

## Fallacy of Wallace's Anti-War Program

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# Washington Uses Italian Election to Incite War Fever

Washington is continuing its incitement of war hysteria since Truman's sabre-rattling speech on March 17 to the joint session of Congress. In the past week, American imperialism's drive toward a third world war was going strong on every front.

The newest arena of the "cold war" between Wall Street and the Kremlin is Italy, where a crucial election is scheduled for April 18.

The State Department is intervening in the Italian elections in the most brazen manner imaginable. It is issuing dire threats against the Italian people if they exercise their democratic rights by voting for the Communist (Stalinist) Party candidates. These threats are combined with promises and outright bribes.

In two speeches on the West Coast, Secretary of State Marshall bluntly announced a new policy of open U. S. intervention in the internal politics of all countries seeking U. S. economic aid.

"If the people of any nation," he threatened on March 19 in Berkeley, "choose to vote into power a government in which the dominant political force would be a party whose hostility to this program has been frequently enunciated," then this "could only be considered evidence of the desire of that country to disassociate itself from the program (U. S. economic aid)." He pointed specifically to Italy "in connection with the electoral campaign now in progress."

### OFFER A BRIBE

On March 20, immediately following this threat of economic retaliation, Washington announced that in the event the Italian people

voted "right," the U. S., Britain and France would favor restoration of the territory of Trieste to Italy. This appeal to the nationalistic sentiments of the Italian people was an obvious direct offer of a bribe. At the same time, "unusually reliable diplomatic sources" broadcast the promise that some of Italy's former African colonies might likewise be returned.

With equal cynicism and disregard of the will of the peoples involved, U. S.-British imperialism had made a deal with the Kremlin at the end of the war to divide control of Trieste with Yugoslavia and to hand the Italian colonies to the victorious imperialists. Now as further means of influencing the Italian elections, Trieste and the African colonies are being used as pawns and bait.

Even conservative commentators of capitalist newspapers have to admit that "already the United States has veered from its traditions of the past" in its intervention in Italy, as James Reston states in the March 23 N. Y. Times. He describes the "moral problems" involved and asks, "How can a democracy, based on the right of all men to organize political parties of any persuasion, declare that it will oppose the right of the Communists to take power by legal means in another country?"

### WALL STREET'S WILL

Such "moral problems" do not disturb U. S. imperialism. Its program is the "containment of communism" all over the world and the preparation of war as the means to impose Wall Street's will everywhere.

In Greece, U. S. imperialism is already engaged in a shooting war to force the Greek monarchy on the Greek workers and peasants. American officers are directing the royalist armed forces. On March 24, it is reported, 17 U. S. warships entered Greek waters.

Behind the anti-Russian propaganda barrage, the bi-partisan coalition is pushing through the Marshall Plan bill, now frankly revealed as part of the military preparations for war between the U. S.-dominated capitalist bloc and Russia.

All pretense that the ERP is just an "economic recovery" program has been abandoned. As Chairman Charles A. Eaton of the House Foreign Affairs Committee admitted on March 22, a third world war is "not very remote" and "all this aid is essentially military aid."



ROBERT A. TAFT

Big Business choice for U. S. President. (See story on Page 2.)

# Big Brass Pressures Congress for UMT

Behind Washington's drum-fire barrage of war propaganda, military totalitarianism is advancing toward conquest of the American people.

The ambitious and arrogant Big Brass have already established strong beach-heads in the top government apparatus. They are now pushing spearheads deep into civilian life.

They are hammering on two immediate key objectives: 1. military regimentation of the youth through universal military training and a peacetime draft; 2. a huge increase in the arms budget.

Secretary of National Defense Forrestal, flanked by the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Forces, put the UMT and conscription demands of Truman and the militarists before hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 18.

### WAR PREPARATION

There was no more bilge about the "physical and moral benefits" of "universal training" for the youth. Cold-bloodedly, Forrestal stated: "The case for UMT, despite numerous collateral benefits, rests on its military justification." It is war preparation.

In a secret session of the Senate committee on March 22, Marshall for the second time within a week demanded endorsement of the militarization program. On the same day, a majority of the committee

was reported "convinced" of the "absolute necessity" of lining up American youth for the next slaughter through UMT.

Meanwhile, Truman's cabinet of Wall Street bankers and military brass hats, plus the Chiefs of Staff, met in the White House to discuss increased armaments appropriations. Testimony before the Senate hearings revealed plans for increasing the 1949 military budget by as much as 10 billion dollars over what Truman has already called for in his 40 billion dollar budget message. These new estimates are based on Truman's own program for the UMT, draft and a vastly-expanded air force.

The sway of the military caste over the government and foreign policy is becoming an open secret. The Wall Street Journal on March 18 declared in its lead story that "planning of the Administration's stop-Russia foreign policy is slipping from the hands of diplomats into the hands of soldiers."

The program of Truman's militarist advisers, says the Wall Street Journal, includes "a promise of U. S. arms to any country" to "fight communism"; and "dispatch of a 'token' force of American troops to some countries — such as Greece and China."

# Murray Machine Pushes Drive to Oust Stalinists

Reuther Raids UE, FE And Mine-Mill Unions

The drive of the CIO leadership to purge the Stalinists is going ahead full blast and now dominates the political life of the organization from top to bottom.

The slow-moving, do-nothing Murray machine in the CIO, which has not been able to find the energy to organize a united campaign for wage increases, has revealed a surprising vigor in lining up the CIO behind the Marshall Plan.

President Murray sent out a letter last week to all CIO affiliates urging them to act with "utmost speed" to pressure Congressmen to pass the Marshall Plan by April 1. We must have, he exclaimed, "Action Now," and told all CIO groups to make this the "No. 1 priority task." Such decisiveness has not been seen around CIO headquarters for years.

Meanwhile, the letter sent out by Murray's stooge, John Brophy, advising all CIO state and city bodies that they must accept Murray's policy on backing the Marshall Plan and rejecting a third party, is becoming the instrument of dislodging the Stalinists from all positions of leadership in these bodies. The Murray machine, according to all indications, intends to proceed ruthlessly to isolate the Stalinists.

### LINED UP

The last March 22 CIO News carries the box score on this battle, according to which all state CIO bodies have lined up behind the Murray machine with the exception of California and Iowa.

The struggle is proceeding with the same determination in all City CIO bodies. In the Cleveland CIO Council, as reported last week, the Murray machine decisively trounced the Stalinists and took over the leadership. This Council has been in Stalinist hands ever since its formation in 1937.

### FULL BLOWN SPLITS

The vast majority of the CIO Councils are similarly passing into the hands of the Murray machine, although full blown splits appear likely in Los Angeles, New York City and possibly Detroit. In Los Angeles, the Murray machine supporters have already walked out of the CIO Council after the majority tried to straddle the Brophy letter instructions.

The Detroit CIO Council tabled the Brophy letter, and in New York City, the letter was overwhelmingly rejected. In both cities preparations are already underway for either placing administrators over these councils or setting up rival bodies.

At the same time, the raiding drive spearheaded by the auto union under Reuther against the Stalinist-led unions—the electrical, farm equipment, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—is being pushed. This week Hartford, Conn. Local 251 of the Electrical Workers, seceded and was promptly chartered by the auto union.

The raiding strategy to bust up the Stalinist-led unions and re-appportion them among other CIO affiliates was apparently meeting with the quiet acquiescence of the top Murray machine.

### FROM ALL SIDES

The Stalinists thus find themselves under attack from all sides in the CIO, facing the danger of

**The Crisis of World Production**  
UN REPORT SHOWS CAPITALISM OFFERS NOTHING FOR MASSES

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being isolated and removed from all positions of leadership.

The Reuther-inspired raiding campaign is especially dangerous to the Stalinists, because in most cases Stalinist leadership is based exclusively upon machine control, with the membership actually hostile. Furthermore, the UAW has a better reputation among workers than the UE. And in the present raiding, it has the support of the government agents, and in many cases of the employers as well.

Thus far the Stalinists have made no important moves to retaliate against the Murray machine attack, other than their actions in the Los Angeles, Detroit and New York City CIO Councils, and the withdrawal of the UE officers from the PAC.

# TRUMAN CLUBS WORKERS WITH TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

## Mine Strike Spreads



These Pittsburgh members of the United Mine Workers join the walkout of soft coal miners to protest the coal operators' failure to set up a pension plan. On March 12, UMW President John L. Lewis announced the mine owners had "dishonored" their contract; on March 15, miners struck.

Federated Pictures

# Penn. SWP Nears Goal In '48 Petition Campaign

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 23

—The campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the ballot in Pennsylvania has already passed the three-quarter mark, state campaign manager Irene LeCompte announced today. Of the 8,000 signatures needed, over 6,500 have already been collected, with almost two more weeks to go.

SWP petitions have the ballot designation of Militant Workers Party in this state because the law prohibits the use of the word socialist in the designation of more than one party. The petitions are being collected for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, nominees of the

SWP National Committee for President and Vice-President respectively.

The biggest spurt in the campaign came last week-end, when members and friends of the Philadelphia SWP Branch gathered over 2,000 signatures. By a week ago more than 1,000 had also been collected in Pittsburgh, Allentown, Reading and New Castle. Work will continue in all these centers, and will also begin in Erie.

Canvassers who had felt the Wallace campaign might interfere with that of the SWP found they had nothing to fear in this respect. Wherever they have gone, the response has been warm. Workers are more ready to discuss politics than ever before. The most frequently expressed comment is: "It's about time we had somebody on the ballot to represent the workers."

### NO OTHER ROAD

The canvassers have been cheered by several encouraging incidents. One worker, who offered to sign before being asked, said: "Sure I'll sign. I'm a socialist myself, because all my life I've been a worker and I've seen nothing but wars and depressions. I can't see any other road for the workers but socialism."

Another refused to sign until he was sure the petition was not for Wallace. When he learned the SWP was a real workers' organization, he signed enthusiastically and wished the party success in its attempt to get on the ballot.

DETROIT, Mar. 22—The

Michigan branches of the Socialist Workers Party ended the first week of their presidential petition campaign last Saturday with a total of 3,250 signatures. This represents almost one-third of the signatures needed by May 2, when the petition-collection period ends.

Over 2,000 of the signatures have been collected in Wayne County. Quotas have also been over-fulfilled in Jackson, St. Clair and Washtenaw Counties. Although police in Port Huron tried to intimidate the canvassers, they were unsuccessful in preventing them from completing their job.

The most intensive work of the week was carried on in the city of Detroit—on busy street corners, in public markets, at union and liberal meetings, and door-to-door in housing projects.

An award of a week's vacation at camp has been offered by the Detroit Branch to the individual getting the most signatures, and good-natured competition speeds up the work.

A much more important incentive, of course, is the fact that the drive to put the SWP on the ballot in this key industrial state is bringing the name of the party to thousands of workers. For further information, call the SWP campaign headquarters at 6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY 7-6267.

# Slave Act Injunctions Menace Atomic, Coal, Meat, Printers Unions

The federal government has swung the strike-breaking club of the Taft-Hartley Act in a rapid series of blows against AFL atomic workers, soft coal miners, CIO pack-

inghouse workers and AFL printers.

In the first use of the "national emergency" clause of the Slave Labor Law, Truman on March 19 demanded and secured a federal court injunction to halt the scheduled strike of 800 members of the AFL Atomic Trades and Labor Council at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. This is a government-owned plant operated for private profit by the Carbide and Carbon Chemical Corporation.

The White House has likewise set in motion "fact-finding" machinery preliminary to invoking a Taft-Hartley injunction against the pension strike of 400,000 United Mine Workers members and the "Big Four" meat trust walkout of 100,000 members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers.

Meanwhile, in Indianapolis, a federal judge was holding hearings on a National Labor Relations Board petition for a sweeping injunction against the AFL International Typographical Union, whose members have been on strike four months against the Big Business dailies in Chicago.

### FOLLOWED PRECEDENT

Truman has followed his strike-breaking precedent in the November 1946 coal strike, when he initiated the federal injunction and \$2,500,000 robber fine against the UMW. Since that time the Taft-Hartley Act incorporated Truman's injunction procedure into law.

The atomic laboratory workers were forced to vote strike action when Carbide and Carbon Chemical refused to continue a contract made with the former operators of the atomic laboratory, Monsanto Chemical Company. The union extended its original strike deadline on March 5 and at the last minute proposed arbitration. The company arrogantly rejected arbitration and joined with Justice Department attorneys in demanding the injunction.

The company is seeking to cut the wages and sick leave of the workers, whose pay now ranges from 88 cents to \$1.78 an hour. Under the old contract, the workers were granted 90 days sick leave because of the extreme hazard of work in proximity to deadly atomic radiations.

Truman is getting set to slap another injunction on the miners.

His first move was the establishment of an "impartial" three-man "fact-finding" committee composed of a federal judge, the former head of the wage-freezing National War Labor Board, and the publisher of a boss newspaper in Louisville, Ky.

### Cost of Living Rises

There has been no "wreaking" of prices and the high cost of living is continuing, the U. S. Department of Commerce reported on Mar. 22 in its latest monthly review of current business.

This is the Commerce Department's first detailed analysis of price trends since the drop in commodity market prices in February.

Wholesale prices for farm products dipped 10% during the February break, but these have since "recovered some ground." Retail food prices, whose advance was temporarily halted by the wholesale market drop, have resumed their climb since early March. Non-farm prices are "above the 1947 year-end average."

soon as this board reports its "findings," the government can seek an injunction.

### REJECT ULTIMATUM

The miners began their walkout on March 15, after Lewis declared the operators had dishonored the contract by blocking all benefit payments from the union health and welfare fund, now totalling 30 million dollars. Lewis last week refused to order the miners to return to work and rejected an ultimatum from federal conciliator Cyrus S. Ching. Lewis called the conciliation proceedings "grotesque."

Strikers against the "Big Four" meat packers are facing a similar threat of injunction when Truman's "fact-finding" committee of three college professors reports on April 1. They are holding hearings to find out why meat packing workers who get as little as 91¢ cents an hour want a 29-cent raise from the meat barons who doubled their profits in 1947 over 1946.

As Washington presses its war preparations for conquest and exploitation of peoples abroad, it is clubbing labor at home with the domestic complement of the Truman-Marshall Doctrine—the Taft-Hartley Act.

# Partition Fiasco Shows Zionist Bankruptcy

By Irving Dale

With ice-cold ruthlessness, the U. S. government is proceeding to bury its plan to partition Palestine and establish a Jewish state. On March 20, Senator Austin announced in the UN Security Council that the U. S. had abandoned partition and was now proposing a "temporary trustee-ship." Behind this switch are the interests of American oil imperialism. When it became clear that the Arab feudal rulers, on whose do-

minals is to be found about 40% of the world oil supply, were uncompromisingly hostile to the partition proposal, the State Department abruptly reversed its Palestine policy.

It is difficult to believe that only four months have passed since the partition resolution came out of the UN on Nov. 30. In these four months the Jews have run the gamut from wild jubilation to despair and disillusionment. Last winter, partition was greeted in the Jewish, liberal and Stalinist press with banner headlines literally proclaiming the millennium. Rabbis announced that "it is possible for the first time to say that our six million dead have not died in vain." (Jewish Day, Dec. 7, 1947.)

The Zionist leaders and press ac-

tually portrayed Truman as a savior of the Jewish people; and pictured American imperialism as the agent of the liberation. On Dec. 5, Emanuel Neuman, president of the Zionist Organization of America, speaking to a mass meeting in Manhattan Center in New York, said: "If we now have this decision of the United Nations, it is due in very large measure to the sustained interest and unflagging efforts of President Truman."

On Dec. 6, in his column in the Jewish Day, Dr. Margoshes said: "There is hardly a Jewish citizen in the United States who does not find himself deeply indebted to Harry S. Truman and the political party whose standard bearer he has been. . . ." On the same day, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, one of the international leaders of the Zionist movement wrote a letter to President Truman in which he awarded the latter "the place of distinction in Jewish history."

Today everyone knows what the high-sounding phrases and promises of President Truman are worth. How was it possible for adult political leaders, like the Zionists, to be so easily fooled? At the very least, their recent conduct demonstrates their unfitness for the role of

political leadership of the Jewish masses.

One of the lowest forms of the human species is the political leader of an oppressed minority who grovels before the imperialist power, who works with might and main to induce faith and trust in imperialism, instead of leading an uncompromising fight against it. Such has been the role of the leaders of the Zionist movement. Such was their role in the support of the imperialist-sponsored plan for carving up Palestine. The net effect of their activity is to deliver the Jewish masses to the imperialist oppressors, and to divert them from an effective struggle.

The central need for revolutionary Jewish workers and youth is to drive a wedge between the Jewish masses and the reactionary and utopian Zionist movement. The Jewish masses of Palestine are interested in a program which will lead to peace between Jewish and Arab workers and peasants, and not to war. The Jewish masses throughout the world need a program for their liberation — and this can only be achieved in struggle against capitalist imperialism, not in struggle for an imperialist policy.

At present, the Zionist leaders are overcome with despair. Their proclamation to establish a Jewish state May 16 (they could not do it even with the help of the UN, how will they do it against its opposition?) is no more than an act of desperation, which shows the blind alley in which the Zionist movement has landed.

TIME TO EVALUATE

Militant Jewish workers and youth will recognize that this is a time for reconsideration. This is the moment to evaluate the Zionist policy — its negative results, its mistakes, its objective betrayals, and its present hopeless confusion. Now is the time to study the program of the Fourth International and learn that only by joining with the advanced revolutionary section of the world labor movement, and fighting side by side in labor's struggle, can the Jews work to destroy anti-Semitism and fight to build a new socialist society where Jews can take an equal place with all other peoples. And even in more immediate terms, the alliance with the labor movement is the necessary precondition for the organization of a big-scale campaign to open the doors of the U. S. and other countries to all Jewish refugees — the only realistic short-term program to save European Jewry.



# Major Fallacy in Wallace's Anti-War Campaign

By George Breitman

One reason why Henry Wallace will get a big vote next November is that he is telling the people a considerable number of truths and half-truths, especially about the responsibility of the Democrats and Republicans for the growing war danger. But at the same time he is propagating one of the most insidious lies of all—the illusion that it is possible for a party like his own to prevent imperialist war.

While Wallace is at his weakest (and most uncomfortable) when he tries to explain or justify the Stalinist policy in Europe, he is on his strongest ground politically when he attacks the bi-partisan war policy and manufacture of war hysteria. A good example was his radio speech answering Truman's demand on March 17 for the resumption of the draft and the passage of UMT.

"America's mothers and sons . . . rightfully believe that a draft and compulsory military training are not the way to preserve freedom at home or to guarantee democracy abroad . . . The program to militarize America, if carried out, will impose a police state."

"These are the things a worried people want to hear, the things they know to be true. Wallace also gives them the following explanation of why this situation exists:

"We have reached this state because the

men who are running our government fear the power of the common men and women the world over . . . We have come to this world crisis because willful men with private interests are dictating our foreign policy. Their interest is profit, not people. They seek to protect and extend their foreign investments against the democratic actions of people abroad."

That is an example of the half-truths spread by Wallace. It is correct so far as it goes. Properly understood and applied, it has a place within the scientific explanation of why the U. S. is being driven down the road to war. But because it is only a part of the broader explanation, it can and does lead to all kinds of false conclusions when it is presented as the basic reason.

## ONLY PART OF CAUSE

To understand this problem, it is necessary to begin by recognizing that war is an inevitable product of the capitalist system in its present monopoly stage. No big capitalist power can prosper within its own borders alone; it must expand or suffer paralyzing economic crisis; to survive, it must get new markets abroad, new sources of raw materials, new fields of investment, new spheres of influence. When it is blocked from securing or consolidating these objectives by the economic or political power of other nations, it resorts to military means.

It is not enough, therefore, to point an accusing finger at the greedy and evil men who are running the government today. Their individual avarice and lust for power are important factors in the situation, but not the decisive ones. In the first place, they are not acting on their own; they are the representatives and administrators of their class, the capitalist class. Without the consent of their class they would never dare embark on such a dangerous venture as war.

## SYSTEM DRIVES THEM

In the second place, they are driven to desperate measures for resolving international disputes not merely by some quick in their individual or collective minds or hearts, but by the very needs of the capitalist system itself. War represents a terrible risk for them, but an even more terrible prospect is the collapse of capitalism in Europe. Because of the very nature of the system, American capitalism could not long survive in an anti-capitalist world.

Within this framework, the Wallace statement quoted above has full validity. But separated from it, it becomes a snare, having meaning only as a "devil" theory on the cause of imperialist war. Used as Wallace uses it, it means wars are caused by "bad men." And the obvious corollary is: Get rid of the bad men, put in good men, and then we won't have to worry about war any more.

The main thing to remember about Wal-

lace's position on war is its denial that war is an inseparable feature of capitalism. Being a devoted defender of capitalism, he holds, on the contrary, that peace is possible under capitalism. Put in good men, reform or patch up the system, show the ruling class how much it stands to lose by going to war, build up some mechanism like the United Nations, and—according to Wallace—you can have everlasting peace.

Wallace tried in his radio address to show how "reasonable" this position is:

"Shall we fight Russia because we are competing for the raw materials of the world? We shall dissipate more raw materials in such a war than they are worth to either the United States or Russia. There is no competition or raw materials which cannot be settled by peaceful means."

In a rational world order there would of course be no war over raw materials, which would be accessible to all and collectively used for the common welfare. But a world dominated by capitalism is not a rational world. It's a world whose very fate is based on such conflicts as the competition for raw materials.

This competition is costly and in the long run undermines the system it seeks to maintain—but that fact never prevented imperialist and commercial wars before, and it has no more effect on Wall Street today than it had

on Hitler ten years ago. "Reasonable" arguments of this kind are shrugged off by the imperialists—like rain off a duck's back—because it's a dog-eat-dog system, where each dog is ready to undergo some suffering himself in order to remain or become the top dog, and where all the dogs are indifferent to the welfare of doghood as a whole.

## COMPETITION BREEDS WAR

Moreover, Wallace's contention that there is no competition which cannot be settled by peaceful means flies in the face of all capitalist history. Tragic experience has shown us too often that under imperialism, competition always leads to economic warfare, the precursor of military explosions. Was World War I just an accident, due to unreasonable-ness? Was World War II a fluke that could have been prevented by an amicable conference to settle competition in a friendly kind of way? To imply that it is to mock at the lessons of history and thereby to prevent the kind of understanding of modern world conflicts that alone can lead to peace.

History has also taught us to be on guard against capitalist reformism and pacifism. Wallace is not the first of his kind. There was Wilson before him, who was going to reform capitalism and keep us out of war, and Roosevelt after that, who sang the same sweet song. They, too, were "reasonable" men but in the end their reputation as men of peace served only to facilitate their efforts to drag the country into war.

There is no need here to enter into the question of Wallace's sincerity—although it should never be forgotten that he was against World War II before it started and then became its busiest apologist once the guns began to boom. What counts in these big questions is program. And Wallace's program for preventing war can have no different outcome than Wilson's or Roosevelt's or that of the pre-World War II isolationists.

## GET RID OF CAUSE

Fundamentally, the reason is that you can't end war without ending its cause; capitalism. No matter how fine his intentions may be, a man who clings to this decaying system can't help misleading his followers who want to fight against war. As long as his influence is able to dissuade the people from replacing capitalism with a socialist system, just so long will the prospect of war be with us.

Many workers intend to vote for Wallace because he, like them, expresses opposition to the war now being prepared. But it is necessary, precisely in the interests of preventing that war, to warn them most insistently that no party dedicated to the maintenance of capitalism can prevent war. The exposure of Wallace's big lie, the destruction of all pacifist illusions about his party being able to stop the war drive—these are important tasks in today's struggle for a new socialist society, where war will be a horrible memory rather than an ever-present threat.

## Presidential Aspirants—I

### Robert H. Taft—Scion of One Of Sixty Richest Families

By George Lavan

This is the first of a series of sketches on the leading aspirants for the U. S. Presidency.

Among the leading Republican candidates for president the name of Robert Alphonso Taft looms large. Taft is the senior Senator from Ohio and Congressional leader of the Republican Party. His ripe statesmanship was displayed in the co-authorship of the Taft-Hartley Act. As a presidential aspirant, he is on the preferred list of both Wall Street and the Republican machine. The main thing standing between him and the presidential nomination is the doubt in the minds of the Republican strategists that the voting public would swallow him.

Robert A. Taft became prominent in national politics only in 1939 when he first entered the Senate. He is the only member of America's top-millionaire 60 families, in Congress. Ferdinand Lundberg, in his study of the 60 richest families that rule the United States, places the Taft family thirty-third.

Taft knows his way around the White House. His father, William Howard Taft, a hard-bitten corporation judge, was President from 1909 to 1912. Young Taft grew up amid wealth and power. After finishing private school he went to Yale and then to the Harvard Law School. On one of the family's European tours, he and his mother, although Protestant, were received by the Pope who gave the 12-year-old Taft a special blessing and expressed the hope that he would become a president of the United States.

## THE "HARD WAY"

In 1913 Taft went to Cincinnati to establish a law practice. But there was no hanging out a shingle and waiting for clients for him. His uncle and aunt, the chief custodians of the family fortune, put the young lawyer in charge of their multimillion dollar affairs.

In the First World War, Herbert Hoover appointed Taft assistant counsel of the Food Administration. Later he went to Europe with Hoover's postwar relief organization. Returning to Cincinnati he took his younger brother into the law firm which became Taft and now Taft, Stettinius and Hollister. The firm specialized in corporation practices. Most of Taft's law experience has been in handling estates and trusts, primarily those of his enormously wealthy family.

Among the estates of his aunt and uncle were the Times-Star, Cincinnati's largest newspaper—in which Taft personally owns a quarter million dollars of stock—and at least four million dollars worth of real

estate in downtown Cincinnati. While the size of the Taft family fortune is a carefully guarded secret, Lundberg makes an adjusted estimate based on 1924 tax figures of \$4 million dollars. He does not venture an estimate of the family's maximum wealth.

In the early Twenties, Cincinnati was one of the most corrupt cities in America. It was run by a Republican machine under boss Hynicka, who didn't even bother to live in Cincinnati but ran it by telephone from New York. Since Taft could afford long-distance phone calls and always made good connections, he got Hynicka's Republican machine to back him in 1920 for the state legislature.

## PLAYED BOTH SIDES

In 1926 a big reform movement was started against the grafting Hynicka machine. This movement "kicked the rascals out" of office and instituted a city manager form of government. In the fight against the Hynicka gang Robert A. Taft stuck by his political benefactor. But a multi-millionaire family like the Tafts plays both sides of the street. Taft's younger brother and law partner played a leading role in the reform movement.

When the smoke of battle had cleared, the Tafts were still on top—in the reform movement and in the Republican machine, where Robert Taft took over complete control, becoming chairman of the Republican County Committee. Since that day Taft has continued to run the Republican machine in southern Ohio.

Since his membership in the U. S. Senate, and his emergence as a national political figure, the labor movement has come to know him as a consistent, trustworthy, hard-working hatchet man for the Big Business interests.

Every once in a while Taft interrupts his labors on behalf of himself and his fellow millionaires to sponsor a liberal measure, as for example, the Taft-Wagner-Elliender Housing Bill. Of course the

**TWIN CITIES READERS**  
hear George Clarke speaking on  
"THE POLITICAL CRISIS  
IN THE UNITED STATES"  
Friday, April 16—8 P. M.  
10 So. 4th St.  
MINNEAPOLIS

**AKRON READERS**  
hear George Clarke on  
"THE POLITICAL CRISIS  
IN THE UNITED STATES"  
Tuesday, April 6—8:15 P. M.  
4 So. Howard Street  
AKRON

catch is that he pays only lip service to such measures, and they are never passed.

## A "COLD FISH"

Like every multi-millionaire, Taft is surrounded by a horde of flunkies and yes-men. At present they are trying to build him up as a great statesman and the logical choice for the White House. The campaign is being pushed all the more strongly because of Taft's "unfortunate" personality. Raised as an aristocrat, he has difficulty in concealing his contempt for others, including his fellow-politicians who are, in the main, uncouth hired hands of Big Business. This has given rise to the widely-circulated stories that Taft is a "cold fish," that he is "rude," etc.

Such is the man being pushed by the Republicans and the Big Money-bags as one of the leading contenders for the highest office in the country—the Presidency of the United States.

## Militant Mass Picket Lines Close Major Packing Plants in St. Paul

By Barbara Bruce

**SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., March 23**—Mass picket lines at Swift and Armour plants stood firm here today when police attempted to gain entrance for a group of office workers into the struck plants. Packinghouses have been shut down tight since March 16, with 6,500 workers on strike in the second largest meat packing center in the country. Dakota County Sheriff, Norman Dieter, informed reporters from St. Paul and Minneapolis newspapers that he will "very likely" refer the matter to Governor Luther W. Youngdahl.

Prior to this morning's demonstration of solidarity by striking members of CIO Packinghouse Workers, Dieter announced that he and South St. Paul police would attempt to enforce an injunction restraining pickets from preventing office workers and administrative personnel from going to their jobs.

## "HOLD THAT LINE!"

Accompanied by Deputy Sheriff Charles Cherry and two South St. Paul policemen, Dieter marched up to the picket line at the Swift plant early this morning while a number of white collar employees hovered behind him.

"We want to get through," the sheriff declared. "250 strong, standing shoulder to shoulder, five deep, answered with shouts of 'Hold that line!' 'Tighten up!' and 'Don't let them through!'"

Milton Siegel, UPWA field representative, told Dieter, "No one's getting through. We're struck."

When asked by Dieter whether he knew about a restraining order signed Saturday forbidding blocking of the Swift entrance, Siegel replied that he was aware of it.

"You know you are in contempt of court, don't you?" asked Cherry. "I don't know anything about that," Siegel said. "No one's getting through."

The sheriff and other police officers then walked away, while pickets cheered and burst into a chorus of "Solidarity Forever."

"Going through there would be like trying to crack Europe with a platoon," Dieter told an officer. "They've got us outnumbered 10 to 1."

According to the Minneapolis Star, "pickets had about a 20 to 1 edge. Dieter's total force numbered three deputies and 10 city policemen."

## UE Head Joins Wallace



Henry A. Wallace (left) chats with President Albert J. Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers after the latter became chairman of the labor-for-Wallace committee.

Federated Pictures

None of the office workers made any attempt to enter.

At the Armour plant, Dieter and his companions again attempted to break through the picket line. There the sheriff asked John Ross, executive board member of Armour's Local 4 if he had heard of the court order.

"We haven't been served yet," Ross said.

"You've been served through the Secretary of State," Dieter replied. "You're in contempt."

Although the restraining order was signed last Friday, the proper union leaders could not be found for service. For the first time since its passage, a 1947 state law, permitting service through the secretary of state's office, was utilized.

## STOOD THEIR GROUND

Pickets, massed at the entrance to the Armour plant, stood their ground and the police were turned away. Copies of the daily strike bulletin distributed to Swift and Armour office workers today, urged them to join the union.

"The packing bosses believe now the only way they can break our strike is by turning the office workers into scabs," the bulletin stated. Union attorneys will ask for a continuance of the hearing on the order, signed by Judge W. A. Schultz.

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of Dakota county district court, now set for Wednesday, March 24.

Officials of Superior Packing Company of St. Paul, an independent plant, have been meeting with union representatives in the federal conciliator's office in Minneapolis in an effort to reach a separate agreement.

Testimony heard before a presidential fact-finding board in Chicago, where union families stated that even while they were working they had to use their small savings to cover living expenses, has been borne out by the number of applications for emergency relief among South St. Paul workers. To date 75 cases have been presented to the county relief office, while hundreds more are in preparation.

## Schedule of Clarke Tour

Pittsburgh	Saturday	April 3
Akron	Tuesday	April 6
Cleveland	Thursday	April 8
Toledo	Saturday	April 10
Chicago	Sunday	April 11
Milwaukee	Tuesday	April 13
Twin Cities	Friday	April 16
Flint	Tuesday	April 20
Detroit	Thursday	April 22
Youngstown	Friday	April 23
Buffalo	Saturday	April 24

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Harlem Branch Runs Renewal Sub Campaign

New York's Harlem Branch concluded a renewal campaign with more than 70 subscriptions, nearly all renewals, of which 20 were obtained by Bob Williams. Bob won the branch prize, a book, *The History of American Trotskyism*, by James P. Cannon.

It was almost like a family reunion, calling back on these old friends, the Harlem workers reported. They were generally greeted like long-lost friends: "Where you been? We began to think you were out of business. We got the notice to renew, but never remembered to do anything about it. You'll just have to keep coming back. We do like the paper, and missed it a lot. Don't wait so long next time."

After the sub-getters had left one reader, having written up his renewal, he followed them down the

street "to give them a couple more subs for a relative and a neighbor." And my doctor read the paper, too, and wants to get it. Be sure to see him."

In the last few weeks 19 Canadian readers have renewed their subscriptions by mail, 17 of them also renewing for the Fourth International. We are mighty proud of our large Canadian group of readers and their continued interest in *The Militant* and its revolutionary program. Many of them have read *The Militant* for years.

New York distributed 500 Militants to the meeting of the International Typographical Union on Sunday, just before the job printing plants were closed down by a lockout. The printers received *The Militant* readily and read it with much interest before the meeting and presumably afterward, as none were left at the hall.

## Political Developments In Los Angeles AFL

By Richard Page

**LOS ANGELES, Calif.**—In line with the decision of the AFL at its recent convention in San Francisco to get into politics through the medium of Labor's Educational and Political League, the LA Central Council has launched its own local political program through the United American Federation of Labor, known as the UAFLE.

Actually the Los Angeles AFL has had its own political setup for four or five years. But in the past, the organization restricted itself to the endorsement of this or that capitalist candidate. This policy naturally led no place and the local AFL leaders are now frantically trying to find an answer to the problem.

Their latest disappointment was Governor Warren. The UAFLE endorsed the Governor in the last election. Shortly after his election he backed the vicious anti-labor "hot cargo" law. This brought vigorous denunciation from the L. A. Council Secretary, Bassett, who called Warren a black reactionary.

The fact has begun to penetrate the heads of the AFL trade union officials that they cannot by themselves participate effectively in politics. Petty maneuvers have not been able to block the march of reaction. Bassett stated the matter clearly when he declared, "Business agents, union officials and delegates

to councils cannot alone constitute an effective political organization."

## FIRST STEP

The Jan. 12 meeting of the UAFLE was the first step in the development of the UAFLE away from an organization controlled completely by the top officials of the Los Angeles AFL, toward a more democratic organization. Even after the repeated rebuffs from the capitalist politicians, the AFL officials still tried to restrict the rights of the rank and file.

In the call sent out to the various locals to set up political committees to work with the UAFLE, was a paragraph to the effect that "final responsibility for seeing the membership of local unions is fitted into program in election districts rests upon the UAFLE executive board. To place such responsibility in local union committees invites confusion and disorganization."

Up to the present time the UAFLE has consisted chiefly of the top officials of the Los Angeles AFL. Endorsements were made without even consulting the membership of the locals. Then the endorsements were printed in the union paper and there matters stood.

The latest political developments have hit the AFL officials like a ton of bricks. Even they could see that a change was necessary. First, they tried to get a dollar from each member for political activity. The response was poor. The cry of apathy was heard from the leaders.

Thereupon the locals were invited to set up their own political committees to work with the UAFLE.

Finally, a resolution was introduced at the March 3 meeting which in effect aims at the complete reorganization of the UAFLE: Election instead of appointment of executive board members, broadening of the executive board, a more democratic and representative basis for the organization.

The bankruptcy of the old leadership was so complete that no one dared oppose the motion openly.

The Executive Secretary, Bassett, delivered a depressing report to the meeting. "No co-operation," "Many locals are against us before we get started," "Maybe if we can unite on a non-partisan campaign we can get some unity," etc. etc.

## COMPLETE RE-ORGANIZATION

In the speeches and discussions around the main resolution, one delegate after another related how in his or her local, the members were willing to co-operate, but they wanted to have a voice about what was to be decided. They explained why some locals were against whatever the UAFLE said. It was because the decisions were handed down without even consulting the locals. They were tired of all that and wouldn't co-operate until things were changed so they could help decide.

The action of the last UAFLE general assembly has great significance. It lays the basis for a genuine rank and file political organization.

## WORKERS' FORUM

### Two Stalinist Parties In Palestine

**Editor:**  
Please publish an article about the two Communist Parties of Palestine. Why should there be a Jewish and an Arab party?

Explain the program of each; whether they work together or not, etc.

**A Reader**

The Communist Party of Palestine split in two when the Stalinists became enthusiastic supporters of the imperialist war in 1940, with Hitler's attack upon Russia. The Jewish Stalinists thereupon began to support Zionism. As the Arabs could not stomach this policy, the Party split along national lines. The Jewish Communist Party does not have any Arab members. The Arab Communist Party can take in, according to its constitution, only Arab members. Each backs a different program for Palestine.

For further information on this, we refer you to the article by T. Cliff, on the role of Stalinism in the Middle East in *Fourth International*, Feb., 1946.

### The General Strike And Imperialist War

**Editor:**  
A group of trade unionists were discussing the rapidly approaching World War III.

Suddenly one of them said: "What is wrong with us, anyway? Why should we sit down and let the maniacs in New York and Washington set the world ablaze before our eyes and burn up what's left of it, after their last brainstorm? Why don't we stop them? I mean, stop them NOW, before they've done it."

A chorus of voices asked, "How? How?"

"Here's how," said the first speaker, "and I think it the only way to stop any war. Every trade union local, all over capitalist United States, should write or wire Truman

and Congress as follows: DON'T START WORLD WAR III. THIS IS FAIR WARNING. WE WON'T PRODUCE AND WE WON'T TRANSPORT FOR ANOTHER WAR AGAINST ANY NATION. WE MEAN IT. Now wouldn't that just tie the hands of the capitalists?"

The others seemed much excited over the idea, but they wondered what the result would be. A very interesting discussion ensued.

"I think the idea's fine," said one worker, "we are the only ones who could stop war. What I've never liked about anti-war movements is this—it's always middle-class people, preachers, students, editors," etc. They may be nice guys to know all right, but they couldn't stop a war if they wanted to. Let all the school teachers, for instance, go on strike against war. Let them say, 'If a war starts, we won't teach school any more.' What good does that do? The war starts and goes right on without them. But with us workers it's different. If we won't produce or transport war stuff, then there's no war. WE CAN STOP IT. THAT WAY IF WE WANT TO, WE ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO CAN. So I'm all for it."

As I wrote these lines, I seem to recall that Lenin was of the opinion that a general strike against war wasn't workable or practical. And so, in commenting upon this letter, I wish you would discuss Lenin's position on this, and the reasons for it.

I was never quite sure, myself, of Lenin's reason for condemning an anti-war strike movement, or perhaps I misunderstood Lenin. Anyway, I would appreciate your opinion and your comments upon a matter so vital to everyone in the world.

**Ed. Note:**  
Here is a brief description of the Leninist position on this question: Leninists have rejected the general strike as an effective weapon to stop war. At the time of the declaration of war, the government gen-

Bebe Patch,  
Cambridge, Mass.

**Ed. Note:**  
The Militant favors a "Workers and Farmers Government," that is, a government representing the workers, dirt farmers, share-croppers, etc.—not the millionaire farmers, who are large-scale exploiters of labor.

### Alliance of Workers And Poor Farmers

**Editor:**  
I have read with interest the account (in *The Militant* of March 8) of the five months farm strike in California.

May I suggest that there is an excellent opportunity to issue a leaflet featuring your long promoted principle of a "Farmer-Labor Government." Here you have them, each on his respective side of the class line, convenient to your persuasion. What are you waiting for?

A. C. Booth,

Branscomb, Calif.

Mail this coupon with 50c for 6 months of

# THE MILITANT

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TROTSKY

"Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safeguarding of all the interests of the human personality. Mankind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the USSR is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality."

—Leon Trotsky, Interview with St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb., 1940.



LENIN

## The UN—Fulfilling Its Destiny

The United Nations was once hailed as the hope of world peace, but today that illusion has been largely dispelled. Even its formerly most naive and enthusiastic supporters now recognize that it is a docile instrument for promoting the interests of U. S. imperialism.

Washington decides that Palestine should be partitioned, so the UN votes for partition. Washington changes its mind, so the UN decides not to partition Palestine after all. And everybody knows that on both of these occasions the decisive factor was not the interests of the people of Palestine but Washington's determination to safeguard Wall Street's sphere of influence in the Middle East and to afford the best possible maneuvering position for its cold war against Russia.

Similarly with all the other issues brought before the UN—the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, Trieste, disarmament, relief, the atomic bomb, etc., Wall Street calls the tune, and the UN dances accordingly. The UN has been called the fig leaf for American imperialism, but it no longer conceals anything.

Liberals like Max Lerner of PM are waiting that the UN is dead: "It will go on for a while holding meetings, as the League of

Nations went on. But in effect it is dead." This is an admission that the liberals were wrong in their expectations about the UN while the Marxist predictions were fully confirmed. But it doesn't signify that the liberals have really learned anything from the experience with the UN.

In the first place, the UN is not dead. On the contrary, it is very much alive and fulfilling its true destiny—the mobilization of the international capitalist forces for the preservation of world capitalism. The trouble with the liberals was that they never understood the nature of the beast they were dealing with. Only an incurable romantic will be surprised when an infant vulture grows up to be an adult vulture instead of a dove.

The lesson of the UN, like that of the League of Nations, is that you can't achieve peace and harmony in a world dominated by imperialist cut-throats, no matter how often and how fervently they promise to work together peacefully and harmoniously. Before peace and genuine international cooperation are possible, it is necessary to destroy the political and economic power of the capitalists. A new era will dawn only with the victory of socialism.

## The Labor Statesmen and Truman

Truman's chances for election were slim enough after the launching of the Wallace candidacy and the outbreak of the Southern rebellion. With Truman's switch on Palestine partition, leading to defections of Democrats and liberals in New York and the threat of the same on the West Coast, his chances have dwindled to the vanishing point. Now at long last we have heard from one of the "labor statesmen," Max Zaritsky of the AFL United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers.

The nomination of Truman by the Democrats would be a "misfortune," said Zaritsky, because Truman has "completely lost" the confidence of American workers and could not be elected in November. Although Zaritsky spoke only for himself, the N. Y. Times says: "It is an open secret that his opinion that Mr. Truman cannot command any important section of the labor vote is almost universally shared by ranking officials of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization."

Zaritsky specifically criticized only the administration's policy on Palestine. Aside from that, he is apparently ready to give Truman a clean bill of health on everything but his ability to win the election. Warmongering, promotion of inflation, use of injunctions to break strikes, etc. — none of these is considered by the labor leaders as a reason for breaking with the administration.

## The Miners' Faith

A walkout of the miners is always the occasion for the kept press to hurl bitter diatribes against "union bosses," "labor monopolies" and above all to rant against the rank and file coal miners as unthinking sheep, who can be pulled out on strike by the mere whim of one man.

It is true that Lewis exercises dictatorial control over the miners union. But in struggles for higher wages, pensions, health funds, better working conditions in the mines, the miners are behind him to a man. It is a damnable calumny of these union men to state or insinuate that they don't know what they are striking for.

The malice and viciousness of this suggestion is equalled only by its ignorance. Anyone even slightly acquainted with the history of coal unionism knows how many struggles, pitched battles, bloodshed, hunger, and untold sacrifice went into building the union and establishing the firm morale and amazing discipline and spirit of solidarity which is now the hallmark of the miners.

The miners didn't gain unionism or discipline or solidarity the easy way. They won it in dangerous and constant class warfare with the coal operators. That is why they hold on to it so tenaciously and why no one can kid them out of it. It is this 100-year-old history and tradition—rather than Lewis' personality or ability—that accounts for Lewis' great economic power and ability to bargain and gain concessions from the coal

barons.

The issue over which the miners have now walked out—pensions, health and welfare fund—is especially close to every miner's heart. Consider the damning facts: In 1947 1,165 miners were killed in mine accidents. 63,000 were injured. This represented a sizable increase in both categories over the previous year.

After the Centralia disaster, where 111 lives were snuffed out, the U.S. Senate subcommittee that investigated the explosion promised to see that the Federal Government would enact safety legislation with teeth in it. As the UMW Journal ruefully states: "Running true to form, the Congress did a 100% job of forgetting its pledges for mine safety legislation as soon as the disaster submerged as a leading public topic."

The miners have learned better than other groups of workers that they are the forgotten men; that neither the owners, who squeeze wealth out of their dangerous toil, nor the crooked press which shrieks and howls whenever they fight for their rights nor the government which acts as the agent and front-man for the coal bosses, care anything about them or their lives or problems or sufferings. The miners know that they have only their own organization, built of their sinew and blood, to rely on. That is their only hope and guarantee for manhood and decency. That is why they back their union in every class fight with such solidarity and such unanimity.

By G. F. Eckstein

The Department of Economic Affairs of the United Nations has just completed its survey of world economy for the period, 1945-47. (The USSR is not included as it submitted no figures to the UN.) So bleak a story did the statistics tell that the very first paragraph of the report concludes that "the year 1947 must be regarded as one of frustrated hopes."

The world is now producing less than it did a decade earlier while population has increased by one-tenth. The exact extent of how much less it is producing is made clear when we exclude from world production the United States, upon whose high production and dollars the whole world now depends.

### U. S. GROWTH

The United States, with its resources undamaged by the war, experienced a phenomenal growth of both industrial and agricultural production, which stands out against a background of European and world ruin.

Average production of the world, excluding the U. S. is 20% below pre-war. Industrial production in the United States rose 70% above 1939.

In specific commodities the real devastation is seen even more precisely. World steel production, excluding the U. S. is 61% of the pre-war level. Steel production in the United States is 147% above pre-war.

World production of coal, excluding the U. S. is 81% of pre-war. Production in the U. S. is 135% above pre-war.

### BLEAK OUTLOOK

What are the prospects? Steel, coal and timber are key commodities for economic reconstruction. The report states that planned increase in steel, even if realized, would not meet needs. It continues: "The great possibilities of expansion in the iron industry are limited by shortage of good coking coal . . . lack of mine equipment impedes expansion of coal production and of steel; lack of equipment impedes further expansion in the generation of electric power; and lack of sawmills and logging equipment hampers lumber production."

The same picture prevails in agriculture. World agricultural production, excluding the U. S. is 10% below pre-war. Per capita food consumption in many countries is fully 30% below pre-war and in Germany it is below starvation level. Agricultural output in the U. S. is one-third above pre-war level. This 33% increase was accomplished with an agricultural population which declined from 9.5 million in 1939 to 8.3 million in 1946. The higher productivity is the result of doubling the consumption of fertilizer and increasing farm machinery, both of which are lacking in Europe.

So deteriorated is Europe's soil and so lacking in fertilizer and agricultural machinery, that even existing low levels could not have been reached without the billions poured in through UNRRA, Lend-Lease, etc.

No less than 17.1 billion dollars has been contributed by the U. S. for the period July 1, 1945 to the end of 1947. Against this background the fraud of the Marshall Plan becomes patent (17 billion dollars for four years) as a basis for European reconstruction.

Conscious of the terrible crisis of their system, the United Nations economic spokesmen have stated the case in guarded but unmistakable language. What is the solution? "The key factor in the situation appears to be the net level of exports."

These experts had to say something and this was the best they could do. This "solution" is just a lot of nonsense. Exports are a small part of the American economy. Last year, despite the huge loans and handouts, exports were no more than 6-7% of the gross national product. How can this fac-

## Packinghouse Strike Continues



The Swift plant in Los Angeles is picketed by members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers as the union fights for wage increases. Below—cattle in Chicago stockyards, hoping, no doubt, that the strike lasts forever. UPW President Ralph Helstein declared the walkout 100% effective.

Federated Pictures

ground the fraud of the Marshall Plan becomes patent (17 billion dollars for four years) as a basis for European reconstruction.

### EFFECTS OF DEPRESSION

The United Nations report realizes that if U. S. economy collapses, the world economy collapses with it. The report is therefore nervous about the "shaky foundations" of American capitalism. A possible depression, it warns, would have "devastating deflationary effects on the economies of other parts of the world." It is necessary, it continues, "to reduce the tension in international economic relations in the future." Soil fertility must be restored. Deteriorated machinery must be replaced. The individual worker, through exhaustion and hunger, has lost his "technical skill." He, too, must be somehow restored to productive health. This immense task rests upon the U. S. and its "shaky foundations."

As for Asia and the Far East, "millions of people are living under threat of starvation because of floods, droughts, plagues and difficulties of transportation." These troubles, says the United Nations, are heightened by "political disturbances." The same is true of French North Africa, including Algeria and Morocco. In these grain-producing countries, the people are suffering from such low agricultural production that they must import grain.

Thus the picture emerges sharp and clear: the production mechanism of capitalism is a wreck. Despite the tremendous technological advances made during the war, the economic system is horribly dislocated and unbalanced. Capitalism cannot bring it back to a harmonious development, cannot feed, clothe or shelter the people.

Consistent of the terrible crisis of their system, the United Nations economic spokesmen have stated the case in guarded but unmistakable language. What is the solution? "The key factor in the situation appears to be the net level of exports."

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gining with the universe at large and ending with man. The subdivisions of each part continue the logical progression. Thus the third part, The Physical World, is subdivided into The Heavens, The Earth, Matter, Energy, Physical Law; the fourth part, The World of Life, is subdivided into The Riddle of Life, The Spectacle of Life, The Evolution of Life; the fifth and final part, The World of Man, is subdivided into From Ape to Civilization, The Human Machine, The Conquest of Disease, Man's Mind and Man's Future.

One may, therefore, dip into the book to read in and around his special interest, whether it be psychology or astronomy, or read it through from beginning to end. In reading it through, the reader will find the answers which science is able to give to such questions as what are the chances of life existing on other worlds, how far away are the stars, how old is the earth, how long has mankind been on earth, how long will the earth be able to support life—and how science is able to arrive at its estimates.

He will get a conception of the immensity of the universe ("our sun is just one star in a system of thousands of millions of stars; and that whole system is just one galaxy of thousands of millions of galaxies") and of the complexity of the human machine, "the [brain] waves reflect the electrical activity of the ten billion cells which make up the cortical tissue of the brain. These cells may be likened to so many batteries whose frequency and in-

tensity of electrical discharge are determined by relations between the chemicals which fill the cells and those which circulate outside in the blood").

The conspicuous deficiency of this anthology is its omission of Marxism, the science of man as a social animal, which lays bare the laws behind the relations and antagonisms of men and behind the development of society, including the direction taken by natural science. The reason for this is explained by Marxism itself. Marxism has not been accepted as science by the official guardians of learning because its findings go counter to the interests of the ruling class of modern society, the capitalists. Just so did the reactionary Catholic Church of the seventeenth century refuse to accept Galileo's proof that the earth revolves around the sun.

The absence of Marxism is not only an important gap in the book; it results in a false picture of the future of science and of society. We get a vivid impression of the great vistas being opened up in each scientific field, as knowledge accumulates at a geometric ratio. There is no mention of the fact that progress is being held back or diverted to the purposes of destruction by an obsolete social system.

Yet today most of the physical science professors are under contract to the military authorities. This book was first published before the atom bomb exploded. Since then, many scientists have swung from the extreme of complacent optimism to that of fearful foreboding.

—Paul Schapiro

## BOOKSHELF

ATREASURY OF SCIENCE, edited by Harlow Shapley, Samuel Rapport and Helen Wright, Harper and Brothers, 1946, xii + 772 pages, \$3.95.

The purpose of this book is stated in the preface: "We envisaged the audience as the person without specialized knowledge; we accepted as our purpose to give some realization of how the scientist works, of the body of knowledge that has resulted and of the excitement of the scientist's search."

To do this the editors have culled extracts and selections from scientists like Eddington, Huxley and Haldane who have been able to summarize lucidly for the benefit of the layman the findings in their fields and from the scientific interpreters like Kaempfert, de Kruij and Dietz who have been able to mediate between the specialists and the general public. The result is a book which is sometimes tough sledding but generally interesting and often fascinating.

The editors have arranged their material according to a plan that has logical sequence. The first part, an introduction by Harlow Shapley, describes the thrill of sharing in scientific discovery through reading and the extracts of the second part describe scientific method, the life of the scientist, the satisfaction he gets from making the universe and its workings more coherent to us, his elation at penetrating into the unknown.

The following parts present the findings of the various sciences, be-

# UN Economic Report Shows Decay of World Capitalism

## Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

### UNITED FRONT AGAINST FAKE "INDEPENDENCE" OF CEYLON

In a recent column we reported how the Trotskyist deputies led the struggle in the Ceylon parliament against the fake "independence" bill, by means of which military control of the island is left in the hands of British imperialism. In the ensuing vote, the Communist (Stalinist) Party representatives joined the Trotskyists in opposing the bill.

This was followed up by a United Front of Action.

"The largest political meeting in Ceylon," we are informed, "was held on Feb. 11 at Colombo, when

### LEFT WING CONFERENCE IN INDIA

New Spark, central organ of the Indian Trotskyists, reports: "At a conference held on Jan. 21, in Patna, 25 representatives of 12 left parties and also of other working class and peasant mass organizations decided to build a United Left Front, and issued a joint statement of program, subject to subsequent ratification by the respective parties."

"This program includes complete independence, severance from the British Empire, confiscation of all British and foreign interests including banks, insurances, plantations, factories, mines, etc.; repeal of all repressive laws, release of all political prisoners, right of free speech, press and association, etc."

"On the insistence of the BLPI (Trotskyist) representative, Comrade Ajit Roy, the right of one party to criticize other parties was safeguarded, save on joint platforms."

### DUTCH DEMAND RELEASE OF TAN MALAKKA

The Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch Section of the Fourth International, has issued a statement "protesting against the arbitrary arrest and continued detention in prison of Comrade Tan Malakka, the accredited leader of the Indonesian workers and peasants."

Recalling the unrelenting struggle of the Dutch Trotskyists for Indonesian independence, the statement condemns the anti-working-class policy of Mohamed Hatta, Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic. It calls upon workers' organizations everywhere to demand Tan Malakka's immediate release.

### VIET NAM DELEGATE FREED

The Viet Nam News Letter, published in New York, reports that Tran Ngoc Danth, President of the Viet Nam Delegation in Paris, has been released by the French government after being held in "protective custody" since Jan. 29. He was arrested in connection with the French government plans to return former puppet-emperor Bao Dai to the throne of Indo-China.

In a recent column, we carried a press statement by the "Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers in France" which launched the mass protest movement that obtained Danth's release. This movement is continuing with united front actions to free Viet Nam (Indo-Chinese) workers in various labor camps in France. A notable united front action was organized for this purpose recently in Toulouse, where the CGT (trade union federation) the CP (Stalinists) and the PCI (Trotskyists) formally joined in a campaign.

### TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT IN NORTH INDO-CHINA

Militant readers are familiar with the story of the Trotskyists' struggle in Cochinchina, the southern part of Indo-China. Now comes a direct report of Trotskyist activity in Tonkin, the northern section of the country.

The Trotskyist movement in Tonkin is supported by a large number of workers and students. It has organized many big meetings in which even speakers of the Viet Nam government participated. For instance, at Bach Mai, the meeting was a great success and the population of this region in its vast majority approved the Trotskyist political line. After this meeting, pro-Stalinist President, Ho Chi Minh, secretly gave orders to arrest the leader of

the Trotskyist movement in Tonkin, as well as other militants of the Fourth International. Nevertheless, he could not halt the publication of the paper, *The Struggle*, nor prevent Trotskyist participation in the movement, which now has its center in Siam.

The Fourth International movement in Tonkin has been able to build up a well functioning organization which is even stronger than that of Cochinchina, thanks to the activities of courageous workers and students. But the group is subjected to the same terror as the Cochinchina group. A large number of Trotskyists perished during the "resistance period."

### Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

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

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

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 929. 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—Lighthouse 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. FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house. Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 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. Phone Broadway 9645.

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

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-10 p. m. NEWARK—428 Springfield Ave. Phone Blaglow 3-2574. Reading room, week nights 7-10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR 4-8148. EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl. HARLEM—108 W. 110 St. Rm. 25 Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p. m. BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0101. BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST 7-7433. CHESAPE—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9484. PHILADELPHIA—1303-35 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-3439. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m. PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Open meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun. 8:30 p. m. Marxist Study Class, Thurs. 10:30 p. m. SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857. SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fumero Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-6416. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m. SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington, Phone MA 9-0776. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone GE 1-1157. Open daily. Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 9:30 p. m. TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1070. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m. Old 3rd Ave. Hall, 6th & Fawcett. TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily. YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St. Phone 802. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat. 1:30-4 p. m.



## "Defend Our Shores"

By Art Preis

We've been reading in the past few weeks the testimony of the military experts on how "weak" the U. S. armed forces are. True enough, the atomic bomb is in mass production. But this country is being "threatened" and where is the "trained manpower" to "defend our shores?"

Probably you are one of the many millions of Americans who think "our shores" or "our borders" can be located on any standard map. Defined on the north and south by treaties with Canada and Mexico; fenced in on the east and west by Acts of God, the Atlantic and Pacific.

But there you are in error, according to the military experts. "Our borders" are very elastic. They stretch like a big rubber band and include about every habitable and uninhabitable portion of the globe. You can take Secretary of State Marshall's word for that.

"Our responsibilities" and "our leadership" and "our interests," he told a Berkeley, California, audience on March 19, "are not confined to Europe." Not even to Europe! "They exist in the Middle East, in Indonesia, in China—and we cannot ignore Latin America, or our direct responsibilities in Japan and Korea."

When you take this broad view of "our borders" which we must "defend from aggression," it becomes clear why Russia is such a grave menace. We are entirely surrounded by Russia, like the drunk who felt

his way all around a tree and exclaimed, "Trapped!" We are "contained" on the Danube, the Persian Gulf, the Japanese Sea and beyond the Yangtze River. We stand guard at Tierra Del Fuego and glare eye to eye with the "red hordes" across the Antarctic reaches. And let us not forget "our border" in—Indonesia—now patrolled by U. S.-equipped-and-trained Netherlands troops fighting the good fight for "American democracy" against the Javanese republican "bandits."

Of course, if you don't look at "our borders" with the sternly patriotic eye of a Wall Street imperialist or militarist, you are apt to see the political map in a different perspective. You might be tempted to say, "It looks like we've got those Russians squeezed in a vise."

You might even be led to the further conclusion, "It looks like Russia is surrounded and threatened on all sides by American imperialism. It looks like the U. S. has its hooks in most of the world—and Russia is next."

You'd be right, too. The next time you hear that radio propagandist or read the testimony of that brass hat before a Senate committee telling you we need UMT and the draft and more billions for arms to "defend our country"—remember he's not talking about "from the rocky shores of Maine to the sunny strands of California." He means the whole planet.

### The Negro Struggle

## The Cause of Race Prejudice

By Albert Parker

Although it is now two months since the publication of Oliver C. Cox's book—*Caste, Class and Race* (Doubleday and Co., \$7.50)—very little attention has been given to this scholarly work by the capitalist press. This annoys us because in our opinion it is the most important book published in this country since the war and by far the best ever written by an American on the question of race prejudice.

It is interesting to contrast this with the big build-up a few years ago for a book that really isn't in the same class—Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Of course, you don't have to search far to learn the reason for the different receptions given these books. Myrdal's represents an apology for the status quo, implying that race prejudice presents a problem that only time can solve. On the other hand, Cox's book, despite certain defects, leads to profoundly revolutionary conclusions, showing that Negro oppression is a product of capitalism and can be ended by socialism.

Perhaps we can indicate the value of this book by referring to the section analyzing the theories of the conservative, orthodox and non-revolutionary schools of thought on race relations in the U. S. Among those dealt with are:

The theory that race prejudice is due to some fundamental color antipathy between the races. The theory that it is due to "custom" or the "irrational upthrust of primitive folk attitudes." The theory that it can be explained by "ethnocentrism," that is, "the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated in reference to it." The theory of race prejudice as a "belief" without regard for the "materialistic" source of the rationalization.

After presenting these and other theories objectively, the author subjects them to historical and materialistic tests, exposing all their contradictions, short-

comings, reactionary implications and scientific worthlessness. On the contrary, he shows, "the race problem developed out of the need of the planter class, the ruling class, to keep the freed Negro exploitable. To do this, the ruling class had to do what every ruling class must do; that is, develop mass support for its policy. Race prejudice was and is the convenient vehicle."

Then there is the large school of writers relying on the theory of the caste system as their guide to the study of race relations in the U. S. Actually, as Dr. Cox demonstrates on the basis of a detailed examination of the caste system in India, this analogy has no basis whatever, either historically or sociologically. It falsely assumes that each of the races isolates itself, thus denying the aspirations of the Negroes for equality of social opportunity, and implying at best that segregation is the real solution.

Dr. Cox also deals effectively with the Myrdal book, which presents a variation of the caste theory. Myrdal's approach is shown to be based on a misrepresentation of the problem as a "moral issue," void of all class analysis, and as a "mistaken" or "wicked" idea shared by all the whites equally, and thus in effect exonerating the ruling class from its responsibility for instigating and promoting race prejudice.

Finally, for the benefit of those who think the answer lies in "education," we present this quotation from Dr. Cox: "We cannot defeat race prejudice by proving that it is wrong. The reason for this is that race prejudice is only a symptom of a materialistic social fact. If, for instance, we should discover by 'scientific' method that Negroes and Chinese are 'superior' to tall, long-skulled blonds... then, to the powers that be, so much the worse for Negroes and Chinese. Our proof accomplishes nothing. The articulate white man's ideas about his racial superiority are rooted deeply in the social system, and it can be corrected only by changing the system itself."

## Medical Research vs Armaments

By Grace Carlson

Through the "Walking Man" radio contest, millions of people heard about the work of the American Heart Association, many of them, for the first time.

Very likely, the majority of these radio listeners felt that the million dollars, which they had contributed in the contest, would enable the American Heart Association to carry on its research on a greatly expanded scale. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The fact is that an adequate research program for heart disease would cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

Heart disease is the Number One Killer. In 1946, over one-half million people died from diseases of the heart or blood vessels. This is a larger number than died of the next five causes of death combined. Nine million people in the United States now suffer from diseases of the heart and blood vessels but there are only 700 doctors who specialize in this disease. Only one hundred medical research specialists are investigating this disease and only two hundred hospital beds are available for their research work.

This despite the fact that significant advances in the diagnosis and treatment of heart disease have come about from research. Take, for example, coronary thrombosis, which was a fatal disease twenty years ago. Today, the deaths from this disease have been materially reduced in those patients who receive prompt medical treatment. Coronary artery disease has to do with an interference of the blood supply to the heart. The most serious phase of this disorder is

the occurrence of coronary thrombosis where the blood supply to a portion of the heart is suddenly cut off by plugging one of the coronary arteries.

Twenty years ago, the patient with coronary thrombosis looked forward to a life of invalidism if he survived his attack. Today, most of these people are continuing to carry on their daily activities and many of them are living out their life expectancies.

One very valuable piece of research, which has enabled doctors to give added years of life to the coronary patient has been the use of anticoagulants. Drugs, like heparin and dicumarol, have been used to prevent the blood from clotting. They have been utilized in cases of coronary thrombosis, in which blood clots migrate from one spot in the circulatory system to another. At present, 17 institutions are cooperating with the American Heart Association in studying the value of this type of drug therapy in coronary disease. So far, one thousand patients have benefited by this treatment.

The amount of money available for research in diseases of the heart and blood vessels averages only five dollars per death from these causes. In infantile paralysis, five hundred thousand dollars is used per death. At this rate, one hundred sixty million dollars should be made available for research into America's Number One public health problem.

But a capitalist government, which is driving at break-neck speed toward the Third World War—the Global War—the Atomic War—has no money for saving human lives through medical research. War is an expensive undertaking! The total money spent for all medical research in this country in 1944 would pay for only eight hours and twenty minutes of the last war.

## Notes from the News

**HUGE PROFITS OK**—A coalition of Democrats and Republicans turned thumbs down on the proposal to restore the excess profits tax. The tax amendment offered by Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, would have levied a 50% tax on net profits which were 135% above the normal pre-war profits, and a 100% tax on profits running more than 150% above the normal.

**DP'S IN U. S.**—Southern tenant farmers, sharecroppers and poor farmers are being rapidly displaced by machinery. Frank McCallister, director of the Georgia Workers' Education Service, estimates that over one million have left farms and predicts that nearly five million will leave before the mechanization process is finished.

**BRITAIN'S RED PURGE**—The British Labor government is planning a purge of all government employees supposed to be communists or communist supporters.

**GOING WAGE RATES FOR KINGS**—The going rates for royalty still run pretty high. The Greek king, for instance, is paid \$40,000 a month, tax free.

This is nearly half a million dollars a year. It is difficult to compute the wages on an hourly basis, as kings don't work.

**WITCH HUNT IN CANADA**—Acting jointly with Washington, the Canadian government has sealed its border to labor and trade union leaders. The "3,000 miles of unguarded border" now bristle with "anti-subversive" squads. At the same time the Montreal provincial police raided the offices of the Stalinist French language weekly, *Combat*, and padlocked the premises, in a revival of the notorious Padlock Law.

**OPTIMISTS CLUB**—The IWW paper, the *Industrial Worker*, has for a long time carried a banner headline on its back page, reading "The Future Belongs to Labor." Recently its editors inserted the clause, "If There Is One" after "The Future."

**THE FIRE-EATER**—James Burnham, the fire-eating professor of Washington Square, told a meeting of 1,000 alumni of New York University that the United States must get busy and adopt a policy of resistance to Soviet expansion. "The world is now on fire," Burnham cried. "The flames of Communism have already jumped the retaining walls of Eurasia, and are smoldering on every continent."

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1948

# THE MILITANT

## Rank and File Caucus of NMU Runs Full Anti-Stalinist Slate

By C. Thomas

The bitterly fought internal struggle for control of the CIO National Maritime Union will reach its climax with the bi-annual election of officers beginning April 1. With approximately 150 elective offices to be filled, balloting will be extended over a period of 90 days to permit men at sea to vote upon their return to port.

This will be the most hotly contested election in the history of the organization. It will be the first time in ten years that Stalinist control of the NMU has been seriously challenged. The opposition Rank & File Caucus, headed by President Joseph Curran, is running a full slate of candidates under the slogan: "Smash the Communist Party Machine."

From the beginning the opposition has centered its attack on the bureaucratic methods and record of the Stalinist leadership. A number of democratic reforms were introduced by the Curran group at the September convention of the NMU and adopted over the opposition of the Stalinist delegates.

These reforms were designed to curb the power of the Stalinist-dominated National Council and vest greater control in the membership. It was during the course of this convention fight that the Rank & File Caucus took organization form. Following the convention the caucus set up an apparatus, appealed to the members for funds, began publication of regular bulletins and preparations for the election campaign.

Composed of diverse elements, the Rank & File Caucus was confronted with the problem of working out a policy that would hold the group together. All were agreed on the necessity of eliminating Stalinist influence and control, and restoring democratic methods as a preliminary step in revitalizing the union. But it was recognized from the first that this essential task would be complicated by serious differences over questions that could split the caucus.

### CONFUSE THE ISSUES

In fact, the Stalinists have repeatedly attempted to exploit such differences in an effort to split the opposition. They have constantly attempted to divert the attention of the members by confusing the issue. Thus, for example, the Wallace question was injected into the union as the "real" issue which divides the sheep from the goats. Or the Marshall Plan! Or the Smith Case, etc., etc.

To avoid falling into this trap the caucus adopted the policy of refraining from committing the group to an official position on such questions. Each tendency within the caucus is free to express its own opinion on such questions in membership meetings, aboard ship and

in the pages of the union paper. The caucus is concentrating its fire on the sell-out policies and bureaucratic methods of the Stalinist leadership which have weakened and undermined the union. The Stalinist method of slandering and crucifying opponents is exposed. The Stalinists are attacked as a reactionary, demagogic and disruptive force in the union. The elimination of this cancer is advocated as the necessary prerequisite for the healthy growth and development of the union. The caucus announced it will dissolve upon completion of this task.

The Stalinist election propaganda is aimed especially at the minority groups in the union. Among the Negro members they circulate the charge that the Curran group is anti-Negro. Among the Spanish-speaking section they pose as the sole defenders of that national minority. Among the aliens they hurl the charge that the Rank & File Caucus is anti-alien, etc. The result of this type of a campaign is a heightened tension between the racial and national groups.

Actually, the NMU, alone among the seafaring unions, has a splendid tradition of anti-discrimination. The tactics of the Stalinists tend to undermine this tradition and raise the danger of violent outbreaks which would victimize the minority groups and scandalize the entire labor movement. It is necessary to warn against this danger and fight any manifestation of prejudice engendered by this reckless policy.

It is apparent that the Stalinists are prepared to use any method to retain control of this important section of the maritime labor movement. But all indications are that the members of the NMU are turning against them in increasing number. Unless the Rank & File Caucus leaders commit some grave blunders between now and the end of the election the final tally of ballots will see the finish of Stalinist control of the NMU.

### Survey on Wallace Shows Large Vote

According to the *People's World*, *Fortune* magazine asked Elmo Roper to make an estimate of the Wallace vote. Roper made the study and was supposed to have turned in an estimate of 11 million votes.

Henry Luce, owner of *Fortune* magazine, was supposed to have hit the ceiling when he saw this and maintained that it couldn't be right. He demanded that Roper make another study.

This was said to be done and the second study showed the vote in excess of 11 million.

According to Walter Winchell, who broke the same story, the second study showed the vote to be 15 million for Wallace.

## N. Y. Printers Locked Out By Job Shop Bosses

By Fred Newman

NEW YORK, Mar. 24 —

Printers in 137 book and job shops were locked out this week by the N. Y. Employing Printers League. This action followed a series of provocations on the part of the printing bosses. For four and a half months they refused to discuss any terms for a new agreement unless Local 6 of the International Typographical Union would first agree to a contract under the Taft-Hartley Law. This would mean the surrender of present union conditions.

On March 10, the shops belonging to the League posted conditions of employment, increasing the work week from 36 and one-quarter hours to 40 hours. At a special meeting on March 13, the membership voted 4,001 to 49 to request that the ITU Executive Council recognize this action as a lockout.

Then followed another week of negotiations, this time with ITU President Randolph and Vice President Brown, brought in to assist Local 6 President Victory.

A mutually satisfactory agreement was worked out for contract provisions which the union felt would protect its working conditions. The jurisdiction of the union was defined, as was a journeyman; union members would not be compelled to handle "struck work"; ITU laws would be respected.

### LEAGUE'S PROPOSAL

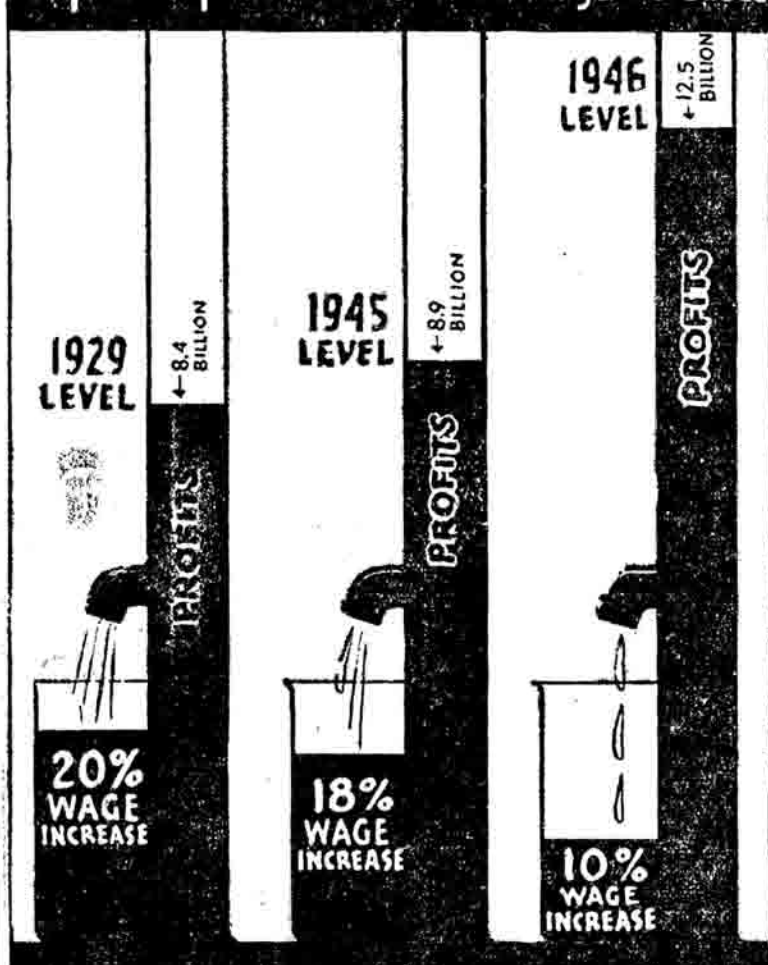
However, when the negotiators started to discuss terms, the League proposed a 40-hour week and a 10-cent per hour increase. This meant an increase of three and three-quarter hours in the work week at no increase in pay, as the workers would normally receive time-and-a-half for these excess hours.

At the union meeting March 21, these "proposals" of the bosses were booed out of court by the membership. When it was announced that the Executive Council had recognized a lockout in those shops posting the new conditions of employment, there was a veritable ovation.

The following day saw the N. Y. printers picketing for the first time since 1919.

The lockout is by no means solid. The League represents 247 shops, and about half of these did not post the provocative conditions of employment, and are continuing the conditions of the old contract, pending a settlement.

### '47 profits permit substantial wage increases



Reprinted from the latest CIO Economic Outlook, this chart shows that corporations can increase wages and still have plenty of profits left. Note that even with a 20% wage boost, profits would still be above the 1929 level.

Federated Pictures

## "Socialist" Zeidler Wins Milwaukee Primaries

MILWAUKEE, Mar. 21 —

James E. Boulton, SWP candidate for mayor, finished 13th in a field of 15 candidates that included the former Socialist mayor, Dan Hoan, and "social usefulness socialist," Frank Zeidler, in Milwaukee's March 16 primary election.

The vote of the minor candidates was: Boulton, 219; De Marks, 219; George Skramstad, 115. Zeidler led the field with a vote of 49,766. His closest rival, the liberal capitalist candidate and young banker, Henry Reuss, polled 11,530 votes. Both Reuss and Zeidler were hailed by the capitalist daily the *Milwaukee Journal*, as the two best choices of the voters. Dan Hoan ran a poor fourth with 22,000 votes.

James Boulton was the first Trotskyist candidate to be televised in two broadcasts that reached an estimated 7,500 people, plus the reg-

ular audience. He also spoke to 24 CIO and AFL union meetings, and to church, business, women's league and Democratic clubs.

The Stalinist candidate, Sigmund Eisencher, polled 750 votes, a decline from the previous CP vote of 1,060.



## HOW THE COST-OF-LIVING BONUS WORKS

By Art Preis

In 1938 The Militant proposed a wage program for the American labor movement in anticipation of the coming war and the inevitable war-borne inflation, called "The Sliding Scale of Wages."

The predicted inflation has followed a nine-year course. Despite the recent slump in the wholesale commodity market prices, the cost-of-living is substantially what it was in January, at the peak of the price spiral and prices are resuming their upward trend.

Today, many far-seeing union militants have come to the conclusion that the principle of the sliding scale of wages, or as it is often called, the cost-of-living bonus, contains the only immediately effective protection for real wages against rising prices.

### SET WAGE, SLIDING BONUS

This is a bonus to be paid in addition to the negotiated wage scale. The latter remains fixed during the life of the contract regardless of the ups or downs of prices. But the bonus is paid over and above regular wages if the cost of living rises, and in amounts directly proportional to the increase of prices. Thus, the bonus is adjustable; the basic wage is fixed. If prices go up, the bonus goes up proportionately. If prices go down, the bonus goes down. But the basic hourly wages remain the same during the life of the contract.

The demand for the sliding scale cost-of-living bonus was first put forward by the CIO Packinghouse Workers during negotiations in the Spring of 1947. The UPW leaders did not press for the demand, however, and settled for a small fixed wage increase. The CIO Rubber Workers have now called for a sliding scale cost-of-living bonus in addition to a 30-cent hourly basic

wage increase in their present negotiations.

For the most part, however, the top CIO leaders have opposed this program. Their method of opposition has usually been evasion of the issue, rather than direct attack. But now, for the first time since 1938 we have the opportunity to defend this program in debate with attempted reasoned arguments against it. The Reutherites in the CIO Automobile Workers, who have opposed the sliding scale bonus demand as proposed by five UAW local presidents in Flint, have set forth the reasons for their opposition publicly and in detail.

### OPPOSITION'S ARGUMENTS

Their arguments are contained in a lengthy article entitled "Escalator Clause," signed by Coburn S. Walker, financial secretary of Chevrolet Local 659, Flint, and published in the Feb. 12 issue of *The Searchlight*, Local 659's paper.

Walker's article is based largely on the example of the operations of a sliding scale wage clause in the contract of the Sinclair Oil Co. with the CIO Oil Workers International Union. Walker rests his arguments on his interpretation of a letter sent to the UAW by E. E. Phelps, OWIU Director of Research and Education.

This letter also published in *The Searchlight*, says the Sinclair workers secured a cost-of-living sliding scale contract which was in effect from January to Sept. 15, 1947. After eight months, the escalator clause was dropped and a fixed wage increase alone was written in the contract.

What were the effects of the escalator clause and would the Sinclair workers have done better if they had retained the clause? Phelps' letter, though it attempts to justify the discontinuation of the clause, shows that if it had been retained, the Sinclair workers would have received higher wages than they now have.

He says that only Sinclair and a few of the smaller oil companies agreed to the sliding scale of wages principle. The big companies insisted on fixed wage scales "sometimes nearly meeting" the wages paid the Sinclair workers. At the time the Sinclair workers' contract was changed, they were getting "2 cents above what competitive companies' agreements called for."

At that time—midsummer of 1947—the leaders of the OWIU thought that the economic situation "didn't forecast any further sharp increases" in prices. They decided to consolidate their sliding scale increases on the basis of a 25-cent an hour raise in basic wages. The actual contracts signed provided, in most cases, a 15-cent basic raise, plus a 10-cent bonus to continue until the summer of 1948.

Had the old contract continued, however, Phelps now admits, "the economic conditions would have benefited the membership to the extent of about 10 cents an hour."

Phelps further reveals that "a few settlements have been made containing these minimum base rate adjustments (25-30 cents an hour), ACCOMPANIED WITH A FURTHER COST OF LIVING BONUS THAT PAYS AS MUCH AS 7 TO 12 CENTS (an hour)."

### TWO THINGS CLEAR

Two things stand out pretty clearly in Phelps' letter. First, the oil workers raised their wages 28 cents an hour during the period that all other CIO unions, including the auto workers, got raises of only 10 to 15 cents an hour. Second, for some of the oil workers, their full cost-of-living increase has been converted into a permanent basic increase—plus cost-of-living bonuses of 7 to 12 cents.

Walker takes the fact that the Sinclair workers discontinued their particular escalator clause as a demonstration that all such clauses are no good. He says, for instance,

"If the UAW accepts the Sinclair Oil type of escalator clause, AS RECOMMENDED BY PALMER, (former Local 659 president) a fall in prices would leave the workers with no gain in their living standards."

But then, in the very next sentence, Walker contradicts himself: "Palmer and his friends are really asking for something different from what the Oil Workers got."

The original Sinclair Oil contract tied all wages to prices. That is one type of escalator clause. It has a possible weakness if prices should fall below those at the time the contract was signed.

### BASIC AND BONUS

But the program advanced by the Flint local presidents and the rubber and packinghouse workers doesn't tie basic wages to prices. It calls for basic wage increases PLUS a cost-of-living bonus adjustable for price rises. Walker's only answer to the real demand formulated by the Flint local presidents is that it is "illogical." Why, he asks, should the basic wage be fixed, while only the bonus is adjusted to price movements?

Far from being "illogical," it is exactly what the situation calls for. Even Phelps' letter indicates that in some of the oil companies, WHERE THE WORKERS WERE READY AND ABLE TO ENFORCE THEIR DEMANDS, they got not only a basic wage increase of 25 to 30 cents an hour, but also "a further cost of living bonus that pays as much as 7 to 12 cents." During the same period the auto workers have received only an 11 1/2-cent basic raise.

Another argument of Walker is that "escalator clauses freeze workers' living standards and prevent them from improving the conditions of their families." This would not have happened if the UAW contracts even had an admittedly inadequate escalator clause like the

Sinclair Oil workers. It is estimated that, even in that case, the average auto worker would have received \$500 more in wages than he actually received and today would be enjoying \$50 more a month.

But the Sinclair contract, as Walker admits, is not what the UAW progressives ask. They ask for a wage program that will improve the workers' living standard and keep it improved. That's why they want their basic wages fortified by a cost-of-living bonus.

### PRESENT UAW DEMANDS

As a matter of fact, the present basic wage demands of the UAW are not designed to improve living standards at all, but just to restore them to the level of June 1946. Walker himself says that 15 cents of the demand is to restore the living standards of two years ago and the other 10 cents is for further price rises which "the Board expected." This is just a program of chasing after high prices.

Walker's—or rather the Reutherites'—arguments break down at every stage. They say escalator clauses might result in pay cuts. Then they say that the sliding scale cost-of-living bonus, which does not have this weakness, is an "illogical" demand. Why this is any more illogical than the simultaneous demand for basic wage increases and pensions, they don't explain.

The two wage demands proposed by the UAW progressives deal with two different aspects of the wage question:

1. The improvement of living standards through basic wage increases; 2. The protection of basic wage increases from future price rises through a cost-of-living bonus clause.

It is because they confuse these two different aspects of the wage question that the Reutherites raise such contradictory and foolish arguments against the cost-of-living bonus wage programs.