly the workers who are penalized by this "horse-and-buggy" system. The wealthy are able to go to one high-priced specialist after another or to privately-owned clinics. An outstanding example of successful group practice, the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, serves only that tiny section of the population that can afford the expensive

## Notes From The News

The defense attorney in the May-Garson war fraud trial pleaded for their acquittal because "enemies of democracy" could say: "Look, there in

America is the chairman of the powerful Military Affairs Committee and big munition makers collected of fraud—of lining their pockets with gold." He asked: "Don't you think that would be a powerful argument against democracy?" His clients were convicted.

Despite the conviction, ex-Rep. May will continue to draw a government pension of \$3,376 annually for the rest of his life—as reward for his "services" in Congress.

Anti-Stalinist pressure has finally got Leon de

Caux removed as editor of the CIO News and CIO publicity director.

Profits of the Wesson Oil and Snowdrift Company, Inc., during the nine-month period ending May 31, jumped 392% over the same period last year.

The most frequent alibi for current high meat prices is that so much meat is sent abroad. The fact is that only 2% of U.S. meat is now exported.

Partisan Review, which no longer pretends to be pro-Marxist, has acquired a wealthy backer and will soon be published as a monthly.

The Pepper-Morse Equal Pay Bill of 1947, introduced into the Senate this month, would make it an unfair wage practice to pay women workers less pay for doing the same work as men workers.

## THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1947

PAGE SIX

## O'DWYER RESPONSIBLE FOR 8-CENT FARE STEAL

By Charles Cornell

NEW YORK, July 9—Less than five months ago, Mayor O'Dwyer was maintaining the pretense of a "last ditch fight" against the proposal to increase subway fares. Now, a committee appointed by the same "champion" of the five cent fare, has turned in a recommendation to the Board of Estimate\* advocating an eight cent fare.

By posing as a "last ditch" fighter against the proposed increase, explained The Militant, O'Dwyer hoped to fool the workers into believing he did everything possible to keep the five cent fare. But the ominous fact remained that it was O'Dwyer who opened the campaign for an increased fare and who became the first New York mayor to hold hearings on the question. "The truth is," said The Militant, "O'Dwyer leaves the door wide open for an increase in the future."

O'Dwyer's main concern in the fare hearings last February was to place the onus for the plight of City finances, on Governor Dewey and Republican-controlled Albany.

Although it was a foregone conclusion that the city could not get any funds from the State Treasury,

O'Dwyer boasted that he would storm Albany and force the Republicans to part with the necessary funds. The Mayor's much vaunted storming of the State Capitol began amid great fanfare and ended in a fizzle. He and his high-powered advisors denounced Dewey, got nothing, and were silent about subway finances for a month or so.

And then, banking on the political prestige handed him on a silver platter by the AFL, CIO, ALP, Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders during his mock fight against the bankers, O'Dwyer appointed a committee to bring in a "recommendation" on subway fares.

## DEFICIT REMAINS

The operating deficit of the subways remains as it was last February when the Mayor opposed the bankers' contention that the subways should be "self-sustaining." At that time O'Dwyer demonstrated the fallaciousness of the argument that an increased fare would provide funds for subway improvements.

He remained suspiciously silent, however, about the real cause of the financial plight of the subways. The principal item in the budget is debt service. This "service" permits the Wall Street banks to drain some 57 million dollars a year out of the subways. The original indebtedness was saddled on the New York straphangers in a series of notorious deals that were climaxed by the city buying the franchises it had previously granted private owners to run the city-financed lines.

The SWP is now engaged in an intensive campaign to collect 4,500 signatures in the 23rd Senatorial District in order to place Williams' name on the ballot for the Nov. 5 election. Petitions containing the signatures must be submitted by Aug. 11.

Friends and sympathizers of the SWP are urged to assist in collecting these signatures. Petitions can be obtained at the SWP Harlem Branch Headquarters, 103 W. 110th St., or at the SWP City Office, 116 University Pl.



## Robert Williams is SWP Candidate for Senate

NEW YORK, July 10—Thousands of Negro and white workers in the 23rd Senatorial District of New York City will hear the program

of the Socialist Workers Party over the radio, on street corners and

in mass meetings this summer and fall when Robert Williams, youthful candidate for the State Senate

presents his platform to the workers in his neighborhood.

Robert Williams, Tampa-born

campaigner for Negro equality and

revolutionary socialism, is known to

hundreds of Harlem workers as an

active member of the NAACP, one

of the founders of the Lenox-Fifth

Avenue Tenants League and the

Educational Director of the Harlem

Branch of the SWP.

Young in years but educated and

hardened in the struggle against

Jim Crow and poverty, Williams is

well qualified to represent the ex-

ploited and oppressed masses of

Harlem. A graduate of Chelsea Vocational

High School in New York City, he has worked on the docks and as a

longshoreman and later as a skilled

mechanic in a radio factory.

Williams will campaign against the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Williams went to grammar school," says Williams, "but I learned that Jim Crow existed in the North, too. I saw it on the job and in the streets of New York City. That's why I joined the Socialist Workers Party

—to fight for a program to end economic exploitation, the basis of all racial and national discrimination."

When the now-famous Freeport

Case—the cold-blooded murder of the Ferguson brothers, Negro veterans

of the Ferguson family. Negro veterans

of the race-hating cop in Freeport, L. I.—happened in February

1946, Robert Williams was one of

the most active fighters for justice

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