

Great Decisions in France Still to Come

By T. J. Peters

PARIS—France's vast wave of strikes lasting nearly a month ended on Dec. 9 when the Stalinist leadership of the General Confederation of Labor suddenly issued a general order to return to work on the government's terms. The latter included a vague commitment to raise the minimum wage in accordance with the increased cost of living; an immediate cost-of-living bonus of 1,500 francs per month; no wages to be paid for days on strike; a review of wage-price policy; and an "undertaking of no reprisals against strikers" except those found guilty of sabotage or restricting the liberty to work laws" recently passed by the National Assembly.

The General Confederation of Labor officialdom had only the day before declared that no return to work would take place unless the new repressive laws were repealed, all arrested strikers amnestied, a minimum wage of 10,800 francs per month and an immediate cost-of-living bonus of 2,500 francs granted, with wages to be reviewed for revision in line with prices every three months. Although the government offer meant some slight concessions, the CGT order to return to work was clearly a capitulation.

The Stalinist leaders of the CGT acted drastically when it became increasingly clear that large bodies



THOREZ

of workers were no longer following their lead. A decisive point in this respect was the refusal of the Paris subway workers to leave their jobs a few days previously, despite a formal decision of their Stalinist-dominated unions for a complete stoppage.

Obviously the subway workers, like many other sections of labor, refused to follow the Stalinist lead because they distrusted the objectives of the leaders, who throughout the strike wave remained hesitant and constantly jugged slogans which

appeared to many workers not to be worth the vast sacrifices demanded of them.

For most of the strike wave, the Stalinist press featured the slogan of a 25% wage increase, while the masses were most interested in obtaining a solution where their wages would not tend to become constantly swallowed up by rising prices. In October the subway workers conducted a very militant strike. They received a 1,800 franc per month raise as a result, but the raise had already been swallowed up by rising prices.

HARDLY SURPRISING

Throughout the month of struggle, the Stalinists tended to splinter their forces instead of uniting them. They boasted up to the last minute that they had not issued a General Strike call. In reality they seemed to pursue a policy of calling strikes in an industry, permitting them to bog down, and then calling new strikes to bolster up the stump public effect. It was hardly surprising when broad masses of workers refused to be used in this fashion.

The Stalinists bear the full blame for the demoralization which led to the failure of the movement, for they had the responsibility of leadership. The reformists under Leon Jouhaux and his "Force Ouvrière" group in the CGT did their share with a more or less avowed strike-breaking policy. The capitalist government naturally exploited such

situation to its advantage in Parliament, in the press, and on the radio.

But the strike movement itself, in spite of the Stalinist attempt to use it as a mere maneuver with which to back up the foreign policy of the Kremlin, was deep-rooted in the genuine grievances of the workers. The three million strikers displayed a heroic combative that gave ample evidence of their powerful will to revolutionary victory.

In Marseilles, in St. Etienne, Beziers, in numerous towns and villages, strikers fought police not only to retain control of plants occupied by them, but also to take possession of public buildings and organize their own control over the life of the communities. Numerous were the instances of fraternization between strikers and troops sent out to put them down, and in many instances even the regular police forces were neutralized. In action the workers showed their clear aspiration for a revolutionary settlement of the social conflict, for the establishment of a regime under their own control—a workers and farmers government.

SPIRIT CONTINUES

Even after the order to return to work had been given, the fighting spirit of the strikers continued to manifest itself. Miners and dock workers refused to return to work before troops stationed at their jobs were completely withdrawn.

The government wisely hastened to withdraw the troops, without

making use of its new laws. But in some mines, work has still not been resumed. That is also the case in some metal factories, where the workers held out against the victimization of individual militants. In some mine areas the coal-diggers refused to go back to work, declaring the CGT order to be a government fake. In one place, where they were shown the local CP paper with the back-to-work order, the miners are said to have retorted that the issue of the paper had been counterfeited by the government.

The situation may be summed up as follows: The strike wave has failed of its immediate objectives. The biggest loser is the Stalinist machine, whose control over the trade union movement has been considerably weakened by its treacherous tactics. The government, aided on the inside by the Jouhaux reformists, and on the outside by the new repressive laws it has been able to push through Parliament, is taking advantage of this situation in order to consolidate the capitalists' positions.

But the workers do not consider themselves beaten. They have gone back to their jobs in a fighting mood, confused by their leadership but angry at the class enemy, and groping for a new solution, a new militant leadership.

FAIR FROM SETTLED

The problems that called forth the strike movement are far from settled. Inflation continues to rage and

the needs of the workers to make wages meet living costs are bound to give rise to new explosions. The capitalist class has won only a pyrrhic victory. Its economy is too feeble to permit it to make genuine wage concessions; the new American aid voted by Congress has practically been swallowed up by the production losses suffered in the strikes.

The workers have not been beaten into submission—they have only lost a battle. The new repressive powers won by the government in the Assembly have still to stand a serious test. The Stalinists, to be sure, have been weakened in the important trade union field, but they are far from eliminated as a political factor.

TROTSKYISM GAINS

The Internationalist Communist Party (Trotksky) has made modest gains in the course of the strike wave. Its clear, revolutionary program and the exemplary combativity of its militants have won recruits to the party directly from the strike committees, in the fire of the struggle.

DISTINGUISHING ITSELF

from strikebreakers and their anarchist-syndicalist helpers, the PCI and its organ *La Verite*, have shown thousands of CP rank and file militants a genuine alternative to the Stalinist leadership which they have been following with growing dissatisfaction. Trotkskyism is thus gaining a real hearing in France for the first time—as a program for action.

1947 -- Year of Setbacks For American Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

command of Big Business. Their best gift to the employers was the Taft-Hartley Act, which imposed drastic legal restraints on organized labor and laid the basis for smashing the unions. A majority of both Republicans and Democrats in Congress voted for this bill although Truman, after being assured that it would pass anyway, tried to restore his badly tarnished reputation as a "liberal" by signing a last-minute veto, overridden with the aid of the Democrats in Congress.

This, however, was not the only gift Big Business got from Washington. Under the guidance of the real estate lobbies, a bill permitting a 15% rent boost was pushed through Congress and signed by Truman. Portal-to-portal pay was outlawed, and multi-billion dollar suits for back pay dating back to 1938 were invalidated in the bill passed by Congress and signed by Truman.

Both parties refused to take measures to stop the raging inflation. Both parties contributed to that inflation by adopting a huge military budget and by passing bills to aid the Greek and Turkish tyrants in the spring and the reactionary French and Italian governments at the end of the year. Both parties worked together in pigeon-holing legislation demanded by the Negro people against the poll tax, lynching and job discrimination.

The Supreme Court hastened to show the employers that its heart too was in the right place by brushing aside the clear provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, upholding the administration's strikebreaking injunction against the miners and Jevins—a staggering \$700,000 fine against the union for "contempt."

Thus aided by all three branches of the government, it was no wonder that Big Business enjoyed the greatest orgy of profiteering in American history, estimated at over 17½ billions after taxes—more than in the lush war years.

And it was no wonder that the living standards of the workers dropped steadily month by month in direct proportion to rising profits and prices; so that by the end of the year they were worse off than at the beginning of the war—and with no relief in sight.

MILITANT RANKS

The workers wanted to fight to uphold their standards—there could be no question about that. Wherever

they were provided with any kind of half-decent leadership, they acquitted themselves nobly. In the spring the mine strike achieved a real victory and the phone workers, relatively new to the ranks of labor, won some concessions from the powerful phone trust. The current ITU strikes exemplify the readiness of the workers to defend their working conditions in spite of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Above all, the militancy of the rank and file unionists was expressed in the mushrooming demand in all sections of the labor movement last spring for a 24-hour general strike protest against the then pending Taft-Hartley Act.

COWARDLY LEADERS

But for every sign of the workers' readiness and desire to fight, their union leaders gave a dozen signs of their determination to avoid any fights, either through capitulation to the bosses or by sickening compromises with them.

When the need of the day was nation-wide demonstrations warning Congress that labor would not tolerate or submit to Taft-Hartley legislation, the top union bureaucrats squelched the workers' demands action and confined themselves to verbal pleas and lobbying.

When conditions called for a new wage drive last spring, most of the bureaucrats discouraged mass struggle and worked out inadequate 10 to 15 cents raises in the second round of postwar negotiations—which did not even compensate for the price rises of the previous year.

And despite growing sentiment for some form of the sliding scale of wages (cost-of-living bonus or escalator clause), they refused to demand any contract provisions to protect wages against future price rises. As a result the second round gains were wiped out long before the end of the year.

And when the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, and the reorganized NLRB began to club the unions virtually all of the top bureaucrats (with the exception of Lewis and a few others) capitulated on the yellow-dog affidavits demanded by the Act which they had all promised to fight without compromise.

POLITICAL TRENDS

Stymied on the economic front, increasing numbers of workers began to understand the need for independent labor political action, and their understanding was broadened by every act of Congress which showed itself to be a bi-partisan tool of Big Business. In several localities the labor movement can confuse the workers for a while, and knock them off balance. But the conditions under which the workers

Same Old Company Tune



After meeting with Western Union officials in Philadelphia, Pres. Adolph Brungs of the Commercial Telegraphers Union (AFL), WU division, tells reporters the company refused union demands for a 15¢ hourly wage boost. Although the company made millions this year, it uses the old refrain about inability to pay. The strike deadline was Dec. 23.

Federated Pictures

live and work, and the intensity of the employers' drive to worsen those conditions, must and will have a powerful reaction, leading to an explosion on the political as well as economic fields and the resumption of labor radicalization and militancy.

In this sense 1947 can be compared to the early years of Roosevelt's first term, when the workers in the mass industries, recovering from the shock of the depression, tried to organize and were blocked at every turn by the cowardly AFL bureaucracy. The workers finally broke through this block, or rather, swept over it, not pausing until they had built the industrial unions and

the strongest union movement in the world.

Similarly with the explosion that is being prepared now—except that this time the radicalization will of necessity assume a political form and will pose for solution the basic question of who shall run the country.

Will the storm break in 1948? It all depends on how rapidly the workers will be able to recover their fighting morale, push forward a new leadership able and willing to stand up against the capitalist offensive, and work out a program to solve the complex political, social and economic problems of the postwar world.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Branches Getting More Sub Renewals

Several branches of the Socialist Workers Party are carrying on callback campaigns for Militant subscription renewals, and are meeting most cordial welcomes at the homes of former readers. They are greeted by long-lost friends. Readers who neglected to renew and then lost the address are most grateful for the visit.

Callback work, of course, takes considerable time after the hard grind in the shop, but the workers who donate their spare evenings and Sundays this way report a great satisfaction in meeting such enthusiasm for the "fightingest" labor paper in all America."

Because there are so many solicitors (and well paid) for other publications, readers come to expect this service even by a low-cost workers' paper that pays nothing to its solicitors, except the reward of satisfaction in spreading The Militant's program, and the hearty greetings of the subscribers.

"Enclosed is \$1 for a year's renewal," wrote Mrs. H. C. of Santa Monica, Calif. "I was out of town when my sub ran out or I would have renewed sooner."

From Oakland, Calif., branch Enclosed is \$1 for two six-month subs. One was obtained by a reader who had subscribed only recently himself. Here's hoping for more new readers like that."

Joseph Hansen To Begin Tour On January 3

Joseph Hansen, Foreign News Editor of The Militant, will begin his scheduled Midwest speaking tour in Pittsburgh, Pa., on Saturday, January 3. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, Hansen will visit 10 cities, winding up in Buffalo on January 17. The subject of his talk will be "The Struggle for Power in Europe."

From Pittsburgh Hansen will visit the following places:

Youngstown — Sunday, Jan. 4.
Akron — Tuesday, Jan. 6.
Cleveland — Wednesday, Jan. 7.
Toledo — Saturday, Jan. 10.
Chicago — Sunday, Jan. 11.
Milwaukee — Monday, Jan. 12.
Detroit — Wednesday, Jan. 14.
Flint — Thursday, Jan. 15.
Buffalo — Saturday, Jan. 17.

Hansen will discuss the underlying causes for the mounting tension in Europe and explain the nature of the conflict between Anglo-American imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Readers should watch The Militant for notice of the arrival of Joseph Hansen in their city.

New Britain New Year's Eve to be Gala Event

Militant readers in New Britain, Conn., are invited to celebrate New Year's Eve at a gala Social presented by the New Britain Militant Labor Club on Wed. evening, Dec. 31, at 165 Main St. Dancing, a floor show and refreshments included.

WORKERS' FORUM

Some Negro Leaders Benefit from Jim Crow

Editor:

In speaking of the Negro struggle to which it is affiliated, doing to meet this Big Business onslaught? They have learned nothing from the solidarity of their class enemy.

Against the powerful unified offensive of the publishers, the AFL has refused to marshall the various crafts working in the industry. While the ITU is engaged in a life and death struggle, the "fat and stately asses" that comprise the AFL leadership call upon the members of the other crafts to pass through the ITU picket line. The pressmen, the stereotypers, the engravers, and the paper handlers, all belonging to separate AFL Internationals, and all working under open contracts, continue to scab on the typesetters. Daniel Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters

ordered his men to walk through primarily a rank and file struggle.

Publishers Spearhead Union-Busting Offensive

By Arthur Burch

Having passed the Taft-Hartley Law, Big Business is now proceeding in earnest with the next phase of its well prepared program to smash the labor unions. The American Newspaper Publishers Association, one of the most class conscious groups of employers in this country, has been chosen to spearhead this drive against labor. Taking advantage of every legal technicality, the ANPA, working in concert with the regional and city-wide publishers' organizations, have picked as their immediate target the AFL International Typographical Union which established many years ago closed shop conditions in the industry.

The publishers have brought the picket lines, lest they disturb their 33 year old policy of cooperating with the bosses. Even within the ITU itself, the mailers union

is permitted to scab on its sister local on the flimsy excuse that its contract does not expire till Jan. 3.

The blind leaders of the AFL have forgotten the very meaning and purpose of unionism. They are permitting the bosses to pick them off one at a time.

The AFL bureaucrats invoke the Taft-Hartley Slave Act as their alibi for scabbing. But even the bosses' representatives in Congress did not dare insert any provision that would force union members to walk through a picket line.

DANGEROUSLY WEAKENED

Abiding by every minute detail of this slave act has not saved the union from being harassed by the employer-controlled law courts. What good is the testing of the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Law if in the meantime the stupid leaders permit the unions to become dangerously weakened under the assault of Big Business?

By AFL leaders have forgotten that trade unions were born in struggle and that when unions were first built there were far more drastic anti-union laws in existence than today. No boss-made law could stop the workers from exercising their rights.

The ITU is today in the front lines of the fight against the Taft-Hartley Slave Law. Its struggle will be immeasurably strengthened if the various printing crafts join hands and fight the united and coordinated manner!

Santa Monica NAACP Gains Support in Fight Against Jim Crow Hiring

SANTA MONICA, Dec. 18

Renewed support to the struggle of the Santa Monica National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against discrimination in hiring at Sears store here was pledged at a meeting tonight by representatives from many organizations in Santa Monica, Los Angeles and Pasadena.

The Ministerial Alliance, which had provoked a great deal of criticism from the Negro community for its non-support of the NAACP struggle, found its leadership challenged by the resolute action of the NAACP leaders. Now it has finally seen its way clear to support the action, verbally at least. A leading Eastern Negro Weekly has also aroused a great deal of unfavorable attention in the community for a stab-in-the-back attack against Sears.

The struggle of this community against discrimination in hiring is ordered his men to walk through primarily a rank and file struggle.

Chinese Readers Ask For Help

Editor:

We are a group of Chinese young men, completely agreed with the viewpoint represented by The Militant. Since reading your paper beginning about a year ago, we were greatly pleased, for it not only tells us about the international situation, the struggles of the proletariat, the movements of the world Trotskyists, but also shows us the correct way in action to achieve socialism. Your paper is therefore of the greatest importance and use to us.

You know that China is the most backward country in the world and the Chinese people are in great need of spiritual food in order to keep them advancing forward and to strengthen their revolutionary

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"Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own so-
ciety man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the retort
of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as
raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semi-finished
product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity
into the realm of freedom in this sense also, that the man of to-
day, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open
the road for a new and happier race."

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932



LENIN

Sowing the Wind

Last Monday's Daily Worker features an article by Robert Thompson that must have aroused some consternation among even the most hardened followers of the Stalinist line. Making no effort to pull his punches, Thompson, New York State Chairman of the Communist Party lets go a blistering attack against "certain leaders" of the Transport Workers Union.

The unnamed TWU leaders are accused of every crime in the book: "opportunism," "fundamentally unsound strategy," "departure from elementary principle of sound trade unionism," "sacrifice of the workers' interests and demands," "choosing the bankers and their political mouthpieces as allies" and finally the crime of crimes which consists in "supporting the political parties and forces (who) are fighting to raise the fare."

The reader must have rubbed his eyes in astonishment. What is surprising is not that Mike Quill and Co. are prepared to give up the struggle to preserve the nickel fair in return for promises of wage increases for the transport workers. Such deals have always been considered a matter of course for Stalinist trade union leaders. They have been "sacrificing the workers' interests" for years. And the Daily Worker has always provided them with an alibi.

But this time instead of the customary whitewash there is abuse and denunciation. This is the ONLY aspect of the incident that is new. For years the Daily Worker has been heaping praise on Quill as a leader of the "progressive forces." Now overnight

he has become a rank opportunist and a tool of the bankers and the real estate interests. How did Quill get that way?

The truth is that Quill didn't "get that way" — he was always like that. There is nothing new about Quill's opportunism.

The policy of the Transport Union was always

based on deals with the ruling power in City Hall. Yesterday with LaGuardia, today with O'Dwyer. Despite sales taxes and strike-breaking, the Quill leadership supported the gang in City Hall from election to election.

All this time the Daily Worker and the Stalinists leaders supported Quill and backed the same sell-out policies. They supported LaGuardia. They supported O'Dwyer. If Quill needed any lessons in opportunism, the Communist (Stalinist) Party was always on hand to teach the latest wrinkle. And it was always ready with abuse and slander to beat down militant workers who did not take kindly to opportunist policies.

Quill was always considered a star pupil in the Stalinist school of opportunism. He learned his lessons well. He applied them. Herein is the rank injustice of the Daily Worker's attack upon him. Why should he be punished for being consistent in his opportunism? Why should he consider the Stalinist opportunism of the present moment which leads them to defense of the five cent fare, as being superior to yesterday's variety which has led him to support an increase in the fares?

As this is Xmas time, Thompson might find consolation in the old Biblical saying: As ye sow, so shall ye reap.

Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism

How many trade union members in this country realize that their names are being used to countenance the death penalty for strikers in Greece? This is a fact, although there is not one good union man in America who does not abhor such a barbarous anti-labor decree.

Clinton Golden, former assistant to CIO President Philip Murray, is the man who misuses the prestige of the American labor movement to put a stamp of approval on the death-to-strikers law of the blood-soaked Greek dictatorship. Golden is "labor advisor" to the American mission in Greece.

When he received his appointment from Truman, this was hailed by both Murray and Green as a notable achievement for American labor and its rights to "participate" in the shaping of foreign policy. Now Golden is using his labor prestige to sell the murderous Greek regime to American labor and provide a window-dressing of liberalism for the despotic role of American imperialism.

Golden's participation in the shaping of foreign policy amounts to simply providing "trade union trimming" to the Truman doctrine in Greece.

American money has been given to those right wing unions supporting the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris regime. Unions not supporting the monarchist regime were suppressed, raided; their leaders exiled by the thousands to con-

centration camp islands. But even this was not sufficient. Now all unions, pro or anti-regime face the death-to-strikers law.

Everyone knows the Greek government is but the puppet of American imperialism. The Greek ministers don't dare make a move without the OK of the American Mission. Yet Clinton Golden, supposed to represent American labor, continues as a member of this same Mission and has not even breathed a word of protest.

Apparently Golden is not acting just for himself. Apparently Golden's activities in Greece have the full approval of the AFL and CIO bureaucrats. These "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" — as Daniel De Leon once aptly called them — aim to sell themselves as lackeys to the capitalist masters, in the hope of receiving back some few crumbs of recognition and privilege.

At the recent UAW convention, Walter Reuther set the pace for the "new school" of "labor statesmen." He could find no time to speak any words of criticism of Wall Street imperialism in Europe. But he did notify Washington that "Labor must participate in the councils which develop and implement the Marshall Plan."

The labor bureaucrats crawl on their bellies before the Taft-Hartley law at home. And they serve as water boys of these same anti-labor forces abroad!

Socialist U. S. of Europe

What stands out in the present cold war between Wall Street and the Kremlin is not only the reactionary imperialist program of Wall Street — but the utter bankruptcy of the Kremlin.

Wall Street's Marshall Plan dangles before the tortured masses of Europe the false hope of economic unification and recovery. As against the Marshall Plan, Stalin simply has nothing to offer the European peoples. He cannot offer the prospect of building a better and more secure world of socialism — because he is opposed to socialism, and his henchmen in France and Italy are heading off the workers' struggles in that direction. His spokesman, Molotov, can only propose a policy calling for more loot, more reparations, to further carve up the lacerated continent, and an attempt to whip up national animosities.

While the Marshall Plan envisages a type of economic prison-unification of the 16 nations of Western Europe and offers \$17 billion for ostensible recovery, Molotov rants about "national sovereignty" and demands astronomical reparations from Germany. The peoples of Europe are thus offered no perspective or hope from the Russian side. Doesn't Stalin thereby give invaluable aid and comfort to the Wall Street brigands?

The Wall Street pirates can now parade as the champions of the rehabilitation of Germany, in contrast to Stalin, the bloodthirsty conqueror, who demands still another pound of flesh from the prostrate victim.

Europe, in truth, desperately needs unification and economic cooperation. But the tragic experience of two world wars has demonstrated that this is impossible under capitalism. Following the First World War Trotsky advanced the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe. This was adopted and proclaimed by the Communist International when it was a revolutionary organization under Lenin and Trotsky. Today it remains the only hope for the European masses, the only basis upon which shattered Europe can be lifted to its feet again.

The French workers in their recent upsurge and struggle adopted and fought for the sliding scale of wages, which was prominently put forth in the transitional program of the Fourth International as the real way to fight inflation. Similarly, the workers of France, as of all Europe, are sure to place high on their banner that part of our program that calls for the Socialist United States of Europe, when they surge forward in the coming climactic battles to decide the fate of Europe. In France,

Colonial and Civil Wars Shake Capitalist World During 1947

By Joseph Hansen

On the international arena, 1947 was a year of profound but inconclusive struggles. Wall Street, the main center and inspiration of world reaction, continued its war preparations. This war drive was facilitated by the policies of the counter-revolutionary gang in the Kremlin who again played their familiar Judas role at the head of the labor movement in various countries. However, significant struggles of the working class and the colonial peoples were heartening signs that days of decision are approaching.

In March the Truman Doctrine of "containing communism" on a world scale was announced. What this Doctrine means in practice has been seen in Greece. At the beginning of the year the despotic monarchy put in power by the Allies against the will of the Greek people still depended on British troops.

When British imperialism could no longer keep up this "commitment" Truman took over. As American dollars flowed into the coffers of the puppet regime, the civil war against the partisans was stepped up. Nation-wide "red" raids and witch-hunts were staged, tens of thousands of people accused of political opposition to the Greek quislings of Anglo-American imperialism were herded into concentration camps.

The indignation in America over this reign of terror forced the State Department to re-shuffle the Greek regime to give it a "liberal" appearance. However, as the year drew to a close, the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris cabinet outlawed freedom of the press, and passed a law imposing the death penalty for strikers.

Wall Street's role in Greece foreshadows what is planned for all Europe under the Marshall Plan.

Aid to Reaction

While granting relief hand-outs to the hungry masses of western Europe, the main "aid" in the plan is for reaction. As soon as the Stalinists were ousted from key government posts in France and Italy, Washington rushed grain and dollars to the Ramadier regime and cancelled \$1,000,000,000 in Italian reparations.

Although Wall Street paid greatest attention to the European arena, it did not ignore the rest of the world. In August Marshall, Vandenberg and Truman flew down to Brazil where they lined up the governments of Latin America in a Hemispheric "Defense" Pact. This treaty commits all the signatories in advance to take Wall Street's side in any new war.

Under the inspiration of American imperialism, a number of Latin American governments took repressive measures against the labor movement and working class political parties. The Chilean government ousted Stalinists from key posts mobilize troops to smash the strike of coal miners, and staged a nation-wide hunt, exiling hundreds of militant workers to distant regions such as Patagonia — the "Siberia" of Chile.

In the colonial lands, American imperialism made possible sanguinary wars of conquest. Equipped with American arms and bolstered with loans from the U. S. Public Treasury, the Dutch launched a blitzkrieg to suppress the young Republic of Indonesia, and the French continued to wage their colonial war against the Indo-Chinese.

U. S. Support

In China, Wall Street hoped for a quick Kuomintang victory over the Stalinist-led armies in the civil war that has flared there since the close of the Second World War. Dictator Chiang Kai-shek was supplied with American dollars, American arms, American ships and planes, and the advice of American officers. But his corrupt regime, which could not last a month without U. S. support, proved incapable of crushing the opposition.

The year which had begun with demonstrations of Chinese students demanding the withdrawal of U. S. troops from their land, closed with talk in Washington of again coming to the rescue of butcher Chiang.

In the oil-rich Middle East, Wall Street continued imperial Britain's policy of ruling by dividing, setting Arabs and Jews against each other by fostering the partition of Palestine.

Stepping up its "cold war" against Russia, Wall Street drove a deep wedge into the United Nations. The "Little Assembly" was set up to isolate the Kremlin delegation and to draw upon them the maximum of unfavorable publicity.

Wall Street is the Foreign Ministers Council in a similar way against the Soviet Union. With the diplomats of imperialist France and Britain solidly behind him, Marshall placed Molotov, the Kremlin representative, in the damaging position of "obstructing" the peace-making. The London Conference, which was ballyhooed as another effort at writing "peace" treaties for Germany and Austria, thus ended up by widening the chasm between Washington and the Kremlin.

When 1947 opened, the Stalinist bureaucracy was still following its policy of bolstering up capitalism in Western Europe. In France, the

Japanese Labor on the March



Parading past Emperor Hirohito's palace, these members of the Congress of Industrial Unions protested zooming living costs and demanded increased wages.

Federated Pictures

dictatorship lives from hand-out to hand-out. China, the great prize sought by the Wall Street rulers in World War II, still eludes them, and the Chinese people are demonstrating that they do not intend to see their land converted into a colony.

The British Empire, being ground

to powder between the milstones of the colonial masses and Wall Street's drive for world power, sought to stave off the inevitable by, among other measures, partitioning India. This was a recognition of the rumbling revolt in that sub-continent.

Despair Lessens

Germany saw the first indications of a break in the despair of the German workers. Demonstrations occurred in a number of cities against the starvation rations imposed by the Allied conquerors.

The British hoped to divert the Indian masses into fratricidal struggle. The native Indian capitalists and landlords worked hand in glove with the British in chopping up India. But in thus betraying India, they only hastened the inevitable day of reckoning that will occur when the revolutionary masses set up a free and united India.

In the heart of Britain itself, there were significant tremors in 1947. The Grimethorpe miners refused to accept an order for increased production. They started a rank and file strike in protest. The entire capitalist class and its press pounded at the Grimethorpe

men. The Labor Government sent its emissaries to try to drive them back to work. The trade union bureaucracy did its utmost to break the strike. The Stalinists holding posts in the union denounced these miners. But the strike swept from pit to pit in a magnificent demonstration of solidarity, and forced the government to back down.

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to powder between the milstones of the colonial masses and Wall Street's drive for world power, sought to stave off the inevitable by, among other measures, partitioning India. This was a recognition of the rumbling revolt in that sub-continent.

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In the heart of Britain itself, there were significant tremors in 1947. The Grimethorpe miners refused to accept an order for increased production. They started a rank and file strike in protest. The entire capitalist class and its press pounded at the Grimethorpe

men. The Labor Government sent its emissaries to try to drive them back to work. The trade union bureaucracy did its utmost to break the strike. The Stalinists holding posts in the union denounced these miners. But the strike swept from pit to pit in a magnificent demonstration of solidarity, and forced the government to back down.

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By Theodore Kovalesky

A shrill of whistles tells you it's here. A discordant blare of tin horns, a rattle of "noise-makers," a clanging of bells, and a many-voiced shout of "Happy New Year!" is at once the funeral of 1947 and the birth of 1948.

The old year sinks into the dust of the past, falls onto the pile of all the other old years, and is gone forever.

Behind us lie a million old years. Some of them have been useless trash. Some of them have helped to make history rich. Some of them have been old before they even began, and some have remained new throughout the ages.

The clock of history ticks on; it never stops. Today is not a thing in itself separate and apart from yesterday and tomorrow, but merely a portion of the road of time that stretches between the first sunrise of the world to the shadows of the last sunset. We do not stop nor pause on the road of time; we only look about us at intervals to see how far we have travelled and to plan what lies ahead.

And as we look about us at the milestones marked 1948, what do we see?

Throughout the world wherever the needle of a compass may point we see oppression and betrayal. We see poverty and fear, hunger and disease, Babylonian luxury for the few and misery for the many.

We looked a little while ago toward France and Italy, where the workers had poured from the factories into the streets, reaching out hungrily for state power. But again the party of Stalin betrayed them, and there is no workers' state today either in France or in Italy. What will the new year bring?

Here in the United States we saw the enemies of labor growing in strength. We saw their representa-

tives in Congress pass the Taft-Hartley Slave Act over the feeble protests of the trade unions. Betrayal again! What mighty movement of the workers there could have been to shake the Washington windbags out of their chairs...if the frightened bureaucrats of the labor movement had but seen fit to give the leadership the workers looked for!

Like another of the old years, 1919, a violent red scare has been created by labor's enemies and has grown so widespread that even the powerful UAW has capitulated to the extent of yielding to the Taft-Hartley Law.

This New Year's Day we can well say, "Good riddance to 1947!"

A new Year is a gift that may be used in many different ways. It is a challenge, a blank canvas on which we can paint any picture we choose. We don't ask what the new year will bring. We ask, "What shall we do with the new year?"

For us in the Socialist Workers Party the fight against oppression and for freedom goes on. As before we fight against the exploiters. We fight for equality of all people and for the rights of all minorities.

FLINT, Mich. Dec. 15—Jack Palmer, President of the 11,000-member Chevrolet local 659, UAW-CIO, issued the following statement to the press and radio:

"We fought yesterday; we fight today; and we'll fight tomorrow until we're victorious.

But we alone in the fight are not enough. You and all the rest of the workers must join the struggle. It will take the whole working class to shape the new year as it should be shaped.

The old years have been red with blood. They have been ugly years of suffering for humanity. We travel the road of time covered with the darkness of a million yesterdays...but before us is the light of a million tomorrows, a million dawns shining upon a Socialist world.

The Negro Struggle

Little Progress Recorded this Year

By Albert Parker

On the whole, little progress was recorded in the struggle for Negro equality during 1947. There were a few bright spots in the picture, but they were the exception. In most respects the Negro people were barely able to hold their own, in some they even lost ground.

On the good side was the fact that the Negro people are still pressing forward, despite many obstacles, to claim the rights that are denied them in the South. This was demonstrated above all in the growing numbers of Negroes fighting for the right to vote and daring to assert that right in the face of lynch and vigilante threats. We are sure to see further manifestations of this trend during the coming year.

Another good sign was the close collaboration of Negro and white workers in such instances as the tobacco workers strike in North Carolina and the James Hickman defense movement in Chicago. These and similar cases testified to the widespread desire for united labor-Negro struggle against the common enemy.

Economically, 1947 was nothing to cheer about. Although it was a period of so-called full employment, job discrimination against Negroes got worse and not better. Unemployment was proportionally twice as great as among whites. Housing was not only costlier but tougher to find, thanks to the restrictive

covenants which the courts enforce in all parts of the country. And along with rising prices you had to pay more, as usual, in Negro neighborhoods, than you would elsewhere for the same article.

There weren't as many "official" lynchings as last year; the preferred practice in the South nowadays is for one or a few white men to kill Negroes quietly rather than to court publicity through action by a big mob. And police brutality continues, unabated and generally unpunished, in both the North and South.

On the legislative field, Negroes got the same runaround from a Republican Congress that they had got from the Democratic Congresses that preceded it. Not a single law demanded by the Negroes was passed.

A lot of excitement was worked up by the report of Truman's Civil Rights Committee, but so far as that all the Negro people have been offered—a report, Truman, like the GOP, is waiting until 1948 before making his big bid for the Negro vote, which could play a decisive role in some states next year.

1947 proved once again that you cannot make progress without fighting it militantly, consistently and in an organized manner. The Negro masses are ready for such a fight—the shortcoming is in their short-sighted, vacillating, compromising leaders. A good New Year's resolution would be to pay greater attention to the task of creating a new leadership capable of meeting and solving the problems of Jim Crow in 1948.

Christmas Comes to the Mines

By Morgan West

Even in the coal fields Christmas comes each year. To most miners it brings a day off work, a number of bills, and a fifth of whiskey with which to forget his troubles.

As 1947 drew to a close, Scotts Run hollow in Northern West Virginia stirred for a moment and allowed her heartbeat to be felt beneath the cynicism of snow and winter frost. At Osage a leader was killed early in the week and another seriously injured. The next day a snapper's arm was torn off. It looked like a run of hard luck had set in. Some of the miners recalled other times, at Bunker, for example, which saw a man killed a day for over a week not long ago. The last one died pinned beneath a loaded coal car with his testicles crushed and an arm gone, and begging for someone to put him out of his misery with a pick.

The "Shack," a one time community center built with the labor and money of coal miners which has become a Presbyterian church pure and simple, joined with a local coal baron in giving the annual banquet for destitute miners. For John Carroll it was a real celebration. Until this week he had lived in the Purgslove 15 sandwich and had kept alive on winter nights by warming sand over a fire and lying atop it. After the banquet the "greatmen" brushed their clothes and returned home secure in the knowledge that they had done their duty and kept God's commands.

Apart from the normal crop of pneumonia and flu and the momentary flurry of excitement caused by the departure of the UMW from the AFL, the news seemed humdrum. But it was clear that the accidents, the stinking charity dinners and the bosses' ridings were moving men's minds and making them understand that behind all the little incidents there was a general plan which the money men followed

to keep the working men down.

Evidence of this was seen in the rank and file demand for political action up and down the valley. Now it was clear that the Taft-Hartley Act was perhaps the greatest event in the history of the American labor movement for a decade. Daily grievances were pressed forward and centered around opposition to Taft-Hartley.

From Local to Local the miners talked politics. Sometimes it didn't sound like politics, but whatever the miners said it was clear that they were ready to tear the money men apart and only wanted to know how. It didn't always sound like politics; sometimes it sounded like 1937 and the early days of the CIO. A motor man thought for a moment and quietly remarked: "There isn't an office in West Virginia that the UMW couldn't take if we wanted it." There was no mass movement, only quiet talks, like there were talks about accidents, but the strength and power were there and some of the promise of years ago.

The greatest stir was caused by a large electric sign placed on the Purgslove No. 2 tipple. It said "Merry Xmas." There were stories of its cost; some men said over \$50. Everyone was amazed. But nobody was impressed. The men knew it would come out of income taxes and everyone joked about how much more production the bosses would demand.

And so as Christmas came to Scotts Run there were widows and injured men who felt no cheer. Men met in the union halls and talked politics, the bosses pushed for more production. Young workers rapidly replaced older men. For the fourth straight week no drinking water could be had at the Scotts Run public schools because of the profiteering water company. Prices continued to rise, the company stores gouged deeper, and on No. 2 tipple the new sign blinks ahead: Merry Xmas.

Purge at River Rouge

DETROIT, Mich.—With the growing reaction and the increased pressure from the corporations and the top leadership of the UAW, new capitulations and surrenders to the Taft-Hartley Act have occurred here in the past week.

Last week, UAW Ford Highland Park Local 400 voted in a small membership meeting to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits. The supporters of Labor Action abstained both in the debate and vote.

In the huge River Rouge Ford Local 600, Thompson, President of the Local union, and his supporters have followed up their previous capitulation to the act with a campaign to oust from office those officers of the local union who have refused to sign the "loyalty" affidavits. Amalgamated Local 835, in a meeting which lacked even a quorum, and without previous notice to the membership, ousted Stalinist Merrill Work from his post of Recording Secretary for his refusal to sign the affidavit as instructed by earlier action of the membership.

It is of interest to note that at Local 600, President Thompson and Lee Romano, Chairman of the Pressed Steel Unit, in the past leading spokesmen for the progressive forces, emerged as the leading advocates of capitulation. Following the meeting of the General Council of Local 600 which ordered a ref-

erendum of the membership on the proposal to remove from office James Couser, Financial Secretary,

William Johnson, Recording Secretary, and the other officers who had refused to sign the affidavits. Thompson issued a statement to the press hailing the proposed referendum as a wonderful opportunity for the membership of Local 600 to make its attitude clear on the question of "Americanism vs. Communism."

Romano, an ex-Stalinist, had conducted himself in a progressive fashion since his break with Stalinism and played a leading role in the Cadillac Square Demonstration against the Taft-Hartley bill last April, and in the moves to force reinstatement of the fired GM workers who were victimized at that time. Now Romano is playing ball with the reactionaries. Not only did he participate prominently in forcing the motion for compliance to the Taft-Hartley act through the General Council, but in the latest issue of Ford Facts, Romano defends and explains the value of the recent meeting of Reuther and Henry Ford II.

A Reuther Caucus meeting last Tuesday night stressed as one of the main points in the activity of the Reuther forces the fight to force all locals to comply and to have removed from office those persons who refused to sign the affidavits.

THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1947

Buick Local Votes to Comply To Avoid Reuther 'Administrator'

Flint UAW Official Offers Wage Plan To Meet Inflation

FLINT, Mich. Dec. 15—Jack Palmer, President of the 11,000-member Chevrolet local 659, UAW-CIO, issued the following statement to the press and radio:

Pauley Admits Grain Tradings



Admitting that he speculated in grain commodities while working for the government, Edwin Pauley, special assistant to Sec. of the Army Kenneth Royal, talks with Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) during hearings in Washington. Many other "insiders" are believed to have made millions on the food market by utilizing private government information for personal gain. Federated Pictures

+ By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 17.—The UAW convention struggled over the Taft-Hartley law and continued in the local unions here.

lost by eight votes in a large membership meeting. The Reuthers, who control the local, attempted and succeeded in throttling the discussion. With only two speakers against filing with the NLRB, debate was closed.

LED THE FIGHT

Jack Palmer, newly installed president of the Chevrolet local who moved up to fill the post vacated by Don Chapman who was elected regional director on the Reuther slate, led the fight against the Taft-Hartley law. In a fiery talk he stated, "They (the Corporation) have learned from the past they can't beat us on the picket lines. The Taft-Hartley law was designed to be used by Big Business like a creeping paralysis—to disrupt, disfigure and demolish the whole labor movement... There is a great wave of reaction sweeping across the country. The line of least resistance is to take the easy way out. People are riding this wave of reaction with their eyes closed..."

At this same meeting the Reuthers, who for two years campaigned for a Labor Party, introduced a resolution calling for the rescinding of the local's stand. This resolution was tabled for one month.

Militants in the Chevrolet local decided to fight against filing and

Truman Demands 17 Billions to Chain Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

on the economy, and therefore the politics, of the 16 nations included in the program. Taking full advantage of the helplessness of these nations, the ERP provides for the appointment of an economic dictator ("Economic Cooperation Administrator") and a political supervisor (with the rank of U. S. ambassador to the 16 nations.)

These two, under Truman and the State Department will have control of the program—and woe to the government that fails to obey them. The Administrator will tell them what he wants, how to allocate their budgets, how much goods or money they can have if any, and whether they will receive them in the form of grants or loans. The political supervisor will set to see that the countries receiving these funds follow the Wall Street line on foreign policy and repression of labor at home.

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Politically, the effects of the ERP will be

property of Europe—to do so would require rebuilding all of Europe that was destroyed in the war, effecting a genuine unification of European economy and resources and putting an end to capitalist profit, greed and anarchy.

At best, the ERP will patch up some of the worst holes in the economy from crumbing altogether, it at the same time subjects the American economy to every shock and sickness undermining the world capitalist economy. Instead of dragging European capitalism up, the ERP may contribute decisively toward dragging American capitalism down.

Just as the Taft-Hartley Act was the domestic counterpart of the Truman Doctrine, so the ERP will be accompanied by new anti-labor assaults in the U. S. Bent on keeping the burden of the inflation on the backs of the workers, determined to prevent the workers from interfering in any way with their plans for world domination. "Big" Business will be on an extremely low level and will be so controlled that the real benefits go to the trusts, both European and American, and not to the working people.

Politically, the effects of the Taft-Hartley Act have been made plain. For the privilege of participating in the conference that listed their needs last summer, France and Italy had to drive the Stalinists out of their governments. The ominous figure of de Gaulle appeared on the scene again. A French version of the

Taft-Hartley Act has been enacted; in Greece the punishment for strikes is death. All of Western Europe has moved to the right since the emanation of the Truman Doctrine last March—in the direction of naked capitalist dictatorship such as exists in Greece.

DECEPTIVE FIGURES

In the United States the economic effects will be far-reaching, especially in stepping up the inflationary trend. Truman tried to minimize these effects, asserting that the total expenditure required would be less than 3% of the national income during the four-year period.

But such a figure is deceptive because it deliberately ignores the fact that there is a desperate shortage in the U. S. of many of the chief products required by the ERP, and that these same products are basic in the American price structure.

In the absence of effective price control, such as only mass consumers committees and workers' control of production could insure, the big purchases of these products by the government are sure to add fuel to the flames of the inflation. This will hasten the coming economic

socialist reconstruction of their continent, and by the American workers, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of Wall Street.

The outcome of their struggles against their common enemy will decide the questions of depression or prosperity, of war or peace, on a world scale.

All SWP Locals Meet Fund Quotas

In the final scoreboard on the \$15,000 Militant Fund published last week, all the Socialist Workers Party branches except Reading, Pa., had fulfilled 100% or over of their quotas. But the Reading comrades were determined not to be left in the rear.

They came through with a contribution of \$50 two days after the close of the campaign. This brought their total to \$100 and put them in the 100% category. "We were sorry to be late but we had a difficult time because of food prices, etc.," writes Rose. Reading's achievement is all the more creditable in view of the hardships they had to overcome. Three cheers for the indomitable militants of Reading!

The fact that every single branch from the East Coast to the West Coast or surpassed its quota provides magnificent testimony to the high morale of the SWP members and their regard for The Militant. We will do our utmost to continue publishing a paper worthy of such loyal and sacrificing support.

In addition to the Reading contribution, the following readers sent in coin cards last week: Bolint, Youngstown, \$1.70; Trunks, Hammond, Ind., \$1.70; Anderson, California, \$3; Mikhoz, Michigan, \$1. Cleveland mailed in another \$10.

Thus the \$15,000 Fund was over-subscribed by a little more than \$2,000. The grand total collected during the campaign amounted to \$128.36. \$17,002.40.

AFL and CIO Officials Reject Wallace

The "responsible" AFL and CIO labor bureaucrats have already made clear that they will not support Henry Wallace as a third party candidate for president in 1948. The only exceptions in the union movement are the Stalinists and their sympathizers.

The viewpoint of the labor bureaucrats was expressed in an interview given in Washington by Walter Reuther, president of the UAW. "We will not go along with Wallace," said Reuther, characterizing him as a "lost soul," a "great disappointment" and a man who was influenced by the Communist Party.

The connection between Wallace and the Stalinists is real and undeniable. Nor is it of recent origin; they have collaborated not merely since Wallace's dismissal from Truman's cabinet but since U. S. entry into the war—when Reuther and the other labor bureaucrats, including the Stalinists, were hailing Wallace as labor's true champion and fighting for his re-election as vice-president.

This was admitted explicitly by the top leadership of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who came out against any third party, and threatened to withdraw from the American Labor Party in New York if it should endorse Wallace.</p