Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. XI.—No. 52. NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY DECEMBER 29, 1947 9 PRICE: FIVE CENTS

An Appraisal of the Upsurge in France

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17 BILLIONS DEMANDED TO CHAIN EUROPE

1947—Year of Setbacks for American Labor

By Albert Parker

1947 will be recalled with joy by Big Business, but for many workers it will be an ugly memory that they'd like to forget as fast as possible. However, it is necessary to ponder over the main events and trends of this last year, and to learn some lessons from them.

1946 had been a year of great class battles, in which more workers engaged in strikes than in any previous year. It had been a period of deadlock, in which labor and the employers fought each other bitterly, but in which neither side won definitive victories.

The deadlock was broken in 1947—to the advantage of Big Business, which launched an offensive on all fronts. For labor it was a year of confusion and questioning. The war between the classes was far settled and labor's ranks were as strong and numerous as ever. But important battles had been lost during this year, some by default. And for the time being the initiative clearly lay with the employers and their political agents.

The main lines of bi-partisan capitalist policy were expressed in (1) the Truman Doctrine, supplemented by the Marshall Plan and the proposed European Recovery Program, designed to lay the ground for war with the Soviet Union and to promote Wall Street's domination of the world, and (2) the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act, designed to put labor "in its place" at home.

The Truman-Marshall Doctrine (whose effects abroad are examined in Joseph Hansen's article on P. 3) was accompanied by a series of carefully planned reactionary measures intended to whip up war hysteria and a red scare of unprecedented scope and fury.

Truman instituted thought control and a purge of government employes; the Taft-Hartley Act called for the signing of yellow-dog affidavits in an attempt to drive the "reds" out of the union leadership; the federal immigration authorities arrested and tried to deport a number of labor leaders; the House Un-American Committee arranged indictments and convictions of several Stalinists and their fellow travelers; Attorney General Clark issued a blacklist of "subversive" organizations; and vigilante mobs in different parts of the country violently broke up meetings of the Communist Party and other organizations.

The two capitalist parties worked together like a team against the working people, despite maneuvering on both sides to win votes in 1948. The Republican Congress and the Democratic White House clicked to attention and executed every

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Truman Accused Of Covering Up Food Speculators

Official List Intended To Confuse the Public

In the welter of charges and countercharges of grain speculation now flying in the capital, it has been clearly established that the Truman administration is directly implicated in one of the dirtiest postwar scandals. The following facts have come out:

1. Speculators profiteering in essential foodstuffs are driving prices steadily upwards creating misery in Europe and driving down the living standards of American workers.

2. Top government officials have been among the chief culprits in this orgy of speculation. They have been using government information to send the market skyrocketing and line their own pockets with big profits in the process.

3. The Truman administration is working with frenzied energy to sit on the lid of the scandal. It is deliberately shielding the big speculators whom it dubbed only a few months ago "gamblers" and "profiteers in human misery."

In response to a demand for names, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson produced a list of speculators which is a masterpiece of subterfuge and evasion. The list gave no intimation of the operations of government "insiders."

It was clear that Anderson had

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HEADLINES in the NEWS

Reprinted from the Guild Reporter, publication of the American Newspaper Guild (CIO), this headline montage sums up the present price-profit situation. Note the extra dividend declarations as big business cuts up the profit melon at the expense of labor. Federated Pictures

ERP Intended to Save Bankrupt Capitalists And Prepare for War

By George Breitman

President Truman's so-called European Recovery Program, the implementation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan which he presented to Congress on Dec. 19, calls for the expenditure of 17 billion dollars during the next four years to bolster up European capitalism, to step up the cold war being waged against the Soviet Union and to promote Wall Street's plans to achieve domination of the whole world.

Coming a few days after the collapse of the "Big Four" Foreign Ministers Conference in London, it marks an end, for the next period at least, to any attempts at collaboration between Washington and Moscow. There will be no more conferences or attempts to write peace treaties, Secretary of State Marshall announced, until Washington has put into effect the ERP by which it hopes to bring Russia to terms.

The use of dollars to achieve imperialist aims is not a new policy for the American capitalist class and its government. As Truman reminded Congress, the U.S. government has already spent 15 billions since the defeat of the Axis powers.

That sum of money did not succeed in stablizing European capitalism, but it did help to avert working class revolutions that would have toppled European capitalism. The reactionary Italian Premier de Gasperi admitted in Rome the same day that the ERP was presented to Congress: "If America had not helped us, no government would have survived the reaction of the unemployed and hungry workers."

But Washington wants to do more now than postpone the abolition of capitalism in Europe; it wants to strengthen the capitalist regimes so that they can firmly resist the opposition of the toiling masses. That is why the ERP differs in important respects from the aid-to-European-capitalism program carried out during the last two years.

In the past, Wall Street relied primarily on Britain and France which got four and two billion dollars respectively, to act as its agents in restoring European economy and in rehabilitating the capitalist governments. But Britain and France themselves in the throes of [illegible] resulting from war devastation, the breakdown of [illegible] were unable to do the job, and the money spent on them made barely a dent.

Now Wall Street and Washington are stepping aggressively into Europe to try to do the job themselves. More and more Britain and France are pushed aside—as in the case of Greece, a British protectorate for over 100 years, and as in the case of Western Germany, where Washington will give the orders from now on.

Thus some of the main features of the proposed ERP are the provisions to give Washington a stranglehold

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What a Court!

Dino Grandi "led the Fascist movement in the north [illegible] and took part in the March on Rome as chief of the General Staff of the Quadrunvirato" and was a "member . . . of the Fascist Party Organization 1921-22-24," states the official British Who's Who.

A United Press dispatch from Rome last week cynically reported that Grandi "was cleared in an extraordinary court of charges in connection with Fascist insurrection of [illegible] when Benito Mussolini seized power."

Five Flint GM Locals Initiate Drive for 25c Wage Boost

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 21—Five GM Local Union Presidents, representing over 50,000 workers in General Motors met today and released a highly important "Statement of Policy."

Pointing out that "This conference unites the GM local presidents for the first time in the history of the Flint Auto Locals," the five presidents issued a fighting 3-point program of action that called for:

1) 25-cent hourly wage increase and a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus clause.

2) revision of the GM contract.

3) a single termination date for all contracts in the auto industry.

The "Statement of Policy" announces that "We have united for all future struggles. General Motors understands only one language—power. In unity there is strength."

IMMEDIATE INCREASE

The Flint Presidents' meeting was called by Jack Palmer, newly installed president of Chevrolet Local 659, who released a statement to the press upon his installation to office, calling for "a substantial and immediate cost-of-living wage increase."

The Flint program marks a big forward step in the UAW. For the first time a segment of the auto union leadership has put forward a real solution to the inflationary problem. In their statement the Flint local presidents declare: "We know a wage increase in and of itself is only a partial answer to our problem. The wage increase will form a base minimum. Under the new clause, wage increases will automatically be granted to cover every percentage price rise. This is the answer to galloping inflation in our times."

The Presidents' statement further calls for drastic revision of the present GM contract and its detestable bargaining procedure."

Demanding the abolition of the present Umpire system the Presidents point out that "the umpire system is not impartial, workable, or satisfactory in any way, shape or form. Why should 200,000 workers turn their bargaining rights over to any one man who doesn't understand and is incapable of comprehending our problems?"

Having in mind the bad experiences of the Flint workers during the 1945 GM strike with Reuther's disastrous "one-at-a-time" strategy, the Presidents demand "A single termination date for all contracts in the auto industry."

This statement of Policy was signed by Joe Betry, President of Buick Local 599, Robert Carter, President of AC Sparkplug Local 651, Larry Finnin, President of Local 581, Jack Palmer, President of Chevrolet Local 651, and Billy Connally, President of Fisher Body Local 598.

* * *

This Statement of Policy, prominently quoted by both the Detroit and Flint daily papers, found immediate response from militants throughout the union. The actions of the Briggs and Budd Locals are reported elsewhere in this issue. And their actions had repercussions in the top leadership. Asher Lauren, labor writer of the **Detroit News** reported on Dec. 22 as follows: "As the wage clamor spread, Walter P. Reuther revealed that the 22-man executive board was being summoned here Jan. 15 to discuss the issue.

UPSET STRATEGY

"It was obvious that the locals had upset the national CIO's strategy by making public the amount of their demands and launching the drive prematurely.

"The national CIO's timetable had called for a meeting of leaders of its 'Big Four' unions after Jan. 1 to discuss wages and prices and to formulate plans for a coordinated wage drive."

Readers will recall that identical criticism was levelled at the GM strike in 1945—that it was premature and that it upset some secret national CIO strategy which nobody had ever heard of before.

Gravy Train Hitched Onto Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan includes a few rich plums for Big Business which aren't publicized in the press.

The bill Truman submitted to Congress contains a provision that the U.S. government guarantee dollar-for-dollar private American investments in Western Europe, up to 5% of the total amount of the Marshall Plan.

This guarantee applies to investments by U.S. corporations or foreign corporations in which Americans own an interest.

If Congress votes the full $17 billion, this means the government could underwrite against loss $850,000,000 in private corporation investments!!

4,000 Attend Mass Rally of IPP In Los Angeles

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 18—Over 4,000 attended a mass rally called by the Committee for the Independent Progressive Party at the Shrine Auditorium last night.

The audience heard Dr. Sidney Jones of the Chicago Independent Progressive Party who polled 200,000 votes in the recent election, Eugene Connelly of the American Labor Party of New York, and Dr. Francis Townsend who has just come out in favor of the party.

Over $13,000 was collected for organizing work.

Robert Kenny, former State Attorney General refused to participate. Up to now he has gone along with the various Stalinist front organizations. Several other local politicians previously associated have also refused to participate despite Stalinist pressure. There was much greater labor participation, however, than before. Over 40 unions in Los Angeles alone have already participated in the organizational work of the party.

Over 150 delegates to the northern California Regional Conference of the Longshore Union went on record this week supporting the Independent Progressive Party. Officials of this union are already prominent in the leadership of the IPP.

Stop Waste of Funds, NMU Leaders Insist

NEW YORK Dec. 21— The General funds of the NMU have been completely milked dry by a cynical bunch of Stalinist Union Officers or "Hacks" as the seamen now call them. They have been unwilling to cut down their huge patronage payroll, padded during the war years, to conform to the lowered peacetime income of the Union. This is the sum and substance of a heated debate which has been going on in the Union ever since its national Convention.

After reading the Report of Treasurer M. Hedley Stone, the convention delegates instructed the Stalinist-controlled National Council to cut its expenses to meet the budget requirements. The "Hacks" on the other hand had hoped that the Convention would raise the dues payments.

Angered by the refusal of the Convention to make the membership pay for their expensive machine padding, the Majority group of the National Council kept right on operating the Union above its income. They scraped the bottom of the barrel at the Nov. 15 payroll and by Nov. 30 there was nothing there.

According to the Emergency Report of Treasurer Stone published in the **Pilot**, official publication of the Union, the current expenses of the union are about $100,000 per month larger than the income.

As the Stalinists seemed determined to run the Union into bankruptcy, President Curran was forced to bring the question to the membership. At the Dec. 1 meeting of the Union at New York, Curran exposed the "hacks" and showed that when confronted with the fact that the Union was broke, the Stalinists, instead of cutting expenses, cynically proposed to slap a mortgage on the buildings of the NMU.

Exposed and held up to the anger of the membership, the Stalinists were forced to make some adjustments in the budget. However, the Finance Committee, composed exclusively of "hacks" and operating at $90 per week each plus expenses, seems to have spent most of its energy in its 3-week meeting trying to build up a hysteria in the Union over the fact that the Union is now in the midst of its semi-annual wage review. This committee claims that Curran and Stone "created" the financial crisis in order to weaken the Union at the time of the wage review.

This lousy campaign doesn't impress the seamen, for the simple reason that the facts and figures are quite plain and unmistakable. It is only too obvious that the only "crisis creating" has been done by **the Stalinists who have bled the** NMU white and were prepared to run the union into bankruptcy until Curran and Stone brought the issue to the rank and file.

The coming national elections in the NMU will undoubtedly see the seamen cleaning house on the Stalinists.

Like Asking Hogs To Give Up Swill

Congressmen are reimbursed for their traveling costs to and from Washington at the rate of 20 cents a mile, although regular train fare is 3.5 cents a mile. The recent special session of Congress cost the taxpayers $222,000.

As the special session drew to a close last week, a proposal was made in the House that Congress "make a little sacrifice" at a time when the American people are being asked to "make very considerable sacrifices" and give up their mileage allowances.

The proposal was defeated 143 against, 27 for.

Briggs Local Backs Flint Wage Program

DETROIT, Mich. — In a membership meeting, Sunday, Dec. 21, Briggs Local 212 of the UAW-CIO voted overwhelmingly in favor of the recommendation of President Tony Czerwinski, to concur in the wage program put forth by the presidents of 5 UAW locals in Flint. The proposal for a 25c an hour increase, with an automatic cost of living adjustment to meet new increases in the cost of living, and for a uniform contract termination date to make possible the mobilization of the full strength of the union to achieve this program met with the enthusiastic response of the membership.

In presenting the proposal, Tony Czerwinski reviewed the experiences of the auto workers in past wage struggles. He showed how wage increases won in bitter struggle were more than wiped out by soaring living costs; and pointed to the need of a new approach to the wage problem, if the living standards of the workers was to be maintained. He stressed the need of ending the exhausting "one at a time" strategy and for a uniform contract termination date, so that all soldiers of the UAW army could go marching to battle together.

Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, present at this meeting of his home local union, spoke against the proposal and urged that no action be taken. He assured the membership that the top officers of the UAW were considering the problem and that the Research Department was preparing the necessary statistics. His proposal to delay action was effectively answered by both Czerwinski and Ernie Mazey, Executive Board member of Local 212 and brother of Emil. The vote of the membership represented one of the worst personal defeats Emil Mazey has suffered in the 10-year history of Local 212.

Later in the meeting, the question of compliance with the Taft-Hartley "loyalty" affidavits came before the body and after limited discussion the motion to comply carried by approximately a 3 to 2 margin. The opposition to compliance was compromised from the start by the action of the local officers who had signed the affidavits several days earlier with the aim of "undermining the red-baiting campaign." At the meeting, however, Czerwinski put the question to the membership of sending the signed affidavits to the NLRB or tossing them into the waste basket. He also sharply condemned the act and the "yellow-dog" affidavits.

NAM Spends 3 Millions for New Union-Busting Campaign

Step by step since V-J Day, the National Association of Manufacturers has been pushing through a program to ham-string the unions and clear the road for the biggest profit grab in history.

First on the NAM agenda was the campaign to smash price controls. Democratic and Republican legislators alike jumped to their master's command. OPA was knocked out and profits zoomed to an unprecedented $17½ billion for 1947, while the workers paid in reduced living standards.

Next came NAM's direct assault on the unions. Again the capitalist politicians snapped into action and the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law came into being.

GIANT TAX STEAL

Now the monopoly corporations are preparing a giant tax steal. The press and radio are flooded with their propaganda. Congressman Knudsen, a brazen lackey of the wealthy interests, has redoubled his efforts to shove through a tax bill favoring the rich. And Truman's Treasury Department has suddenly found that a tax cut would "tend to dampen demands for wage increases."

Charles E. Wilson, General Motors president, has demanded "longer and harder" work. The recent NAM convention made this slave-driving policy more specific by calling for intensified pressure to impose the speedup on the workers and demanding elimination of overtime pay after 40 hours from the Wage-Hour Act. Bills intended to riddle the Wage-Hour Act have already been introduced in Congress.

A year's moratorium on wage increases is demanded by the profit-glutted NAM clique, whose spokesmen have publicly insisted that the government take a firm stand against union wage demands.

Industry-wide bargaining is under heavy attack from the monopoly corporations. Labor is a "monopoly," the NAM claims, when unions are so strong they can "dictate their own terms." Clamor to put the unions under the anti- trust law has increased. The NAM convention called on the corporations to insist on local bargaining in future contract negotiations.

The bosses are urged to make strong counter-demands to undermine established conditions in negotiations with the unions. Widespread company propaganda among the workers is called for.

Campaigns of intimidation and reprisals against militant workers are being organized. Company stooges are urged to take the lead in organizing bosses' factions within the unions. And Czar Denham of the Taft-Hartley Labor Board is working hand-in-glove with the bosses in their war against the workers.

The NAM is not only the authentic spokesman for the Big Business interests, but has in recent days emerged as its main coordinator and public propagandist. This year it plans to throw another $3 million into the pots to promote a gigantic "selling campaign" to the American public.

It has become increasingly easy to foretell just what Congressional leaders will propose and push for in future sessions of Congress by simply reading the proposals emanating from the NAM. The NAM program has truly become the blueprint from which the Congressional timeservers work.

Holcomb Parkes, NAM's Vice-president in charge of public relations proudly related his organization's accomplishments since the end of the war to the recent NAM convention. Parkes pointed out that the NAM saw three "roadblocks" to "permanent prosperity" when it surveyed the nation after V-J day. "Roadblock No. 1" was price control—and the NAM removed that. "Roadblock No. 2" was the Wagner Act. And that has been destroyed. Now NAM propagandists are beginning to tackle "Roadblock No. 3"—the tax question.

The correct way to mobilize labor against the NAM assault has been demonstrated by the unions which have refused to sign the Taft-Hartley "yellow-dog" oath and are fighting tooth-and-claw against the Slave Labor Act.

The program of the five UAW presidents of General Motors local in Flint points the way toward a realistic wage strategy to meet the NAM offensive. They have called for an increase of twenty-five cents per hour PLUS AUTOMATIC COST-OF-LIVING BONUSES to offset rising prices.

Campaigns to elect independent labor candidates in Oakland, Youngstown, Flint, Chicago and eleswhere have pointed the way toward a correct political policy to clean out of office the Democratic and Republican tools of the NAM.

Great Decisions in France Still to Come

By T. J. Peters

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

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

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

THOREZ

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

Obviously the subway workers, like many other sections of labor, refused to follow the Stalinist lead because they distrusted the objectives of the leaders, who throughout the strike wave remained hesitant and contsantly juggled slogans which appeared to many workers not to be worth the vast sacrifices demanded of them.

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

HARDLY SURPRISING

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

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

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

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

SPIRIT CONTINUES

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

The government wisely hastened to withdraw the troops, without making use of its new laws. But in some mines, work has still not been resumed. That is also the case in some metal factories, where the workers held out against the victimization of individual militants. In some mine areas the coal-diggers refused to go back to work, declaring the CGT order to be a government fake. In one place, where they were shown the local CP paper with the back-to-work order, the miners are said to have retorted that the issue of the paper had been counterfeited by the government.

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

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

FAR FROM SETTLED

The problems that called forth the strike movement are far from settled. Inflation continues to rage and the needs of the workers to make wages meet living costs are bound to give rise to new explosions. The capitalist class has won only a pyrrhic victory. Its economy is too feeble to permit it to make genuine wage concessions; the new American aid voted by Congress has practically been swallowed up by the production losses suffered in the strikes.

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

TROTSKYISM GAINS

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

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

Publishers Spearhead Union-Busting Offensive

By Arthur Burch

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

The publishers have brought damage suits against the ITU and its affiliates; are harassing them with anti-strike injunctions; have forced hearings before the boss-ridden National Labor Relations Board in Indianapolis; and are proceeding to entangle the unions in a web of additional court proceedings. At the same time they hire scabs wherever possible, and have already succeeded by this means in forcing the ITU union in Allentown to sign a contract on their open shop terms.

By refusing to discuss wage increases until the Typographical Unions have agreed to sign open shop contracts, the Newspaper Publishers have forced the ITU Locals to strike in 12 cities. The owners are continuing publication of their newspapers by means of photo-engraved typewritten copy. In this manner the six Chicago newspapers, struck by ITU Local 18 since Nov. 24, continue to appear. In Detroit, the publishers have succeeded in obtaining an injunction against the ITU from taking a strike vote at the Detroit Times. The newspapers insist that the union bargain with the unified publishers of all three dailies in that city. This is based on the realization that few people would buy an ersatz photo-engraved newspaper if a printed newspaper is available. Thus the bosses show their class solidarity. They gave another demonstration of their close bond when a slowdown delayed the publication of the **Detroit News**. Both the **Detroit Times** and **Free Press** were withheld until the **Times** became available. They were willing to forego additional profits in their determination to break the union.

CONTINUE TO SCAB

What are the ITU, and the AFL to which it is affiliated, doing to meet this Big Business onslaught? They have learned nothing from the solidarity of their class enemy. Against the powerful unified offensive of the publishers, the AFL has refused to marshall the various crafts working in the industry. While the ITU is engaged in a life and death struggle, the "fat and stately asses" that comprise the AFL leadership call upon the members of the other crafts to pass through the ITU picket line. The pressmen, the stereotypers, the engravers, and the paper handlers, all belonging to separate AFL Internationals, and all working under open contracts, continue to scab on the typesetters. Daniel Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters ordered his men to walk through the picket lines, lest they disturb their 33 year old policy of cooperating with the bosses. Even within the ITU itself, the mailers union is permitted to scab on its sister local on the flimsy excuse that its contract does not expire till Jan. 3.

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

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

DANGEROUSLY WEAKENED

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

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

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

1947--Year of Setbacks For American Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

command of Big Business.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MILITANT RANKS

The workers wanted to fight to uphold their standards—there could be no question about that. Wherever they were provided with any kind of half-decent leadership, they acquitted themselves nobly. In the spring the mine strike achieved a real victory and the phone workers, relatively new to the ranks of labor, wrung some concessions from the powerful phone trust. The current ITU strikes exemplify the readiness of the workers to defend their working conditions in spite of the Taft-Hartley Act.

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

COWARDLY LEADERS

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

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

When conditions called for a new wage drive last spring, most of the bureaucrats discouraged mass struggle and worked out inadequate 10 to 15 cents raises in the second round of postwar negotiations—which did not even compensate for the price rises of the previous year. And despite growing sentiment for some form of the sliding scale of wages (cost-of-living bonus or escalator clause), they refused to demand any contract provisions to protect wages against future price rises. As a result the second round gains were wiped out long before the end of the year.

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

POLITICAL TRENDS

Stymied on the economic front, increasing numbers of workers began to understand the need for independent labor political action, and their understanding was broadened by every act of Congress which showed itself to be a bi-partisan tool of Big Business. In several localities the labor movement ran independent candidates for local office. Hundreds of local unions went on record for a Labor Party, and several internationals called for a new party too. It was estimated that over one-quarter of the union members favored immediate formation of a Labor Party.

Here again the progressive instincts and movements of the workers were checked and counteracted by the union bureaucrats. Silent now on the crimes of the strikebreaker Truman and his Democratic Party, whom they propose to support in 1948, the labor leaders (including the Stalinist bureaucrats) have exerted all their energies to prevent the formation of a Labor Party and the running of independent labor candidates next year. The AFL, railroad and independent union leaders have established political action bodies like the CIO's PAC. While these organizations offer a vehicle for Labor Party agitation and propaganda, the bureaucrats propose to use them primarily to catch votes for Truman in 1948.

ON DEFENSIVE

Winded by the effort to keep pace with rising prices, hounded by the speedup the bosses are pressing in the shops, distracted for the time being by the red scare and war propaganda, restrained and even partly demoralized by the cowardice and treachery of their leaders, the workers have been halted temporarily in their march forward to a better world.

Under these conditions, conservative and reactionary elements in the unions were able to make headway and to push the workers' organizations toward the right. This conservative trend was highlighted when the UAW convention handed over control of the national apparatus to the Reuther-ACTU bloc which is consciously preparing to integrate the labor movement into the governmental machine.

As 1947 ends, therefore, it must be recognized that the workers are worse off than when it began, and have not yet rearmed and reorganzide their forces to decisively reverse the tide. But there is more to be said than that.

EXPLOSION COMING

For the very factors which have combined to check their progress are goading them to study the reasons for their setbacks and to launch new struggles, under a new leadership and on a higher plane. Anti-Labor laws, inflation, war hysteria, anti-red witch hunts, and betrayals by the labor leaders can confuse the workers for a while, and knock them off balance. But the conditions under which the workers live and work, and the intensity of the employers' drive to worsen those conditions, must and will have a powerful reaction, leading to an explosion on the political as well as economic fields and the resumption of labor radicalization and militancy.

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

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

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

Same Old Company Tune

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

Joseph Hansen To Begin Tour On January 3

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

From Pittsburgh Hansen will visit the following places:

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

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

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

New Britain New Year's Eve to be Gala Event

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

Santa Monica NAACP Gains Support in Fight Against Jim Crow Hiring

SANTA MONICA, Dec. 18—Renewed support to the struggle of the Santa Monica National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against discrimination in hiring at Sears store here was pledged at a meeting tonight by representatives from many organizations in Santa Monica, Los Angeles and Pasadena.

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

The struggle of this community against discrimination in hiring is primarily a rank and file struggle.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Branches Getting More Sub Renewals

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

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

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

* * *

A few Chicago comrades sent in 22 subs this week, mostly renewals. Boston had eight. Two couples from Bedford-Stuyvesant branch, Brooklyn, got eight in one evening. From all over the country individual readers sent their own renewals and one or several for friends and relatives.

* * *

P. C. of New York made a visit last week to **Winston-Salem, N. C.**, and picked up four subs besides selling 7 pamphlets and numerous single copies of **The Militant.** Another Winston-Salem subscriber renewed on his own account and sent several names of friends to whom we mailed sample copies.

* * *

M. Paule of **Lynn, Mass.**, wrote: Enclosed are six renewals obtained by comrades last Sunday. We plan to go out every Sunday, so you should hear from us regularly.

C. L. of **Grays Landing, Pa.**, renewed her own sub and sent one for a friend.

* * *

D. A. of **San Francisco** knows we co-operate with workers whenever we have the chance. "Thank you for the letter reminding me that my sub has expired. When I get my next pay check, Dec. 24, I shall renew. Meanwhile please do not discontinue sending it to me." We're still sending the paper, awaiting his payment.

* * *

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

* * *

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

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WORKERS' FORUM

Some Negro Leaders Benefit from Jim Crow

Editor:

In speaking of the Negro's struggle to attain complete emancipation, many think only of a struggle with the dominant race for equality. In my opinion there are two phases to the fight, both equally important. The one to which we seldom give much thought is the struggle against capitalist exploitation within the Negro race.

The Negro struggle has been sorely retarded by many rascals who have been designated as leaders, many of whom argue that the so-called Negro problem can be solved within the framework of capitalism. These rascals talk a great fight against segregation while at the same time they foster segregation by promoting enterprises catering to Negroes almost exclusively.

To many of them segregation is most profitable, for through this medium they effectively appeal to the racial pride of many Negro workers, influencing them to pay higher prices for mediocre or poor services. I know of many Negro insurance companies reaping a million dollars a year because they have convinced Negro workers that they are advancing their emancipation. These companies are at the same time some of the worst exploiters of Negro white-collar workers, using a vicious system to take back a part of the small pittance their employes receive as salaries.

I know of a Negro undertaker who tried to secure a monopoly of burying the Negro dead by making an agreement with the white undertakers' association that they should bury no Negroes and he should bury no whites. He was very much embittered when other Negro undertakers invaded the field and became his competitors. I know of many executives of Jim Crow YMCAs who speak the loudest against segregation, and yet who make a fetish of race pride and use it for every dollar that it's worth.

The Negro worker must renounce these fakers who prey upon them under the guise of being leaders. A tremendous job of education must be carried on within the group, pointing out the fakery and cruel deception which is practiced by Negro capitalists and their agents.

Reader
Youngstown, O.

How the Stalinists Slander the Arabs

The California **People's World** (Stalinist) has been giving backhanded approval to Zionism by confining its printed press dispatches to acts of "Arab violence."

This was climaxed on Dec. 12 in the column on World Affairs written by George Lohr, in which he calls for the U. S. and UN to "Provide ample and modern arms to the Haganah, the Jewish army of Palestine. So far, neither the U. S. nor the UN commission has made such a proposal. But this is what is needed to protect the Jews from further violence."

He dismisses the whole Arab-Jewish conflict with talk of cut-throat and gangster attacks upon the Jews. While it is undoubtedly true that the leaders of the Arabs as well as the Zionists are reactionary, it is a poor substitute for Marxist analysis to dismiss this Arab nationalism, which is inextricably mingled with anti-imperialism, as gangsterism.

Al Lynn,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Chinese Readers Ask For Help

Editor:

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

You know that China is the most backward country in the world and the Chinese people are in great need of spiritual food in order to keep them advancing forward and to strengthen their revolutionary belief. But only one copy of **The Militant** reaches this city while there are no less than 30 persons here who read English and want to see it.

Unfortunately a single copy takes a long time to make the rounds, sometimes as much as three months. We are poor and the foreign exchange is controlled by the government, so we cannot pay for a subscription now.

Could you therefore please send us a copy free? It would mean a great deal to us.

Three Friends
Shanghai

Ed. Note: Would any of our readers be willing to pay $2, the cost of sending the paper to the above correspondents for one year. If more than one gift subscription is submitted, we will send the remainder to other friends abroad who want the paper but cannot afford to pay for it at this time.

Subscriptions: $1 per year; 50c 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): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol XI.—No. 52. Monday, December 29, 1947

TROTSKY

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

—Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932

LENIN

Sowing the Wind

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

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

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

But this time instead of the customary whitewash there is abuse and denunciation. This is the ONLY aspect of the incident that is new. For years the Daily Worker has been heaping praise on Quill as a leader of the "progressive forces." Now overnight he has become a rank opportunist and a tool of the bankers and the real estate interests. How did Quill get that way?

The truth is that Quill didn't "get that way" — he was always like that. There is nothing new about Quill's opportunism. The policy of the Transport Union was always based on deals with the ruling power in City Hall. Yesterday with LaGuardia, today with O'Dwyer. Despite sales taxes and strike-breaking, the Quill leadership supported the gang in City Hall from election to election.

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

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

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

Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism

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

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

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

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

American money has been given to those right wing unions supporting the Sophoulis-Tsaldaris regime. Unions not supporting the monarchist regime were suppressed, raided; their leaders exiled by the thousands to concentration camp islands. But even this was not sufficient. Now all unions, pro or anti-regime face the death-to-strikers law.

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

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

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

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

Socialist U. S. of Europe

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

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

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

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

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

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

Colonial and Civil Wars Shake Capitalist World During 1947

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

Aid to Reaction

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

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

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

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

U. S. Support

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

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

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

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

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

When 1947 opened, the Stalinist bureaucracy was still following its policy of bolstering up capitalism in Western Europe: In France, for instance, they still held the government posts which they had gained in alliance with de Gaulle. Strikes in their vocabulary were "Hitlero - Trotskyite provocations." They supported the wage freeze; and demanded more and speedier production from the workers.

Stalinists Cheer

Their attitude toward the colonial peoples was equally rotten. On one occasion their representatives in the National Assembly stood up and cheered the French imperialist troops that were murdering the heroic Indo-Chinese freedom fighters. On another occasion their representatives in the cabinet voted in favor of credits to continue this colonial butchery.

Likewise in Italy, the Stalinists at the beginning of the year held key posts in the capitalist government. They utilized these posts to hold back the mass upsurge. They worked arm-in-arm with reaction. A typical action was their vote to continue the treaty which the Vatican had made with Mussolini. This treaty no only recognized the Vatican as a "sovereign" state in the heart of Italy, but it granted 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian state bonds at the high rate of 5% interest and made Catholic education compulsory in the public schools. **The Stalinists could have defeated this reactionary measure by voting against it, but they chose instead to cast the decisive bloc of votes in favor of it, thus strengthening the Catholic hierarchy—one of the breeding centers of fascism in Italy.**

By playing the capitalists' game, they strengthened the forces of reaction and made possible the revival of fascist-like forces in both Italy and France. At an opportune time, Premier Ramadier in France and de Gasperi in Italy booted the Stalinists ignominiously out of office.

New Note

The Stalinists fumed but continued to avow their loyalty to the capitalist governments in both lands. However, as Wall Street intensified war preparations against the Soviet Union, the Stalinist bureaucracy began to sound a new note in its propaganda. It made vague allusions to socialist revolution and attacked Wall Street's war-mongering.

Finally in September, the Kremlin set up an "Information Bureau" at Belgrade, Yugoslavia. This move was interpreted as a shift to the "left." It was followed by bitter denunciations of Wall Street's war preparations; but the Kremlin assiduously avoided promulgating socialist revolution as the only means of preventing Wall Street's projected war.

The Kremlin's line was a continuation of its line against German imperialism, with Wall Street in place of the Nazis and Truman in place of Hitler. Stalin himself made clear what was wanted was a pact with Washington.

As the date of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers neared, the Stalinist bureaucracy loosened the brakes on the workers under its influence in Italy and France. They organized strikes and political demonstrations. The Kremlin's aim was to blackmail Washington into a deal. Marshall sat tight at London, however. The Stalinists called off the strikes and demonstrations. They did not dare carry them far enough to set off a revolutionary struggle for power. They capitulated to the threats and counter offensive of the capitalists.

The great hope for the future lies in the militancy of the working class and the colonial peoples as revealed in 1947.

The Indonesian people, fighting for their freedom in 1947 as did the American colonials in 1776, wrote a magnificant chapter of resistance against the Wall Street-backed military machine of the Dutch tyrants. Although the year closed with a heavy curtain of censorship drawn over the blood-stained battle fields, the Dutch are far from triumphant.

People Resist

But they are no longer dealing with primitive people. They are confronted with great masses who have been drawn into the vortex of civilization and who are determined to secure their freedom.

The changed situation is well illustrated by the difficulties of the French colonial despots in Indo-China. There Trotskyist ideas, seeping among the masses, have played an incalculable role in hardening their will to struggle.

In China, the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship faces catastrophe under the continuing civil war. Had it not been for Wall Street's timely aid, Chiang would have been swept aside after V-J Day. As it is, this dictatorship lives from hand-out to hand-out. China, the great prize sought by the Wall Street rulers in World War II, still eludes them, and the Chinese people are demonstrating that they do not intend to see their land converted into a colony.

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

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

In the heart of Britain itself, there were significant tremors in 1947. The Grimethorpe miners refused to accept an order for increased production. They started a rank and file strike in protest. The entire capitalist class and its press pounded at the Grimethorpe men. The Labor Government sent its emissaries to try to drive them back to work. The trade union bureacracy did its utmost to break the strike. The Stalinists holding posts in the union denounced these miners. But the strike swept from pit to pit in a magnificiant demonstration of solidarity, and forced the government to back down.

Despair Lessens

Germany saw the first indications of a break in the despair of the German workers. Demonstrations occurred in a number of cities against the starvation rations imposed by the Allied conquerors. The American Military Government responded with a threat to impose the death penalty. The program of the Anglo - American imperialists to scrap priceless German industrial plants similarly met with resistance by the German workers. **These actions, taken under the military boot of the conquerors, were harbingers of the future. The German workers who once built the mightiest labor movement in the world have indicated that they are regaining their will to struggle.**

The most important workers' struggles in 1947 occurred in Italy and France. In September, the Italian workers and poor farmers began moving. Landlords were driven off the big estates, workers occupied factories, demonstrations swept Italy as the workers and partisans sought to seize strategic centers in the cities. The Stalinists at the head of the Italian labor movement knifed this promising movement, exhorting the workers not to resort to militant action and the farm hands not to violate capitalist property "rights." However, this upsurge, involving millions of the poorest people in Italy, revealed how tense class relations are there and how deep-seated is the urge to have done with capitalism.

Forced to Go Along

In France the Renault auto strike at the end of April was especially noteworthy. This strike began as a rank and file movement against the opposition of the Stalinist union heads. The strike gained momentum, spreading to other plants and threatening to sweep over the heads of the Stalinist bureaucrats. To avoid being dislodged, they were forced to go along. It was this action that precipitated their ouster from the Ramadier cabinet.

In the Cabinet meeting called by Ramadier to discuss the situation, Maurice Thorez, head of the French Stalinists, declared: "The General Federation of Labor has been overrun, or is in danger of being overrun, by Trotskyist elements. In order to prevent this movement from getting out of hand, we decided last night to support the workers' demands."

While there are great hopes for the spread of Trotskyist ideas among the French workers, there is also grave danger from the side of fascism. De Gaulle, the would-be dictator of France, has received Wall Street's blessing. The replacement of Ramadier by Schuman as Premier was a concession to de Gaullism and the passage of Taft-Hartley type anti-labor legislation was universally recognized as facilitating an attempt to crush the labor movement when the hour arrives.

The French workers, however, witnessed the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany and then in Spain. Thrice-warned, they will not easily be taken unawares. Besides, the defeat of the French strikes was not conclusive. In France, as throughout the world, the decisive class battles are still ahead.

Japanese Labor on the March

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

PITTSBURGH
Hear
Joseph Hansen
"Struggle for Power In Europe"
Saturday, Jan. 3, 8 p. m.
1418 Fifth Ave.

Gov't Shields Grain Speculators

(Continued from Page 1)

reneged on the promise he had made on Oct. 9: "I can call names, some of them public figures, who are speculating in large quantities of grain." Not a single such name appears on Anderson's list.

Anderson's list was published only after the original strategy of the Administration, to let Edwin Pauley, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army and close friend of Truman, take the brunt of the scandal, had failed. It was undoubtedly believed in top circles that the public had become accustomed to seeing Pauley in shady roles.

But Stassen's insistent demands and a growing popular outcry for action prevented the administration from ducking for cover. The investigating committee admitted that a "remarkable number of tips are coming in from anonymous persons and in signed letters" about food speculation by government officials and public figures.

However, the desire to conceal damaging information was not confined to the Democratic Administration. Republican Congressmen while desiring to ride the scandal as a campaign issue against the Democrats, became frightened lest the findings of an investigating committee strike closer to home.

Thus the Senate Committee quickly backed down in its demands to see the records, when Anderson threatened to make all the lists public if forced to turn them over. As a substitute, a special Joint resolution was rushed through both Houses and quickly signed by Truman. It was this resolution which gave Anderson the opportunity to publish his meaningless and irrelevant list.

The investigation was further stymied by the overwhelming defeat of a bill which would have given the committee access to income data. "I know none of the members of the House," a Congressman said explaining his vote, "wants to see himself or any of his constituents singled out and have his income tax looked over by a committee and then publicised in a newspaper."

It is clear that both the Republican Congress and the Democratic Administration are determined to keep the scandal within the limits of campaign propaganda. Neither party has shown any intention of punishing the big speculators. Neither party has any intention of digging the ground from under the speculators by passing drastic legislation outlawing the racket.

Regardless of the cost to the working class public in inflationary prices, both parties will leave this form of profiteering basically untouched. Speculation is a normal part of the system they call "free enterprise." The most they are out to do is eliminate some of the scandal—if possible. Or to cover it up—if not.

Hansen to Speak in Cleveland on Jan. 8

Cleveland SWP Branch invites readers of **The Militant** to hear Joseph Hansen on Wednesday, January 8 at 8 p.m., Pecks Hall 1446 E. 82 St. (off Wade Park Ave.) Topic of Hansen's speech is "The Struggle for Power in Europe." Refreshments served after the meeting.

Akron SWP to Hold New Year's Cabaret

Akron Militant readers are invited to celebrate New Year's Eve on Wed., Dec. 31, from 9 p. m. on, at a Cabaret at 4 S. Howard St. Floor show, dancing and a spaghetti supper served at 11:30 p. m.

NEW YORK
Ring in the New Year!
Bring Your Friends to
NEW YEAR'S EVE SOCIAL
Wednesday, Dec. 31
Chelsea Workers Center
130 W. 23rd St.
Auspices: N. Y. Local, SWP

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 3-5 p. m.; Sat., 2-4 p. m.

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

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

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

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Forum and open house Sat., 8 p. m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.

LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.

SAN PEDRO, Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Rm. 214.

WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.

LYNN (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., 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.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore. Forum, Sun., 3:30 p. m.

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Mon. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion, Thur., 8 p. m.

BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.

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

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9434.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 3:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thur., 7-9 p. m.

SAN DIEGO—432 F St., Rm. 213 Tues., Thurs., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Mon., Wed., Fri., 7-9 p. m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone SE. 0488. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Phone Jefferson 3642. Forum, Fri., 7:30-10 p. m.

ST. PAUL—640 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Daily, 2:30-9:30 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 Mon. through Sat., 11 a. m.-4:30 p. m.

THE MILITANT

PAGE FOUR — NEW YORK, N. Y. — MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1947

Buick Local Votes to Comply To Avoid Reuther 'Administrator'

By Emmett Moore

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

Buick Local 599, which sent a large anti-Reuther delegation to the convention, at its regular membership meeting after the convention, voted to file with the NLRB. The sweeping Reuther victory at the convention, and a dearth of information as to Reuther's intentions if a local refused to file hung oppressively over the meeting.

Delegate after delegate headed by Marlin Butler, defeated candidate for regional directorship, Joe Berry, president of the local, and John McGill, leader of many former progressive struggles in the UAW, bitterly denounced the Law, the convention's action and the belly-crawling compliance attitude of the Reutherite majority. The membership voted to comply only because, as Marlin Butler put it, "We do not want a Reuther Administrator appointed over our local."

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

LED THE FIGHT

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

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

Flint UAW Official Offers Wage Plan To Meet Inflation

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

"The inflationary spiral which has gripped the American economy places the wage workers in an unenviable position. Each and every price increase robs the auto worker of the very necessities of life. The last eleven and a half cent wage increase was wiped out months ago by price rises.

"While wages, since the end of the War have risen 30%, prices have soared with jet propulsion speed over and above these tiny wage increases. No end to this process is in sight.

"The stupid assertions, lies, and propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers and all of their apologists that wage increases are responsible for price increases are exploded when we examine hard facts. If there was an iota of truth in this propaganda Big Business should explain their mountainous profit hoard and the rise of prices far exceeding the wage boosts of the past two years.

"Without a shadow of a doubt it is now clear that the tremendous profits of industry are pressuring and building up the forces of inflation in this period, as it will of necessity bring on depressions when the market becomes glutted with overproduction in the next. Corporate profits after taxes in 1947 will be 17.4 billion dollars as compared with 8.4 billion dollars in the lush days of 1929; twice as much as they were at the height of the War. This is the real secret of inflation in the U.S.A. today.

"Government reports indicate that the next three months will find prices soaring even further into the stratosphere. This is indicated by all the stock market reports of wheat, meat, butter and eggs. The boosts of oil, coal, tires, gasoline and tractors of the last few days. Prices in the next months presage runaway inflation.

Its effects on the auto worker were graphically illustrated by Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach who revealed that 'the average city housewife who goes to buy food must take $21 to buy what $10 bought in 1939 and what less than $15 bought on V-J day or even as recently as 18 months ago.'

"From all this I conclude that it is urgent and necessary that the UAW requests a hearing for a substantial immediate cost-of-living wage increase. We must find a solution to price jumps at every juncture of the econmic cycle which wipe out wage increases. In any event all wage increases can easily be met by the huge stockpile of corporate profits without raising prices one penny."

Pauley Admits Grain Tradings

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

Readers Invited to Hear Hansen in Youngstown

Youngstown readers of **The Militant** are invited to hear Joseph Hansen on Sunday, January 4, at 8 p.m., Room 302, Leedy Bldg., 115 E. Federal St.

Truman Demands 17 Billions to Chain Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

In addition the ERP specifically requires that the participating nations agree to sell the U.S. scarce raw materials, including those used in the atomic bomb; that they take financial and monetary measures to stabilize their currency along lines suited to the best interests of Wall Street; that they put aside in a special fund an amount of their own currency equivalent to the value of the ERP grants, which they will be able to spend only as the U.S. sees fit, etc.

What economic and political effects will the ERP have on Europe and on the U. S.? Whom will it help, whom will it hurt?

The main beneficiaries will be the American capitalists; to a lesser degree their European satellites and junior partners will also improve their positions. The economic future of Western Europe will be mortgaged to Wall Street and the big corporations wil be able to get their hooks into every nook and cranny of the European economy, insuring that it serves and does not compete with American domination and American profits.

The ERP will not restore the prosperity of Europe—to do so would require rebuilding all of Europe that was destroyed in the war, effecting a genuine unification of European economy and resources and putting an end to capitalist profit, greed and anarchy. At best, the ERP will patch up some of the worst holes in the economy and enable it to stagger on for another period. Any economic revival that takes place under the ERP will be on an extremely low level and will be so controlled that the real benefits go to the trusts, both European and American, and not to the working people.

Politically, the effects of the ERP in Europe have already been made plain. For the privilege of participating in the conference that listed their needs last summer, France and Italy had to drive the Stalinists out of their governments. The ominous figure of de Gaulle appeared on the scene again. A French version of the Taft-Hartley Act has been enacted; in Greece the punishment for strikes is death. All of Western Europe has moved to the right since the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine last March—in the direction of naked capitalist dictatorship such as exists in Greece.

DECEPTIVE FIGURES

In the United States the economic effects will be far-reaching, especially in stepping up the inflationary trend. Truman tried to minimize these effects, asserting that the total expenditure required would be less than 3% of the national income during the four-year period. But such a figure is deceptive because it deliberately ignores the fact that there is a desperate shortage in the U. S. of many of the chief products required by the ERP, and that these same products are basic in the American price structure.

In the absence of effective price control, such as only mass consumers committees and workers control of production could insure, the big purchases of these products by the government are sure to add fuel to the flames of the inflation. This will hasten the coming economic bust—a factor that can defeat and completely undo the work aimed at by the ERP.

Furthermore, while the growing integration of the American with the European economy may serve for a time to keep European capitalism from crumbling altogether, it at the same time subjects the American economy to every shock and sickness undermining the world capitalist economy. Instead of dragging European capitalism up, the ERP may contribute decisively toward dragging American capitalism down.

Just as the Taft-Hartley Act was the domestic counterpart of the Truman Doctrine, so the ERP will be accompanied by new anti-labor assaults in the U.S. Bent on keeping the burden of the inflation on the backs of the workers, determined to prevent the workers from interfering in any way with their plans for world domination. Big Business will try to march further down the road of reaction, repression and the smashing of the labor organizations.

REAL DECISION

Will the ERP be successful in saving European capitalism and in advancing Wall Street's imperialist aims? The final word on that won't be spoken by the American capitalists who, powerful as they are cannot even stop the raging inflation preparing the way for the inevitable depression in America.

The real decision will be made by the European workers, who can win economic security only through the socialist reconstruction of their continent, and by the American workers, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of Wall Street.

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

Good Affair Held By Lynn ACEWR Chapter

The Lynn Chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief opened its winter fund drive with a Dance and Buffet Supper on December 6 at the Jewish Community Center.

Two local artists, a pianist and vocalist, donated their services for the evening's entertainment. Dancing and a buffet supper followed. Net proceeds amounted to $128.36.

All SWP Locals Meet Fund Quotas

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

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

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

In addition to the Reading contribution, the following readers sent in coin cards last week: Bolint, Youngstown, $1.70; Trinks, Hammond, Ind., $1.70; Anderson, California, $3; Mikhosz, Michigan, $1.

Cleveland mailed in another $10.

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

AFL and CIO Officials Reject Wallace

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

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

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

BUREAUCRATS LINE-UP

Thus there are other reasons why Reuther, Murray, Green, Whitney and Co. won't support Wallace.

First, and most important, is the fact that the labor bureaucrats have been lined up solidly behind the Truman-Marshall plans for Wall Street domination of the world. They are not only lined up, but working overtime to integrate the unions into the war machine in this country and to sell the Marshall Plan to the workers abroad.

Wallace, in his own way and for his own reasons, which he thinks coincide with the best interests of U. S. capitalism, is resisting the State Department's policy of cold war with Russia. That is his chief crime in the eyes of the Truman administration's loyal labor lieutenants.

Second is the fact that the bureaucrats are bitter opponents of any new party—not only of a third capitalist party headed by Wallace and influenced by the Stalinists, but of any kind of party, including an independent Labor Party based on and controlled by the unions.

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

Most of the labor bureaucrats have not committed themselves publicly on 1948, but everyone knows that they intend to spend millions of dollars of the workers' money trying to elect Truman next year. Their present pretense that they have not yet made up their minds is only the transition from their 1946 denunciations of Truman as a strikebreaker to their 1948 leap onto the Truman bandwagon.

"LESSER EVIL"

And everyone knows, also, the argument which they will offer to explain this betrayal—the theory of the "lesser evil" which the Stalinists made so popular in this country and through which they helped to miseducate so many workers when they were supporting Roosevelt.

That theory runs as follows: If we start a third party now, the only result will be the election of some Republican like Taft, and the victory of reaction. Therefore we must oppose any third ticket and try to get some concessions from the Democrats, who cannot be elected without labor support.

This theory, if accepted by the workers, would rule out any new party for all time, for it would apply just as strongly in 1952 or 1956 as in 1948. Its acceptance would leave labor politically helpless **forever**, and for this reason must be rejected decisively.

It is true that the formation of a Labor Party in 1948 **might** result in the election of a Republican president. But since the Republicans and Democrats follow essentially the same anti-labor policies, that would be no more catastrophic than the re-election of a Democrat who, to the applause of the Republicans, has already broken a national railway strike and used an injunction against a national mine strike, and who shares responsibility with the GOP for high prices, crushing taxes, witch hunts and preparations for a new world war.

WALLACE

WOULD GIVE PAUSE

Granted that a Labor Party might not win the first national election it entered, and that a Republican or Democratic reactionary might be elected with a Labor Party on the ballot next year. That would still be a hundred times better than supoprting the "lesser evil." **Because it would be able even in its first campaign to elect a large number of congressmen and local officials and to pile up an impressive national vote which would give pause to the capitalist politicians when anti-labor legislation came up for consideration.**

The history of the Republican Party is very instructive in this connection. Formed as a radical party to fight the reactionary slaveholders Democratic Party in 1856, it was defeated at the polls in its first attempt for the Presidency. But just four short years later it won a plurality, taking over both the White House and Congress and sweeping the slaveowners out of political power.

What is the alternative to a Labor Party? The uninterrupted growth of reaction because the workers are paralyzed politically, the passage of more and worse Taft-Hartley Acts, the rise of fascism. Labor has to start **some time** building its own party and **now** is the best time—because the Democrats stand exposed as partners with the Republicans in imposing the program of the NAM on the American people.

Diary of a Steel Worker

New Year's Day, 1948

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

The Negro Struggle

Little Progress Recorded this Year

By Albert Parker

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

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

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

Economically, 1947 was nothing to cheer about. Although it was a period of so-called full employment, job discrimination against Negroes got worse and not better. Unemployment was proportionally twice as great as among whites. Housing was not only costlier but tougher to find, thanks to the restrictive covenants which the courts enforce in all parts of the country. And along with rising prices you had to pay more, as usual, in Negro neighborhoods, than you would elsewhere for the same article.

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

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

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

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

Christmas Comes to the Mines

By Morgan West

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Purge at River Rouge

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

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

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

It is of interest to note that at Local 600, President Thompson and Lee Romano, Chairman of the Pressed Steel Unit, in the past leading spokesmen for the progressive forces, emerged as the leading advocates of capitulation. Following the meeting of the General Council of Local 600 which ordered a referendum of the membership on the proposal to remove from office James Couser, Financial Secretary, William Johnson, Recording Secretary, and the other officers who had refused to sign the affidavits, Thompson issued a statement to the press hailing the proposed referendum as a wonderful opportunity for the membership of Local 600 to make its attitude clear on the question of "Americanism vs. Communism."

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

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