

NORMAN THOMAS AND HIS BACKERS

— See Page 2 —

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII — No. 20

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 17, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

TRUMAN INJUNCTION BUSTS RAIL STRIKE

Housing--A Capitalist Crime, Dobbs Tells Senate Hearing

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, denounced the capitalist conspiracy on housing in the following statement submitted to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on May 12.

I want to talk today about an iron curtain. This particular iron curtain was not fabricated by Russians or totalitarianism. This iron curtain carries the trade mark "Made in U.S.A." — it was made by the capitalist system which is strangely called "free enterprise." I am talking about the iron curtain that separates millions of American working class families from decent homes and innumerable cases from many homes at all. I am talking about the iron curtain which separates the veterans and their families from the lofty promises of modern, livable and low rent housing accommodations which were made to them during the war.

The record proves beyond a doubt that Congress has not kept the promises which were made to the veterans. But this is all in the tradition of giving soldiers a promissory note to make them fight the rich man's wars and then welching on the note when it came due for collection. The tradition is as old as America. The merchants and bankers of the revolutionary years led by their evil genius Alexander Hamilton contrived the great swindle of cheating the veterans of Valley Forge out of their earnings by manipulating the value of the currency. About seventy years later the corrupt agents of the industrial barons and the railroad kings swindled the Civil War veterans out of their homesteads—that too, gentlemen, might be called a housing scandal.

The war hysteria now being whipped up right here in Washington from the floor of Congress is not unconnected with the shortage of homes in this country. It is a method as old as class society itself. It began with the circus the Roman slave masters employed to divert the attention of hungry, homeless and discontented people. Hitler and Mussolini brought this method to modern perfection—when concentration camps

and jails proved inadequate they were quick to beat the war drums in order to divert the attention of German or Italian workmen from their wretched working and living conditions.

The failure to provide housing is the failure of capitalism. By the same token it puts the mark of bankruptcy upon political parties which make the defense of the system of private profit the cardinal plank in their platform. Regardless of the turn in the economic cycle the housing crisis has remained with us. Former President Roosevelt declared during the last devastating depression, in the first year of his administration, that one-third of the nation was ill-housed. Today at the peak of the postwar boom with national income at a record level President Truman tells us that the housing situation is "almost fatal."

Seek Profit, Ignore Need

Why was there no genuine alleviation of the housing shortage during the last depression? The banks had billions of dollars in idle capital. There were tens of thousands of unemployed building trades craftsmen and many more jobless in the building materials industries. Despite the great need for homes, the banks, mortgage and insurance companies and real estate interests deliberately blocked a building program for low cost housing because a profitable market was lacking—that is, because the earning power of working people was too low to pay the exorbitant rents which would make a large-scale building program profitable.

Since Roosevelt made his melancholy remarks about the housing problem, the crisis has become far more acute and aggravated. It is conservatively estimated that there are at least between 2,500,000 and 5,000,000 families who are doubled up with friends or relatives, crowded into unsanitary trailer camps and dingy hotel rooms—families who live under such conditions that they can best be described as homeless. This does not include between 18-21,000,000 non-farm city and rural families who live in substandard and slum dwellings. Most of these structures are in an advanced state of deterioration and many of them, now fully occupied, have long ago been condemned as uninhabitable by official agencies in the major cities.

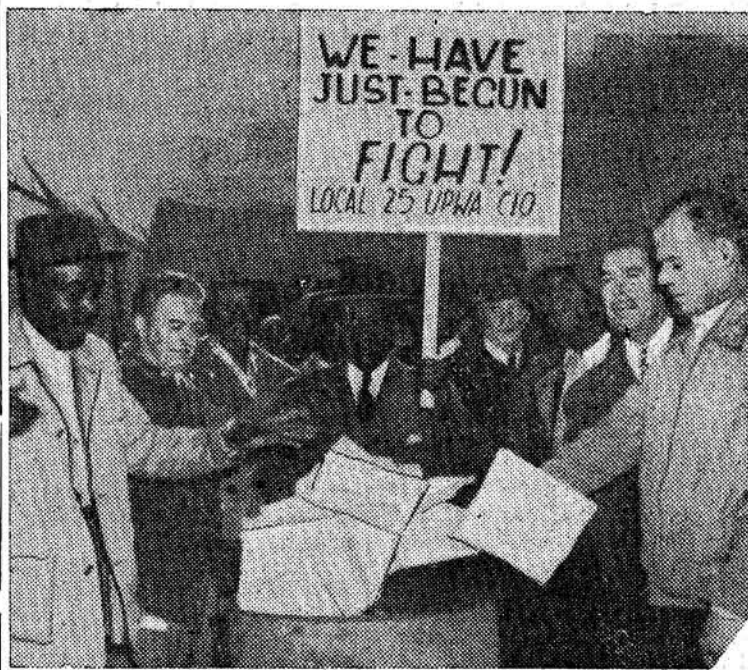
When an innocent man is wrongly sentenced to die for a crime he did not commit there is a great outcry at such a miscarriage of justice. Even Congress might be prevailed to help redress the wrong. But the failure of capitalist business and its political representatives in the national government to alleviate the housing shortage is tantamount to a sentence of premature death to millions of slum dwellers in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Detroit, Cincinnati, Columbus and other major cities. Yet there is no major outcry against this national injustice—

(Continued on page 2)



FARRELL DOBBS

Strikers Hold Firm



Despite police brutality and company strike-breaking, 100,000 members of CIO Packinghouse Workers hold firm in their strike. Here a group of Chicago pickets answers company leaflets urging a back-to-work movement by dumping them in a wastebasket.

Federated Pictures

75,000 Chrysler Workers Strike In Three States

75,000 Auto workers in Michigan, Indiana and California

struck against the Chrysler Corporation on May 12, after talks between the union and the company broke down completely.

"We'll give them the damnedest strike they ever had," Norman Matthews, head of the union Chrysler department told reporters, as he emerged from a meeting with 100 rank and file representatives of the Chrysler locals.

The union representatives, in the last meeting with the company, scaled down the original demands for a 30-cent hourly wage increase plus 5 cents an hour for supplementary demands to a straight across-the-board 17-cent an hour increase. The company turned this down and offered no counter proposal.

The company had previously proposed a 6-cent hourly increase which the union rejected. When U.S. Steel came out with its "no wage increases" announcement, Chrysler Corp. withdrew its offer.

HUGE PROFITS

In big ads run in the Detroit daily papers, the auto union pointed out that Chrysler profits in 1947, after taxes, came to 25.6% of its investment; greater even than the industry averaged which was 17%. Chrysler profits were so great that each Chrysler worker produced 68 cents in profit for the corporation every hour he worked. The union figures demonstrated that the company could grant a 30-cent increase and still make 14 1-1% on its investment, after taxes.

In contrast, the Chrysler workers are forced to live on an income thirteen dollars below the minimum weekly income fixed by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics as the bare subsistence budget for a city worker's family of four.

Meanwhile the situation at GM was coming to a head. On May 5, over 200 delegates, representing 60 General Motors plants throughout the country, voted to terminate the union contract and take a strike poll by May 23. The General Motors Corporation representatives have been even more arrogant than Chrysler in the negotiations with the union. They offered absolutely no wage increase and have taken the offensive in making demands upon the union for the restoration of the hated piece work system plus the other drastic contract changes.

There is no disguising the fact that morale in the GM shops is very low. The auto workers will unquestionably vote to back up their union bargaining committee, but this vote will in no way signify confidence in the strategy of the Reuther leadership.

All Militant readers who want to help in the campaign are urged to write the SWP at 855 Grand Ave. in New Haven or 165 Main St. in New Britain.

The Wage Fight And Labor's Tasks

An Editorial

The labor movement is in full retreat. The third round wage campaign of the CIO is becoming a shambles.

The CIO Packinghouse Union was permitted by the national CIO to go up by itself against the entrenched might of the profit-swollen meat trusts. The strike is in its ninth week, the packinghouse workers are being bled white and the companies are now promoting a back-to-work movement to actually smash the strike.

Philip Murray, who, as president of the CIO, is supposed to be leading the whole national fight, has checked out altogether. First he fixed the steelworkers up good and proper with a two-year "no-strike pledge" contract. And now that the steel trust has contemptuously said "No" to his wage pleas, he has decided to sit out the third wage round.

The auto union leadership is obviously still wedded to Reuther's one-at-a-time strategy, which proved so costly and ineffective in the 1945 General Motors strike. 75,000 Chrysler workers have now been forced to strike for decent living wages. The union is going through the motions of a strike vote at GM and the Ford contract is about to expire, but there is no disposition to adopt an industry-wide strategy of negotiations and strike action.

The AFL and Brotherhood leaders present an even sordid spectacle of disunity and ineffectiveness. After permitting themselves to be tied up for months and months by the red tape of the Rail Labor Act, the rail union leaders break ranks and all but three of the unions accept the totally inadequate wage increases. When the government as strikebreaker cracks down on the three unions that continue the fight for a 30% wage increase, the rest of the labor leaders remain mum—just as they did in the case of the miners—and do nothing to come to the help of their embattled fellow unionists.

Is it any wonder that under this bankrupt leadership the union ranks are growing demoralized?

This present sad state of affairs proves forcefully that the time is past when even big national unions can singly challenge the huge, enormously rich, enormously powerful American billionaire corporations aided and abetted as they are by the strikebreaking paraphernalia of the capitalist state. The unions will have to unify their wage fights, practice solidarity and militancy in action, embark on independent labor politics—or they will suffer one catastrophe after another.

Imagine, for a moment, if the steel and auto unions joined with the miners in signing a defensive and offensive pact and all three moved together to settle their wage demands on the rule of "one for all and all for one." The effrontery and swagger of the corporations would be knocked out of them pretty fast, wouldn't it?

That is the policy that the times call for. That is the policy that the militants in all the unions must begin demanding! And the simplest way to achieve it is by convoking a broad CONFERENCE OF LABOR of all the leading unions to organize a unified strategy of action on the labor front.

Stalin Bids Openly For Deal with U.S.

The much-rumored bid by the Kremlin for a deal with Washington has finally materialized. Rebuffed in previous private approaches for a rapid

proclamation early this year, Moscow has utilized a recent interchange of notes between U.S. Ambassador General Walter Bedell Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov in order to launch publicly its "peace offensive."

The chronology of events is approximately as follows. On May 4, upon cabled instructions from Washington, General Smith delivered an "oral" statement to Molotov. This declaration reiterated Washington's "cold war" policy and emphasized this policy would continue regardless of any political or economic changes that might occur in the United States. Appended to this blunt "statement for the record" was a formula to the effect that a "door always remains open for discussion and settlement of our differences." This "open door" formula was used by Truman himself in his speech to Congress last March when the rearmament program was launched.

Yet it was precisely upon this vague formula that the Kremlin diplomats pounced, pretending that it was actually an invitation for bi-lateral negotiations. On May 9, Molotov handed Smith a reply which begins with a blunt acceptance of the American "proposal to begin... a discussion and settlement of the differences existing between us."

The pay-off came the next night when the Moscow radio broadcast to the world the text of this diplomatic interchange. This move caught Washington completely by surprise. General Smith complained that it was a break of "confidence."

Even if successful, Moscow's bid for a deal with Washington would only postpone the final showdown temporarily. The possibility of a deal at a later stage, when Washington's relative position will be strengthened through rearmament, the operation of the ERP, and the solidification of the Western Bloc cannot be excluded. But for the time being there is little inclination in Washington to ease up on the "cold war" policy.

As a maneuver the Kremlin's diplomatic gambit is both sensational and skillful. But the cleverest maneuvers can never decide any basic issues, least of all, the current conflict between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

Even if successful, Moscow's bid for a deal with Washington would only postpone the final showdown temporarily. The possibility of a deal at a later stage, when Washington's relative position will be strengthened through rearmament, the operation of the ERP, and the solidification of the Western Bloc cannot be excluded. But for the time being there is little inclination in Washington to ease up on the "cold war" policy.

Uses 1916 Statute As Pretext for Gov't Seizure

By George Lavan

Again the Truman administration has rushed to the aid of Big Business

to smash the impending strike of railroad workers. Seizing the railroads under a phony "state of war," the government then got an injunction forbidding the strike from its favorite strike-breaking judge, T. Alan Goldsborough.

Faced with the possibility of fines and jail sentences, the heads of the three unions, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Switchmen Union, called off the strike.

NOT THE ARMY

The government seizure is phony not only because the 1916 law, used as a pretext, permits seizure "in time of war," to move troops, but because the Army is not really taking over the railroads. What has happened is that railroad officials have been commissioned into the Army as colonels and brigadier generals. The same anti-labor officials will run the "seized" railroads, the same companies will make the profits and the workers will be chained to the same working conditions. Judge Goldsborough gained his fame for million-dollar fines and injunctions against the United Mine Workers Union. The present injunction will last till May 19. Then Goldsborough will hold a hearing to extend the injunction. Meanwhile Navy Secretary Kenneth C. Royall, announced that he had no authority to settle the issues in dispute.

The three union heads pledged to fight the government's efforts to obtain an injunction and for higher pay and better working conditions.

NEAR THE BOTTOM

Actually the record of the Brotherhood chiefs is a very poor one. Their present stand of putting up some show of fighting for a 30% wage increase and improved working conditions stems from the enormous pressure on them from an aroused rank and file.

For years these fat bureaucrats have allowed the conditions of railroad workers to deteriorate. The railroaders, still called the "aristocrats" of labor, are pretty shabby aristocrats today. 28 years ago they ranked second highest in wages. Today they are near the bottom of the list, in 27th place.

This drop is accounted for by the inaction of the well-paid officials who ran the unions as adjuncts to enormous insurance companies they had built up. Union funds are used for speculation in real estate and other ventures. All the time the Railway Labor Act, boosted and extolled by these same bureaucrats, enmeshed the unions in a stranglehold of endless negotiation, mediation, runaround and red tape.

CALL FOR UNITY

In the past few years the rank and file particularly of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions, has been threatening the bureaucrats, with drastic action. In both of these organizations—which are completely dual in nature to each other—the rank and file forced through, at their last conventions, the setting up of consolidation committees to unify the two organizations, as a step toward achieving a more modern workable setup on the railroads.

That is why the leaders of the BLE and BLF & E refused the paltry 15 1-2 cent award of the Presidential Fact Finding Board which was accepted by the other rail unions and are continuing to demand wage increases commensurate with the increase in the cost of living and the elimination of the present antiquated working rules. While a number of the CIO unions are now demanding and fighting for their third round of wage increases to meet the soaring inflation, the railroad workers are still fighting for the second round.

CIO Sharply Denounces Anti-Labor Mundt Bill

The CIO has officially come out against the Mundt Bill, whose passage would constitute a mortal blow to civil liberties in this country and thereby endanger the very existence of organized labor.

After attacking the Mundt Bill editorially in the May 10 CIO News, the CIO, through its legislative director, Nathan Cowan, sent letters on May 11 to Congressmen demanding that they vote against this bill. At the same time Cowan also sent letters to CIO affiliates throughout the country asking them to "mobilize public opinion" to defeat the bill.

The CIO News editorial branded the Mundt Bill as a "legislative monstrosity" which would penalize people for their ideas and beliefs and institute the infamous procedure of "guilt by association."

It then goes on to correctly point out that this bill vests "discretionary powers" in the hands of the Attorney General that would enable the latter to "destroy or seriously harm" any organization he might choose "through error or design" in addition to the Communist Party against which the bill is directly aimed.

Cowan's letter to the CIO

unions underscores the urgency of the situation and calls for immediate action in mobilizing mass protest.

This vigorous stand of the CIO is a welcome development as the highest bodies of the organized labor movement have been remiss thus far in recognizing and combating the terrible threat implicit in the Mundt Bill and the red-baiting campaign, in general. The top AFL leadership is still silent on the issue.

Among the organizations that have thus far voiced their opposition to the Mundt Bill are the Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, the "Committee of One Thousand," a recently formed group of writers, artists, scientists, educators and clergymen. The National Lawyers Guild has also denounced it as the "deadliest fruit of a period of mounting hysteria and oppression."

NO PUBLIC HEARINGS

The public fight against this "police state" measure has been severely handicapped by the high-handed decision not to hold any public hearings. Protests against this on the floor of the House of Representatives have proved unavailing.

The Mundt Bill has been cleared for House debate on Thursday, May 13, with the House Rules Committee limiting the entire discussion to six hours.

Its passage in the House appears virtually assured. The sweep of reaction in Washington

is underscored by the fact that only a few weeks ago, on April 29, the House by a vote of 271 to 95 approved in substance one of the key clauses in the Mundt Bill—"guilt by association"—by passing a rider to an appropriation bill. This rider prohibits the use of any funds to pay any Federal employee belonging to a union that has failed to file the "yellow dog" affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Law.

Another indication of the mood prevalent in Congress is a clause contained in a resolution recently introduced by Rep. Clare Hoffman (R. Mich.). According to a provision in this resolution any congressional committee could label information "confidential" and any one disclosing such information—including congressmen and reporters—would be liable to a prison term and a fine. Provisions of this sort would quickly make a dead letter of all freedom of speech and of the press.

At the same time, the drive to stamp out academic freedom continues unabated. The latest victim of the witch-hunters is Clyde R. Miller, Associate Professor of Education in Columbia Teachers College. He was one of the signatories of a protest against the film "Iron Curtain." His dismissal comes in the wake of the dismissals of a number of other professors throughout the country whose sole "crime" has consisted of supporting Wallace's candidacy.

New Recruits for Norman Thomas' Campaign

By G. F. Eckstein

On May 5 a group of parsons, union bureaucrats and traditional Social Democrats issued a call to the Socialist Party to draft Norman Thomas as its candidate for President. Among the names, however, astonishingly appeared two — James T. Farrell, the well-known novelist and Harold Isaacs, designated in the document as author of *No Peace for Asia*, both of them hitherto widely known as Marxists.

The document to which Farrell and Isaacs attached their signatures declared that the United States needs a President "who stands for peace," "who opposes the 'free enterprise' slogans of Truman, Taft and Wallace," "who will bring us democratic social ownership of America's major industries to prevent a new depression." Needed also is "a mass political party... dedicated to a program like that of the British Labor Party." To realize this urgent need Farrell and Isaacs join in calling upon the Socialist Party to "nominate its most forceful spokesman, Norman Thomas, who has so ably championed the cause of the most downtrodden workers in America, and fought so devotedly for freedom and peace throughout the world."

BETRAYAL OF MARXISM

The statement, which calls for a program like that of the traitorous British Labor Party, is by itself a betrayal of Marxism. What makes the signatures of Farrell and Isaacs appended to this document so unexpected is that no one has ever seen any declaration by them repudiating Marxism. What makes it nauseating is the contempt that Farrell and Isaacs show for the left-wing movement when they recommend Norman Thomas as a fighter against war.

They did not have to wait long to see Thomas once more discredit himself. At the Socialist convention in Reading, last week-end, Thomas, as presidential candidate, repeated the liberal rubbish of a democratic federal world government through the United Nations. How was this to be achieved? This alleged socialist proposed giving the United Nations power to deal with aggression through abolition of the veto.

Some misguided innocents proposed a pacifist program of civil disobedience to the war. This at least implied some sort of opposition. They were voted down. The Socialist Party convention asks the capitalists to abolish war and organize an international social order.

Such "socialism" is perfectly acceptable to the capitalists. It does them no harm and is of wonderful service in reconciling workers—who are becoming daily more hostile to capitalism and its wars—to the existing order.

The May 11 N. Y. Times gives Norman Thomas a special editorial, which ends as follows:

"It is good to have Mr. Thomas in the field. It is good to have a left-wing splinter that is actually in the American tradition so far as its methods go. We cannot wish Mr. Thomas success in his campaign, but we are not sorry that this sort of campaign is being made by this sort of man. It won't do us any harm at all."

This is precisely what the Marxists have said, and have been abused for saying, these 30 years about men like Thomas; and one of the most important tasks of the struggle against war and for socialism is the exposure and discrediting of these scoundrels. Thomas is no misguided, confused pacifist. He is a skillful exploiter of the socialist instincts of the workers for the benefit of American imperialism.

In the days of peace before 1939, and even before 1941, Thomas and the Socialist Party repeatedly proclaimed that they would never under any circumstances support a capitalist war. When war broke out in Europe, Thomas, a leading figure in the "Keep America Out of War Committee," warned against the intervention of the United States government and vowed that he, for one, would have no part

of it. But once the war began, Norman Thomas did his share for the imperialists. "I said," he wrote in the N. Y. Times of May 12, 1943, "as I have said many times before, that once in the war, it certainly had to be prosecuted until we reached a point where we could not suffer under an uneasy and oppressive truce dictated by the Nazi and Japanese war lords."

First, steam up the people when there is no war, then when the war comes and the people look to you for leadership, warn them that you are against the war, but the war nevertheless must be won.

What better "anti-war" advocate could American imperialism need? Hence the publicity Thomas always gets in the press, on the radio, everywhere. It isn't only that, as The Times says, he doesn't do any harm. The more the capitalists boost his "anti-war" program and his "socialism," the easier it is to prevent the revolutionary socialists from getting a hearing. James T. Farrell and Harold Isaacs knew all this once.

In 1939 Farrell signed the Statement to American Writers and Artists published by the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism. This statement denounced the growing reaction which accompanied the propaganda for a new war. It denounced Stalinism: "Shall we abandon the ideals of revolutionary socialism because one political group, while clinging to its name, has so miserably betrayed its principles? Shall we revert to a program of middle-class democracy because the Kremlin government, in obedience to its own interests—which are no longer the interests of the Soviet people or of the masses anywhere—directs us to do so? On the contrary, we reject all such demands," etc. etc.

Farrell knew then what has today become so much plainer, that capitalist democracy offers nothing but increasing reaction and war:

"Democracy under industrial capitalism can offer no permanent haven to the intellectual worker and artist. In its instability it becomes the breeding ground of dictatorship. . . In the revolutionary reconstruction of society lies the hope of the world."

THE REAL FIGHTERS

What has Norman Thomas in common with all this? If he voiced such opinions loudly and clearly just once, he would be driven out of the imperialist press and radio and would be mentioned, if at all, only with abuse and curses. Farrell not only understood the Norman Thomas type of windbag, but also knew, from personal experience the dirty role these types played, and who were the real fighters against the war.

In 1943, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party went to jail for their refusal to compromise on their revolutionary opposition to the war. At the farewell dinner which preceded their imprisonment, Farrell related his personal experience with fake anti-war fighters who betrayed the anti-war struggle and the revolutionary aspirations of the youth. He drew the line clearly between these and the real anti-war fighters of the SWP. Said Farrell in a speech printed in *The Militant* of Jan. 11, 1944:

"Felix Morrow spoke about the time when he was a young socialist and what had happened to those who had been in the Yipsels with him. Well, when Danny O'Neill was a boy in college—that is, when my generation was becoming educated—the whole preparation of our generation was a preparation to meet the next imperialist war. In those days we burned with a kind of fierce rebellion and politically unclear resentment against the sacrifices of the first imperialist war, and we realized that we had to do everything possible to fight the second imperialist war."

"Out of that generation the intellectuals have gone the same way as Felix Morrow's Yipsel comrades, and today those who are left and who have been fighting this war are very few in this country. Among them are the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case. I consider it an honor that I have been asked to speak here tonight and publicly to say farewell to them as friends and comrades."

Housing-A Capitalist Crime, Dobbs Tells Senate Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

at least none that can be heard over the din that is made for military preparation and war. These millions live under indescribable conditions, congested in overcrowded tenements, surrounded by filth, vermin, rats and disease, and live in perpetual danger of fire.

Those who boast of the "American way of life" must have in mind the fine mansions and sumptuously appointed apartments on Park Avenue in New York or on the Gold Coast in Chicago or in Detroit's Grosse Pointe where it is pleasant to discuss the "housing problem." While a handful enjoy such handsome accommodations, the iron curtain is drawn tight over the slums of New York's Harlem or lower East Side, Detroit's Black Bottom, Pittsburgh's Hill District, New Orleans' Irish Channel, Cincinnati's Basin or the Sausage Row in Columbus.

The economics text books in the schools and colleges tell us that under the system of private enterprise capital seeks places of investment where demand is greatest. That was true when capitalism flourished as a progressive system in this country. But it is no longer true today.

The truth is that the big capitalist interests—the banks, insurance companies and real estate interests—are deliberately obstructing any substantial alleviation of the housing shortage. The present scarcity is far more profitable to them than would be the building of low-cost units on a large scale. It is estimated that a substantial profit could be realized with 15% of the housing units vacant. Today virtually every inch of space, from the attic to the cellar, is occupied by tenants who are paying exorbitant rents. The cost of maintenance and upkeep for these units has never before constituted such a small percentage of operating expenses. Profits from real estate stand at a record high.

Large scale new construction at low rentals would enter into competition with the present properties held by the real estate interests and would tend to curb and lower these fabulous profits. Therefore, the monopoly interests seek to sabotage, obstruct and strangle a genuine housing program—regardless of the great demand.

There is further evidence that bears out this point. Real estate interests are not averse to building, provided the sales or rental price is well over a rigidly established minimum. There is no scarcity of high rental apartments and expensive homes. Builders consider \$80 a month rental in major cities the lowest profitable basis on which to base construction figures. We have before us the example of construction under the Patman Bill. This bill dipped into the treasury in order to give 400 million dollars in bonuses to material producers with the aim of constructing houses that would sell at a \$6,000 maximum and would rent for \$50 for five rooms in the New York area. In practice, however, sales prices ranged from \$10-18,000 in the area and rentals were set by OPA for three rooms at \$79 plus \$3 maintenance. Most of these houses were high-priced jerry-built shacks built with green lumber and inferior construction standards, small rooms on very small lots. Veterans and their families were the victims of this "free enterprise."

This high-priced form of housing construction is completely out of the reach of the vast majority of America's wage earning population. Some 18-21 million families pay rentals of \$39 or less in cities and \$29 or less in non-farm rural areas. With the present high cost of living, even this rent works a great hardship on large numbers. But the needs of the American people are of little consequence to the great monopoly in-

terests. Big Business considers the American people no less objects for exploitation than it does Chinese coolies, Egyptian cotton pickers or Bolivian tin miners. They have, in effect, decreed that the slums shall remain, that millions shall continue to be homeless because the profit rate on low rental housing is not high enough to risk the investment of capital.

Congress of Homebreakers

What has been done since the end of the war? It is not correct to say that nothing has been done. Congress has been very active in that time. Active in blocking the development of any genuine housing program. Active in undermining rent controls, making it easier for the real estate sharks and the rent hogs to gouge the people. Congress has thus been serving the big banks and the real estate lobbies, guarding their interests against the growing mass of destitute Americans. It has been a Congress of Homebreakers.

Those who defend capitalism charge that socialism would break up the family. There is no socialism in this country, but what has happened to the family under capitalism? It is being reared today under such crowded and unhealthy conditions as to stunt and deform the bodies of the children, to debase all standards of morality and decency and to breed juvenile delinquency and crime on a scale unparalleled in American history. The home, for millions of the youth today, has become a hated, unorganized barracks, producing only the desire for flight.

The Taft-Elliender-Wagner Bill, which if I am not mistaken has been kicked around in Congress for the last two or three years, is a most pitiable caricature of a housing program. The bill calls for a total of 15 million homes to be built in the next ten years. That in itself would be a great achievement even though almost twice that many units are needed to rescue the American people from sub-standard and slum housing conditions.

But the joker is that, out of the 15 million projected units, not more than a half million units—that is, those to be built by the government—stand a chance of being built in the next five years. That amount won't even cover demands created by the normal increase in population let alone seriously alleviate the distress among the millions doubled up with relatives and otherwise homeless.

The rest of the 14 1/2 million units are mostly "castles in the air" as far as the average veteran and worker is concerned. Private industry which is urged to construct these units has not and will not build low-cost housing on so large a scale. That fact has been amply demonstrated in the past years. There is even more direct evidence in New York City where generous grants given to private builders and insurance companies for slum clearance and low-cost housing resulted in a total of 12,400 new units, in a city which has an actual shortage of 264,500 units, not including the need to replace 861,110 units in condemned and sub-standard dwellings.

The real estate interests will not build low cost housing but they will use the provisions of the bill to continue their raids on the public treasury. They will unquestionably accept the half billion dollar federal appropriation to be matched by an equal amount for slum clearance by municipalities in order to purchase real property for a song. They will undoubtedly utilize the additional 1,600,000,000 dollars government guarantee of mortgages to further feather their nests. Homes for the rich and well-to-do may be a by-product of this plan, but to say that millions of working-

Congress of Fourth International



The Presidium of the Second Congress of the Fourth International. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colvin R. DeSilva (Ceylon), Munis (Spain) and the secretary.

men will find livable dwellings as a consequence of this bill is nothing but a deliberately sponsored illusion.

Even that section of housing to be sponsored directly by the government is not to be built by the government but merely financed by it. The building will be farmed out to private architects, bid out to private builders and sub-contracted to private contractors. This provides another opportunity for the building material interests and the building contractors, using all the infamous methods which have made the building industry the third most profitable in the country, to extract exorbitant profits at the government's expense. Added to this is that other ingenious method of constructing government-built projects so poorly, that they cannot enter into competition with higher rental privately-owned dwellings.

It is worthy of notice that with President Truman's endorsement of this bill it becomes a bipartisan measure. This then is the very best that the two parties pledged to uphold capitalism—and it might be added the Wallace Party is likewise wedded to this system—have to propose in the richest and most prosperous country of the whole world. Only one home where almost 60 are needed!

We are not impressed with the argument that this pitiable half measure is better than none at all. The so-called liberals are worried that not even this bill will get through Congress. What a damning commentary it is that the only program of liberalism today is the acceptance of half-poverty, half-homelessness and half-slavery. Those who listen to this siren's song will eventually be faced with total poverty, total homelessness and complete slavery.

This bill must be rewritten from beginning to end. The government must itself build not half a million homes but at least 29 1/2 million. Such an enterprise is the very minimum required for the common decency of the millions of men and women who have labored to produce the great wealth of this country. Naturally such a program will meet the undying hostility of the powerful banks and trusts which rule us today. To them such a project is "pure socialism."

These monopoly interests have reached a stage where they can no longer maintain a peacetime economy, they no longer have the desire or in-

What has changed? Not American imperialism. It is more reactionary, more barbarous than ever. Not Stalinism. All its evil characteristics have increased. Not the Socialist Workers Party. It is only more determined than ever to counterpose revolutionary socialism to American imperialism and Stalinism. Not Norman Thomas. He is more dishonest than before, and more valuable to the capitalists. It is Farrell who has changed, slipped off his Marxist coat when nobody was looking and now appears in the "socialist" tatters of the American imperialist lackey, Thomas.

Harold Isaacs had an even closer connection with revolutionary Marxism. In addition to being the author of *No Peace for Asia*, he also wrote *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*. In the latter work, he made a Marxist analysis of the revolution in China and the need for a revolutionary party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the Chinese masses. Leon Trotsky did this book the honor of writing an introduction to it. Of Isaacs, Trotsky wrote, "The author of this book approaches the revolution as a revolutionist, and he sees no reason for concealing it."

From Trotsky's standpoint there could be no higher praise. On the other hand, Trotsky always held up Norman Thomas as the perfect American representative of the socialist hypocrites and scoundrels who under the flag of socialism perform tasks for the imperialist war-mongers among workers and the youth which the imperialists could never do in their own name. In *The Morals and Ours*, Stalinism and Bolshevism, and many other writings, he exposed the fake morality of drawing room socialists like Thomas. Trotsky predicted with assurance that Thomas would support the Second World War.

All these years no one ever heard from Farrell or Isaacs any opposition to these appraisals of Thomas which were repeated over and over again in the SWP platform, its press and literature. Now today these two, Farrell in particular, who gained prestige among leftward moving workers, come forward at a time when the war preparations and the destruction of civil liberties are reaching new heights, trying to blow some life into the "socialism" of a discredited windbag like Thomas.

CLEAR THE ROAD FOR WAR

Why? They haven't got the courage, as yet, to come out openly in favor of the war of Truman, Vandenberg, Taft and Rankin. But they are determined not to support Farrell Dobbs, the presidential candidate of the genuine anti-war socialist party. Better to swallow Thomas than support Dobbs. Hence their signatures to this degrading document. They are not fooling themselves, because they know who Thomas is, but fooling workers and young people, and providing a cover, whereby behind the smoke-screen of talk about international socialism by abolition of the veto at the UN, they can clear the road for support of the war. Not only are they betraying principles which they have advocated and never repudiated. They are deliberately plotting to win over the youth and leftward moving workers, playing the same dirty role that Farrell denounced so clearly six years ago.

Farrell and Isaacs like all the renegades of today, bring to the fore their hatred of Stalinism and denounce its immorality. They exhort the Stalinists for their immorality in supporting a proved servant of the capitalists like Wallace. In calling for support of Thomas, they show precisely the same type of political immorality, degrading their own past, using their prestige and reputation to deceive the rising generation, and deliberately, consciously and maliciously distracting attention from Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, prospective candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, whom Farrell and Isaacs know are the only ones who will fight against the war to the bitter end. This is a method to support the war while talking about socialism. In the world of today, it would be difficult to find anything more immoral than that.

Rebels in American History

Henry George

By George Lavan

In 1886 Henry George, the famous author of *Progress and Poverty*, ran for mayor of New York City as the candidate of the United Labor Party.

The working people were enthusiastic in support of this enemy of the land monopoly and champion of the poor. 30,000 nominating signatures were quickly gathered by the unions to place Henry George's name on the ballot. The capitalist candidates—Theodore Roosevelt was one of them, made the red scare their principal issue. They charged that the violence of the French revolution with its guillotine would seem mild compared to the reign of terror that Henry George and his labor and socialist supporters would bring.

The Roman Catholic Church came out in bitter opposition to labor's candidate. When a priest with a social conscience, Father Edward McGlynn, spoke in George's favor, he was promptly excommunicated.

FACED A COALITION

As election day approached the propertied classes of New York became panicky. The leaders of the Republican "clean government" forces passed the word to forget about their candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, and vote for the Tammany man. George had to be stopped at all cost.

Thus the United Labor Party's candidate faced a coalition of Democrats and Republicans. Even so he won at the polls. Tammany, however, took care of this by dumping thousands of George ballots into the East River. The Tammany-Republican candidate, Hewitt, was pronounced the winner. The "official" count was George—68,000; Hewitt, 90,000.

Henry George was born in Philadelphia in 1839 of a large and impoverished family. At the age of 16 he went to sea as a foremast boy. Later he worked in a printing shop for two dollars a week. In 1858 he went to California where he worked as a printer. Hunger pursued him, especially after he married and began to raise a family. He recalled those terrible days of unemployment in later years, writing, "I came near starving and at one time I was so close to it that I think I should have done so but for the job of printing a few cards which enabled us to buy a little corn meal. In this darkest time in my life my second child was born."

Henry George determined to find out why poverty existed in modern society. From his thinking and reading he came to the conclusion that the private monopoly of land was at the root of the country's ills.

ROBBER BARONS

In this period the robber barons of American capitalism were amassing unbelievable fortunes by plundering the public lands—the vast unsettled territory of the West. In California, 16,387,000 acres or 16% of the state was turned over to the railroad companies. Lumber interests would get homesteads for each of their employees. But the land was kept by the companies.

George's solution to the problem was contained in his book, *Progress and Poverty*, which appeared after the great depression and strike wave of 1877. As he stated it, "The great cause of the

inequality in the distribution of wealth is inequality in the ownership of land." George proposed that the rents that went to landlords should go instead to society, that land owners should be taxed the full value of their land. This was the famous "single tax."

His book began to sell. Labor leaders, notably Terence Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, urged all union men to read *Progress and Poverty*. About three million copies have been sold to date, a record in this country for a serious book on economics.

Karl Marx and American socialists were quick to point out the inadequacies and utopian nature of George's theories.

There was no questioning his attack on the evils of modern society or the need to abolish poverty, but land monopoly was only one aspect of capitalism. Even were George's single tax realized it would not solve the problems of the urban workers bound to the wage system. George did not understand the class struggle and expected that once a majority voted for the single tax the ruling class would peacefully submit. His theory also left poor farmers out of consideration by lumping them with real estate monopolies and railroads.

PROOF OF TIME

But Henry George regarded his solution as a panacea, whereas he thought Marxism unscientific and superficial. The proof of time, however, has shown the woeful inadequacy and error of the Single Tax. Today George's theories play no part in the struggles of the masses for progress and against poverty. In contrast, Socialism is the program of the masses in their struggle for liberation.

Henry George died in 1897 in the midst of another campaign for mayor of New York City. The whole nation was shocked. George had become one of the most famous Americans of the period. More than 100,000 mourners filed past his coffin while as many more were unable to enter the building. A tremendous throng of working men and women followed his funeral procession from Manhattan to the cemetery in Brooklyn. No other man before had ever received such a tribute from the working people of New York.

Henry George's importance was not so much as a theoretician as a champion of the oppressed. He became a symbol of the struggle to wipe out poverty and want. Not only did he champion the cause of the poor but pointed the finger of accusation at the owning class as the cause of poverty. For this the still youthful American working class took him to its heart.

DETROIT

GALA ELECTION BANQUET

Speakers:

Howard Lerner, SWP candidate for Governor of Mich.
Genora Dollinger, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate

Dinner—Entertainment

Sunday, May 23 - - - 3 p. m.

6108 Linwood Avenue

THE MILITANT ARMY

Combination Subs Available Again

Now that the \$2.50 special combination subscription rate to *The Militant* and *Fourth International* is re-instated, sub-getters have a special opportunity to interest Militant readers in the monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. Subscribers can save 50¢ by taking *Fourth International* for a year in combination with *The Militant*. The regular rate for the magazine is \$2 a year, 12 issues.

Philadelphia branch sold six subs at its May Day social and meeting. One was a combination for a year. Literature Agent George emphasized that the best way to keep combination subs up to date is to ask Militant subscribers to renew for the *Fourth International* at the same time, even if their FI subs have not quite expired. Their subs will be extended for the full amount paid for.

Seattle comrades sold 30 Militants and 10 pamphlets, "Only the Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World

War," to persons attending a small Wallace meeting. A few days later *The Militant* received from a village about 60 miles from Seattle an anonymous donation of \$1 "to help defray expenses in the fight against Truman and his fascists and the fascism of the GOP and its brand of slavery."

Boston sent in nine subs, one of which was obtained at the branch's public meeting when Charles Carsten of New York spoke on the Middle East.

Sherman News Agency, Fayette and Calvert Sts., Baltimore, has been added to the list of newstands carrying *The Militant* and *Fourth International* regularly.

Several copies of *The Militant* Chorus recording of revolutionary songs are still available at \$5 each. The 12-inch unbreakable disc contains two songs on each side, "Go Forward" (May Day Song), "The Tarrier Song," "Whirlwinds of Danger" and "The Locomotive." The latter was written especially for *The Militant* Chorus by Mark Burns of Newark.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

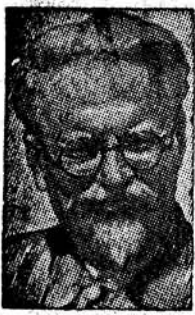
THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3¢ each in U.S., 4¢ each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XII — No. 20

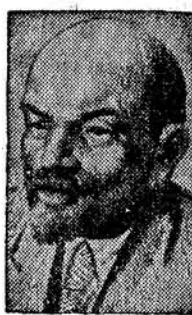
Monday, May 17, 1948



TROTSKY

"Twenty-five years in the scales of history, when it is a question of profoundest changes in economic and cultural systems, weigh less than an hour in the life of man. What good is the individual who, because of empirical failures in the course of an hour or a day, renounces a goal that he set for himself on the basis of the experience and analysis of his entire previous lifetime? In the years of darkest Russian reaction (1907 to 1917) we took as our starting point those revolutionary possibilities which were revealed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. In the years of world reaction we must proceed from those possibilities which the Russian proletariat revealed in 1917. The Fourth International did not by accident call itself the world party of the socialist revolution. Our road is not to be changed."

—Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, P. 15.



LENIN

Greek Massacre

All Greece is red today — red with the river of blood coursing through that unhappy little country as its fascist government carries through a campaign of mass murder of its political opponents.

On May 4 the Greek government slaughtered 152 men and women. On May 5 the toll was 21. On May 6 firing squads shot 44. On May 7 another 18 were executed.

This was neither the beginning nor the end. Over 1,300 had been murdered prior to May 4. An additional 2,900 people are under sentence of death, and every week hundreds more are being rounded up and thrown into prisons and concentration camps where they face the same fate. More than 18,000 are already behind bars or barbed wire.

The latest spurt in blood-letting — so shocking that the British government asked for an explanation and the Danish Ministry lodged a protest — was in the nature of reprisals by the government for the assassination two weeks ago of one of the Greek ministers. The 240 demonstratively slaughtered could not possibly have had anything to do with that assassination because they had been in prison for over three years.

The system of hostages and reprisals, when

practiced by the Nazis, was universally condemned during the war, and we were treated to a lot of promises about how World War II was being fought in order to put an end to such atrocities. Yet the U.S. State Department refused to utter even one syllable in criticism of the Greek reign of terror.

And no wonder. For while the command to fire at the hostages was voiced by Greeks, the order to give the command was made by the U. S. Military Mission—the real ruler of Greece today. If the Greek regime stinks in the nostrils of honest people, the source of the putrefaction can be traced to the office of the brass hats running the U. S. State Department.

These grisly crimes, committed in the name of a struggle against totalitarianism, are the tip-off on the nature of both the last war and the next one. Paid for with money extorted as taxes from the American working people, these fascist crimes inside the small country of Greece are a preview of the regime which American imperialism will try to impose on the whole world through the war that is now being prepared. The Greek blood bath is a warning that the American workers can ignore only at their mortal peril.

The Eisenhower Fiasco

It is commonly recognized that the American ruling class is growing more cocky and arrogant in its treatment of the labor movement. You don't have to search far to discover that one of the main reasons is the political bankruptcy of the trade union leaders, which becomes more glaringly evident with every passing day. It is only natural that the capitalists, observing these stumble-bum antics, should conclude that they can get away with almost anything.

To begin with, the main plank in the CIO political policy is a negative one—the workers are told above everything else not to vote for anyone who is not a candidate of the Democratic or Republican Party. Once that point is made, however, the political line of the CIO leaders begins to get vague and shadowy—so much so that few people, including the CIO leaders themselves, can explain exactly what it is. They tell the workers to contribute money to the PAC, but they can't explain how the money is to be used. They urge the workers to register so they can vote in November, but they can't answer any questions about whom the workers should vote for.

Did you ever see a chicken dashing wildly around a barnyard after its head had been chopped off? The CIO leaders still have their head on their shoulders but in other respects their political behavior resembles that of the aforesaid chicken.

At the CIO convention last November they made preparations to hitch onto the Truman wagon, but when they saw that wagon bogged

down in the mire of popular discontent they veered sharply. The denounced the Wallace candidacy until they were blue in the face, but that got them exactly nowhere. They then headed in Eisenhower's direction, hoping thus to get a Democratic nominee less discredited than Truman. Now that Truman seems bent on the nomination, they have lost most of their enthusiasm for Eisenhower and are back where they started six months ago, with nothing achieved and much valuable time lost.

The question of independent labor political action is not just another important problem facing the unions. It is the issue of issues—a life and death question for the American working people. The grotesque and cowardly performance of the union leaders—in the face of the disintegration of the Democratic Party—is proof enough that the top stratum of the CIO is completely played out, that it cannot be depended upon to give the lead in solving the crucial problem that needs to be solved if the American workers are to save themselves from dictatorship and coolie living standards.

It was necessary to thrust aside the old crew of AFL bureaucrats and build up a new generation of leaders to organize America's mass production industries. In the same way, the clique of played-out CIO bureaucrats will now have to be shoved aside and a new generation of union militants raised up to lead labor to a break with the two-party system and onto the open highroad of independent labor politics.

Failure at Bogota

The recently concluded Bogota conference, far from being the "magnificent success" described by William D. Pawley, former ambassador to Brazil, is recognized by practically every economic and political analyst as a dismal failure. The stormy intervention of the Colombian masses was of course a body blow to the prestige of U.S. imperialism as well as to the South American rulers. But aside from this, the conference was equally disappointing to the Latin American governments, who failed to obtain "Marshall Plan aid" from Uncle Sam, and to Washington, which failed to extend its stranglehold over South American economy.

American imperialism hoped to break down some of the tariff barriers set up by the Latin American countries to protect their infant industries against Wall Street competition. Washington was not only unsuccessful in this but signs are increasing that many of these countries plan to set up regional customs unions to give special trade privileges to their members and deny them to the U.S. Thus Venezuela, Panama, Colombia and Ecuador have projected such a union. Argentina intends to set up a similar group to include Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia and perhaps also Uruguay and Peru.

Washington also wanted to change the laws of the Latin American nations with reference to labor, taxes and expropriations to protect

the private investments of the American bankers. However, only half of the South American countries agreed to go along with the onerous conditions which Washington railroad through the conference by a 10-to-9 vote.

Perhaps the most humiliating aspect for Washington was its forced acceptance of Article 16 of the Charter, clearly directed against American imperialism. It reads: "No state may use or encourage the use of enforcement measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another state and obtain from it advantage of any kind." Of course, hardly had the conference concluded its sessions than Washington proceeded to violate this clause by announcing that it intended to apply economic pressure upon individual states in order to gain what it failed to achieve in Bogota.

American imperialism is finding the going a hundred times tougher in the Twentieth Century than Britain did in the Nineteenth. The colonial and semi-colonial countries are resisting the imperialists. And even where the native rulers are bribed into accepting Washington's terms, the South American masses are asserting themselves on a constantly growing scale, and will, as time goes on, nullify all the best laid plans of the Wall Street exploiters.

Marshall, Churchill Declarations Promote Strategy of Western Bloc

By John G. Wright

Two important moves were made on the chessboard of foreign diplomacy during the first week of May. One, by the State Department in Washington; the other by Winston Churchill at the Hague in the Netherlands.

In Washington on May 5, Secretary of State Marshall and Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative to the United Nations, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to stymie Congressional plans for a revision of the UN Charter which would, in effect, expel Moscow from the UN. Marshall, echoed by Austin, vigorously opposed the contemplated "revisions" and insisting on letting things rest as they are, so far as the UN is concerned.

At the Hague, on May 7, Churchill addressed the "first Congress of Europe" and called for the immediate setting up of a European Assembly as the initial step toward the ultimate constitution of the "United States of Europe." Gathered were representatives of 22 countries, none of them government officials, but many former dignitaries, including exiles from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Finland.

Authoritative American newspapers, like the N.Y. Times, hitherto cold to Churchill's post-war campaign for a "unified"

Europe, greeted his efforts, this time, with unqualified enthusiasm. Churchill's pronouncements likewise had the tacit approval of the U.S. State Department, as Churchill himself implied in his speech.

These two moves in Washington and at the Hague, outwardly unrelated, are actually intimately connected. Palmed off as measures designed to "guarantee peace," they are in reality designed to set the stage for the next world war.

Both Marshall and Austin made it amply clear that their objections to the breaking up of the UN were based purely on considerations of expediency. Such a breakup would be premature at this stage. Marshall candidly admitted that there was "very great fear" abroad that the U.S. would act to break up the UN organization. Left with the choice today of joining either of the two "rival military alliances," many of the European countries, especially the weaker ones, would be driven to a "desperate neutrality" — to the advantage of the Soviet Union, said Marshall.

The primary consideration, from Washington's standpoint, Marshall explained, is the need to alter the existing military relation of forces. Russia today dominates the European and Asiatic continents as the greatest military land power in the world, with Russian troops standing poised

in the very middle of Europe and on the frontiers of Italy. This military position of Russia has not been altered by the U.S. policy of bolstering regimes on the Soviet periphery (Greece, Turkey, Iran, China).

This has necessitated a different orientation, long advocated by such outspoken critics of the Truman Doctrine as Walter Lippmann. He has been demanding a concentration not on the weak and "unreliable" Soviet borderlands but on Western Europe.

Instead of concentrating the "cold war" in the borderlands of the Soviet Union, it should be concentrated among Wall Street's "natural allies" in Western Europe. That is the main thesis of Lippmann's strategy as outlined in his book *The Cold War, A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy*. (Harper & Bros.)

This strategy has obviously been adopted by the leading circles of the American capitalists and warmakers, since the promulgation of the Marshall Plan. It is in the light of this reorientation of Wall Street's foreign policy that we can best understand all the recent moves, in particular Marshall's intervention in Congress and Churchill's maneuvers at the Hague.

In his statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Marshall, in effect, pleaded for time until the so-called European "aid" program gets under way and helps

Washington "redress" the existing military "disequilibrium" on the European continent. Austin added that "we should strengthen the military posture of our friends."

Commenting on the testimony of Marshall and Austin, the Times' editors, on May 6, hammer home the fact that the UN provides an indispensable pacifist cloak for the promotion of Washington's foreign policy; and that the immediate aim is "to restore an international equilibrium, or balance of power," or, in plain language, to secure the most favorable relation of forces in Europe for the unleashing of World War III.

On the other hand, Churchill's maneuvers for "unifying" Europe supply the diplomatic and political cover for preparing Western Europe as a drillground for Wall Street's assault on the Soviet Union. That is why the Times' editors endorse "this undertaking," and cynically declare that it "deserves the support of our own people and our government, and, in fact, cannot succeed without such support."

Thus Washington's main efforts will henceforth be directed not so much to bolster border countries on the Soviet periphery as to achieve a "settlement" in Europe. This policy envisages the greatest military strengthening of Western European countries within the shortest possible time

through the medium of "aid" plus a modified "lend-lease." In the meanwhile, the organization of the UN is to be preserved as a mobilizer and manufacturer of favorable "public opinion."



Arthur J. Goldberg, who replaces Lee Pressman as CIO general counsel. The shift symbolizes the isolation of the Stalinist forces in the CIO.

Federated Pictures

Fabrication of a Trotsky 'Testament'

We are printing the answer of Natalia Trotsky, widow of the famed revolutionary leader, to the latest Stalinist forgery printed in the French newspaper *France Dimanche*, and answered by *The Militant* of April 6. Natalia Trotsky has furthermore instituted suit for libel against *France Dimanche*.

By Natalia Sedova-Trotsky

The French weekly, *France Dimanche*, presented to its readers on March 21 of this year a testament supposedly drawn up by Trotsky on May 20, 1940. This "political will" attributes to Trotsky a change of heart regarding the socialist revolution and his faith in the working class. The editors of the paper hasten to attest to their complete objectivity in publishing this "sensational document." They did not bother, however, to question me on the subject. They found it more objective to refer to their interview of Dec. 8, 1946 with the assassin "Jackson-Mornard," whom they designate, repeating the lie of the GPU, as a collaborator of Trotsky's. This fact alone suffices to brand them as paid hirelings of the Stalin apparatus. The unscrupulous gangsters of the pen cite the gangster of the pick-axe and the knife.

The so-called "Mornard" interview supplemented by his "confessions" concerning the crime committed by him eight years previously, gives a new version of the murder. The "sensational document" is but a continuation of a long chain of forgeries exposed by the Dewey commission in 1937.

The origin of the document is just as mythical as the document itself. According to *France*

silence were broken in the venal press. The Stalinist apparatus manufactures not only the document, but the proper occasion for its revelation.

The Soviet agent presumably procured a copy at the end of July from a "close friend" of Trotsky's. *France Dimanche* mistakenly places the date of the assassination on July 20, 1940, so that the document, according to their calendar, was stolen soon after the assassination. But Trotsky was murdered a full month later. It must now be explained how the theft went unnoticed during an entire month. Neither I, nor any of the friends and co-workers of Trotsky ever saw or heard of such a testament.

But three copies somehow came into the possession of the writer Victor Serge. How? Victor Serge left Paris at the end of May 1940, before the Germans entered Paris, and for months moved about the south of France, without a permanent domicile. Serge himself emigrated to Mexico only in September of 1941, 13 months after the death of Trotsky. But the master forgers care not for accuracy! Logic is foreign to them; they follow unswervingly Hitler's maxim: "The bigger the lie, the reader will be believed."

Moreover, Trotsky had broken politically with Serge back in 1937 and criticized him sharply in many of his articles. Serge, who had great respect for Trotsky, moved away from revolutionary Marxism, if he was ever a genuine revolutionary Marxist.



NATALIA TROTSKY

Dimanche, the testament was drawn up in July 1940, and that same month a Soviet agent succeeded in procuring a copy and sending it to Moscow. What speed in so delicate a matter! A second copy came into possession of the *France Dimanche* editors a short time back, presumably through the recently deceased Victor Serge (Kiblich).

In this case the GPU manifested an incredible sluggishness. It provided itself with a copy so as to confirm therewith in case of need the existence of the *France Dimanche* document. Thus, eight years of significant

What need would Serge have had for concealing the existence of so important a document, especially since it was seemingly intended as an "open declaration" to the world's workers? True to the GPU form set in the Moscow Trials, everything hinges on a witness who can never be called to testify. Victor Serge is dead.

What aim does the GPU pursue in fabricating this testament of Trotsky? One does not have far to seek. Efforts along such lines were not only to be expected; they were actually predicted at the time of the Nuremberg trial of the Nazi arch-criminals. The Stalinist prosecutor present at the trial did not dare to accept the challenge of numerous petitions sent to the presiding judge, requesting that questions be put to Hess and the others to test the accuracy of testimony of the Moscow Trials concerning the alleged tie-up between Trotsky and the Nazis. The resounding silence, the utter failure to produce one single document that could even remotely bolster up the GPU frame-ups made it a foregone conclusion that new lies would be concocted, not in the light of day, but under circumstances more favorable for Stalinist fraud.

It is evident that a new campaign of slander and calumny is being set in motion, first of all in France. France is today the critical testing ground for the proletariat. It is no accident that along with the forgery of a will, there is appearing in French the GPU book of the Stalinist henchmen, Kahn and Sayers, *The Great Conspiracy*. The fake testament and the book of frauds are intended to divert attention from the real testament of Trotsky. Everything that he ever wrote is open to the working class of the entire world, for whom it was intended. When the murderer of Trotsky, his life blood spattered over his last work. It was the

manuscript on Stalin. This work is about to appear in France. The Stalinists have every reason to fear the influence of this work upon workers and public opinion. The biography is one part of the real testament of L. D. Trotsky. The last words of Trotsky on his death-bed, spoken in my presence, show how unbreakable was the revolutionary spirit of this man. It is the complete answer to the new calumny. "Tell our friends that I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

That message was immediately transmitted by wireless and press to all corners of the world. It is the meaning of that message reinforced by all the living ideas of Trotskyism, that leaves the Stalinists no peace. The very lies, in their monstrous growth, one negating the other, and yet being feverishly manufactured anew, are a tribute to the strength of the real ideas of Trotsky. Stalin would like to shut the door of Trotskyism to the workers by having them think that it leads to hopelessness and bankruptcy. That door is Stalinism. Precisely through the heritage of the unconquerable Marxist teaching, inspired by the revolutionary fervor of L. D. Trotsky, will the world working class regain its confidence and its unified strength.

In vain do the Stalinist grave-diggers of the revolution use their temporary power to bury the gigantic thought contained in the October revolution. All the lies of the frightful totalitarian regime that now rules Russia will crumble along with the regime itself—this is inevitable. Trotskyism will find its proper place with the coming of a sharp turn to a new revolutionary upsurge. Trotskyism remains the sole continuer of the great revolutionary traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is the essence of the real testament of Leon Trotsky.

WORKERS FORUM

Open Letter To CP Members

Editor: I am writing this in the form of an Open Letter to the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, and particularly to those in the CP who still consider themselves revolutionary Marxists.

1. How does Wallaceism differ from Browderism?
2. Is Wallace's program of support to "progressive capitalism" any different than Browder's?
3. How can you support a man like Wallace whose whole program—and this he enthusiastically iterates and reiterates—is dedicated to saving and perpetuating American capitalism?

4. Doesn't Wallace expose himself as the worst type of fraud and misleader when he declares—in advance—that his ostensible political opposition to the present war drive would come to an end the day war breaks out?

5. How can you party seriously characterize Wallace as a forthright opponent of war against the Soviet Union when Wallace promises—also in advance—to withdraw as a candidate in the event war breaks out?

6. Wherein lies the alleged "independence" of Wallace's "third party" when he declares: "Ordinarily there won't be any third-party congressional candidates. If there's a good man running on

one of the two major parties, we'll endorse him." Do you believe in the "good man" theory?

7. Hasn't the policy of "Popular Front" coalitions with "liberal" segments of the bourgeoisie proven a miserable failure in Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Brazil, Chile, China, India? Aren't these ex-"liberal allies" the ones who are supporting and defending the "Martial Plan" most strongly? Isn't Wallace promising to sell you out at the first opportunity when he pledges to make his political peace with American imperialism at a time when political opposition to the war becomes more imperative than ever, that is, once the blood-bath begins?

8. What force do you think can stop war: a solid phalanx of militant, united, politically-organized workers, or Henry Wallace in undisputed control over a hodge-podge of pacifist ministers, college professors, students, lawyers, small-time capitalists, a la Mrs. Gimbel, and some labor elements, which have been relegated to a "third-class citizenship" status in the Wallace movement, with no rank-and-file control over, or vital role in, the leadership of the movement? Isn't Wallace seducing the Negro people when he enters to their votes and promises to give up the fight against the war once the war begins? Haven't the Negro people met such "fair-weather friends" before?

9. Finally—Isn't it high time for you to take stock of your position, to open up your eyes and see where Foster, Thompson and Co. have been misleading you, and to consider seriously the program of authentic revolutionary Marxism as represented by the Socialist Workers Party?

A fellow worker
Chicago, Ill.

Wants Less "Stalin-baiting"

I have been reading *The Militant* for a number of years. In fact, I go out of my way to get it. I am very sorry to tell you that I will be compelled to discontinue it, because it became as dry as any other newspaper. The only thing you devote your pages to is to "Stalin-baiting" and nothing to theoretical Socialism. In this respect it resembles the *Daily Worker*. The only decent article in this current issue is by George Breitman. In reading it one can learn much. Why not more of these articles? The people are in need of Marxism today more than at any other time. Why not let it to them? Leave Stalin alone. Let Max Shachtman attend to that. You ought to devote at least one page a week to discussing the theories developed by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Try it and you will see how your circulation will increase many fold.

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.
BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 17532. Daily 9 a.m.—9 p.m.; O. Coverer St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p.m., Tues. 7:30-8:30 p.m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DArborn 4767. Daily except Tues. 11 a.m.—5 p.m. Library, bookstores.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, 82nd St., 2nd fl. Phone Broadway 9645.
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 4267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.; FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p.m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
WAYNE—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St., LYNX. (Mass.)—44 Central St., Rm. 11. Sat. 1-5 p.m. Discussion, Tues. 7:30 p.m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri. 7:30-9:30 p.m.; Sat. 10-5 p.m.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun. 10 a.m.—8 p.m. Library, bookstores.
NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 2nd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 2-274. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 5-8149.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl. ST. LOUIS—109 W. 110 St. Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1806. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p.m.
BRONX—111 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.
BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 8-7483.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9434.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 N. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-3520. Open daily. Forum, Fri. 8 p.m.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun. 8:30 p.m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs. 7-9 p.m.
SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857.
SAN FRANCISCO—1738 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FT. 6-0410. Daily except Sun. 12-4:30 p.m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting, Fri. 8 p.m. Library, bookstores.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs. 7:30-10 p.m.
ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1157. Open daily. Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 2:30 p.m.
TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed. 8 p.m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.
TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.
YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat. 1:30 to 4 p.m.

The Last Straw

By Theodore Kovalesky

Homer Finnegan's head ached furiously. Inside it were nine million iron balls rolling and bumping, and in his stomach were about seven million.



He slammed his door shut and stomped down the steps into the rain. "A fine way to be spending a Sunday!" he muttered. The sky was dark gray in the late dawn, lit by a flickering glare somewhere over in the direction of Number Three blast furnace. Homer trudged toward the plant, the squeaking handle of his lunch pail roiling in his ears. It was Sunday morning, the time for all men to be peacefully sleeping in their beds, especially if they had hangovers like Homer Finnegan.

When he reached the furnace floor, he could see immediately that this would be a day to remember. The jagged ink line on the pressure charts was leaping and diving. Every few moments, it seemed, there would be a deep, quivering "WHO-O-O-O-M," the floor would shudder, and Homer would have to make a leap for the wheel to pull the blast off the furnace. The fourth time he did it, he dropped the pressure too far, and slag flowed back into the blowpipes and squirted out onto the brick floor. Then a blowpipe burned through, and they had to shut down.

Homer trudged wearily down the steel steps to make the shutdown. It was a horrible morning, and the greater part of the day was before him, even more horrible. He wiped the hot sweat from his face and the cold drizzling rain from the back of his neck. "This job's not fit for a human being," he muttered.

Back on the furnace floor, he sweated even

more. All the blowpipes had to be pulled out and cleaned. Some had to be burned out with oxygen, because of the caked iron and slag. The hours dragged on, creeping, crawling as though each hour were ten. With one more hour to go, Homer paused for a moment next to the furnace to rest. Then he fell flat on the floor.

In the hospital he woke up looking through a transparent oxygen tent. He found that his headache had reached colossal proportions. The carbon monoxide gas he had inhaled up on the furnace floor had added four million more king-size iron balls to the original nine million in his head, and several tons of mouldy seaweed were quaking inside his stomach.

At home his wife asked, "Did you see Mr. Rogalsky?"

"Huh?"

"The man you were going to see about a place to live. You know it's only three weeks we got to find a place, or we're out in the street."

Homer muttered to himself, and lay down for a nap before supper. In half an hour he woke up again. Something new had been added. Besides the headache and nausea, a sledge hammer was pounding in the left side of his jaw, along with an intermittent electric spark that leapt all the way from the point of his jaw to his left ear. It was a tooth that he had been meaning to see the dentist about, but with his wage what it was, he hadn't wanted to spend the money.

He took two aspirins and settled down to listen to Walter Winchell on the radio. After the broadcast Homer felt worse than ever. "Them damn Reds," he muttered. "Trying to overthrow our way of life!"

The Negro Struggle

Senator Taylor's Arrest

By Albert Parker

The arrest of Senator Glen Taylor in Birmingham furnished a good example of "the American way of life" in the South, where almost three-quarters of the Negro people reside. Taylor had gone to make a speech to the Southern Negro Youth Conference in a church, and had found the audience strictly segregated, whites on one side of the aisle and Negroes on the other, and cops swarming around the place to make sure the state's sacred segregation law was enforced. Not only was the audience divided, but there were even two doors for entering the church, the front one for Negroes and a side door for whites.

Taylor decided to go in the front way but when he tried, a big cop shoved him off the porch, and another cop gave him the elbow so hard he was spun across the yard and thrown across a small fence. He had offered no resistance but his suit was torn, his leg was bruised and his hand was cut. He was shoved into a police car and driven off on a roundabout route to the jail; on the way he got the impression the cops were trying to provoke him into some action for which they could beat him up. At the jail he was held for "disorderly conduct" until bail was raised. A few days later he was fined \$50 and costs and given a jail sentence of 180 days; the sentence was suspended and an appeal has been filed.

That is what happened to a member of the U. S. Senate, the highest legislative body in the country. It is not hard to imagine what would have happened in this case to a man in a less prominent position—white or Negro. He would be in a jail or hospital (if not in his grave). The Southern ruling class does not fool around when it comes to defending its "way of life." It proposes to keep the white and Negro workers divided at all costs—by the use of propaganda and Jim Crow laws where possible, and by brute violence where necessary. Anybody who thinks the Southern rulers are going to peacefully accept a civil rights program that alters the

Negro's position in the South is a dreamer, due for a rude awakening.

The judge who sentenced Taylor delivered the usual harangue against "outside influences" that are interfering with the Southern way of life. He did not say anything about the Northern capitalists with investments in the South who have conspired with the Southern rulers for the past 60-odd years to institute and maintain the present Jim Crow set-up. He highly approves of that kind of outside influence. And he did not say a word about the South's outside influence, exerted through congressmen elected by a tiny fraction of the population, who help to pass laws oppressing the workers of all colors in all parts of the country and who are responsible for the spread of racial hatred and restrictions through the federal government and the armed forces.

What this country needs is the introduction of more "outside influence" in the South, backed up by the power of the organized labor movement. For either the workers of the North will help their Southern brothers end the dictatorial way of life in the South, or the ruling class will extend it to the rest of the nation.

Just to keep the record straight, the Communist Party was forced to quickly change its false estimate of the Supreme Court decision on restrictive covenants, reported in this column last week. The May 4 Daily Worker did print a story entitled, "Supreme Court Voids Restrictive Covenants," which declared that the court had "dealt a serious blow to real estate agreements which bar Negroes from all-white neighborhoods." However, an editorial in the next day's issue declared: "But that this Court decision gives the Negro tenant or property buyer any substantial gain, as is claimed by certain leaders who are only too anxious to quiet down the indignation of the Negro people, is a fallacy." Unfortunately, most of the Negro press, who also hailed the court's OK of restrictive covenants, have not changed their position.

Tuberculosis—Ancient Enemy

By Grace Carlson

As long ago as the 4th century B.C., the Greek physician, Hippocrates described tuberculosis so graphically that his writings about this disease stand as a medical classic. Hippocrates named the disease, "phthisis," which means "wasting," a marked characteristic of the last stage of tuberculosis.

But tuberculosis was known to the human race long before Hippocrates' time. Mummies found in the tombs of Egypt show definite signs of tuberculosis. The characteristic marks of this disease have also been

observed on the bones of persons who died long before history was recorded.

Not until 1882 when the germ cause of tuberculosis was discovered was there any real progress in the fight against this age-old disease. It was in that year that Robert Koch identified the tubercle bacillus and proved conclusively that it is the direct cause of tuberculosis.

The tubercle bacillus is a germ so small that it can gain entrance to the body in specks of dust or in the tiny droplets sprayed out in coughing or sneezing. Tubercle bacilli live for hours in moist sputum and may even resist drying and freezing. The germ is passed from person to person in various ways — through kissing an infected person, using his or her personal toilet articles, breathing in germs which have been

sprayed into the air by a tubercular patient's cough, using inadequately washed dishes on which tubercle bacilli may have been deposited by the previous user.

When tubercle bacilli get into the body, they may be coughed out before they do any damage or they may be destroyed by the white cells of the blood. If they get past the body's first lines of defense, they are likely to find a place in the lungs. Since the tubercle bacillus is a foreign agent in the body, the body's next line of defense is to wall off the invader. A shell is formed around the bacilli, which is called a tubercle because it looks like a bulb. Inside the tubercle, the bacilli continue to grow and to destroy the small amount of lung substance left to them. In time, a hard gritty substance called calcium takes the place of the destroyed lung substance.

Most city-dwellers, while growing up, become slightly infected by tubercle bacilli, but never develop active cases of tuberculosis. So long as the body keeps the upper hand, everything goes well, but if the bacilli invade the body in great numbers and the general resistance is low, an active case of tuberculosis will develop. Poverty, overwork, malnutrition and worry are the great allies of tuberculosis germs because they break down the body's resistance.

Great progress has been made in the fight against tuberculosis but this disease still takes a toll of 53,000 lives every year in the U. S. Tuberculosis is still an enemy of mankind.

Notes from the News

SMALL BUSINESS — So far over 1,600 firms have failed in 1948. In 1947 there were 957 bankruptcies and in 1946 there were 338. Small business is getting smaller.

UNDERTAKERS ALL SET FOR WAR — Minnesota undertakers aren't letting any grass grow under their feet. At the 58th annual convention of the Minnesota Funeral Directors Association in Minneapolis, the embalmers' president reported that arrangements had been completed with the Army for the formation of undertakers' units which would accompany troops in the field to supervise identification and preparation of the dead for burial.

BORING FROM WITHIN — The CIO-PAC of

Michigan is "going into the Democratic Party" in order to transform it into a "liberal political organization." According to the officers of the Michigan PAC, this conforms "to national CIO policy."

A STRAIGHT PROGRAM — Jack Kroll, chairman of the CIO-PAC, told the Textile convention delegates meeting at Atlantic City, that his organization had no idea what presidential candidate it would support, but urged that labor get out a large registration to meet any eventuality.

"STALIN AGE" MUSIC — A new administration board has taken over the Union of Soviet Composers, and pledged itself to create music about the "Stalinist Age."

THE MILITANT

CIO Packinghouse Unions Continue Grim Fight in Ninth Week of Strike

By Barbara Bruce

May 10, the deadline set by Armour, Swift and Cudahy for strikers to return to work, has come and gone, but only a few scabs answered the call. Hundreds of pickets gathered around the entrances to all three plants in South St. Paul this morning when a dribble of would-be strike breakers went to work amid the jeers of union members.

After nine weeks, the strike of the CIO Packinghouse Workers remains effective here as well as in the other meat packing centers. Workers at Superior and Bartsch packing plants, two independent meat packers in St. Paul, joined the ranks of UPW strikers

last Thursday. These two plants resumed operations a few weeks ago through an agreement with the union that a raise of 12 cents an hour would be granted immediately and the difference between the increase and the 29 cents hourly raise demanded by the union would be negotiated. Although bargaining was still in process, Bartsch and Superior employees joined the strike in order to lend their weight to the two-month-old fight for a living wage.

BORMEL SUPPORT

Packinghouse workers at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, announced last Friday after a membership meeting that they

are cutting their work week to 32 hours in order to reduce meat production. Provisions of the Minnesota labor law (Stassen Slave Act) prevent their striking in less than 30 days. The 3,700 members of the Hormel local will contribute 10% of their pay to the strike relief fund. Until now, the union has been giving \$12,500 a week and has contributed a total of \$100,000. Under a 10% payroll deduction plan, Hormel workers will contribute \$20,000 a week to the strike.

Swift and company in South St. Paul sought to have a restraining order, which was dissolved last week in district court, barring picketing at plant gates reinstated, but the request was denied.

A suit has been filed in federal court in Chicago against the Big Four — Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson — by the international office of the UPW. The suit asks the court to restrain the companies from violating seniority, vacations and sick pay provisions of union contracts which run until August 11.

Meanwhile, stock handlers in South St. Paul, Minnesota; Fargo, N. D.; Sioux City, Iowa; Fort Worth, Texas; St. Joseph, Missouri; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, have agreed to join the nationwide packinghouse strike on Friday, May 14, unless their wage demands are met by that time. Stockyard workers are also demanding 29 cents an hour and

have been negotiating since before the packing strike was called.

In Kansas City, Kansas, 34 claims totalling \$163,000 have been filed against the city by UPW members and bystanders who were injured in the assault by city police on picket lines and union headquarters April 23.

Attempts to negotiate the issues in the strike were resumed in Chicago last weekend through efforts of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. To date, despite numerous hearings and meetings, all the packers have said is "No" to every proposal that the union or the conciliation service has made.

Youngstown 'Vindicator' Rebuffed by Steel Unions

YOUNGSTOWN, May 8 — The primary elections of May 3 in Mahoning County witnessed an unexpected labor-capitalist conflict flaring up in the closing days of the campaign. The Youngstown Vindicator, mouthpiece of the local steel corporations, started a full blown red-baiting attack on the labor movement five days before election day. The response of the steelworkers against the paper was overwhelming.

There were two issues in the campaign. First, a special 2.5 mill property levy was placed on the ballot, and second, a CIO man was entered in the Democratic primary race for Sheriff of Mahoning County.

The Steelworkers District 26 leadership opposed the increased property levy, which would bear down hardest on small home owners, and eventually, tenants. They were met in the press with a united, vigorous, unrelenting campaign backing the levy, with all party politicians, clubs, groups and "leaders" in the city helping to put the heat on.

In the race for sheriff, the local Steelworkers officers continued the ancient policy of the labor leaders of trying to "gain increased influence" in the Democratic Party. Paul Langley, president of a Steelworkers local, and for some time an active Democratic worker, was run against the notorious Sheriff Elser, incumbent since 1934, and scabherder in the 1937 Little Steel strike.

On the Thursday preceding the election the Vindicator appeared with its ill-fated blast: a two column wide editorial signed by the political editor of the Vindicator, Clinean Jackson, who is a big shot in the Democratic Party and a State Senator. This editorial was printed under a huge scare headline that the CIO was using "Communist tactics" in an attempt to take over the Democratic Party. There followed an invidious text, which, while completely devoid of facts, attempted in every infantile way known to the author to convey the impression that the CIO was engaged in a gigantic plot; that

this plot was part of the "red conspiracy" against our "form of government"; and further, that the whole local Steelworkers leadership, from James P. Griffin, District 26 director, down to the last office girl and staff brand boy is a dyed-in-the-wool Communist.

The reaction in the steel mills was immediate. Union workers bristled at the attack. The CIO went on the radio half a dozen times in three days, and bought considerable space in the Vindicator to reply. Local 1330 at the Ohio Works of Carnegie-Illinois issued a leaflet defending the right of the CIO to back any stand or individual it wished in political campaigns.

On Tuesday came the vote. The property levy was overwhelmingly defeated, and Langley won the Democratic nomination for sheriff. How much this nomination is worth, the CIO leaders and members in this area will find out in the days to come. But the slap in the face administered to the Vindicator must be regarded as labor's victory.

That's the way the men in the mills look at it. As a result, CIO prestige, badly suffering from the body blow recently dealt it by CIO President Philip Murray has again risen.

Taylor Convicted



Following his conviction on a disorderly conduct charge for trying to enter a church through a door marked "Negroes", Sen. Glen H. Taylor chats with Raleigh Durden, delegate to a meeting-government seminar in Washington. The third party vice-presidential candidate is appealing the case on grounds that segregation laws violate the constitutional right of free assembly.

Federated Pictures

Post Office Fires NAACP Leader for Fighting Jim Crow

By J. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, Cal., May 9 — The Truman administration revealed the hypocrisy behind its civil rights program this week when it sided with the Jim Crow Sears and Roebuck Co. and began persecution of an outstanding West Coast fighter for fair employment practices.

The six-month old fight of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against racial discrimination in hiring at the Sears store became a national issue when the U.S. Postmaster General fired Frank H. Barnes, militant president of the branch, from his mail carrier's job last Tuesday. The reason? Because, in his campaign against Sears, Barnes was, according to the charges, either a member of, or sympathetic to, subversive organizations and accepted the support of these organizations. Among the organizations listed by the Postmaster General as subversive were the American Veterans Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Committee on Racial Equality, the Progressive Citizens of America, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party.

DEEP RESENTMENT

This crude intervention by the federal government has stirred deep resentment throughout Santa Monica. The NAACP has provided Barnes with legal counsel headed by Loren Miller, Los Angeles lawyer who argued the case against restrictive covenants before the U.S. Supreme Court. The fight for the reinstatement of Barnes has already met with support from labor, veteran, political civic, minority, religious organizations.

The campaign against Sears' discrimination in hiring began when Sears opened a new store last summer. Negro veterans and other highly qualified Negro applicants for sales clerk jobs were offered only brooms and other menial jobs. After long, fruitless attempts to win sales and similar jobs by negotiations, the local NAACP began picketing the store on Oct. 11. The picketing is the mass demonstration type each Friday evening when shopping is busiest. In recent months the picket lines, including white and Negro, have grown to huge size.

Over two dozen organizations, among them important unions in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, have come out in active support of the NAACP and its fight against Sears. The most active organizations work through a united committee which the local NAACP set up in January. At a recent NAACP Southern California conference, the Santa Monica campaign was approved and preparations were begun to extend the fight against all Sears stores on the Pacific coast.

Early in March the Sears management turned to the municipal government for aid. The Chief of Police came up with a vicious anti-picketing ordinance. When the City Council met to consider this measure, it was bombarded for three hours with protests from labor, minority, veteran and civic organizations. The proposed ordinance was laid aside for 30 days and then dropped.

Trade has fallen off badly at Sears and 30 clerks have been laid off for lack of business. The Negro people of Santa Monica have expressed amazement at the large-scale support they have been getting. They have learned that to get support you have to go out and fight for it, and to win a fight you have to have an organization.

CP Makes Faction Issue Of NMU Agent's Death

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK CITY, May 11 — The present bitterly fought election contest between the Stalinist machine and the rank and file caucus inside the CIO National Maritime Union had a new issue this week in the tragic death of the NMU's Charlestown agent, Robert New, part of the Stalinist machine, who was attacked and murdered by union member Rudolph Serreo.

Immediately upon receipt of the shocking news the National

in the union has followed the Daily Worker's line in stepping up its campaign of vilification and slander against the rank and file caucus. They actually charge that it was a political murder and that Serreo was a leader of the Charlestown rank and file caucus. However Serreo's name does not appear among the thousands that are publicly published as sponsors of the rank and file caucus. Nor is Serreo known to the New York rank and file caucus as a caucus member.

It is well known throughout the union that the rank and file caucus has warned against the use of physical violence. This was necessary because of the repeated Stalinist provocations. The Stalinist machine is ap-

parently convinced of their impending defeat in the present election. All indications point to their deliberately creating an atmosphere of fear and demoralization in preparation for some desperate moves in the internal struggle.

Six weeks remain before the results of the secret ballot voting will be known. Just previous to that date the union faces the critical expiration date of its contract with the shipowners.

Instead of allowing the union as a whole to condemn the murder, the Stalinists are insisting upon using this as a factional football. It is doubtful that the cynical exploitation of New's death will have much effect upon the outcome of the election.

'BACK TO WORK' MOVE FIZZLES AT BOEING

SEATTLE, May 10 — The Boeing Airplane Company has been defeated in its attempts to start a back-to-work movement. The company inserted urgent appeals in the want-ad section of the daily papers. The personnel department has made calls to individuals reminding them the plant is open and they can return to work. But the union members are standing firm determined to win their demands.

The union has secured radio time twice weekly to present their side. In their first weekly broadcast the union business agent explained how the company was following the Mohawk Valley Formula in attempting to break the strike and the union.

The union issues daily "Picket Line Briefs" keeping the membership alerted on the latest developments. Large placards for cars have been issued reading "On Strike at Boeing — We Only Want Fair Play."

The company filed a suit under the Taft-Hartley Law for \$2,250,000 damages from lodge no.

751 and its parent union, the International Association of Machinists. The company charged the union with causing and sanctioning a strike while a contract containing a "no strike" clause was in effect. Meanwhile the union attorney was preparing to file three actions in federal court seeking \$5,000,000 in damages and requesting the company be enjoined from unfair labor practices.

United States Conciliation Director, Cyrus Ching, has summoned Harvey Brown, IAM President and William Allen, Boeing Company President to attend a conference in Washington, D.C. Allen twice refused, stating he would send representatives to explain the company's version of the "illegal strike" but would refuse to reopen negotiations for a settlement.

Denial of unemployment compensation to the striking workers was ok'd by the State Commissioner even though the company has notified its employees that their work is terminated.



JOSEPH CURRAN

Office of the NMU dispatched an official investigator of the union to get and bring back to New York a full report on the slaying.

The very meager information available at this date merely identifies Serreo as a ballot committee man who was discharged from his post by a rank and file trial committee and fined for drunkenness.

The Daily Worker appeared with a front page lead story on the murder with a headline identifying the murderer as a "Curran Man." Joseph Curran, the union's president and head of the rank and file caucus, has announced that he will sue the Daily Worker for libel.

Meanwhile the Stalinist faction

Armour Picket Killed In East St. Louis

Another Armour picket lies dead. Ed Hucks, a member of UPW Local 42, was shot and killed last Sunday at the Armour plant just outside the City limits of East St. Louis, Illinois. When Hucks called out to three scabs sealing a fence around the plant, he was answered with a blast from the pistol of one of the strikebreakers. He was killed instantly by a bullet through the head.

In the last issue of the UPW Area Strike Bulletin, District 2, the union declares, "The responsibility for this wanton killing we lay directly at the door of Armour. . . . From the very first day of the strike we proclaimed that their vicious back-to-work movement could lead to but one thing: violence.

What else can result from their efforts to use a tiny minority consisting of stool-pigeons to break a strike when the overwhelming majority of employees voted to win their demands by picket line resistance. . . . The boards of directors of all corporations are on real criminals who should be placed in the docket and tried for the murders of the Cicardos, the Hucks and the countless others who have had to pay with their lives for doing no more than fighting for a decent livelihood."