

## Fight Against Stalinist Clique In The NMU

See Page 2

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Workers Of The World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Marshall Choice Reflects Growth Of Officer Caste

Brass Hat Placed In Charge Of State Dept.  
To Emphasize Military Basis Of Foreign Policy

By Joseph Hansen

Truman's nomination of Gen. George C. Marshall as Secretary of State Jan. 7 to replace James F. Byrnes reflects the growing weight of the military caste in American politics and the new military preponderance of Wall Street in world affairs. For the first time in history a brass hat has been elevated to the second highest office in the land and placed in charge of Washington's foreign policy.

Marshall's activities in China are a gauge of the line he will follow elsewhere. Since V-J Day, twice as much military equipment has been handed the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship for use in the civil war as in the eight years of the Chinese-Japanese war. While mouthing diplomatic phrases about the need for democracy in China, Marshall has backed Chiang to the hilt. Wall Street's aim is to repress the Chinese people, secure advance military bases for future attack on the Soviet Union, and open up China to American dollars.

The appointment was not accidental. It had been arranged as long ago as last May, according to Arthur Krock of the N. Y.

Times (Jan. 9). It was obviously timed for the March "Peace" Conference in Moscow when the vital question of Germany's disposition comes up on the agenda of the Allied Powers.

"Undoubtedly," said Krock, "the President considered the effect on other nations, especially Soviet Russia, of the choice of a professional military man for his premier."

Although Marshall was twice decorated by Stalin with the Order of Suvorov, he was not selected as a gesture of conciliation toward the Kremlin. No matter what tactics Marshall follows, the appointment means, as the conservative Business Week observed Jan. 11, "a shift in emphasis in foreign policy, puts a new force behind moves to strengthen the military basis of that policy."

On the chess board of international politics, Wall Street has advanced the piece that will most clearly indicate its readiness to resort to military force. Marshall is the outstanding spokesman of the military caste in charge of stockpiling atomic bombs and coordinating the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere and Great Britain. As head of this caste, Marshall is the logical choice to determine what can and what cannot be conceded at the "peace" table in the light of Wall Street's blueprints for World War III.

Marshall's views can be judged from the report on the war which he issued after V-J Day. (See The Militant, Oct. 20, 1945.) "If man does find the solution for world peace," said the general cynically, "it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record we have ever known." Looking forward to another slaughter, Marshall said there is no effective defense except the "power of attack." He advocated a huge military force to come to "close grips with the enemy and tear his operating bases and his productive establishment away from him."

The Senate, of course, unanimously backed the nomination of this war-monger, suspending normal procedure to demonstrate how solidly both Republicans and Democrats support a foreign policy that is part and parcel of the preparations for the next blood bath.

(See editorial, "Marshall Appointment," on Page 4.)

## GREEN OF AFL INTERVENES AGAINST STRIKE IN L. A.

By Harry Thompson  
(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 12 — AFL President William Green has intervened against the militant strike of 6,000 members of the AFL Retail Food Clerks in this area by backing the strikebreaking efforts of AFL Teamsters President Daniel Tobin and Teamsters Vice-President Dave Beck.

Green's intervention came as the employers front gave signs of cracking. Employers in the San Pedro area have signed a contract granting the Food Clerks demand for \$60 for a forty-hour week. This is a \$20 raise. Union leaders in Long Beach and Orange County have accepted a compromise agreement of \$55 for a forty-hour week.

Strikers in all other areas in and around Los Angeles are holding out for the \$60 for a 40-hour week rate. Joseph DeSilva, Secretary of Food Clerks Local 770, covering the Los Angeles, Burbank and Pasadena area, said: "We are further away now than we were when we broke off our talks the last time. There will be no further negotiations until the employers are willing to negotiate in good faith."

Green came to the aid of the big chain store magnates who are fighting the Food Clerks union when he sent a telegram to last Monday night's meeting of

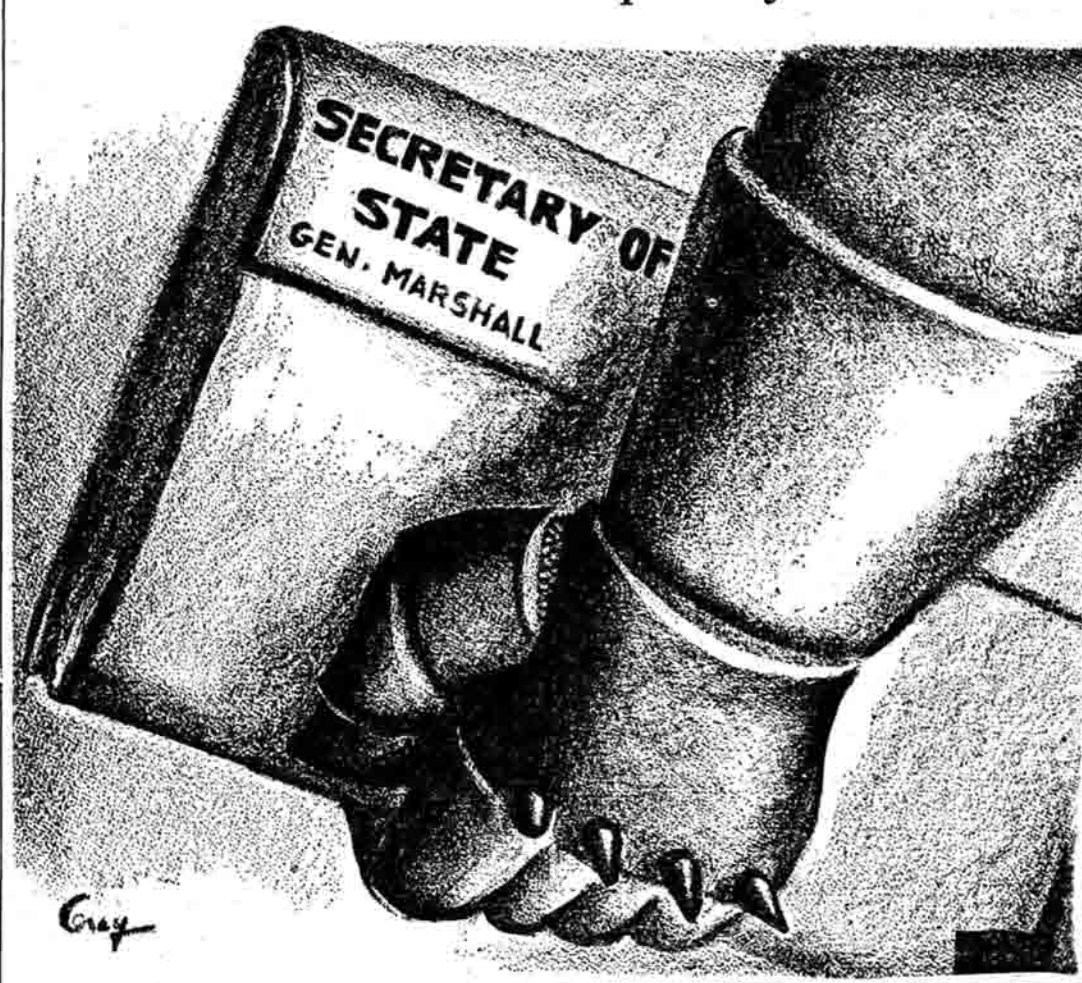
the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, stating: "I deem it advisable to officially direct that your local AFL council refrain from participating in this strike. Perfectly all right to use your good offices to promote settlement."

This action followed a series of statements against the strike issued by Beck from his Seattle office in the name of Tobin. On January 9 he declared in the boss press that "by continuing their walkout in defiance of rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, food clerks in Southern California are inviting heavy lawsuits against their unions."

Support is growing for the striking food clerks. Central Labor Councils of Santa Monica and Kern County have voted support, as well as the Los Angeles CIO Council. The Los Angeles Central Labor Council voted in accordance with Green's telegram and elected a three-man committee to assist in the food clerks' negotiations.

# TRUMAN ASKS BILLIONS FOR WAR PREPARATIONS

Wall Street's Diplomacy



## Chicago SWP Nominates Two For City Elections

By Robert L. Birchman  
(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, Jan. 14—The Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party has announced the candidacy of Michael Bartell for Mayor and Homer Lewis, militant Negro worker, for Third Ward Alderman.

An enthusiastic meeting of members and friends of the SWP last week mapped out plans for a vigorous campaign on behalf of the SWP banner-bearers of revolutionary socialism in the elections.

In a statement on the issues and candidates, the SWP declared: "The Socialist Workers Party has named Michael Bartell as its candidate for Mayor. We place him before the workers of Chicago as a man who represents their interests and not the interests of the capitalists. No candidate can represent both."

"If the labor movement of Chicago—the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods—will put forward its own candidate, who is not a candidate of either the Republican or Democratic Parties, we will gladly withdraw our candidate in favor of him and give our complete support to the election of a labor mayor for Chicago."

The statement pointed out that the naming of a new candidate, Martin Kennelly, by the Democratic Party is "an effort to escape the rising tide of resentment against the corrupt, anti-labor Kelly machine" by putting "a new face on this rotting hulk."

It condemns those union leaders and liberals who are supporting Kennelly as "a friend of labor." Kennelly, the SWP shows, is "completely tied up with Big Business. He is the owner of Kennelly-Werner Bros. Co. He is also a director of Wilson & Co., one of the Big Four of the meat trust."

The Republican candidate, Root, is a "perfect zero" and "hand-picked tool of Governor Gurnea and the Republican Party, whose anti-labor record is known to every informed worker."

Homer Lewis, SWP candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward, has already been voted support by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) at its last meeting. Leading CORE members have pledged to campaign actively for Lewis as the only candidate who will really represent the interests of the Negro people.

Just the day before, owners of hotels, motor courts and trailer camps rejoiced over a government order, effective Feb. 15, removing all rent ceilings on rooms rented by the day. This will mean rent hikes for hundreds of thousands forced to live in transient residences because of the housing shortage.

This is the latest of a series of Administration concessions to landlords that are whittling away at rent ceilings and controls. By Jan. 5, the OPA had granted landlords rent boosts on more than a million dwelling units. Individual rent increases are being granted at the rate of between 20,000 to 30,000 a month.

Under Truman's recent housing decontrol order, Housing Expediter Cresson has allowed landlords to boost rents through "service charges," "remodeling" and other slick devices.

Truman has paved the way for an all-out Congressional assault on rent control by his recent order wrecking the low-cost, low-rent housing program. This order allows all building materials to be channeled into the non-residential and luxury market, thus guaranteeing a continued shortage in low-cost, low-rent dwellings.

## 80th Congress Begins Assault Against Labor

Aims Bills To Break  
Backbone Of Unions

Wall Street's political agents devoted the first week of the 80th Congress to loading the legislative hopper with bills designed to smash the labor movement.

Truman told Congress he wanted laws to prevent jurisdictional strikes, bar secondary boycotts and the "use of economic force by labor" in replying to employers' violations of contracts.

Rep. Francis Case, Republican of South Dakota, introduced a bill to legalize the use of the federal injunction to break strikes; provide stiff penalties for whatever actions of employees the courts interpret as coercion, violence or seizure of property; legalize filing of charges against unions; bar unions from financing political activities; and compel a 60-day "cooling off" period for any strikes not otherwise banned.

A similar bill introduced in the Senate by Ball of Minnesota, Taft of Ohio and Smith of New Jersey also prohibits industry-wide bargaining. Ball introduced still another bill to outlaw the closed shop, the union shop and maintenance of membership provisions in agreements.

This assault on the unions went virtually unopposed in Congress, since the trade unions, despite 15,000,000 members, are unorganized on the political field; and consequently do not have a single representative in Congress to defend labor's rights against the Big Business politicians.

## Senators Draft Bill To Demolish Rent Ceilings

A sweeping bill to abolish all rent controls by Feb. 1 was introduced on Jan. 9 by Democratic Senator W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas. It is cosponsored by three Republican senators.

The bill was referred to the Senate Banking Committee where one of its members, PAC-endorsed Democratic Senator Taylor of Idaho, immediately declared himself in favor of "relaxing" rent controls and for "reasonable rent increases."

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## Human Needs Ignored In Budget Proposals

By Art Preis

Six times as much money for war as for the needs of the people! That is what Truman asks the government to spend in 1948 in his proposed 37½ billion dollar budget.

For Army, Navy and other military expenditures, directly listed for military purposes, Truman demands an outlay of 11½ billion dollars.

For all forms of social security, health, housing and education, his budget provides less than two billion dollars.

The military budget does not include 444 million dollars for the atom bomb, which is listed under "natural resources not primarily agricultural" and given the innocent-sounding title: "Development and control of atomic energy."

It does not include 645 millions for military rule of conquered lands. This comes under "Foreign Relief," subtitle, "War Department (occupied countries)."

BURIED ITEMS

Scores of other "little items" for war preparations are buried under headings like "Transportation and Communication," where the War Department gets 120 millions for "provision of navigation aids and facilities."

Twice as much will be spent in 1948 to develop bigger and better atom bombs as for "housing and community facilities." Housing will receive only 225 million dollars. The estimated expenditures in 1948 for new dwellings will be less than half of the housing budget for 1947.

The atom bomb will take five times the total of 88 millions to be spent for "education and general research." It will take three times the amount allocated in the budget for "promotion of public health."

The 37½ billion dollars in Truman's budget is four times the total federal expenditures in 1939. At least 40 per cent of this monumental budget is for war preparations, direct and hidden.

The next biggest group of expenditures would go mainly into

## Some Contrasts In The Budget

Among revealing contrasts in Truman's new war budget are the following:

For military-Naval research, excluding the atom bomb, a total of 530 million dollars. For Public Health research, a total of 17 million.

For "research and development" of Chemical Warfare, 6 million dollars. For "research into cause, diagnosis and treatment" of cancer, \$1,300,000.

Army ordinance research gets 40 million dollars. Research into cause and treatment of mental disease—\$78,950.

the coffers of the bankers and industrial monopolists. This includes five billion dollars annual interest on the federal debt of 260 billions; over two billions in tax rebates; and 112 million for the promotion of "finance, commerce and industry."

By the end of the fiscal year 1948, on the basis of Truman's budget, the American people will be burdened with a federal debt of 260 billion dollars. This is nearly the value of all wealth in the United States, including land.

The federal debt next year will be only 200 millions less than this year. At that rate, it will be paid off in about 1,200 years. Now there is an average of \$1,143 of federal debt for every man, woman and child in the United States. Next year it will be \$12 less—if no new debts are added.

Truman, in his budget message, piously said: "We have not yet done enough to secure good health for the Nation... our education and housing." His answer is to call for a "peace-time" war budget ten times greater than in 1939.

## Toronto Trotskyist Gets 3,201 Votes For Mayor

(Special to The Militant)

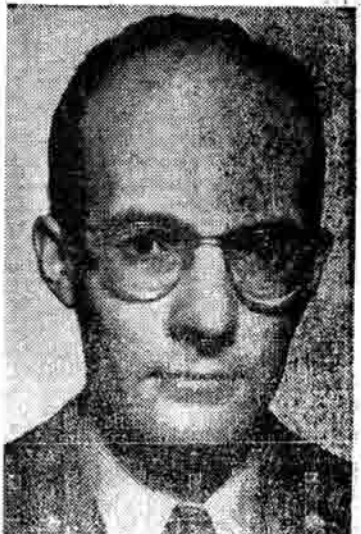
TORONTO, Canada, Jan. 2 — Murray Dowson, Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Toronto, polled 3,201 votes in yesterday's election, or three per cent of the total vote cast.

This encouraging vote was cast despite the fact that the electorate is restricted by the reactionary Ontario Municipal Act to owners or tenants of property assessed at over \$400. Moreover it was won in the face of the biggest red-baiting campaign ever conducted by Bay Street and its political stooges.

The Tory, Saunders, with the backing of the Conservative, Liberal and Stalinist machines, was re-elected Mayor with some 83,000 votes. (Saunders was responsible for use of police in recent strikes.)

The straight anti-administration vote went to the other capitalist candidate for Mayor, O'Hearn, a retired stockbroker and monetary reformer, who spent thousands of dollars on leaflets, newspaper ads, billboards and radio time, but received only 9,402 votes.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which ran candidates without the party label in a number of wards, for the minor offices of alderman and Board of Education Trustee, was badly defeated. The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party which likewise ran no candidate for Mayor, was the main butt of the



MURRAY DOWSON

red-baiting campaign. This election campaign represented an important step forward for the RWP, which was formed only three months ago. For the first time Canadian Trotskyists were able to bring their program to the workers over the radio. The Toronto Branch and its friends distributed over 20,000 copies of its program and 7,000 copies of Labor Challenge at factory gates and elsewhere.



# Conflict With Stalinist Clique Rocks NMU Council; Curran Threatens To Carry Fight To Union Ranks

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK, Jan. 13—The National Council of the CIO National Maritime Union divided into two warring camps at a stormy five-day session here devoted to considering the union's attitude toward the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity.

By a vote of 20 to 10 the Council rejected the following proposals made by NMU President Joseph Curran:

1. To accept the resignation of Curran as CMU co-chairman.

2. To submit the question of affiliation to the CMU to a referendum vote of the membership.

3. To issue a call to all seafaring unions for a meeting to discuss united action on a minimum program without asking them to affiliate to any permanent body.

A fourth proposal, to endorse the meeting of all seafaring unions in Washington this month called by the Marine Firemen to elaborate a program of joint action against shipowner-government attack, was adopted.

Outvoted two to one in the Council, the group led by Curran declared it would press for a showdown by carrying the fight to the membership for final decision.

## STALINIST BUREAUCRATISM

The Stalinist Council majority was charged with attempting to bureaucratically deprive the membership of the right to decide important issues confronting the union. They were likened to the corrupt bureaucrats whose stranglehold on the seamen was broken by a rank-and-file revolt following the resurgence of militant unionism on the waterfront after the 1934 strike.

In a public statement issued after the Council vote, the Curran group called on all NMU members "to demand the immediate resignation of any officer who refuses to break with the organized (Stalinist) clique which is attempting to usurp control of your union and deprive you of your democratic rights."

In reply, the Stalinists charge the Curran group with trying to split the union. They accuse the opposition of attempting to drag the NMU into the American Federation of Labor. They label Curran a traitor, mutineer and sellout artist. In typical fashion, they envelop the

discussion in a fog of distortions, lies and slander. This has embittered the dispute and created a tense and explosive atmosphere in the union.

## THE REAL ISSUES

The real issues in dispute go far deeper than the seemingly superficial question of Curran's resignation as co-chairman of CMU or continued NMU affiliation to that body. What is actually involved is organization control of the NMU, the largest seafaring union in the industry. The Stalinists would be willing and even eager to sacrifice any and every principle—as they invariably have—in order to retain organization control.

For years they have maintained a tight control over the NMU. They used this control to extend their influence in the labor movement in general and the CIO in particular. The NMU was used as a sounding board for every opportunist zig-zag in the CP line.

## OPPOSITION DEVELOPS

During the war the Stalinist policy of all-out collaboration with the employers found its crassest expression in the NMU. They committed the union to the permanent no-strike pledge, support of the forced-labor law, surrender of union conditions, etc. The first rift in the leadership occurred about two years ago when an opposition to the CP surrender policy developed. This opposition was ruthlessly suppressed.

The Browder expulsion and the realization that Foster was carrying essentially the same collaborationist line led to further defections in the Stalinist ranks. The conflict in the leadership broke into the open some months ago when Curran issued a statement blasting the Stalinist majority on the Council for their bureaucratic methods, extravagance and incompetence. He was supported by a group of ex-CP members whom the Stalinists were trying to discredit and remove from positions of leadership in the union.

At that time the Stalinists began a smear campaign against Curran and his group but retreated when they found the tide running against them. Meanwhile they came forward with the proposal to organize the Committee for Maritime Unity which would embrace the CIO maritime unions plus the Independent Marine Firemen's union. Of the five CIO unions in the CMU, four are controlled outright by the Stalinists, exclusive of the NMU.

**DECLARATION OF WAR**  
Under the Stalinist organization plan the CMU would exercise a great deal of control over affiliated unions. Through this device they hoped to tighten their organization grip on the NMU and use the CMU as a battering ram against other maritime unions. Thus, from the very beginning, the CMU has fostered violent jurisdictional warfare, particularly on the Pacific Coast, which has inevitably involved the NMU.

Curran's sharp break with this policy of promoting jurisdictional strife, his demonstrative resignation as co-chairman of CMU, his demand that the NMU disaffiliate with that organization, constitute a declaration of war against Stalinist influence on the waterfront. Instead of softening the conflict, the action of the Stalinist majority on the NMU Council has apparently hardened the determination of the Curran group to carry the fight through to a finish. The last word now rests with the NMU membership.

## NMU Aids Guild Strikers



Seamen of the CIO National Maritime Union loading food into the truck for distribution to striking members of the CIO Newspaper Guild in Philadelphia, Pa., and Camden, N. J. Many other unions have also helped the 580 guildsmen on strike against the "liberal" J. David Stern's "Philadelphia Record" and Camden "Courier-Post" since Nov. 7.

## Harlem Tenants Insist City Provide Housing

NEW YORK, Jan. 10—Unceasing vigilance and continued action to force the New York City Housing Authority to fulfill its verbal promises not to evict 2,234 Harlem families in mid-winter, was the keynote of a report given

delegation authorized by the League to meet with F. M. Didi-sheim, Secretary of the Housing Authority on Monday. "But nothing was said about what kind of new homes would be offered to us, or whether we would be guaranteed priorities on the new apartments projected." She pointed out that the tenants would not agree to be "evicted" into patched-up condemned dwellings, and that verbal promises to restore services in the present homes and other commitments must be carried out.

A resolution, unanimously carried, extended a vote of thanks to the delegation for its work. It also stated that the League would be organized on a thorough basis to insure that the City carried out its promises, to report any failure of services to the Committee in charge, which would also examine substitute apartments offered by the City to see that these were adequate and fit for human occupation.

Another resolution condemned the City Administration for permitting dangerous housing conditions that lead to fires and disasters jeopardizing the lives of thousands of New York workers.

Future actions approved by the Tenants League include the setting up of block squads and the appointment of house captains for each building in the area.

## Sliding Scale Works In Sweden

"Sweden has had but one major labor strike since the end of the war in Europe, chiefly because Swedish business firms have an agreement with labor unions under which wages are increased automatically to conform with increases in the cost of living," says Collier's, Dec. 21.

## CIO Veterans Of New Jersey Hit Rent Rises

NEWARK, N. J., Jan. 14—The New Jersey State CIO Veterans Committee at its meeting last week sharply condemned President Truman for scuttling veterans emergency housing and called for action by workers and veterans to fight against threatened rent rises.

"We will take every step necessary to resist any rent increases," the committee declared. "Some tenant organizations have already indicated that besides all necessary legal steps to prevent rent increases and subsequent evictions, they will engage in rent strikes to resist further encroachments upon their living standards. We are prepared to work with and assist any organization of workers and veterans fighting these projected increases and evictions."

The Veterans Committee called on Congress not to permit any rise in rent ceilings, and urged the new State Legislature to enact legislation so that New Jersey rents would remain frozen if Congress gave in to the real estate lobby.

Instead of trying to chain labor to the chariots of these middle-class political adventurers, the union leaders should be working to build labor's own party. These broken-down liberals have no real mass base of their own. They yearn only to be allowed to return to the fleshpots of the Democratic Party. They want to use labor's support for their own ends.

Labor, which has proved capable of organizing 15,000,000 workers into unions, must not become a tail to the political kite of middle-class politicians. Labor must strike out politically with its own party and in its own name. It must not follow—it must lead.

**NEW YORK**  
**Marxist Labor School**  
**"American Imperialism in Latin America, Asia And Europe"**  
Monday Evenings, 8 p.m.  
Jan. 20—Wall Street Reaches for Asia  
Jan. 27—Washington vs. Moscow in Europe  
Speaker: CHARLES CORNELL  
N. Y. Organizational Secy., Socialist Workers Party  
116 University Place

**CHICAGO**  
**Opening Election Rally**  
Hear the Trotskyist Candidates!  
MICHAEL BARTELL for Mayor  
HOMER LEWIS for Alderman, 3d Ward  
Main Speaker:  
VINCENT R. DUNNE  
National Labor Secretary, SWP  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
777 West Adams  
Sunday, Feb. 7 7:30 p.m.

## Goodrich Local Says Tax Rich, Not The Poor

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O. — CIO United Rubber Workers Goodrich Local 5 has the right answer to the "relief for the rich" tax program before Congress. The last issue of Local Five Air Bag publishes the following resolution adopted by the members:

**WHEREAS:** Heavy taxation coupled with the tremendous increase in cost of living has worked an unbearable hardship on the lower income brackets, and

**WHEREAS:** the announced intention of the new Republican Congress to cut the present income tax by 20 per cent will offer real benefits to no one except the big industrialists, and

**WHEREAS:** The present deductions for dependents is pathetically inadequate, and

**WHEREAS:** Taxation should be placed on those who are financially able to bear it; that is, the big businessmen,

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:** That Local 5 demand of the new Congress that any income tax revisions include exemption from any income tax for all yearly incomes of \$5,000 or less with \$1,000 deduction allowed for each dependent.

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## THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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**NEW HAVEN**  
**THIS WEEK!**  
Hear: F. NELSON  
"The Future Of Trade Unions"  
Jan. 17 8:15 p.m.

**NEXT WEEK!**  
"Militant" Social  
Saturday, Jan. 25, 8:30 p.m.  
For the best "good time" in town!  
Dancing - - Fun  
Fifty Cents includes plate lunch  
NEW HAVEN LABOR SCHOOL  
855 Grand Ave., 3d fl.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

Meetings of the major port locals of the CIO National Maritime Union have voted overwhelmingly to support NMU President Joseph Curran who resigned as co-chairman of the Stalinist-dominated Committee for Maritime Unity. A meeting of close to 4,000 members in New York voted nearly ten to one for Curran's position against the Stalinists. A pro-Curran resolution was adopted at a meeting of 300 in Philadelphia. San Francisco voted 117 to 103 to back Curran. The New Orleans meeting of 425 voted favoring Curran.

The Stalinists hastily called small meetings in secondary ports to push through anti-Curran resolutions. Stalinist port agent Albert Peterson sent in a report to the NMU Pilot, leaving out the fact that the Houston port meeting gave a unanimous vote of confidence to Curran.

The International Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers, acting in accordance with its powers under the union's constitution, has levied an assessment of \$1 from each member "to be deposited in the international strike fund and may be drawn upon to aid local unions engaged in authorized strikes." This fund is being built up in anticipation of any strikes the UAW engages in to back its new wage demands, which include the demand for a 23 1/2-cent an hour general increase.

We learn from a recent issue of the Ohio Works Organizer, the hard-hitting publication of CIO steelworkers Local 1330, Youngstown, O., that a meeting in December of rank and file representatives of almost all steel locals in District 26, second largest in the steel union, included in their excellent 19-point wage policy program a proposal for the sliding scale of wages. They called for an "automatic per-

centage wage increase escalator clause in new agreements to offset any increases in cost of living during interim of contracts." They also proposed a \$2 a day general wage increase.

Striking CIO laundry workers in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, who are fighting against 30-cent an hour wages and unsanitary, dangerous working conditions, are in desperate need of aid. Always suffering abject poverty, they are now threatened with starvation and eviction from their squalid homes. Union members are meeting vicious police attacks and court sentences. The city administration, courts and police are controlled by the tobacco and hosiery interests. Please send prompt contributions of funds to "The Strike Relief Committee of Local 420, IFLWU-CIO, Post Office Box 2422, Winston-Salem, N. C."

The North Dakota Union Farmer, January 6, has some sound editorial advice to farmers on supporting the workers' demands for higher wages. "As a farmer today you may be more of a Capitalist than a laborer—but if 16,000,000 laboring families lost their jobs or are forced to live on starvation wages, most farmers will darn-fast sink out of the capitalist class into the laboring class where they were in the 30's. You can go on hating labor, believing all the stuff the 'fat boys' put into the newspapers and over the radio... the laboring man is still the guy who buys the stuff you raise on the farm."

"Two hundred and fifty billionaires can only eat so much bread—80,000,000 people who represent the families in the labor class also eat so much bread. If you're going to stay in the farming business—who would you rather have for your customers? Remember that when the fight starts next month."

## Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!  
A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!  
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!  
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!  
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!  
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!  
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!  
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!  
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. Build an independent labor party!
5. Tax the rich, not the poor!  
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!  
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.  
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!  
Against capitalist conscription!  
Abolish the officer caste system!  
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!  
Trade union wages for the armed forces!  
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!  
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!  
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
New York 3, New York

- I would like:
- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
  - ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
  - ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ (Please Print)  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
Postal Zone \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_



## Slogans And Perspectives Of The Revolutionary Vanguard In Spain

Resolution of The International Executive Committee  
Of The Fourth International, Adopted October 1946

The IEC, taking note that the June 1946 Congress of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista, Spanish section of the Fourth International, reversed the group's previous position in favor of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly, and explicitly rejected the slogan of the Republic at the present stage, for Spain, is of the opinion that these decisions, while not of themselves justifying the characterization of the GCI's position as sectarian, do reflect a tendency toward a sectarian approach to revolutionary tactics which the group should endeavor to correct.

The IEC does not agree with any explicit or implicit theory of Spanish exceptionalism which pretends that the experience of the 1931-1939 Republic has so cured the masses of their "democratic illusions" or of their confidence in their traditional leaders that, at the moment of change from the Franco regime, their intervention will necessarily, or even probably, take on so explosive a character as to jump over the bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary stage into an exclusively, or even predominantly, Soviet development. Such optimism is not suggested by recent experiences in Western Europe and above all in Italy on its emergence from fascism.

Such a perspective is even less justified by the present political mood of the Spanish masses, both within Spain and in the emigration, which is characterized rather by immense discouragement and demoralization, and above all by the willingness to accept no matter what solution, provided it gets rid of Franco and the Falange. It is admittedly probable that, if the removal of Franco permits the intervention of the masses, they will not leave to the bourgeois courts the purge of outstanding fascists, but that we shall witness a far more violent execution of direct and individual justice than was the case in France or even Italy. This, however, is in itself no guarantee of jumping over a whole stage to a full Soviet development.

### Mobilizing The Masses

Within this perspective, the IEC cautions the Spanish comrades against any tendency to regard the democratic and transitional demands as an antithesis to the full socialist program. The Spanish situation at present is typically one wherein the masses can be mobilized around our party and program by the utilization of all slogans which give the correct answer to the burning demands of the masses—slogans from the most rudimentarily democratic up to the full revolutionary socialist program, properly weighted, chosen at the proper moment, in the proper combination and with proper emphasis, and all linked together rather than set up in artificial opposition. In a mounting revolutionary situation, it is possible to move with rapidity up the scale of slogans from the most elementarily democratic to the most completely socialist. But if at the beginning of that process our party takes an overadvanced or sectarian position concerning the democratic demands, its impatience guarantees with certainty its continued isolation from the masses.

An example of a democratic demand singularly appropriate to the present Spanish conjuncture is the slogan of the Constituent Assembly. In a situation where the Spanish bourgeoisie, world imperialism, and the Kremlin bureaucracy are united on the idea that if Franco is to be removed at all, it must be done by a "cold" coup or a private "transaction" which will exclude any intervention of the Spanish workers and peasants into the equation, the Constituent Assembly—that is, in essence, the determination of the regime that is to succeed Franco by the will of

the Spanish people—is par excellence the slogan which, mobilizing sufficient of the Spanish masses behind it, can drive the wedge of mass popular will into this conspiratorial solution.

The undisputed fact that the economic situation of the Spanish bourgeoisie is so hopeless as to preclude it from making the slightest concession to the economic and democratic demands of the Spanish workers and peasants, far from being an argument against the present utilization of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly, is precisely what makes it take on, in our use of it, a revolutionary character.

Such a demand we do not raise abstractly, isolatedly, in a vacuum, but infused with our program for that Constituent Assembly—Workers' and Peasants' government; dissolution of the civil and assault guards and the Francoist army officers' corps; formation of militias for the defense of workers' and peasants' organizations and of the Constituent Assembly itself; separation of the Church and State and the expropriation of the Church's wealth; total radical agrarian reform; nationalization of the banks, insurance companies and heavy industry; popular tribunals for the purging of notorious Falangists and other supporters of Franco; free self-determination of nationalities; freedom of colonies; and all other democratic and transitional demands already inscribed in our program. Such a demand, precisely because of the utter impossibility of the Spanish bourgeoisie to make these or any other real concessions, immediately brings into sharp question the entire bourgeois regime and has a highly subversive and revolutionary potential.

### A Valuable Weapon Now

The Constituent Assembly is in no way a substitute for the Soviet structure, the seizure of power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; but under specific concrete circumstances a mobilizing slogan on the road thereto. In certain other circumstances, the Constituent Assembly can be used as the most dangerous of traps by the "left" bourgeoisie to derail the masses from the revolutionary road. But the present conjuncture in Spain, where, it should be noted, the bourgeoisie does not put it forward as a principal slogan, renders it now, if properly used by those who understand its revolutionary potentialities, a particularly valuable weapon. It stands already in sharp opposition to the rump Cortes of Mexico; and should the Spanish bourgeoisie be forced to abandon this for a bogus Constituent such as de Gaulle called in France or de Gasperi in Italy, we must know how to distinguish our call for a revolutionary Constituent from these bourgeois counterfeits. And above all, in all conditions, we must stress that the Constituent Assembly must be based on the mobilized masses.

This slogan is obviously not a permanent and unconditional one, never to be abandoned. In the case of a later favorable and rapid development of the revolutionary situation in Spain, it is possible and even probable that such a slogan will be overtaken by events, as it was in Russia in 1917, when the Bolsheviks, after long supporting it linked with full support to the Soviets, dropped it into the background only after the seizure of power. In any similar case, our Spanish comrades will know how to choose the correct time for its withdrawal in favour of purely Soviet revolutionary slogans. The IEC therefore recommends to the GCI reconsideration of its recent Congress decisions on the Constituent Assembly and the reincorporation of this slogan into its series of democratic and transitional demands.

(To be concluded next week)

# What The French Press Says About Indo-Chinese Struggle

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, Jan. 4.—It would be difficult for the average reader of the French press to know what is going on in Indo-China or the cause of the fighting there.

Very little is written about the fact that the French government, after agreeing last March 6 to recognize Ho Chi Minh as head of the Viet Minh Republic in Indo-China, has systematically violated its agreement. There are practically no references in the French press to the fact that the French authorities, after agreeing to permit a referendum in Cochinchina, set up a quelling government there against the will of the population.

Most papers maintain silence about the fact that after the French government agreed to "recognize" the Viet Minh Republic, it sought to deprive that republic of the right to run its own finances, customs and foreign affairs, despite Ho Chi Minh's policy of "concessions" which was inspired by the Stalinists.

And up till now virtually the whole press has tried to cover up the fact that the Indo-Chinese went over to widespread military activities in self-protection only after the French troops had begun an aggressive occupation of buildings in the capital city of Hanoi on Dec. 17.

Only the Trotskyist PCI and its paper, *La Verite*, tell the truth about these matters and conduct a campaign against the measures which have the approval of the capitalist press and the Socialist Party's *Populaire* and on which the Stalinist *L'Humanite* maintains an embarrassed silence.

Most of the French press is now giving vent to the traditional propaganda lies about the colonial people's savagery, atrocities, perfidy, etc. At the same time French imperialism is using former Nazi SS troops recruited into the French Foreign Legion.

Despite the empty boasts of victory, French imperialism is not having an easy time in Indo-China and is dispatching reinforcements by the thousands, paratroop regiments and other specialized units.

The press here features the government's statements, through Premier Blum in Paris and Minister for Colonies Moutet in Indo-China, rejecting negotiations with Ho Chi Minh. From these statements one might conclude that the government expects to crush the colonial struggle altogether. But what do these statements actually signify?

For one thing, they are designed to complement the ferocious assaults of the French troops in Indo-China; they are intended to frighten the Viet Minh Republic leaders.

But French imperialism knows that it cannot push the war in Indo-China to successful conclusions. It lacks the means for that. The adventure might end, despite the treachery of the workers' leaders, in arousing great discontent among broad layers of the workers in this country. The solidarity of other colonial peoples oppressed by France might be aroused.

French imperialism is thus seeking a few military successes to serve as a basis for a new agreement more favorable to its interests than that of March 6. When such preparations have been achieved, Moutet and Blum



LEON BLUM

will declare that "peace is about to be re-established."

*La Verite's* latest issue reveals that Baudouin, former minister in the Petain government and former Director of the Bank of Indo-China, at present interned in Fresnes prison, was recently called from his cell to participate in discussions of an "inter-ministerial commission" on Indo-China. The whole press, including *L'Humanite* which otherwise makes much ado about the privileges accorded the fascist scum at Fresnes, has kept a deadly silence on this scandal.

### ROLE OF STALINISTS

The Stalinist press confines itself to arguing for negotiations with Ho Chi Minh because he is "for the French Union," the new "democratic" name of the French Empire. But no appeal is made by them to arouse the workers. The demonstrations of Indo-Chinese soldiers and workers in France (reported in last week's *Militant*) have not even been mentioned in *L'Humanite*. Even the Big Business paper *Le Monde* was able to boast a few days ago of its agreement with the CP "on the essential points" of the Indo-China question.

The "socialist" *Populaire* is even more reserved and cautious than the Stalinist sheet. It counsels patience and confidence in the Blum government. Even for the "left wing socialist" Minister Guy Mollet, cabinet discipline is much more important than solidarity with the colonial peoples.

Only *Franc Tireur*, a paper put out by an agglomeration of "independent" radicals, Stalinist fellow-travelers, "left socialists," etc., permits itself to let go with a little old-fashioned anti-colonialism. But it too seeks to avoid causing the Blum government any pain. Perhaps that is because one of those accompanying Moutet on his "investigation" of Indo-China is a "left socialist" leader who usually collaborates in editing *Franc Tireur*.

## International Notes

The Japanese Cabinet crisis continues as the trade union movement persists in its demand for the removal of the Yoshida regime which was highly praised by MacArthur in his New Years address. The government is trying to solve the crisis by inviting Socialist Party participation in a "national unity" Cabinet, but a strong left wing in the SP is bitterly opposed to such participation.

Three weeks of clashing between Indonesian and Dutch imperialist forces came to a head in a three-day battle over the Palembang oil center in Sumatra last week. "The Dutch used Mitchell bombers and artillery and mortars," said an official of the Indonesian Republic. "A destroyer and gunboats shelled the city from the Musi River. At least 200 Indonesians were killed or wounded. Virtually the entire population fled from the city and the camp where these civilian refugees were housed was bombed." The leaders of the Republic are nevertheless preparing to sign an agreement recognizing Dutch economic interests in Indonesia late this month.

The tense social situation in Spain is reflected in the report, received in Paris, that soldiers had defied Franco's orders to scab on workers striking at the Gerona plant, one of the biggest metal works in Barcelona. First the soldiers tried to obstruct their transportation to the plant; when they finally arrived there they refused outright to act as strikebreakers.

The British coal crisis is so acute that during Christmas week it led to announcements that such important plants as the Austin auto factory would have to close down. Only drastic measures prevented this at the last moment. The coal crisis in Britain is now chronic. Before World War I, Britain exported 74 million tons; in 1945 she exported only 3 million tons. Now Britain not only has no coal for export, but not even enough for her own needs.

### Japanese Women Win Strike



These restaurant workers, employed by a movie studio in Tokyo, parade to celebrate their victory in a strike. Japanese labor continues its militant fight for collective bargaining and better conditions. Federated Pictures

## Troops Used Against London Drivers Strike

Jan. 14.—The British government's use of troops yesterday to break the week-old strike of London truck drivers was angrily condemned by workers throughout England. The first protest against the government's move took

the form of an immediate walk-out by several thousand porters and food handlers employed in London's major food markets. There was talk of a general strike, and sympathy strikes were later reported in such big cities as Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Ipswich and Southampton.

Bus drivers openly discussed action to support the truck drivers, and representatives of 12,000 dock workers warned that they would quit work if any army trucks entered the docks to load food.

### PROTEST RUNAROUND

The strike had begun a week ago with a few hundred drivers protesting against the nine-month run-around on a new contract which they were getting from the Central Wages Board of the trucking industry. By yesterday it had spread to 21,000 drivers and helpers handling meat and other foodstuffs in London. Among their demands were reduction of the work week

from 48 to 44 hours, and overtime pay after eight hours. Their average wage now is \$20 a week. The British Cabinet has met several times during the last few days, with Prime Minister Attlee reported to be threatening to resign if the cabinet does not uphold his use of troops as strikebreakers. The cabinet was also working on some new and perhaps speedier arbitration machinery to replace the Central Wages Board.

The drivers were engaged in a fight not only with a government that claims to represent labor, but also with the leaders of their own union, the Transport and General Workers Union, who have refused to "authorize" the strike.

Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the TGWU, called on the strikers to return to work Sunday. He was booed lustily and answered with shouts of "resign" and "chuck him out."

The last time the Labor Party government used the armed forces against strikers was during the dock-workers' struggle in the autumn of 1945. The response then, shortly after the Labor Party came to power, was very mild compared with the bitter reaction in labor's ranks now.

### Correction

An article on the Toronto elections in the Jan. 4 *Militant* incorrectly stated that neither the CCF nor the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party were running candidates in the municipal elections. It is an unofficial policy of both parties to refrain from running a candidate for Mayor against the capitalist parties. Both parties campaigned, however, for other offices in the municipal elections.

communism and followed by all the official Communist Parties is something very different. Lenin said that facts are stubborn things. Comrades, the facts in the situation are clear. They say that the Stalin leadership has betrayed the revolution, betrayed the world proletariat. We must face the facts! We must tell the workers the truth! Progressive aims cannot be served with lies, concealment, distortion and betrayal.

My study and investigation has brought me to the conclusion that the only genuine followers of Marx and Lenin are the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists. Their banner is unstained, they fight for world communism.

### I RESIGN

Therefore, my course is clear. I hereby resign from the Communist Party and I am joining the only truly revolutionary party in this country, the Socialist Workers Party. I hope that all members of the Communist Party will take the first opportunity to re-study the past and estimate once again what has happened and what the future course of the CP will be. I am sure that you can only come to the same conclusions that I have come to.

Fraternally,  
George Chomalous

## A Letter Of Resignation From The C.P.

Communist Party,  
9 E. Exchange St.,  
Akron, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

A year has elapsed in which time I have seriously studied our political line under Browder and our recent line under Foster. I have reached definite conclusions in regard to our policies based upon this objective study. I opposed our policies during Browder's infamous reign to you many, many times, as you already know. My words at the time went unheeded as well as the protests of many in the party nationally. I opposed the revisionist policies but at the same time hoped that in the future we would reject these petty-bourgeois ideas and their motivation and establish ourselves once again on the program of Marx and Lenin and arm ourselves with a revolutionary perspective.

Unfortunately, this has not crystallized. We rejected Browder and his revisionist ideas only to take on a policy just as bad and far from being Marxist and revolutionary. The difference is that now the Browder policy of betrayal is being put into practice by the leadership of Foster, Dennis and Williamson.

### BROWDER POLICY PREVAILS

Upon further study, I have reached the conclusion that we in America are not the only ones guilty of this revisionist policy. Communist Parties everywhere are following the Browder policy of collaborating with the capitalists everywhere. In France, the CP has emerged from the war a million strong, with 5 million supporters. Instead of providing revolutionary leadership to the French workers and the exploited slaves of French imperialism, the CP of France supports one coalition government after another, thereby reviving the Browder-Peoples Front policy that led to one defeat after another. In Italy it is the same. There is a powerful Communist Party but its policy

is to make shabby deals with the capitalist parties at the expense of the desperately starving Italian masses.

In Greece, the CP bears the major guilt for turning the country over to the British imperialists and paving the way for smashing the mass movement that showed such revolutionary potentialities and the subsequent return of black reaction which reigns there now.

### SUPPORTED CHURCHILL

In England, our party supported the hated Churchill Tory government which, among its many crimes, established the monarchy in Greece.

Our parties have come out of the war in many countries as huge mass organizations with widespread support and many opportunities to lead the way. But nowhere do these parties show the masses the road to socialism; everywhere they patch up rotten deals with the capitalists and lead the masses to a blind alley.

The Bolshevik Party in Russia had only a few hundred thousand members in 1917 when they led the revolution. With a correct program and the will to take power and begin the socialist reorganization of society, they stormed the heights and won a great victory. Yet with far greater numbers not a single Communist Party anywhere has been able to follow in their footsteps, nor is there the slightest indication that any one of the Communist Parties is facing in that direction.

Our policy here in the United States stemmed from the fact that we must do everything to support the struggle of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism. This correct impulse was twisted by the Browder leadership into supporting all the aims of the American imperialists. We supported the infamous "no-strike pledge." Browder paraded around the country hollering for unity of all classes. He discovered that

"free enterprise," a soft name for capitalism, was the natural system for America. Browder assured everyone that the so-called two party system was the best thing for this country.

By this sell-out policy we helped to strengthen capitalism in America and to weaken the labor movement. The fruits of this are now ripening. America emerges as the outstanding enemy of the Soviet Union on a world scale. Wall Street imperialism is in the lead in making demands upon the USSR and pushing to restrict it in every possible way in preparation for an eventual war against the land of the October Revolution.

And even though Browder has been expelled we cannot but note that in all the years of his leadership not one single peep was heard from the other leaders who hurried to show him the door. Can it be that Foster and the others were not aware of the betrayal? Don't they know anything about Marxism? Did it take all those years and all that treachery to wake them from their slumber? What kind of leaders have we when it takes a signal from a French Communist to rouse them to the fact that they have been following a false policy for a decade or more?

May I remind you comrades

### Crook's Agreement

"The Potsdam agreement is fundamentally a thieving agreement of the imperialist USA-England and the Soviet Union. The agreement is one among crooks for which the Stalin bureaucracy bears a large share of responsibility. The proletariat must reject and combat this robbery and exploitation of whole countries, even if the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership participated in such an agreement." — From *Spartakist*, the Austrian Trotskyist paper.

that the youth was the first to fall under the axe of revisionism when the YCL was abolished and the AYD established. The leaders ran roughshod over the membership to formulate this betrayal; no discussion was permitted until the ouster of Browder came up. Duclos awoke the party, but in passing I must note that he follows the same policy in France for which we and he condemned Browder here.

During all these years of betrayal by the leaders and the stifling of the members who might have corrected the line of the party, not a word of advice on how to act came for us from the CP of the Soviet Union. I must, therefore, conclude that what we and the other parties did was approved by the Stalin leadership.

Stalin liquidated the Communist International without a by-your-leave from the masses who make up the membership. This great organization, founded by the leaders of world communism after the Russian Revolution to become the rallying center of the world proletariat, was swept into the dust bin of history by a wave of the hand and long before it had accomplished its historic mission. Not a word of protest came from the leaders of the Communist Parties. For this we must place the blame where it belongs: on the heads of the Stalin leadership.

Comrades, the decision which I have made has not been an easy one for my peace of mind. I am a communist and I want to be a communist. Only the communist future of mankind can inspire the suffering and bleeding masses of the world to change the system from what we now have. I am convinced that the marrow of my bones that communism, genuine communism of the Marx-Lenin variety, is the only way out for humanity. But I am also convinced that the kind of politics practiced by the Stalin leadership of world



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"Attempts to save economic life by inoculating it with virus from the corpse of nationalism result in blood poisoning which bears the name of fascism."

—Leon Trotsky

## Marshall Appointment

The appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State is an ominous indication of the growing political weight of the military caste in America. It shows how far this country has evolved from the days when anti-militarism was one of its outstanding political characteristics. It shows how close we are to militaristic government on the hated Prussian pattern.

It is not necessary to cite the experience of Europe with military figures at the head of government to show the danger for labor inherent in this development. General Marshall himself has indicated where he stands as a militarist politician looking at labor. In 1943 he termed the struggle of the railroad workers for better wages "the dammedest crime that was ever committed against America."

Putting such a man in the second highest office in the land adds weight to the furious anti-labor drive now under way. And it has still graver implications.

By putting the leading spokesman of the military caste in charge of foreign policy, Wall Street emphasizes the military side of international politics and thus underlines its desire to militarize the United States. The appointment thus goes directly counter to the wishes of the people for an end to the military burden now bowing them down.

It steps up the pressure to convert America into the greatest peacetime military camp the world has ever seen. It gives fresh impetus to the diversion of astronomical sums from the national income to produce instruments of destruction. It dovetails with Wall Street's carefully calculated campaign to conscript and regiment American youth.

Wall Street views the attainment of these objectives as essential to its plans for conquering and dominating the entire earth.

In 1934 Leon Trotsky declared that "History is taking mankind directly into the volcanic eruption of American imperialism." The Second World War witnessed this military eruption over Europe and the Far East. The appointment of General Marshall bears witness to a similar process within the United States. From now on the military caste will play an increasing role in American politics. Already the talk of General Marshall for President is growing in volume.

The swift rise of the General shows what a sinister shadow the brass hats cast over the American political scene.

## Blow To Democracy

The top leaders of the CIO last week struck a blow at the democratic rights of state and local CIO Councils. That is the ruling that these lower bodies are prohibited from making contributions or sending delegates to any national organization except a hand-picked list of 36 groups approved by the CIO national officers.

This ruling has no other purpose than to discriminate against organizations whose sponsorship is considered "radical," particularly those dominated or said to be dominated by the Communist Party (Stalinist). It is a follow-up on the last CIO convention's red-baiting Declaration of Policy that "resents and rejects" the "interference of the Communist Party."

It is easy to discern this anti-democratic, red-baiting bias in the list of "approved" organizations. Why, for instance, are all sorts of foreign relief organizations OK'd—except those sending relief to Yugoslavia or Poland? Why is it all right for CIO councils to contribute to an anti-labor organization like the American Legion, run by businessmen and brass hats, and not all right to aid the National Negro Congress?

What started out as a red-baiting drive against the Stalinists has quickly been shown to be a drive against the democratic rights of the entire CIO membership.

This new ruling sets a dangerous precedent. It can be used by a few reactionary leaders to prevent state and local councils from supporting progressive groups and aiding worthy causes of benefit to labor. It might be used to prohibit local CIO bodies from supporting a movement for a labor party or giving strike relief to a non-CIO union.

If allowed to stand, this ruling can only strengthen the hand of the top union bureaucracy and invite the introduction of further

undemocratic and bureaucratic practices. It will also encourage the reactionary, red-baiting elements to intensify their attacks on union militants and all those workers they chose to label as "communists."

It must be pointed out that the Communist Party leaders themselves helped pave the way for this latest attack on union democracy in the CIO. The Stalinists capitulated to the red-baiters at the CIO convention and voted for the anti-Communist resolution. They supported the revised rules that reduced the rights and powers of local councils. Now Communist Party members are learning the real meaning of the Stalinist betrayal which the Daily Worker hailed as a "great statesmanlike move."

Militant and progressive CIO members will vigorously protest and oppose this new ruling. They will insist on their right, as in the past, to determine by democratic vote whether or not they wish to cooperate with some other organization.

## Victory In Detroit

The victory of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party against the fascist-inspired drive to evict the branch from its headquarters has given a valuable demonstration on how to fight reaction.

On last July 25, Detroit fascists launched the drive by setting fire to the headquarters while 100 persons were assembled. The reasons for this terrorist attack were clear at the time. The Socialist Workers Party is recognized as the outstanding champion of the rights of the Negro people. The fascists decided to apply lynch law to this organization that advocates militant defense of civil liberties and democratic rights.

When fire failed to drive out the Trotskyists, the Detroit reactionaries resorted to other means. The Department of Buildings and Safety Engineering ordered the SWP to vacate the premises in 10 days.

In the subsequent legal battle, the so-called Linwood and McGraw Civic Association submitted a petition brazenly demanding that the SWP be ousted because Negroes attended meetings.

The combination of fascist terrorists and reactionary city officials appeared so powerful that some faint-hearted predicted it was a losing fight and the SWP would be ousted.

But the Trotskyists set out to arouse the labor movement of Detroit. They pointed to the threat to civil liberties and the democratic rights of labor throughout the city if this reactionary attack should prove successful. The Trotskyists showed once again that a fighting spirit is the first requirement if victory is to be won.

The labor movement of Detroit responded to the warning. Leading trade union officials denounced the reactionary attempt to oust the SWP. The Detroit City Plan Commission last week decided to approve the use of the headquarters for educational, recreational, social, neighborhood and community center purposes. The weight of the union movement in the struggle had proved decisive.

Had the Detroit Branch failed to appeal to the labor movement it is certain its cause would have been doomed from the start. On the other hand, the ability of Detroit labor to chalk up a victory such as this is an indication of what can be done on an incomparably greater scale in defending civil liberties and the democratic rights of labor.

## For Labor Unity

Despite the deadly threat of impending anti-labor legislation the AFL leaders persist in their refusal to join forces with the CIO in order to beat back the Congressional offensive against the labor movement.

Characteristic of their attitude was their spurning of an invitation from a number of Senators to attend a dinner on January 8 with representatives of the CIO to discuss means for blocking proposed laws to restrict labor's rights.

We are not advocating that union leaders dine or otherwise hob-nob with political representatives of the capitalist class. We are sure moreover that it was not the presence of capitalist politicians that kept the AFL spokesmen from this dinner. We are pointing out that what kept the AFL leaders from the dinner was the presence of CIO representatives.

It surely cannot be argued by the AFL leaders that there is no need to unite all labor's forces for joint action against the drastic laws that Congress threatens to pass against the unions. This need for united action is recognized by the AFL leaders as shown by their joint conferences with the leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

But in the case of the CIO, which represents more than six million organized workers in basic industry, the AFL leaders are permitting narrow organizational and jurisdictional interests to stand in the way of labor unity.

Whom are they hurting by this blind and narrow-minded attitude? Certainly it will not detract from the prestige of the CIO. The CIO has agreed to submerge organizational differences and has appealed to the AFL for joint action.

If, because of the division maintained in labor's ranks by the AFL leaders, Congress puts through union-busting laws, the members of the AFL will suffer just as much as the members of the CIO.

The AFL members must demand that their top leaders consider the needs of labor first. AFL local unions and city bodies should pass resolutions insisting in no uncertain terms that the AFL get together with the CIO for joint action in mutual self-defense.

The AFL ranks can make a good start by establishing united action on a local scale in every community. And they can call for national extension of such local action through a United Conference of Labor to be held in Washington.



"I'm sure if YOU were named Secretary of Labor, you'd stop all those strikes!"

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky, Workers International News Pamphlet No. 2, Reprinted 1946, 16 pp. Available at Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y., 15 cents.

The British Trotskyists are to be commended for their initiative in republishing this pamphlet which has been long out of print. It is the best available brief review of the essential achievements and significance of the greatest revolution of our time.

This pamphlet contains the full text of a lecture given by Leon Trotsky to an audience of Social Democratic students in Copenhagen, in November 1932. Trotsky, exiled in Turkey at that time, accepted the invitation of the Danish students to lecture in Copenhagen in the hope that he would succeed in remaining in Denmark, or would secure admission to another European country. This hope was not realized because of pressure exerted upon the Danish Government by the Kremlin.

In this remarkable lecture, Trotsky dealt with the meaning of revolution. "In order to sweep away the outlived social order, the progressive class must understand that its hour has struck and set before itself the task of conquering power. Here opens the field of conscious revolutionary action, where foresight and calculation combine with will and courage."

Trotsky asks and answers three questions about the great October 1917 Bolshevik revolution:

1. Why and how did this revolution take place?

2. What have been the results?

3. Has the October Revolution stood the test?

In answering the first question, Trotsky shows the combined character of the Russian revolution, taking place as it did in a backward country. "In order for the Soviet State to come into existence, it was consequently necessary for two factors of different historical nature to collaborate: the peasant war, that is to say, a movement which is characteristic of the dawn of bourgeois development, and the proletarian insurrection, or uprising, which announces the decline of the bourgeois movement. . . . Four million workers in industry and transport leading a hundred million peasants. That was the natural and inevitable reciprocal relation between proletariat and peasantry in the Revolution."

While all the conditions were ripe for the October revolution, Trotsky points out that one more was needed to assure its victory — the Bolshevik Party. He shows how this party was forged through decades of bitter struggle. Thus in 1917 "the Party faced the realities of the October insurrection with cold calculation and with ardent resolution. Thanks to this, it conquered almost without victims."

Then in answer to those who point to the failure of the Revolution to achieve immediate, dazzling results, Trotsky replies: "Capitalism required centuries to establish itself in the struggle against the Middle Ages, to raise the level of science and technique, to build railroads, to make use of electric current."

And then? Then humanity was thrust by capitalism into the hell of wars and crises. But Socialism is allowed by its enemies, that is, by the adherents of capitalism, only a decade and a half to install on earth Paradise, with all modern improvements. Such obligations were never assumed by us."

Trotsky then draws the balance sheet of the October Revolution. It "has laid the foundations for a new civilization which is designed, not for a select few, but for all. This is felt by the masses of the whole world. Hence their sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is as passionate as once was their hatred for Czarist Russia." The October Revolution proved in real life that "capitalism has outlived itself as a world system."

This review of the Russian Revolution was delivered by Trotsky 14 years ago. Considerable changes have taken place in the Soviet Union, and especially in the Stalinist regime at its head, since that time. But the principal points made by Trotsky remain no less valid today. As his famous theory of the permanent revolution, restated in this pamphlet, explains:

"The present productive forces have long outgrown their national limits. A Socialist society is not feasible within national boundaries. Significant as the economic successes of an isolated workers' State may be, the program of 'Socialism in one country' is a petty-bourgeois Utopia. Only a European and then a world federation of Socialist republics can be the real arena for a harmonious Socialist society."

— Larissa Reed

## Congressmen At Work

### Wall Street's Washington Lobby

The first number of this year's Congressional Record contains only 64 pages. You can skip the first 44 without missing much. The last 20 pages, however, fascinate us. Under "Registrations"—a title you could hardly call sensational—these 20 pages list all the names of people who admit they are paid to lobby in Washington.

It's not an expose. Only routine in accordance with a law passed in the 79th Congress compelling lobbyists to register, state their income, who pays it, and what kind of political axe they are grinding. Since it's printed in hard-to-read, six-point type, we advise you to take along a magnifying glass if you go to the Public Library to see for yourself who's spending money in Washington to influence legislation.

The Hershey Corporation — they make the nickel bar that sells for 8c and up—pays a "retainer" of \$1,000 per month to Baldwin and Mermey. Besides this money to insure legislation beneficial to the company, Hershey makes "reimbursement" at cost for out-of-pocket expenses to Baldwin and Mermey; and, naturally, the usual office expenses and "traveling."

The National Association of Electric Companies pays Arthur R. Barnett \$11,000 a year to counteract any inclination of Congressmen to do anything that would lower power rates. On top of "all traveling and incidental expenses" Barnett can



draw an unspecified amount for any unusual expenditures in the political interests of the power trust.

Clyde T. Ellis, another power trust lobbyist, gets \$12,000 a year — and the usual pin money too, of course. Purcell L. Smith is apparently a man highly valued by the power trust. He gets \$85,000 a year, which compares favorably with Truman's salary as President of the United States.

If you're been wondering about the enthusiasm of Congress over lifting rent ceilings, you'll find part of the reason here. The real estate interests have some well-heeled lobbyists in Washington to help raise the din for rent increases. Besides the usual "out-of-pocket" expenses, Earle Brown gets \$2,600 a year; Lee F. Johnson, \$10,000 a year; Joseph T. King, \$6,000 a year; James Edward Mack, \$5,000 a year; Albert Payne, \$6,000 a year; Calvin K. Snyder, \$10,000 a year; Charles T. Stewart, \$6,000 a year; Edwin L. Stoll, \$3,250; and Lawrence V. Hanson \$625 a month.

Some of the Big Business outfits list their lobbying expenses cautiously. Prudential Insurance

hires Milo J. Warner for "Amount variable; to be determined by services rendered." Prudential warily admits it also pays Warner "travel, hotel, telephone, telegraph, and certain office expenses and supplies, and proper and necessary entertainment expenses." How big a roll it takes to give a Congressman proper and necessary entertainment is not listed.

Others, such as the food trust, freely admit paying out as much as \$250 a day to individual lobbyists. William S. Snow gets \$8,000 a year from American Fisheries, \$1,500 a year from California Sardine, and \$1,200 a year from National Renderers.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce maintain expensive lobbies. The Independent Bankers Association is generous with its lobbyists, and the Association of American Railroads pays \$40,000 a year to J. Carter Fort alone.

It's a smooth-working political power team—the lobbyist outside Congress greasing the way with unlimited funds and the capitalist politician inside wielding a legislative club against labor and in favor of Big Business.

## DETROIT

"The Road Ahead for  
The American  
Working People"

Speaker:

Bert Cochran

Former CIO Leader

Sunday, Feb. 2, 2 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party

6108 Linwood Ave.

## "Economic Report Of The President"

By Art Preis

Truman's "Economic Report of the President," presented to Congress on Jan. 8, opens on a jaunty note of confidence. "America has never been so strong or so prosperous. Nor have our prospects ever been brighter . . . I reject . . . the notion that we must have another depression."

There is nothing reassuring, however, about the major facts cited in the report. They confirm the more realistic and pessimistic views on the state of American capitalist economy today. Truman's data, rather than his faith in the prospects of the "private enterprise" system, prove the ship of American capitalism is heading into stormy waters.

Among the "weaknesses that need correction," the report finds, the "chief among the unfavorable factors is the marked decline in real purchasing power of great numbers of consumers, resulting from the large price increases in the second half of the year . . ."

"If price and wage adjustments are not made—and made soon enough—there is danger that consumer buying power will falter, orders to manufacturers will decline, production will drop, and unemployment will grow . . ."

The report says that the average factory take-home wage of \$46 weekly in October 1946 could buy only as much as \$35 in April 1942, when prices were already considerably higher than in the pre-war years.

## ALARM AT CREDIT BUYING

Moreover, Truman expresses alarm at the rapid increase in installment and credit buying. This leads him to warn that "undue extensions of deficit financing on the part of millions of American families can gravely hurt our business system and lead in the end to deficit financing by the Government." Don't depend on credit buying to raise mass purchasing, says Truman.

And don't look to war savings as a "backlog" of purchasing power. For "it is unsafe to assume that most American families still have enough savings in hand to supplement current income for any considerable length of time." In fact, the rate of consumer savings is so low now, that it cannot "be reduced much further except by adversity." That is, by depression.

Production is only 15 per cent below the wartime peak. Corporate profits after taxes are 13 billion dollars, up 2.4 billions since 1944. Profits for individual entrepreneurs rose from 24.1 to 30 billion. But total income to employees—including executive salaries which increased—fell from 116 billion to 109 billion dollars.

## LEAVE IT TO PROFITEERS

What will solve this "chief unfavorable" problem of declining mass purchasing power while production steadily rises? Truman suggests first that: "Business should reduce prices wherever possible." He just leaves it to the profiteers.

Why didn't the capitalists lower prices in the past six months? And why did Truman help scuttle price control and yield to the price-gougers when the Democrats controlled Congress?

On the other hand, he proposes that labor, whose purchasing power is so shrunken, "should refrain from demands for excessive wage increases that would require price increases or would prevent price reductions."

But wages have had nothing to do with price increases. Prices rose \$10 for every \$1 of wage increases during the past year. The huge military budget, carrying charges on the \$60 billion dollar war debt, etc., take 20 cents out of every consumer dollar. Truman doesn't propose to end these inflationary factors.

Truman's statistics disclose, in part, the grave ills of American economy. But his remedy is poisonous patent medicine.

## The Payments Due You Under Social Security

By Joseph Hansen

The brightness of the future for a worker in capitalist America can now be measured in dollars and cents. If he is still single at the age of 65 he can expect \$24.83 a month for the rest of his life under Social Security provisions. The only catch is he must not be earning more than \$14.99 at anything else and if he is a farmer or domestic worker, he is excluded.

Apparently Wall Street's Congressmen figured that women are not as prodigal as men at the age of 65, for a single woman can count on getting only \$19.83 a month. A widow can cheer herself with the thought that she gets more than a single woman—an extra 34 cents a month to spend for whatever she wants.

If she is over 65, the wife of a retired worker is entitled to draw \$13.05 a month in addition to what her husband gets.

An orphaned child gets only \$12.42 a month. However, an orphan, being young, can look forward to higher pay in a factory besides the final pot of gold provided by Social Security at the end of life's rainbow.

Social Security officials have discovered after ten years of close observation that 890,000 workers in the United States over 65 "prefer" to continue working rather than retire on the monthly insurance payments. But "experts in the field" believe that any depression is "likely to shake many aged workers out of employment" and thus compel them to accept the bounteous provisions of Social Security.

Probing the reasons for the reluctance of aged workers to retire, these same experts found that many of those who tried to live on Social Security were unable to do so.

Peter Kasius, New York regional director of Social Security, thought that this might be due to the fact that living costs have risen steeply whereas insurance payments have not been adjusted since 1939. He was even prepared to advocate as a result of his experiences and studies in the field that "the benefits must be related to economic reality and they should provide a minimum below which no one can be expected to live decently."

The Congressmen who provided the benefits of Social Security for workers decided last year to jump on the gravy train too. Recognizing that they are not as hardened to poverty as workers, Wall Street's political agents were careful to provide that their payments start at the age of 62 instead of 65. How it works out for them is shown in the case of Representative May who was removed from office by the voters of Kentucky after sensational revelations of his connections with war profiteers. By paying in a lump sum of \$2,716 he is entitled to \$3,376 a year for the rest of his life.



## ***One-Quarter Of Quota Contributed To Date In \$20,000 National SWP Fund Campaign***

San Francisco too was late in getting started but Anne Chester



# The Man Of God

By Theodore Kovalesky

Ephraim Coe is a tall man with the quiet, kingly dignity you notice many times in older Negroes, and his voice is the deep, sonorous voice of a prophet of old.



Ephraim Coe was a man of God. When it all began he couldn't say. When he was a little child listening to his mother or the church elders, something might have caught in his mind. ("The Lord smote the first-born of Egypt . . .") Oh, the heavy burden the Children of Israel had to bear!

Or perhaps it was when he grew a little older and began to know what it was for a colored man to live in the South. (This life, brethren, is a hard, sad life. Happiness is only in the Kingdom of Heaven. Work, suffer, be patient . . .)

In the steel town all his people worked in the plant on the hard, dirty, dangerous, low-paying jobs. They all lived in dirty, tumble-down shacks and tenements. There was no opportunity in this vale of tears for any of them. But there was the church.

Ephraim Coe was a man of God. He had long felt it. He was a man of God, and here was work for him.

Ephraim became a deacon in the church. He was a steady, dignified man, and the people trusted him. They came to him for advice. When the preacher left town, Ephraim became preacher in his place.

Every Sunday, when he wasn't working, he'd stand in the little shack they used for a church, and fling out his beautiful, rolling voice. The slow, majestic words came from deep down inside himself, from the elders he had listened to as a child, from the Bible he had read through so painstakingly, pressing his finger along the

print and mumbling the words that he read.

Ephraim was happy — as happy as it was given a man to be when his people were "oppressed so hard they could not stand."

But the seeds of doubt began to enter into the mind of Ephraim Coe. A slow anger welled up from the depths of his heart, so slowly that he was hardly aware of it until it flamed high inside his breast. As Moses felt when he smote the Egyptian, so Ephraim felt. He could no longer speak of patience, of bearing one's burden. To fight back, to give blow for blow, yes, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth!" — that was the message.

It was about that time that we organized the plant. Ephraim went to his flock and brought back their names signed to union application blanks. On Sundays when he didn't work, he no longer loosed his rich voice like a prophet of old in the little shack they used as a church. He attended union meetings. He went to the homes of Negroes who had not yet joined the union. He passed out leaflets. Oh, no, this was not the word of patience. This was battle. It was war for emancipation. He was no longer a man of peace, but a warrior.

As Ephraim Coe himself said, "I turned my back on God. I was a preacher, but I left my flock, because the old words were wrong. I had to go the new way."

Of course, that isn't exactly accurate. What he really did was bring most of his flock with him away from the barren old pastures to fruitful new grasslands. He is still respected. His advice is still sought. People look up to him even more than they used to.

Ephraim Coe, who used to be a man of God, is no longer that. He has grown in experience and wisdom, and today, tall and dignified, he stands more firmly on the ground.

Ephraim Coe is a man of the people.

## The Negro Struggle

### The Purpose Of Red-Baiting

By William E. Bohannon

Ever since last summer, when the FBI announced that it was handling investigation of the Monroe, Georgia lynching of two Negroes and their wives, we have been waiting for some kind of statement by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI. After all, more than half a year has gone by and the mighty FBI, which boasts it caught every Axis spy in the country during the war, still has "discovered" nothing about a lynching in a small community where the murderers' names are known to almost everyone.



So when we heard that Hoover had an article dealing with Negroes in the February issue of American Magazine, we expected that it might have something to say about the FBI's record in connection with the Monroe and other lynchings. But that was a vain expectation. Instead of dealing with the acute problems besetting the Negro people, it deals with "the menace of communism."

This article, it seems to me, is a classic example of the purpose behind red-baiting generally. Look at how it works:

Negroes want action to punish and stop lynching. Hoover tells them to beware of communism. Negroes want the right to vote in the South. Hoover discusses the "diabolical ends" of the reds. Negroes demand the elimination

of discrimination in employment. Hoover answers that communism is a threat to "the American way of life."

In other words, Hoover's red-baiting, like red-baiting in the unions and elsewhere, has a certain aim. That aim is to divert our attention from the real and pressing problems facing us and to get us fighting among ourselves so that we will not be able to take effective action against our enemies.

It so happens that the Communist Party also goes in for red-baiting against militant opponents of their sell-out policies. Hoover calls attention to this in the following words:

"Many liberals seeking to better the Negro's plight, will have no part of the Communist's real program and whom the Communists cannot influence, are labeled 'Trotskyists.' Doubt is adroitly raised by the Communists concerning these American leaders in Negro organizations, in an effort to discredit them."

Hoover's reference to Stalinist red-baiting is probably intended to justify his own red-baiting. But actually it does nothing of the kind. Red-baiting is a reactionary weapon, no matter who employs it. Stalinist red-baiting weakens the fight for a better world and it must be fought. But Hoover's red-baiting represents a far greater danger today and must be fought even harder because it is intended to set the stage for widespread government attacks on democratic rights which we must defend at all costs.

## A Dangerous Weapon

By Grace Carlson

Last month members of the Michigan Society of Neurology and Psychiatry heard a report of a delicate brain operation on a 28-year-old Detroit woman. The operation, called pre-frontal lobotomy, is not new. In the past four years more than 2,000 lobotomies have been performed upon mental patients by U.S. neurosurgeons.



What was new about the Detroit case was that the operation was performed upon a woman who was sane. She was a so-called criminal and the brain operation was performed in order to "reform" her. Detroit police had picked her up for stealing but when they saw her FBI record they turned her over to the Wayne County General Hospital as "criminally insane."

This is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the police! It is a dangerous precedent, when brain operations can be utilized by the representatives of capitalist "justice" as reform measures!

Not many details are given about this Detroit woman but we do read that her record started

at the age of four when she began to steal. Fifteen of the 28 years of her life had been spent in reform schools and prisons. Dr. Louis Lipschutz, clinical director of Wayne County Hospital said: "We had the choice of letting this woman continue in her present vicissitudes with every reason to expect that she would spend another fifteen or even thirty years in institutions, or of performing the operation."

The operation consisted of severing the connections between the part of the brain responsible for planning and carrying out desires and the other parts of the nervous system which translate them into action. After the operation, it was said that the woman's "former threatening, aggressive, assaultive behavior" had disappeared.

But what of the future? The necessity for making a living in this cut-throat capitalist world may force this woman back into the paths of prostitution and stealing. The old pathways in the brain may be re-established. What then? Another lobotomy?

Wouldn't it be simpler—and better—for society to sever its connection with the vicious capitalist system, which forces women into lives of "crime"?

## Notes From The News

President Truman's fellow Democrat from Missouri, Rep. C. Jasper Bell has introduced a bill to provide \$50,000-a-year annuities to former Presidents.

Some people in Summerville, S. C., collected \$8,000 to build a war memorial for local boys who died in World War II. The plan was to eliminate the names of two Negro servicemen who had been killed in the war. The City Council voted against the memorial "in its present form."

The UAW will not sponsor any bowling teams in the American Bowling Congress tournaments unless the ABC quits Jim Crow practices.

Called for service on the jury hearing the football-fix case in New York, William H. Haskell, registered representative on the Stock Exchange, stated: "I'm in the gambling business myself." The Stock Exchange canceled his listing last week, and the horrified Wall Street firm he worked for, E. F. Hutton & Co., "discontinued his employment."

The Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation have both appointed committees to meet and discuss the fusion.

New members elected to the NAACP Board of Directors include Philip Murray and Eric

Johnston, former head of the Chamber of Commerce.

The Detroit Socialist Workers Party's successful fight against eviction from its headquarters because Negroes as well as whites attend its meetings, surprised some local union leaders who supported the SWP but had privately expressed the opinion that its fight was hopeless.

In a surprise move the new Michigan Attorney General, Eugene Black, has ruled that the state FEPC proposal initiated by petition must go on the ballot. Black's predecessor, Foss Eldred, has barred the proposed FEPC bill referendum on flimsy technical grounds after unions and other organizations, including the SWP, got petitions with 175,000 signatures.

The Communist Party is having some trouble with its 1947 re-registration. It claims a membership of 74,000, but only "some two-thirds have re-registered to date," according to the Jan. 9 Daily Worker.

Allen Heist, Southern California director of the American Civil Liberties Union, accuses local police and the district attorney of "inexcusable brutality" and "unwarranted" prosecution of Hollywood studio strikers. Not a single member of the jury panel picked for the mass trial of 115 of the strikers is a wage earner; most are retired businessmen.

# THE MILITANT

## Leninism Means: Break With Communist Party!

### An Appeal To The Members Of The Communist Party

By The Editors

This month, as members and followers of the Communist Party, you will be called upon to commemorate the 23rd anniversary of Lenin's death. This is fitting and proper. Revolutionary workers the world over should meet to honor the memory of the creator of Bolshevism, the founder of the first workers' state, and the most beloved leader of the international working class.

But the Communist Party will transform this occasion into an obscene mockery. It will pay ritualistic lip-service to Lenin's name while denying and defying in practice all that he taught and fought for throughout his life. On this same anniversary three years ago, Earl Browder used the occasion to proclaim the dissolution of the Communist Party as part of its policy of open submission and surrender to Wall Street.

Since then Browder has been deposed and expelled as a "revisionist" and "an agent of American monopoly capitalism." But apart from the scapegoat Browder, virtually the entire crew who championed the "revisionist policy" remains today in the top leadership of the Communist Party. Of still greater importance is the fact that the Foster-Dennis program is not in a single essential different from the Browder policies they so loudly condemn in words.

#### CP Policy Aids Red-Baiting

The present Communist Party leaders continue to kneel before the pressure of the reaction. At the recent CIO Convention in Atlantic City prominent members of the National Committee of the Communist Party voted for Murray's red-baiting resolution.

This appeasement encouraged the red-baiters to strike immediate blows against union democracy at the state CIO conventions in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Wisconsin and elsewhere. Under pressure of the witch hunts, staunch supporters of Stalinist policies such as Lewis Merrill, president of the CIO United Office and Professional Workers, have already publicly dissociated themselves from CP institutions. And Merrill only leads this parade.

On the political field the Communist Party leaders follow the old line of supporting capitalist parties and candidates, and opposing the formation of an independent labor party. How did the Foster-Dennis policy in the recent New York elections distinguish itself from Browder's? Only in this respect. Under Browder the Communist Party supported the corporation lawyer Mead for Senator and the banker Lehman for Governor, whereas under Foster-Dennis the Communist Party supported Lehman for Senator and Mead for Governor.

#### What Lenin Advocated

How does Leninism differ from the reformism of the Social-Democracy? Lenin advocated uncompromising struggle against capitalism and all its agents, whether they were a liberal or conservative mask. He insisted on independent economic and political action by the working class and demanded that the workers rely upon their own organized power. The Bolshevik Party educated and mobilized the workers for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a socialist society. There is not a trace of this Leninist spirit left in the Communist Party today.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, preached and practiced the policies of class collaboration. They supported the so-called "liberal" capitalists against the more reactionary capitalists in the name of the "lesser evil." By thus weakening the revolutionary will and self-confidence of the workers, by suppressing their independent class action, and by subordinating the workers to capitalist policies and parties, the Social Democrats led labor from one defeat and disaster to another. For many years the Communist Party line has differed in no way from the policies of the Social Democrats.

The present Communist Party leadership calls for a "return to the policies of FDR," not for a return to the policy of Lenin. Roosevelt was the political agent of American Big Business and all his major policies and actions were designed to

Lenin, Liebknecht And Luxemburg



strengthen capitalist rule over the people of the United States and the rest of the world.

Lenin took advantage of the difficulties of the capitalist rulers to advance the working class struggle for the conquest of state power. Wherever capitalism is in crisis the Communist Parties today intervene to prop up crumbling capitalist regimes. For Lenin's policy of revolutionary struggle, they have substituted the Social Democratic policy of coalition cabinets.

#### Mainstay of Capitalism

Look at France where virtually the entire active working class follows the Communist Party. Instead of mobilizing the masses to fight for a workers' and farmers' government, the French CP leaders are the mainstay of the present capitalist government. As part of this government, the French Communist Party is lined up with the imperialist slaveholders who are slaughtering the Indo-Chinese people fighting for their freedom.

Lenin was above all an internationalist. He taught the workers to rely upon their international class solidarity and common revolutionary struggle against capitalism in order to defend their vital interests and to protect the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. At the same time, he taught the workers to distrust such "thieves' kitchens" as the League of Nations, the forerunner of the present United Nations.

Foster and Dennis, echoing Stalin, support the UN and depict it as an effective instrument of world peace. In reality, under the pretense of preserving world peace, the UN serves as a screen for the war preparations of the Anglo-American imperialists against the USSR. By spreading illusions about the UN, the CP leaders not only trample on Lenin's teachings but deal heavy blows to the defense of the Soviet Union.

#### No Different from Browder

Thus Foster-Dennis follow the policies of Leninism no more than Browder did. Both promote the policies of Stalinism which betrays revolutionary Marxism. These perfidious policies have been imposed upon the Communist Parties everywhere by the bureaucratic gang headed by Stalin who have usurped power from the workers in the Soviet Union. There is the fundamental source of all the crimes against labor committed by the Communist

parties, the real source of "revisionism."

The true representatives and continuators of Leninism are the Trotskyists, organized in the Socialist Workers Party. That is precisely why all the sell-out policies put over by the CP leaders have been accompanied by a murderous campaign of physical violence and slander against the Trotskyists. The Communist Party leaders employ these poisonous weapons in order to prevent critical-minded workers in their ranks from acquiring real information about the nature of Stalinism and learning the real truth about the Trotskyist positions.

Great and growing discontent with the policies and leadership of the Communist Party are spreading through its ranks. Critical voices, opposition movements are making themselves heard and felt. The Stalinist bureaucrats, who served Browder as obediently as they now do Foster, are trying to stamp out this questioning by expelling scores of workers critical of the class-collaborationist policies dictated to them. They seek to frighten these workers with the "bogey" of Trotskyism.

#### Contrast With Trotskyism

Such bureaucratic methods of dealing with the growing workers' opposition will not and cannot work. More and more members of the Communist Party are turning for enlightenment to The Militant and the publications of the Socialist Workers Party. They are no longer being deceived by lies and slander. Lenin himself once wrote in regard to political disputes: "It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity the substance of the differences of opinion . . . He who takes somebody's word is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."

This is excellent advice. Why not resolve on Lenin's anniversary to act upon it? Investigate the ideas of Trotskyism. Make an objective examination of our program. Compare our conduct and policies during the war with those of the Communist Party. Contrast our forecasts and developments with those of Stalin, Browder and Foster. We are sure that you will become convinced, as many other ex-members of the Communist Party already have been, that the Socialist Workers Party is the real fighter for Leninism in this country today and that your place is in our ranks.

## 'Private Industry' And The Housing Crisis

By John Fredericks

The utterly false idea that "private industry" needs only to be freed from restrictions in order to begin a great housing boom, has recently been given support by the de-control measures of President Truman. This idea originated with the real estate interests, who, through the Producers Council, have raised a fund of \$5,000,000 to spread this lie.

Private commercial builders have never shown any great interest in producing decent homes to rent to workers at prices wage-earners can afford to pay. Their main interest in building lies in the luxury class of construction: hotels, department stores, theatres, office and commercial buildings and high-rental apartment dwellings for the rich. Their main concern today is to divert materials away from veterans' housing and into their own money-making schemes.

I have shown that the housing shortage is not a new phenomenon due to the war, but rather the product of capitalism and a part of the system of exploitation. (See The Militant, Jan. 11.) This can be shown to an even greater extent by examining the Old Law Tenement situation in New York City.

In 1901 a law was passed condemning certain types of New York City tenements as unfit for human habitation. Over the years that have passed, various agencies of the city have tried to eliminate these dwellings. Today, after 46 years, there are 83,000 of these tenement buildings, housing millions of people, still in use. The real estate interests have fought every effort to tear down these slums. They are still being rented to poor workers, who can find nowhere else to live.

At no time in these 46 years, have the owners attempted to replace these worn out fire-traps. These buildings have been paid for by the tenants many times over. But as long as there are millions in search of non-existent homes, the selfish owners will never tear down these condemned structures and replace them with modern housing.

Government restrictions on commercial building, although the laws were full of loopholes, did produce 665,000 dwelling units in 1946. This is, however, a drop in the bucket compared with the actual need for 10 million homes. As a matter of fact, we need 500,000 homes a year just to compensate for fire losses and homes destroyed and maintain the present level of inadequate housing.

During the years before the war, when materials were available and prices one-third what they are today, the record of "private industry" was even worse. From 1930 to 1937, only 175,875 dwelling units per year were constructed. Over half of these homes were built for people in the upper income brackets. These figures also include all housing built for the low income group by all government agencies.

From this it becomes even more clear that without restrictions of any kind, with plentiful supplies of material and labor, "private industry" showed not the slightest inclination to build new homes for the workers. The building interests' excuses today are but a ruse to obtain materials for their own high-profit enterprises.

The building industry itself, as organized under capitalism, operates in the 20th Century with 18th Century methods. Homes are still the products of hand labor, while methods of mass production and pre-fabrication are opposed by the producers of antiquated building materials. Properly organized factories could mass-produce pre-fabricated homes today to sell at a price under \$5,000 as compared with the \$10,000 price asked for today's poorly constructed home.

The building industry, through its powerful lobby in Washington maintained by the Producers Council, has demanded and received millions of dollars in government funds in the form of a subsidy to maintain "price ceilings." Most of the funds ear-

marked for "veterans' housing" in the Patman bill, found their way through this method into the coffers of the building material producers. Very little of the government subsidized materials went into veterans' housing, but was side-tracked into commercial building.

The building industry and the real estate interests have completely failed to produce housing for workers, either before, during or after the war. Prior to the war they expressed themselves as "not interested" in the low-cost, low-rental housing field. Today, it is clearer than ever that if workers' and veterans' homes are to be built, then it is the responsibility of the government to do the job.

The failure of the private capitalist interests leaves the road open to government-built, government-owned, low-cost, low-rental housing projects on a national-wide scale. Only a government building program will produce workers' homes.

(This is the second in a series of articles on the housing crisis.)