

Marshall Plan and The Steel Trust

— See Page 4 —

THE MILITANT

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9

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Let the Ranks Decide Labor's Political Course!

An Editorial

CIO President Philip Murray has instructed all CIO unions not to "make any pledges or commitments which promise support to any party or any candidate" in advance of the coming meeting of the 11-man CIO Political Action Committee in Washington.

Any such pledges, he said, would be contrary to the action taken at the recent Boston CIO convention which pledged "full and unstinting support to the strengthening of the CIO Political Action Committee and to the carrying out of its program."

Murray didn't mention Wallace, but everyone understood the purpose of his instructions was to prevent any further endorsements of the Wallace movement.

His arguments about the binding character of the Boston CIO convention are phony from beginning to end. That convention never discussed the question of supporting or endorsing any new party because the CIO bureaucrats did not want any such discussion. It took no position on the question, one way or the other.

Furthermore, if the question of PAC policy for 1948 has not yet been decided, by what authority did the PAC leaders issue a statement saying its policy is against a third party shortly after Wallace threw his hat into the ring? If the policy has not been decided, why did Murray let his supporters in the New York and Illinois State CIO Councils come out against the Wallace candidacy, and why did he let them split the American Labor Party down the middle over this issue?

Murray had better quit trying to kid the public, which knows that he is ready to split existing labor political organizations like the ALP if they won't go along with support of strikebreaker Truman. And he had better quit trying to kid himself if he thinks he can now force the will of 11 men on the 6 million members of the CIO.

Wallace's third party move has upset a great many calculations, not only in the old-party circles but also in the councils of the labor bureaucrats. It's not going to be as easy as they previously figured to get the rank and file unionists to support Truman. Wallace has in effect told the workers that it is a waste of time to try to reform the Democratic Party — and he has been one of the authorities on that question. He has also told them that the theory of the "lesser evil" is the bunk and that they should fight against all the evils — words which they have long wanted to hear.

Now that the voters have a choice other than Truman or a Republican, the situation is considerably changed. Should the workers continue to support the Democrats — as Murray, Green and Reuther propose — even though this political company-union policy has produced nothing but the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices, discrimination and militarization? Or should they back the Wallace movement — as the Stalinists advise — even though his party is not based on the union movement, or controlled by it, or responsible to it? Or should they — as the Socialist Workers Party and many union militants recommend — form their own independent Labor Party, controlled by the unions and running its own candidates in 1948?

Murray and his fellow bureaucrats have no right to pretend that they speak for the CIO ranks when they have never consulted them on these questions, either directly or indirectly. The question of labor political policy for 1948 is too big — and too important — to be left in the hands of 11 men.

The rank and file themselves must make this decision. There is only one way in which that can be done effectively — through United Labor Conference in Washington, representing the national and local unions not only of the CIO but also of the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents. We, who favor the formation of a Labor Party, are willing to leave the decision in the hands of the representatives of the rank and file. Are the Trumanites and the Wallaceites willing to do the same?

PRESS BLACKOUT ON GESTAPO RULE IN MISSISSIPPI

Unbeknown to the rest of the country, the state of Mississippi, with a population of 2½ million, has been ruled for the past two months under a fascist-like secret police system and brutal anti-labor laws which include the death penalty.

So sensational are the facts that it seems incredible the country has been kept in the dark so long about them. Yet the very existence of these savage laws and gestapo system within United States borders has been concealed from the country at large by a conspiracy of silence scarcely paralleled even in the notorious history of the American Big Business press.

Prior to a shocking exposure in the Jan. 3 issue of the weekly *New Yorker*, only two newspapers outside of Mississippi even mentioned the series of sinister laws passed last November 14 by the Mississippi legislature in a special session called by Governor Fielding L. Wright.

The target of these laws is the union movement in Mississippi. The laws are the outgrowth of attempts by the state government to smash a six-month strike of bus drivers

against the Southern (Railway Bus) lines. The strike was led by the AFL Amalgamated Association of Street Car, Railway and Motor Coach Employees.

One of these laws gives Governor Wright the power to establish his own armed secret police force, called the Mississippi Bureau of Investigations, whose members are appointed by and known only to him. These secret agents under Wright's exclusive control are authorized "to investigate and make arrests in crimes of violence and intimidation." They can make searches, seizures and arrests on mere "suspicion" and without a warrant.

Another law empowers a judge to sentence to death anyone convicted of placing a bomb in a "building, ship, vessel, boat, railroad station, train, bus station or depot, bus, truck or other vehicle, gas and oil stations and pipe lines, radio station or radio equipment or other public utilities"—even if no one is killed or injured.

This is the first law in any state to make damage to property punishable by a death sentence. Under this law and the others enacted in

Mississippi it would be mere child's play for the Governor's secret police and the corrupt state courts to frame up and railroad strikers to their deaths.

Another law provides a five-year prison sentence for throwing a stone at a bus or for mere possession of "dynamite caps, fuses, detonators, dynamite, nitro-glycerine, explosive gas, or stink bombs" unless in the conduct of a "lawful business." (Our emphasis).

FRAME-UP SYSTEM

What scope can be added to a frame-up system where the law makes mere possession of an explosive or "stink bomb" evidence of criminal intent? Think what a secret police force could do to plant "evidence" on a union organizer, "discover" the same in his house or car, arrest him without warrant, and send him up for five years for "unlawful possession" of a — "stink bomb."

Another law makes it a penal offense for "two or more" persons to conspire to "intimidate" an employee of a bus company. If two workers even discuss ways and means of per-

sauding workers not to seah on a bus strike, they can be railroaded to prison. Of course, the Governor's secret police will supply all the "evidence"—and maybe even some hard-won "confessions" by the time they get through a secret session with workers spirited away without a warrant.

Sound like some things you've read about Nazi Germany? Well, that's what we have right here in the United States down in Mississippi. Indeed, even in the rabidly anti-labor, "white supremacist," poll-tax Mississippi legislature, a few bold spirits dared to call these laws from their right name. State Senator Luther A. Whittington, of Natchez, asked: "Isn't this the same kind of law which dictators of Europe started and then began terrorizing the people with a secret police or gestapo?"

PRESS IS SILENT

The fact that such Hitler-like laws could be passed anywhere in the United States is startling enough. But what is equally startling—and ominous—is that virtually the entire American press didn't

Workers of the World, Unite!

TRUMAN DEMANDS 40 BILLIONS FOR INFLATIONARY WAR BUDGET

The State of the Union



Pres. Truman delivers his annual state of the union message to Congress as Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R, Mass.), presiding Senate officer, and House Speaker Joseph A. Martin (R, Mass.), listen intently.

A-Bomb Gets 17 Times As Much As Housing

By Art Preis

Seventy-nine cents of every dollar the American people will shell out for Truman's proposed 1948 budget of \$39,669,000,000 (that's billions) will go for war—past, present, and future. This does not include items like the atom bomb development, which are hidden under special misleading headings.

Six times more will be spent for war preparations than for human needs.

Direct military expenditures alone will cost \$11,025,000,000—28% of the total—a \$279,000,000 increase over the present budget. The Social Welfare, Health, and Security program will take \$2,028,000,000—\$68 million more than before, but one-third less than the \$3,147,000,000 in 1940.

Almost 17 times as much will be spent for developing the atom bomb (\$674,000,000 under the heading "Natural resources not primarily agriculture") as for long-range public housing (\$40 million).

Truman proposes a "first year" expenditure of \$400,000,000 for "universal training"—that is, universal compulsory military training which in full operation will cost about 2 billion dollars annually.

We ask you to set aside time during this week to approach the fellow workers in your shop and your neighborhood and sell them *Militant* subscriptions.

You readers of the paper know how important it is to bring its message to ever-wider circles of workers.

You know that *The Militant* arms its readers with information and analysis they can get nowhere else.

That it points the way toward the formation of an independent Labor Party.

That it mobilizes the workers for a successful struggle against the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices, Jim Crow, red-baiting and militarism.

That it exposes the reactionary aims and consequences of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine at home and abroad, and gives first-hand reports of the revolutionary struggles in other countries.

If every reader gets one new subscription, *Militant Sub Week* will be a success. Will you help?

(Continued on Page 2)

"State of the Union" -- Militarism, Inflation

The Republican Congress' reception of Truman's "State of the Union" message on Jan. 7, was not enthusiastic. But applause — for Truman's comments on the Taft-Hartley Act.

"As long as it remains the law of the land," he said, "I shall carry out my constitutional duty and administer it." Truman said nothing about its repeal.

This alone puts the reactionary stamp on Truman's speech and program. It explodes the attempts of the press, the Republicans and sundry union bureaucrats to repress Truman's speech as "liberal," "New Dealish" and even—"leftist."

True enough, the speech was heavily larded with liberal demagogery and resounding promises. This is to be expected in an election year—especially with the Wallace movement sending shivers down Truman's spine.

Actually, what marks his speech is not that it promises the people so much, but that it offers them so little.

Truman's strongest stress is on the military machine and the Marshall Plan. His chief proposals are a 15-month expenditure of \$6,800,000,000 for "foreign aid" and military rearmament at home through universal compulsory military training to cost \$2 billion a year.

What else of a concrete nature does he offer? He says he wants to cut everybody's income tax \$40 a year, plus \$40 for each dependent.

The U.S. government's role in Greece is a preview of its role in Western Europe when the Marshall Plan goes into operation. Its effects will be to strengthen reaction and hasten the day of U.S. involvement in a shooting war by no means limited to Greece.

(Continued on Page 3)

The Crisis of the Educational System in America

By Ria Stone

The report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, now being released in installments, is one of the most significant social documents ever published by the U. S. government. It is a public confession by an official body that a crisis exists in this crucial field of contemporary society.

The Commission members represented the cream of America's crop of professional educators and publicists. Not only were there deans and college presidents, but also Rabbi Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, Mark Starr, educational director of the International Garment Workers Union, Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Douglas S. Freeman, editor of the Richmond, Va., News Leader.

The Commission begins its report with a recognition of the "world-wide crisis of mankind." And in the field which they, as "civic and educational leaders" know best, they are terrified at the gap which exists on the one hand, between "Scientific knowledge and technical skills," and on the other, the "social and political defenses against obliteration."

TERROR-STRICKEN

The Commission is further appalled at the "over-specialization" in professional education, and the lack of "human wholeness and civic conscience which the cooperative activities of citizenship require." It bewails the "provincial and insular mind" in a period when the "one-ness" of the modern world" is so undeniable. It bemoans the lack of equality for the poor and the Negro and Jewish minorities, at a time when the U. S. "surely needs"

to develop "leadership" and "social competence." No less important, it is terror-stricken at the explosions that are inevitable, given this inequality.

Undoubtedly, the members of this exalted Commission would be the first to accuse Marxists of "idealism," "crass materialism," "economic determinism" and all the other epithets by which the bourgeois intellectuals justify their role as the hired prize fighters for the ruling class. Yet the critical situation which they describe is merely the concretization, within the field of education, of the contradiction which scientific socialists have long realized would bring capitalist society to a inglorious end. What the Commission is actually talking about is, in Marxist terminology, the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the antagonistic social relations.

which the exploitation of the workers has been abolished, and the competitive world market destroyed.

How closely these educators approach the answer, and yet how blinded they are by the typical illusions of the intellectual, is indicated by the "radical adjustments" which they recommend. As the first principles of higher education in our time, the Commission proposes that has prepared them—then education for all the people of the nation would be democratic, international and creative. On the other hand, without such a revolutionary change, education will either continue in its present crisis, or like the rest of society assume the facade of "social responsibility and organization" along the lines of Hitler Germany.

THE REAL SOLUTION

The contradiction between scientific progress and social waste cannot be resolved by giving more courses in social sciences or by adding "men of broad knowledge, men of imagination and understanding and wisdom" to teaching staffs. It can, in reality, only be resolved by building a new world society in

which the principles of a new socialist society. That is if in their daily lives, the workers had democracy, that is control over production; if the workers could employ the modern development of the creative imagination and trained intelligence for which the modern development of the productive forces

is prepared them—then education for all the people of the nation would be democratic, international and creative. On the other hand, without such a revolutionary change, education will either continue in its present crisis, or like the rest of society assume the facade of "social responsibility and organization" along the lines of Hitler Germany.

MORE FUNDS

expansion program. It calls upon the state to devote more funds for scholarships, to erect more colleges, and to set up more committees. As if by increasing the QUANTITY of education, the QUALITATIVE contradiction could be resolved!

The more students there are, the more acute will become the crisis in the academic world. The Commission admits that there is a "high degree of student mortality" because higher education is unstimulating and unchallenging. Witness also the dissatisfaction of the veterans who make up 55% of the present college enrollment. Moreover, in the weakest link of higher education today, the teachers' colleges, it is not lack of resources which is creating a crisis. As was dramatically revealed by the nationwide teachers' strike in 1946-47, American capitalism cannot even recruit sufficient teachers. Before the war the turnover in public school teachers was 10%. Today it is 20%.

The American ruling class cannot convince the teachers that they are missionaries of an all-conquering and superior ideology and therefore should subordinate the problem of their livelihood to their civic responsibility to capitalist society.

Many teachers, walking the picket lines, discovered that their revolt against the city fathers brought them greater respect from students and parents than they had ever received as guardians and purveyors of capitalist ideology in the classroom.

It is a commentary on the bankruptcy of the capitalist ruling class today that the sweeping changes necessary in the spheres of higher education depend upon the workers at the base of society.

Factors That Undermine Inflationary Boom in U. S.

By John G. Wright

In November, production set a new peacetime record. But it was not reported at the time that the bulk, if not all, of this increased output went into the warehouses of wholesalers, manufacturers and retailers. Figures just released by the Department of Commerce disclose this beyond the shadow of a doubt. Over-all inventories have soared to the astronomical sum of more than 42 billion dollars, with over a billion being added in November, the largest monthly increase in history.

At the end of last July at the bottom of the 1947 production down-swing, total inventories stood at 38½ billion. In the next four months production was pulled back in large part through the expedient of piling 3½ billion dollars worth of goods into warehouses.

Moreover, tighter credit, with higher interest rates, means greater profits to the financiers. But they are intent to move drastically, because they are already quite heavily committed. Only formal steps have thus far been taken to clamp down on credit. Meanwhile the debate over this issue mounts, and the shadow of a credit squeeze is superimposed itself on the threat already represented by the imbalance in inventories.

Even more serious are the unchecked downward trends in the foreign and domestic markets. In November foreign trade resumed its downside, skidding 8% from October. This coupled with other whopping export slashes since May make very slim the prospect of retaining in 1948 the export levels of 1947, even with the most effective operation of the Marshall Plan.

LESS FOR MORE

At home, the retailers are still by and large recording on their cash registers higher sales, while disposing of fewer items. But selling less for more money has always been good business from the capitalist standpoint.

The picture of the sales of manufacturers and wholesalers is not quite so bright. Their combined sales in November took a tumble to the tune of almost 3 billion dollars, with the manufacturers' sales sliding off 1.3 billion and the wholesalers skidding even more from the October totals.

This drop has been dismissed by government experts as harmless on the grounds that there were "fewer working days" in November than in October. But this can explain only a part of the thumping drop. There is a much more direct connection between production and the number of working days in a month than there is between the latter and sales. Yet production did not drop off like sales in November. On the contrary it rose.

GROWING ABYSS

The November sales drop therefore reflects at least in part the growing abyss between the volume of production and the absorbing capacity of the domestic market. The pinch is being felt by such giants as General Electric with its annual sales volume of one billion. GE's latest sales report records a substantial drop. This has much more to do with the minor price reduction recently announced than

with the expanding credit in order to carry even bigger inventories.

They did this last July and they can do it again. But the conditions for this operation are not as favorable as they were six months ago. For one thing, the credit situation is much tighter because the banks and the insurance companies have already extended unprecedented loans.

BECOMING ARMED

Not that additional funds are unavailable. On the contrary, the banks still dispose of scores of billions of credit. But an important section of the bankers is becoming alarmed by the speculative orgy, and the ultimate consequences not so much to the economy as a who's-as-to-themselves. The more the banks finance bigger inventories, all the greater is their loss risk.

For instance, a general price slash of 10%—advocated not so long ago by Truman himself—would today mean an immediate loss of not less than 42 billion dollars on current inventories alone. Unless the bankers watch their step they may be left holding the bag.

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A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

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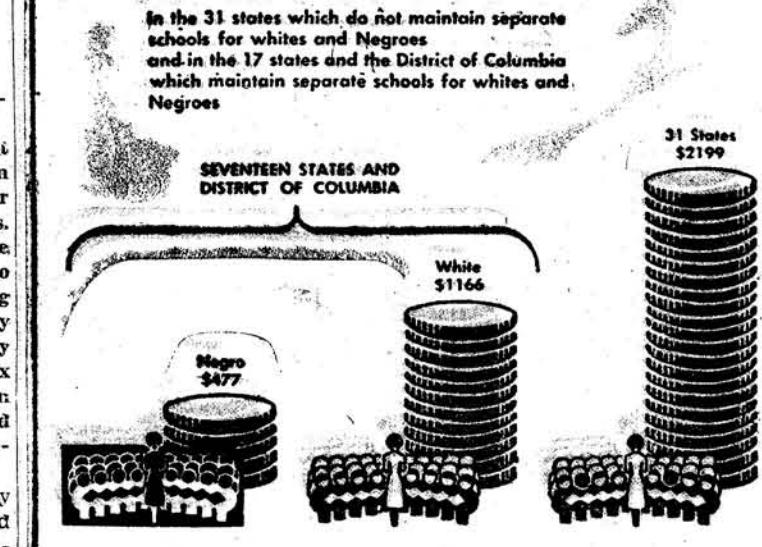
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A Comparison of the Average (Median) Expenditure per Classroom



Reprinted from the Southern Patriot, this chart highlights the differences in educational opportunity between Negroes and whites. Note that the \$477 expenditure on Negro education in the South is almost 80% less than the amount spent in non-segregating states.

Federated Pictures

Truman Demands 40-Billion Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

for a so-called "new anti-inflation program." This useless expenditure just raises the cost of government—and the inflation.

The "economy-minded" Republicans who dominate Congress have quickly indicated that if there is going to be any cutting of Truman's budget, it will come from the minor items related to human welfare. Thus, Republican Senator Styles Bridges found the military and foreign affairs items "realistic," but thought the meager sums for social security, health, education, housing, etc., "beyond the means of the nation to meet this year."

Truman's expanding war budget is the greatest single item aggravating the inflation, although he says in his budget message that "we are all aware of the imperative necessity for preventing further inflation." One of his major proposals on this score is:

"I am not recommending at this time cost-of-living increases in pay for military and civilian government personnel, nor cost-of-living increases in benefits for our veterans, social insurance beneficiaries, retired Federal employees and other similar groups," although "the rapid increase in living costs . . . has placed a serious burden on these groups."

SURPLUS TO BANKERS

Truman's claimed anticipated surplus of \$5 billion in 1949 is all going to pay the war debt to the bankers.

The budget figures give the lie to Truman's claim that he demagogically said he wants to cut income taxes \$40 a year for every individual and put additional taxes on corporation profits.

His own estimate of direct taxes on individuals in 1949 totals \$23,322,000,000, compared to \$22,783,000,000 in 1948. Total direct taxes on corporations will be only \$610,000,000 more in 1949 than in 1948. But Truman doesn't expect Congress to follow his tax proposals anyway.

The cold figures of Truman's budget add up to—inflation, war, human agony.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant Subs Total 328

While complaining about not receiving his *Militant* lately, because of some differences with the post-office over what is his correct address, W. F. Krakau of St. Paul takes "this opportunity to tell you that I value *The Militant* very much. Since I believe in the principle of a classless society and one based on co-operation as opposed to competition, I look upon *The Militant* as a valuable source of information and verifier of many of my own interpretations of the political goings-on in the world.

"The sincerity and straightforwardness of *The Militant*; its unceasing and unwavering criticisms, disclosures and most important of all, its program of positive political action to combat the evils which it reveals and criticizes, makes this paper deserving of the support of all who suffer under the present economic disorder and who long for a world in which mankind will not waste its energy in constant struggle, the consequence of which the world today is certainly paying for."

Thanks for the kind words, W. K. We have sent all the numbers you missed.

* * *

New and renewal subscriptions obtained in December totaled 328,

nearly tying the November figure. With the cold weather curtailing house-to-house work by the branchies, a larger percentage of renewals, 75, were obtained by mail, almost a quarter of the total.

The following are the branch returns:

DECEMBER SUBS

New York	53
Boston	37
Detroit	35
Chicago	33
Los Angeles	26
Philadelphia	13
Minneapolis	12
Akron	8
Cleveland	8
Milwaukee	8
St. Paul	8
Connecticut	7
Lynn	6
Newark	6
Oakland	6
Reading	6
Buffalo	5
Pittsburgh	5
St. Louis	5
Seattle	4
Flint	3
Youngstown	3
Rochester	2
San Francisco	2
Toledo	2
Allentown	1
San Diego	1
General	23
Total	328

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is prepared them—then education for all the people of the nation would be democratic, international and creative. On the other hand, without such a revolutionary change, education will either continue in its present crisis, or like the rest of society assume the facade of "social responsibility and organization" along the lines of Hitler Germany.

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NAM on the Loose Again

By George Lavan

The National Association of Manufacturers has undertaken a big propaganda campaign for 1948 to convince the American public that profits are not unusually high. Millions will be spent on newspaper and magazine advertisements to prove that the capitalists can hardly make ends meet. None of these ads, which are being prepared by the NAM, will bear the NAM label, however.

16,500 member companies of the NAM have received instructions and copy for this advertising barrage against the common sense of the American people. Twenty-seven sample ads explaining away the fabulous corporation profits have been sent out. Instructions accompanying these samples were that the companies should print them under their own names and not in any circumstances to identify the propaganda with the NAM.

Many millions are expected to be spent on these ads which at the same time purchase the "good will" of newspaper publishers for the corporations and the NAM. Companies pick the sample ads they wish to run. Mats for reproducing the samples are available to member companies at NAM headquarters.

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One of the opening shots in this campaign was the large newspaper advertisements of Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. on Jan. 5. This long ad signed by Harvey Firestone, one of the top dogs in the NAM, is entitled "The American Way."

Readers who are curious about the "logic" of ads which purport to explain away the billions upon billions in profits now being made are urged to watch their newspapers as the ads are due to start appearing. They will range from one column to full page layouts. Since the corporations can deduct advertising from their income tax data as "business expenses," huge sums of money will be spent.

This campaign designed to prove to the American people that black is white, was the product of a meeting of big-wig industrialists and publishers that took place in the luxurious surroundings of Hot Springs, Virginia. The master minds were Lammot duPont, Harvey Firestone, the Rubber King, J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil Co., Pathfinder and Farm Journal magazines, John Holmes, president of Swift & Co., Clarence Randall of Inland Steel Co., Walter Fuller, publisher of Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal, Country Gentleman, and Gwinnett Price of Westinghouse.

Actual the "sales dollar" device of "figuring" profits is a trick to cover up the immense profits being made. Profits, as any accountant will tell you, are figured on total investment, not on sales. Nevertheless, the NAM and their newspaper hirings are convinced that by repeating the lie often enough they can convince the public that the "sales dollar" is the basis for computing profits.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year;
50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2
per year; \$1 for 6 months.

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Monday, January 19, 1948



The processes of great changes must be measured by scales which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist society will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition is under the hostile pressure of the capitalist states. The October Revolution has shown only the first stages of its realization. Editor's first lamp was very bad. We must learn how to discern the future. —Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932.



LENIN

TROTSKY

All the News That's Printed to Fit

America's daily press boasts of its worldwide and speedy news coverage. It points with pride to its network of news-gathering forces and communications reaching into the remotest hamlets and least accessible spots on the globe.

Is it likely, then, that the complete national press blackout on the sinister developments in Mississippi was due to any slip-up?

The Mississippi Legislature doesn't meet in some mountain fastness. It holds forth in Jackson, a flourishing American city with all modern conveniences, including telegraph, telephone and wireless.

Failure of the American press to report the unprecedented actions of the Mississippi Legislature last Nov. 14 is a case of deliberate suppression. This was news embarrassing to the American ruling class. Apt to stir up a lot of stink and protest. Apt to arouse labor on how far fascist developments have gone here in America.

Not is this suppression of news anything

new, or exceptional. We have an even more recent example of the same thing.

On Dec. 15, on the floor of the U. S. Congress, a group of nationally-prominent Congressmen launched a scathing attack on the National Association of Manufacturers during the debate on the so-called anti-inflation bill. Did you know it? Not if you didn't read the Congressional Record of that date.

This important event was completely suppressed. Leading newspapers on Dec. 15 and 16 printed hundreds of thousands of words on everything from Congress to babysitters — but not even a hint that the NAM had been exposed on the floor of Congress by such public figures as Senator O'Mahoney, Morse and McMahons and Representatives Douglas, Rayburn and O'Toole.

The only thing, obviously, that is really free about our so-called "free press" is that it is free to spread misinformation and systematically poison the public mind.

admirals, generals, bankers and industrialists. They have just won the biggest, bloodiest and costliest war in world history. They are military overlords of a vast empire embracing Japan, half of Korea, part of Germany, etc. The government of Greece is their puppet. The government of China is rapidly becoming the same thing. All of Western Europe is now bowing its head beneath the Wall Street yoke. Still Wall Street cannot cash in. Europe is a sieve which absorbs ever increasing billions. Despite cajolery and threats, the masses are in revolt again and again. The colonial world is in flames. China is swept by civil war.

"Pax Americana" — the dream of the Wall Street bankers to build a world empire — is turning into a nightmare. It cannot be done. The Wall Street gang no sooner stamps out one revolutionary fire, than two new ones flare up in different parts of the world.

On the surface, American imperialism may appear almighty and unconquerable. But it is destined to be worn down and progressively weakened in its attempt to crush the emancipation struggles of the peoples of the world. And in the end, this enemy of world progress will find itself as isolated and helpless as the bloody Czar of old Russia in the revolutionary days of 1917.

Within two months Dutra had suspended the Communist Party and the Stalinist-supported Brazilian Workers Confederation. Political clubs were padlocked, newspapers were suppressed, militant unionists were hounded. Truman and the U. S. State Department and their bi-partisan supporters in Washington, who bellow indignantly against Stalinist suppressions in Eastern Europe, smiled with satisfaction, patted Dutra on the head and promised him more aims and more funds to keep up the good work.

Application of the Truman Doctrine in Brazil was extended further this month. On Jan. 7, the Communist Party members of Parliament, the legally elected representatives of several hundred thousand people, were ousted from their posts. The next day police smashed their way into the offices of a Stalinist newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, arrested everyone present and shut down the paper.

In this fashion, our plumed knights of the State Department are valiantly struggling the world over "against totalitarianism."

of people be driven crazy—in the literal sense—in a country that boasts of its wealth and opportunity?

Because the system is loaded with contradictions. Side by side it breeds enormous poverty and enormous wealth. It staggers like a drunken idiot from boom to bust, from war to inflation to depression. It unlooses anxiety, insecurity and fear to tear at the minds and nervous systems of the people.

Psychiatry is a worthy science and we are glad to hear it is advancing. But the prevention of the tremendous incidence of individual insanity requires the elimination of the socially-insane system of capitalism and its replacement with the rational society of socialist security and peace.

Reactionary French Government Behind Split in Labor Unions

Marines off to War Zone



Armed with tanks, guns and other combat equipment, almost 1,000 Marines board a transport sailing for the Mediterranean. According to the official announcement their mission is to reinforce battleship personnel in Greek and Italian waters.

Federated Pictures

Fascists Assault Meeting Of British Trotskyists

OXFORD, England — Mosley's thugs launched their most brazen move to date when on Nov. 27 they mustered their forces to attack an open Trotskyist meeting. 50 workers and students, assembled in an Oxford hall to commemorate the Russian Revolution, were listening to an address by Comrade Jock Haston, General Secretary of the RCP, when the hall lights were suddenly turned off. Fascist hooligans burst into the premises, upsetting the literature stall and throwing bags of pepper into the audience. In the scuffle that followed one woman trade unionist sustained an eye injury. The meeting continued in good order.

In the government's economic program, concessions to the workers had to balance in the precarious budget. Thus heavy tax burdens have been imposed upon the middle class layers of the population in a series of new fiscal laws and measures. This has given de Gaulle a chance to beat his drums again. Almost completely inconspicuous in the days of open class warfare—its extra-parliamentary forces had not yet been organized for any kind of real combat—de Gaulle's RPF has now come to life again. Mass meetings of the RPF are now beginning to hammer into shape the mass movement for the would-be Bonaparte. But de Gaulle is still in the propaganda stage. The main butt of his attack is the parliament and its new fiscal laws. The main slogan: Dissolution of the present National Assembly and immediate new elections.

Against the rising de Gaulle threat and against the insidious policy of dividing the working class—as well as against the Stalinist policy of adventurism coupled with new variations of the old chauvinist line—a new tendency grouped around the newspaper "Front Ouvrière" (Workers' Front) is arising in the trade unions. It calls for the preservation of trade union unity by means of an extraordinary congress of the CGT, democratically elected under the direction of joint committees representative of all trade union tendencies; for a united front against the de Gaulle threat. The Trotskyist PCI actively supports this trade union tendency.

The fascists were cleared out of the meeting by the audience. The outer college gates were locked in time to prevent several dozen fascists from forcing their way into the hall. Cries of "Mosley!" and "Down with the Labor Government!" were heard. Unable to cause further disruption and frustrated in their attempt to break up the rally, the fascists dispersed singing "Land of Hope and Glory." The meeting continued in good order.

An appeal has been issued by the Oxford Trotskyists for the formation of a Joint Defense Guard of all local labor organizations. This appeal has met with a sympathetic response among the best elements of the local labor and Stalinist parties. Students of Ruskin College have taken the first step in the right direction in setting up an anti-fascist committee to organize the fight in Oxford.

The students inaugurated a series of protest meetings throughout the city demanding the complete repeal of the bill. But when it became clear that the Ministry was determined, more decisive action was undertaken.

On Dec. 8 the student organizations paraded through the streets demanding the release of one of their arrested members. On the following day, when the Assembly was scheduled to discuss the bill, the

Gag-Law Protests Rock Calcutta

The masses of Calcutta have engaged in heroic struggles and strike actions for almost a month to prevent the passage of repressive legislation by the West Bengal Government, according to reports in the New Spark organ of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of out-trial.

Popularly known as the "Black Bill," the Special Powers Bill provides the Provincial Government with drastic powers to prohibit publications and communications, to muzzle newspapers and presses, to ban meetings and processions, to suppress the trade union and peasant movement, to control the use of loud speakers and megaphones, to prevent drilling of a military nature, to extort confidential information from newspaper editors and other persons and to detain persons without trial.

The demonstrations were continued for a second and third day. Police were ordered to break up the picket lines and parades. Using mounted police, tear gas and lathis, police charged the lines again and again but each time the ranks reformed. The demonstrators dispersed when police fired into their midst killing one and injuring several persons with out trial.

BITTER PROTEST

The introduction of the bill by the capitalist Congress Party ministry opened the gates for a flood of protest. The fight against the bill they conducted the actions of the third day despite the arrest of over 200 militants including three members of the directing body of the student organization which consists of representatives of the Forward Block, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, (Trotskyist) and the Socialist Republican party. Behind the students ranged a broad united front which included trade unions, peasants, lawyers, professors, newspaper editors and women's organizations and all left wing parties—with the exception of the Stalinists.

These militant actions prevented the Congress ministry from considering its bill for almost a month.

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Calcutta reports that the government resumed discussion of the Bill for the first time on Jan. 4.

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Important Issues of
THE MILITANT

Press Blackout Hides Mississippi Gestapo

(Continued from Page 1)

reigned in Mississippi for months to dig him up a copy of any dispatch on the Mississippi event, if any were sent out at all. He finally wired the Times-Picayune reporter for more information. Liebling got not only a direct confirmation of the facts—but copies of the bills passed by the Mississippi legislature.

Doubting the accuracy of the Times-Picayune reports, because he could not believe such a sensational story could go unnoticed by other large newspapers, Liebling checked scores of dailies. Finally he found a small item on page 21 of the Nov. 16 N. Y. Times ("All the news that's fit to print"). The headline read: "Bill to Curb Labor Falls in Mississippi." (Our emphasis.)

This was the lying headline on a story which told that six out of seven proposed anti-labor laws had been adopted. "There was no mention in it of the death penalty, which I would have thought noteworthy," says Liebling, with the understatement of the week.

Neither the Associated Press nor United Press — whose wires are flooded daily with hundreds of

Law Enforcement In the Deep South

A. J. Liebling's article in the Jan. 3 New Yorker, giving the first national publicity to the Hitlerian anti-labor laws and Gestapo system adopted in Mississippi last November, has forced Governor Fielding L. Wright to adopt a few face-saving moves.

Although he called the special session of the Mississippi legislature and proposed the laws, he now claims he did not ask for a secret police with powers of search, seizure and arrest without warrants—which is what the law provides. But he will ask for a permanent state police force, assuring it will be a less powerful, publicly-identified, uniformed body.

Liebling's exposure of the national press blackout on the Mississippi events also brought some slight results. The Jan. 10 N. Y. Herald Tribune reported the Governor's remarks in an obscure article next to the want-ad page. The Jan. 11 N. Y. Times made the record with a small item on page 33—in one edition. Neither has ever reported the unprecedented death penalty law for damage to property by bombing.

The chapter headings are indicative of the ground covered. Titles such as: DuPont, Hoover and Hitler; The House of Morgan and the Magazines; NAM-to-Press-to-Congress are samples of its contents. The section "Big Business" is perhaps the most enlightening in that it is a field which is comparatively virgin, although names such as Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, Colliers, Life-Time-Fortune are familiar enough to denote their reactionary nature.

The author's indictment of them is in the form of a running commentary interspersed with quotations made by either their editors, writers or people with criticism to make. Tying up these periodicals with their financial backers is explanation enough for their reactionary policies.

A seemingly misplaced article is the one titled "J. P. Morgan Stops the St. Lawrence River." This deals with Morgan's interest in fighting the electrification of that natural resource. Why Seelde included it to the exclusion of other instances of similar thwarting of natural development is not clear. An entire book could be devoted to this question alone.

A phase of public communications which is given little attention is the field of radio. With the exception of one table purporting to show press-broadcasting affiliations, Seelde bypassed a much needed study of the evils in that industry, and thereby left a void. Ostensibly, radio should

perform a public service; a record of its many ministrations to the advantage of Big Business would have seemed proper in a book of this type. Radio's puerile pattern in programming, its bogus public forum broadcasts which for the most part follow a prescribed reactionary pattern, its hand-picking of speakers who are arch-enemies of the public interest—would have made for valuable information. The book would have been enriched had Seelde secured information on the radio interests, their control of patents, the holding back of television and FM, in lieu of his comment upon those fields previously covered by himself and others.

Literally thousands of persons gallop through the pages of this book. Names, documents, speeches, comment, allusions to them, all in conversational tone, make it easy reading. Its attributes outweigh its shortcomings, despite Seelde's penchant for opposing reaction with liberalism, which to him seems to be the cure for the maladies besetting every facet of "free enterprise." If we forgive him his slavish regard for New Dealism, and for perpetuating the Roosevelt myth, along with his Populist tendencies, we can learn something from this accumulation of facts; which to repeat have to a large extent never appeared before in print.

Seelde offers no solution (give thanks). His implied liberalism is a sure trap for the unwary. His facts on the other hand are valuable. That his thinking doesn't measure up to expectations shouldn't negate the work in its entirety. Men such as Morris Ernst, Ferdinand Lundberg, and Thorstein Veblen, although not Marxists, served the public to the extent that they contributed new understanding of our economic system. Within these confines, Seelde may be said to have rendered a valuable service.

—NORMAN JOHNSTONE

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun., 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun., 3 p. m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m.; Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

BROOKLYN—1034 Prospect Ave., 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3-956. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Harrison and Dearborn). Phone DEArborn 4-767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m.; Peak Hall, 1446 E. 32nd St. 2nd fl. Phone Wade Park Ave.

DETROIT—5626 Michigan Ave., 12-5 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl., Mon. through Sat., 1-3 p. m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Daily 7:30 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun., 3-5 p. m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ., 316½ W. 11th St., Phone Richmond 4-6444. Daily, 12-5 p. m.

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Battle of the Demagogues

By Art Preis

A hyena, a vulture and a jackel cornered a poor little pig. The hyena said, "Come home with me. I'll put out some nice pineapple slices." The vulture said, "Come home with me. I'll open a tub of delicious sauerkraut." The jackel said, "Come home with me. I'll put a big red apple in your mouth."

This is a fable.

The election fight this year will have its special name in history. It will be called the Battle of the Demagogues.

We are already being pounded from land, sea and air by all the capitalist candidates for President.

For the next ten months, we will be flattered and cajoled. Our passions and prejudices will be stimulated. We will be lured with glittering promises and persuaded with specious arguments. No lie or deception will be left unsaid that can possibly swing a vote.

This era and this year are especially favorable for demagogues. It is a time of vast social discontent. It is a time of unrest and seeking. The people are eager to listen, ripe for answers.

The Negro Struggle

"Separate but Equal" Facilities

By Albert Parker

Members of the U. S. Supreme Court come and go, but the Court itself never changes in its undying opposition to equality for the Negro people. This came out once again on Jan. 12 when the Court said segregation is OK.

Two years ago Miss Ada Lois Sipuel applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School, the only school of its kind in that state. She was turned down solely because she is a Negro and Oklahoma segregates Negroes in education as well as other fields. The state courts ruled against her, and so she went to the U. S. Supreme Court, asking two things—that she be admitted to the school, and that the Court outlaw segregation of students as unconstitutional.

By unanimous vote, the Court did neither. It ordered Oklahoma to provide a legal education for Miss Sipuel—either at the existing school, from which Negroes have been banned, or by setting up a new school for Negroes only. And it refused to take any action at all on the constitutionality of segregation.

Of the two questions, the second is, of course, far more important because it affects all aspects of Negro life in the 20 states and the District of Columbia where local laws specifically require segregation.

By upholding these laws in the Sipuel case, the Court is acting consistently with its own long anti-Negro history and traditions. In fact, this body bears greater responsibility for the pattern of the present Jim Crow system than any other single institution in the country.

The Military Mind

By John F. Petrone

The liberals howled in anguish when President Truman broke his promise to them and refused to re-appoint James M. Landis, an early New Dealer, as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Landis, it was announced, would be replaced by a Wall Street investment banker.

Senator Glen Taylor was so upset that he tore up a statement for the press announcing his decision "not to run for vice-president in Wallace's third party, Max Lerner of PM whined that Truman's dismissal of Landis "because the big airline corporations didn't like him" was another example of how "Truman still falls down, judged by really exacting standards of a fighting liberalism." (But evidently not far enough down for PM to quit supporting him for re-election).

The reaction was so unfavorable that Truman decided not to appoint a banker to the job after all. Since all of Truman's major appointees are either bankers or generals, this left him only one way out. So he appointed a general—Maj. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter.

Henry Wallace was quick to take a crack at this action: "For 15 months I have been pointing out that the president has been handing over control of the administration to Wall Street and military men. It is reported there are now more than 170 former army and navy officers in top civilian posts. It's hard to keep tally on the investment bankers. (Of course, the process actually began long before 15 months ago: to be more exact, it began to assume its present huge proportions under Roosevelt).

While it is hard to keep tally on the growing number of generals and bankers taking over in Washington, it's not hard to see what the effects are. Take the example of General of the Army Marshall, who is hailed as "Man of the Year" by Time magazine. Marshall can hardly conceal his contempt for civilians, in-

Notes from the News

DEMOCRACY, TOBACCO AND PEANUTS — Explaining why he supports the Marshall Plan, Senator A. Willis Robertson, Virginia Democrat, says: "Virginians are opposed to communism, are opposed to the conspiratorial objective of world domination, and they realize our stake in the survival of democracy in Western Europe as a bulwark against Russian expansion as well as a future outlet for our tobacco, peanuts, apples and other export commodities."

CHICANERY IN ILLINOIS — Illinois Democrats have got a court decision barring the new Progressive Party from the ballot as a legal party, even though it received more than the necessary 5% of the votes in last November's elections. The third party is appealing the decision and will go after petitions, if necessary, to put Wallace on the ballot.

FREEDOM LIMITED—Three Negro schoolteachers in New Orleans were arrested when they brought their students to see the Freedom Train.

U. S. POLICE STATE—Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union who recently returned from a tour of the Far East, charges the U. S. has set up "an anti-communist police state" in its occupation zone in Korea.

TOUCHING DEFENSE—William Z. Foster, Stalinist leader, says in the *Daily Worker*: "When Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House his words could be depended on." Like his promise to keep the U. S. out of war?

There is Truman, pride of the Pendergast machine, colleague of Rankin and Howard Smith. He's anxious for votes and scared of Wallace. So he promises \$40 a year more in every pocketbook and peace on earth. It sounds good—except he wants a \$40 billion war budget and compulsory military training.

Taft is swinging at Truman in the name of "free enterprise" and against "regimentation," "bureaucracy" and "totalitarianism." Mouth-filling words—but not broad enough to cover up the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act.

They are joined in the demagogue free-for-all by a past master, Wallace. He plays on the fear of war and hatred of imperialism. This wartime vice president of American imperialism says he will lead us to the promised land of peace—via a few detours, such as continued occupation of Germany and Japan, the United Nations and "enlightened capitalism."

Never say what you mean or mean what you say. That's the slogan of the capitalist demagogues, and we are in for it. Start ducking. That pin in the sky is falling right on our heads. This is no fable.

THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1948

Mass Action Defeats Rent-Hike Attempt by Detroit Landlords

Gunmen Hired To Break Strike

AKRON, Jan. 14 — Armed thugs and gunmen have been hired to break the strike of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen against the Akron-Barberton Belt Line railroad. The entire working force of this small but strategic railroad has walked out after fruitless negotiations carried on since 1946.

At issue are 6 changes in present working rules that would bring conditions on the Belt Line up to standards already prevailing on the main line.

The Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and Erie Railroads, joint operators of the Belt Line, have refused to meet with the strikers, and are attempting to operate with scabs and imported gunmen. Approximately 30 scabs are trying to run trains, according to union members.

The company's claim that boxcars are being moved onto the main lines is disputed by H. M. Drillian, chairman of the B. R. T. Lodge. The entire working force is out and picketing in complete solidarity with the 24 trainmen directly involved, he said.

Although the railroad is small, employing only 40 workers, it is strategic to Akron industry. All but one of the great rubber plants are entirely dependent on the Belt Line for railroad shipments. A prolonged strike would seriously affect their operations.

According to Chairman Drillian, the workers of the Belt Line are being used as guinea pigs for a company offensive against the railroad unions through use of the Taft-Hartley Law. The important railroad interests controlling the Belt Line, their refusal to even meet with the union, and their use of scabs and thugs to break the strike, show the serious implications of this strike for all labor.

Seek to Knife 40-Hour Week

CLEVELAND, Jan. 14 —

Leading corporations here have

opened up a local campaign in line with the National Association of Manufacturer's drive on Congress to wipe out the 40-hour week and end overtime pay after 40 hours.

Nineteen Cleveland industrial firms, employing a total of 50,000 workers, have sent a petition to Congress demanding that the Fair Labor Standards Act (Wages and Hours) be dismembered.

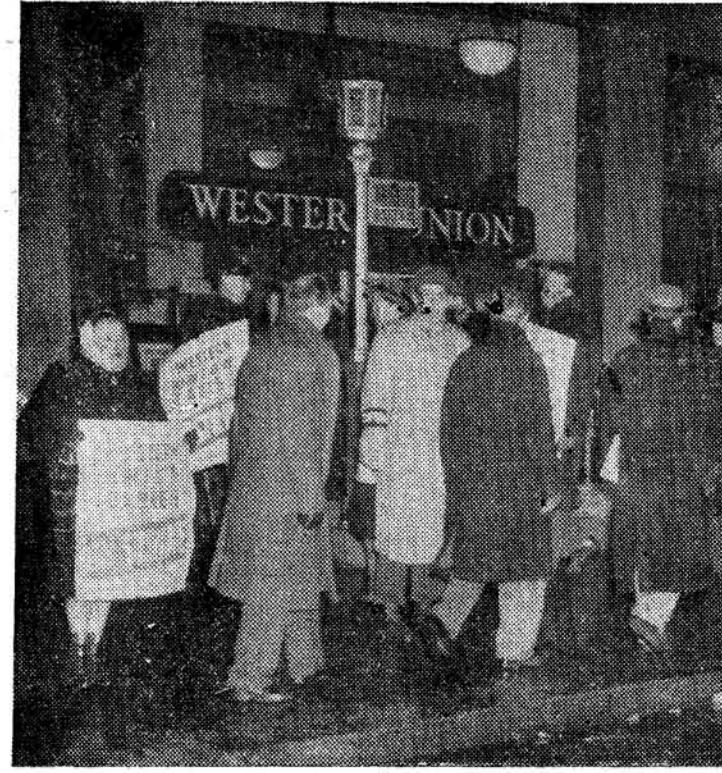
They want the right to establish a 48-hour week "if the majority of employees in a plant vote to approve." In many instances they feel they can coerce workers into voting for a straight-time 48-hour week by threats of discontinuing all overtime work under present standards and reducing take-home pay.

They also want to eliminate a large section of workers—so-called "fringe" employees—from coverage by the Wages-Hours law and seek the right to set up "training" programs without pay for "trainees."

Among the signers of the petition is the notorious Thompson Products, one of the few remaining open shop firms in the auto industry, that has successfully prevented union organization for a decade by every form of intimidation and coercion.

Stachel says that, according to Browder, "because the U. S. joined in the war against the Axis on the

ACA on Strike



More than 3,000 members of the American Communications Assn. (CIO) walked off their jobs when the big four international telegraph companies refused to grant wage increases. Here pickets do their stint outside the Western Union office in New York.

Federated Pictures

DETROIT, Dec. 30 — 1,000 tenants and property holders attended the Detroit Area Rent Advisory Board hearings on its proposal to lift all rent controls in the Detroit area. The Board was considering three landlord-inspired proposals which would either lift controls entirely or else provide for a flat 15% increase.

The hearing was the climax of many months of struggle between Detroit's realty corporations and the organized tenants. This contest brought picket lines before the meetings of the landlord-controlled Detroit Area Rent Advisory Board. It saw the resignation of the three UAW-CIO members from the Board, and the march of several hundred tenants on Lansing, the state capital.

The Detroit tenants entered this last ditch battle against heavy odds. The UAW-CIO Housing Department, which formerly spearheaded the tenants' struggle, had been abolished by the new UAW leadership. The Michigan State CIO Council, under August Scholle, discouraged and denounced the organization of tenants' councils as "communist schemes." Walter Reuther was prevailed upon to represent the Detroit tenants at the hearing only after a group of housewives threatened a sit-down strike at the International UAW-CIO headquarters.

Little effort was made by the speakers were lustily cheered and boozed. The rascous property owners merely received a gentle nod from the chair. But a few cheers from the tenants immediately brought the police into their midst. A war veteran who protested the lack of veteran representatives was summarily ejected from the hall by the police.

Although several hundred applications to testify had been submitted, mainly by tenant and labor organizations, the chair recognized fifteen, only five of whom were tenant-labor representatives.

SIX PROPOSALS

Irving Kasoff, attorney for the 28,000 member Greater Detroit Tenants Council presented a brief for his organization with the following proposals:

1. A general statistical survey of the actual rent and housing situation in the Detroit area. Such a survey had been conducted in nearby Ann Arbor, a city of 35,000 people, and it revealed that over 50% of the landlords were for rent control.

2. Enactment of legislation to end speculation in Detroit real estate. A moratorium on the sale of all real estate.

3. Open the books of the Detroit real estate corporations.

4. Initiation of a broad low-cost low rent housing program.

5. Memorialize the Governor and State Legislature for enabling legislation which would allow the City of Detroit to enact its own rent control ordinance.

6. Enactment by the Detroit Common Council of an ordinance which would enable the Board of Health to prosecute all landlords for a failure to provide adequate heat to tenanted houses.

Principal spokesman for continued control was Walter Reuther. He represented himself as a citizen, a property holder, and finally as president of the UAW-CIO. He declared that, "there is no moral or economic reason for any lifting of rent controls."

The great pressure exerted by the mass of tenants at the hearing finally forced the recognition of other speakers in behalf of continued rent control. But the Stalinists—all the Stalinists, Foster and Stachel as well as Browder—vigorously denied this, urging the workers to even break strikes in the interests of supporting U. S. imperialism.

Stachel now seems to criticize Browder for repeating the line they all espoused during the war, but nowhere has the CP withdrawn its characterization of the "progressive" role of U. S. imperialism in that war. And to this day the Stalinists howl about the need to "return to the policies of FDR"—which, according to Leninism, could be nothing but reactionary.

Furthermore, if imperialism is not a policy preferred by the capitalists, but a stage in the development of capitalism, which entered the stage of imperialism more than 30 years ago, played a necessarily reactionary role in World War II, no matter whom it was allied with.

That is what the Trotskyists said before, during and after the war. But the Stalinists—all the Stalinists, Foster and Stachel as well as Browder—vigorously denied this, urging the workers to even break strikes in the interests of supporting U. S. imperialism.

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The great pressure exerted by the mass of tenants at the hearing finally forced the recognition of other speakers in behalf of continued rent control. Contrary to the original expectation of the real-estate interests, the Detroit Rent Advisory Board was forced to postpone its decision to decontrol. The tenants won this first round in the battle.



WHY MARSHALL PLAN WON'T WORK

By Arthur Burch

After the U. S. poured 15 billion dollars into Europe in the space of two years with no perceptible economic improvement, the State Department formulated a plan to end this perpetual debt. Marshall proposed to put Europe on a four-year budget in which the heavy initial outlay from the United States would diminish yearly. At the end of four years European capitalism was supposed to be reconstructed on a firm economic basis making further aid unnecessary.

Marshall requested the European countries to draw up a comprehensive statement of their present resources as well as additional plants and improvements needed to re-establish their economy. They not only had to estimate the cost of rehabilitating industries destroyed by the war. Their problem was further aggravated because their would-be benefactor, American imperialism, had gobbled up Europe's gold and foreign investments.

Marshall claims that his plan is a good business risk—a "calculated risk." But many capitalist experts are becoming dubious of the whole scheme, and its worth. The *United States News* of Nov. 17, 1947 states: "U. S. with all its dollars, however,

can't keep Europe from going through the wringer at some time, can't pour in enough money to prevent that." *Business Week* also gives a negative answer to the question "Will the Marshall Plan Work?" A growing number of economic experts and journalists are coming to the same conclusion. What are some of the factors which give rise to these opinions?

Europe must not only rebuild a capital plant devastated by the war, but must expand that plant to provide increased exports to make up for loss of foreign investments. Thus the Paris report calls for capital investment outlays of 3 to 5 billion dollars in steel, power, mining, agricultural equipment and shipbuilding industries. More billions are needed for other industries. To achieve the Marshall Plan goals Europe has to set aside 20% of its total output for capital expansion.

Even the U. S., with a far superior industrial plant undamaged by the war, spends less than 17% for capital expansion. "So it's obvious that Europe has bitten off more than it can chew," concludes *Business Week*.

Furthermore, the plan outlined by

the 16-nation conference called for shipment by the U. S. of 1½ billion dollars worth of capital equipment. But this has already been sliced almost one-third in the present plan figures. And even this does not tell the whole story. For, in order to obtain the necessary food, fuel and raw materials, Europe has been forced to export machinery badly needed for its own expansion.

The Paris report, according to McGraw-Hill's *Electrical World*, projects the building of 22½ million kw. of new power capacity in 51 months. The U. S. plans to increase capacity by 15-million kw. over a period of 60 months. To think that Europe, with a weaker industrial base, can outstrip the U. S. by 50% is nothing short of fantastic. The Harriman Committee correctly summarized the situation by stating:

"It seems unlikely that European nations can prudently afford to sustain capital investments on a scale as they have planned." Britain at once confirmed the correctness of this conclusion by slashing outlays for capital investment by one-fifth or 280 million pounds. France has also been forced to cut its capital budget. Nor is this all. The American

steel trust stands as another roadblock to European recovery. Not only does it limit steel output in this country, but it decries its curtailment abroad. The Paris proposal allowed for a 2½ billion dollar steel plant expansion requiring 400 million dollars in new steel-making equipment from this country. Washington's experts cut this down to 192 million dollars—less than half. This sharp curtailment in steel-making machinery exports means that the whole plan must fail of its stated objectives, even were all other factors favorable.

The American industrialists are far more interested in preserving their monopoly of steel exports than in reviving a competitor. The steel barons have no objections to shipping finished steel to Europe. As a matter of fact, they are offering even a larger shipment than asked for in the Paris report. But the American steel masters have no intention of rehabilitating their rivals, especially when all world markets have shrunk.

Europe is thus being "helped" by its big brother across the ocean in the same way that Europe once "helped" its colonies.